THE CITY OF
CALGARY

The Caring Centre City:
A Blueprint for Social Action

1.0 Introduction

In March 2005, Calgary City Council called for a plan to address social issues in the Centre City, which consists of the six community districts located in the Downtown and Beltline. The plan for social action was to align with the Centre City Plan, which will guide the physical development of the Centre City for the next 25 to 30 years. In turn, the Centre City Plan will use the principles of sustainable urban development embodied in the 100-year vision for the city created through the *imagineCALGARY* initiative.

A multifaceted approach was taken to understand the Centre City, identify the social issues it faces, and identify a full range of current priorities for social action. In order to develop this blueprint for social action, extensive background research has been completed, as described in Appendix A. The research reports can also be reviewed at or downloaded from The City of Calgary website by clicking on the "Centre City Social Plan" link at www.calgary.ca/centrecity.

In December 2005, Council approved a *Strategy to Develop a Social Plan for the Centre City*. As a result, an Integrated Social Action Team was established across several City business units including Community and Neighbourhood Services, Parks, Recreation, Animal and Bylaw Services, the Calgary Police Service, Planning, Roads, Transit, and others. These departments are working together to provide timely and coordinated responses to social issues in the Centre City.

In addition, the findings of the public and stakeholder engagement process undertaken for the Centre City Plan in 2005 have been used to identify actions for addressing social issues. These have been integrated with recommendations from past studies and consultations to form the basis of this blueprint for social action. This information will also be used to inform the 'caring city' or social component of the Centre City Plan.

This blueprint will also aid in the development of a sustainable plan for social action in the Centre City that has a lasting beneficial effect. The goal is to create a plan that is monitored, reviewed and renewed every few years to address emerging needs and current community priorities for social action. By using this blueprint as a reference, The City of Calgary and its partners in the public, private and community sectors will be able to ensure that short and longer term actions taken in the Centre City are based on identified priorities.

1.1 The Structure of this Report

Section 2 of this report provides background information on the Centre City Plan. It also explains how the framework for sustainable development used by *imagineCALGARY* informs our understanding of what contributes to a 'caring' Centre City.

In Section 3, the challenges of planning for the distant future are explored by first looking back and then looking forward to four possible scenarios for the Centre City. A summary of the engagement findings for the Centre City Plan moves us into a brief discussion of the Centre City we want. The section concludes with a look at where we are now, based on social and economic trends affecting Calgary as a whole.

Section 4 introduces the priorities for social action that were derived from past studies and consultations, as well as the priorities emerging from the Centre City Plan public and stakeholder engagement process. It also maps the five priorities for action in the Centre City against those identified for Calgary as a whole, as well as to the municipal norms for 26 Canadian cities.

Sections 5 through 9 present the strategies identified for the five priorities action areas needed to create a caring Centre City:

- Addressing crime, safety, and social disorder
- Helping the homeless
- Increasing affordable housing and residential density
- Fostering social inclusion, and
- Managing pedestrian and vehicular traffic.

To place these five strategies in context, each section includes a summary of the Centre City Plan engagement findings on the issue, as well as detailed background information about the priority area. Overarching principles are identified and a range of possible actions are provided.

> The *principles* identified are intended to guide future action in the Centre City in each priority area.
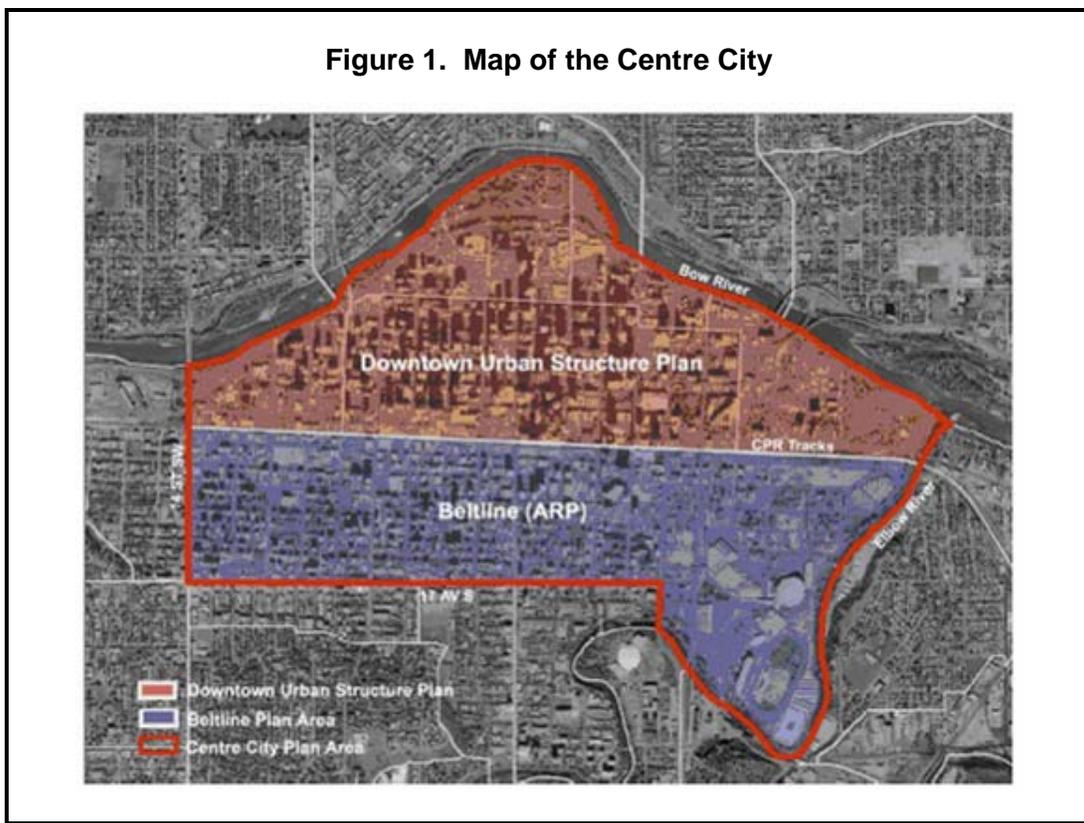
> The *actions* presented are the blueprint for creating a sustainable plan for social action in the Centre City.

Together, the principles and actions provided in this blueprint can be used by The City of Calgary and its partners in the public, private and community sectors to create a detailed social action *implementation and monitoring plan*. Residents and other stakeholders with an interest in the Centre City will be engaged to identify the *timing of actions*, *actors*, and *performance indicators*, with a view to making the area more socially, economically, and environmentally sustainable.

Finally, Section 10 provides summary conclusions and outlines the next steps planned for the development of a sustainable plan for social action in the Centre City.
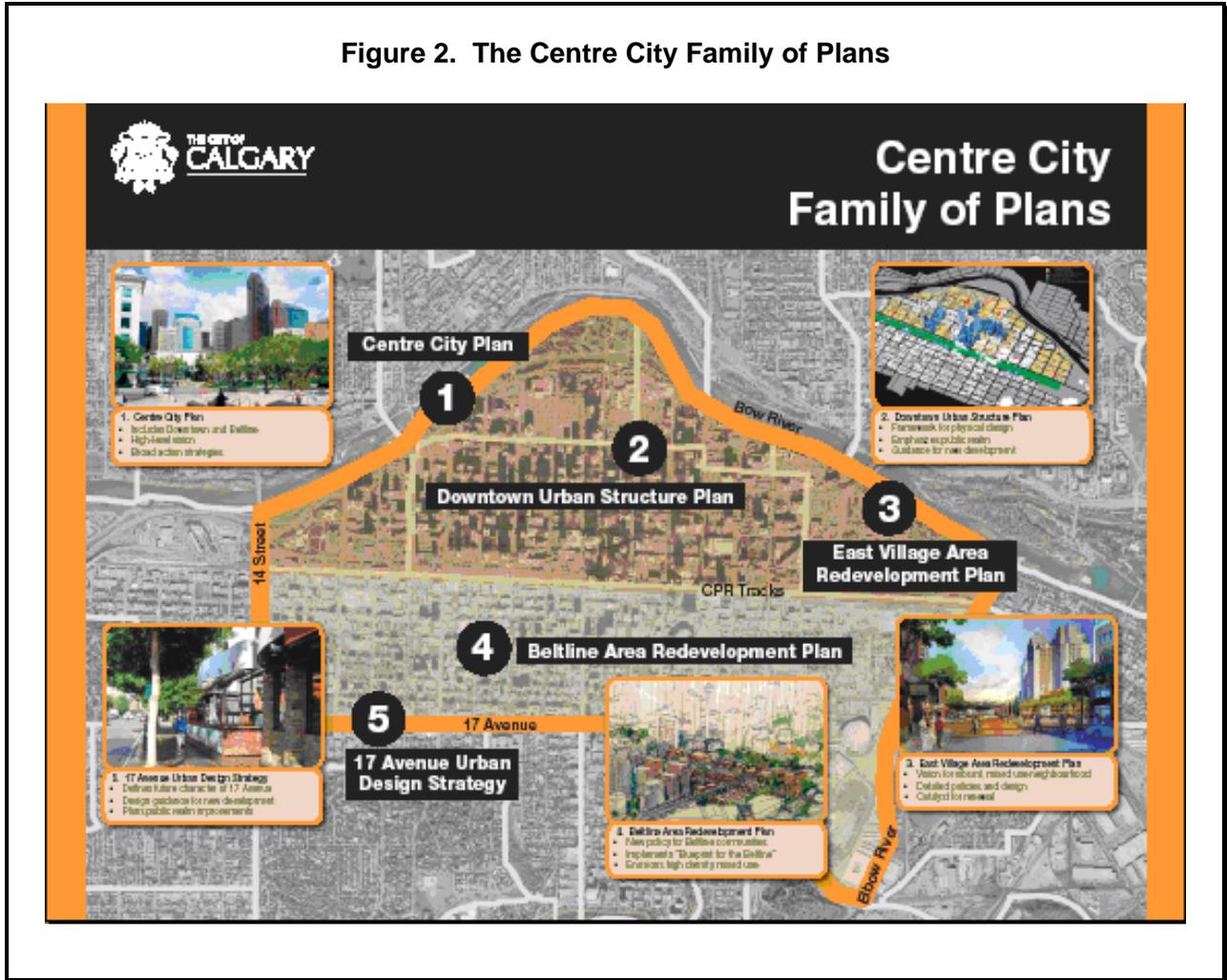
2.0 The Centre City

The Centre City is of vital importance to all Calgarians. It is the economic, social, cultural, and environmental heart of the city. Encompassing both the Downtown and Beltline areas (see Figure 1), the Centre City extends from the Bow River on the north (including Prince's Island Park) to 17 Avenue on the south (plus all of Stampede Park), and from the Elbow River on the east to 14 Street SW on the west. Both sides of any roadways on the perimeter of the Centre City are included in its boundary. The community districts in the Centre City are (from west to east, moving north to south) Eau Claire, Chinatown, the Downtown West End, the Downtown Commercial Core, the Downtown East Village, and the Beltline (which is comprised of the formerly separate communities of Connaught and Victoria Park).

Figure 1. Map of the Centre City

2.1 The Centre City Plan

The Centre City Plan will be a comprehensive plan that applies to both the Beltline and the Downtown core. Not since the release of the *Downtown Master Plan* of 1966 has there been a comprehensive plan for Calgary's downtown, and there has never been a comprehensive plan created for this larger central region of the city. The non-statutory Centre City Plan is at the top of a 'family tree' of interrelated plans and policies for the Beltline and Downtown, as shown in Figure 2.
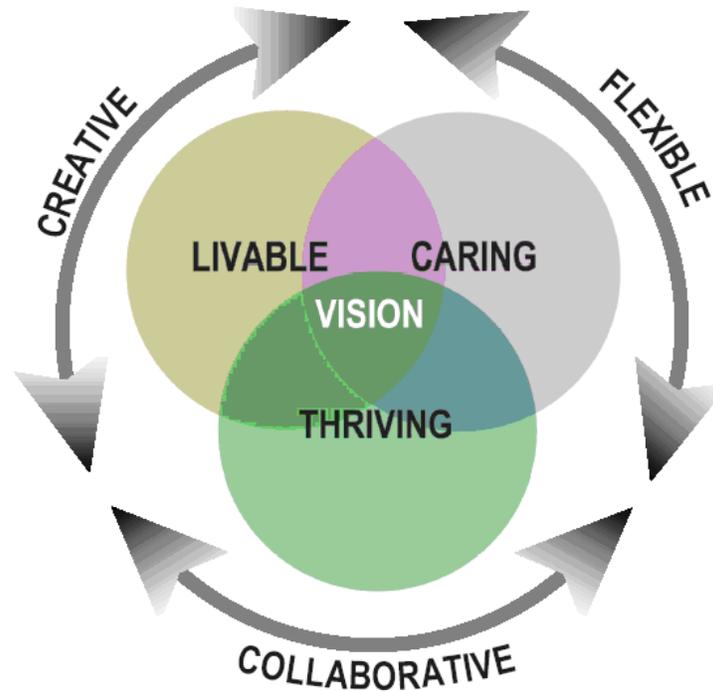
Figure 2. The Centre City Family of Plans

The Centre City Plan will move beyond traditional land use planning and design to include strategies not typically found in statutory planning documents. It may include strategies related to arts, culture and creativity; economic development and tourism; safe and caring environments; residential livability; heritage preservation; inspired urban design and architecture; and public streets and spaces that promote walking, cycling and special events. It will combine a broad vision with a range of action strategies – to be taken by The City and a range of other stakeholders – to promote a dynamic, welcoming and accessible environment for all those who live, work, study, and play in the Centre City.

As shown in Figure 3, the Centre City Plan engagement process sought input from the public and stakeholders around the actions needed to make the Centre City more *livable*, *thriving*, and *caring*. This three-part, overlapping focus aligns the Centre City Plan with a larger and growing awareness in government and business of the value of taking a 'triple bottom line' approach that balances *environmental*, *economic* and *social* concerns in order to create long-term sustainability on all fronts.

Figure 3. Holistic Approach to Planning for Sustainability

2.2 Planning for a Sustainable Future

To create a sustainable vision for Calgary 100 years into the future, The City's broader *imagineCALGARY* initiative is using the Brundtland Commission's definition of sustainable development: "development that meets the needs of the present, without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs." Although the Centre City Plan has a shorter time horizon, it supports the *imagineCALGARY* vision of a sustainable future for Calgary in the short and mid terms (0-5 and 5-10 years into the future) and in the longer term as well (10-30 years out).

The *imagineCALGARY* initiative is also using a systems approach to meeting human needs in a sustainable way, which holds that the whole community determines how any one part of it functions. The 'whole community' consists of five interrelated systems, each of which seeks to meet a range of human needs:

- *Social System* – provides care and promotes social well-being
- *Governance System* – provides empowerment and information
- *Economic System* – provides money, jobs and economic opportunities
- *Natural Environment System* – provides critical life-supporting elements, and
- *Built Environment and Infrastructure System* – provides goods and services.

The primary focus of the Caring Centre City is the *social* system. However, since any one system affects the other four, the Caring Centre City is also concerned with the *economic*, *built environment* and *natural environment* systems that support the provision of care and the promotion of social well-being. Also important is the *governance* system, which enables all other systems to work efficiently and effectively to meet human needs.

Economic, Environmental and Social Needs

I believe there is no dichotomy between environmental and social needs. Hungry people will not care if their actions endanger edible species or an important habitat. Unemployment, injustice or insecurity lead to desperation and the need to survive at all costs. To protect an environment for future generations, we have to build a society on a foundation of clean air, water, soil and energy and rich biodiversity to fulfill our biological needs; we have to ensure full employment, justice and security for all communities to serve our social needs; and we have to retain sacred places, a sense of belonging and connectedness with nature and a knowledge that there are cosmic forces beyond our comprehension or control, to satisfy our spiritual requirements.

Source: Suzuki (1999).

Expressions of the Whole

When the person and the environment are understood as one entity, then the connections between them become more than social interaction or landscape modification; they are profound expressions of the same whole and assume a dimension of energy or spirit.

Source: Zapf (2005).

To move Calgary towards a sustainable and caring future that balances environmental, economic and social concerns, several key questions need to be explored. How do we begin to conceive what a Caring Centre City looks like? How can this vision be created and sustained? What actions are needed to make the vision a reality? The next section of this report begins to answer those questions.

3.0 Creating a Caring Centre City

There are many challenges to planning for the distant future. This section of the report explores some of these by looking back, looking forward, and assessing where we are now.

3.1 Looking Back

Imagining the future is a difficult task. We are all challenged when asked to step outside the life we live and picture the unknowable. More obvious in retrospect, we can wonder who, 100 years ago, would have foreseen that a small town at the confluence of two rivers would today be a sprawling metropolis with nearly one million residents. Who could have imagined that the small commercial hub for a sparsely populated collection of farming and ranching communities, stitched together by a rail line, would be transformed into the oil-rich economic powerhouse with an international reach that Calgary is today?

Who, 50 years ago, would have thought that the two-parent, single earner suburban family of the day would nearly become a relic, in an era where the male breadwinner typical of past generations would no longer be able to support a family with children? Who would have imagined that women with very young children would enter and stay in the workforce, often due to economic necessity? Who would have imagined that the traditional nuclear family would give way to steadily rising numbers of single individuals living alone, as well as growing numbers of childless couples and lone-parent families with children?

Who, 25 years ago, would have thought that information and communication technology would see the global economy supplant the local, where people embraced mobility and followed the flow of data and cash around the globe? Who would have foreseen that immigrants from around the world would choose to call this city home, enriching it with arts and culture, food and drink, and countless business opportunities which give Calgary a cosmopolitan flair that belies its earthy agrarian roots?

Even 15 years ago, who would have thought that homelessness would become a national crisis? Who would have seen that the devolution of provincial social services would leave persons with mental illness on city streets, without the support needed to live a meaningful and fulfilling life? Who would have believed that the labour market would no longer be a ladder to success but an 'hourglass' that provided opportunities for high and low income earners, swelling the ranks of the rich and the poor, and thinning out the middle class? Who would have guessed that the voluntarism that has been a hallmark of this city from its earliest days of civic boosterism would be strained to the limit as the time and cash crunch took its toll on civic minded people stretched to do more with less?

In looking back, we may be surprised to see how larger trends in the economy and society affect us at the local level. We can also appreciate the difficulty of looking forward with any degree of certainty. What we can imagine, however, is where we might end up, given a certain trajectory.

3.2 Looking Forward

Recognizing that global forces and other factors outside the influence of the local could dramatically change the course of Calgary's evolution over time, four scenarios were developed for The City of Calgary by consultants who worked with citizens, city planners, and others to create different visions for the future of the downtown (Global Business Network Canada, 2003). The focus was not only on what could happen, but also on what we might do if any particular scenario played out and, perhaps most importantly, what we could begin to do now to ensure a positive outcome in the future.

Divergent positions were established as endpoints for two critical uncertainties facing Calgary and the Centre City. The potential for *global economic trends* to evolve in two ways was imagined. One result would be an 'open global focus' with a world economy open to the exchange of goods, services and ideas. Its opposite would be a 'closed local focus,' where the economy is dominated by a few world powers, has numerous barriers to global trade and exchange, and revolves around local products and services.

Similarly, the potential for *societal values* to polarize was also examined. At one end of the spectrum, an 'exclusionary' and self-oriented value base leading to consumerism and personal gain is imagined. This endpoint is contrasted with another having an 'inclusionary' and compassionate value base, resulting in a community of caring and resource sharing. By recombining these critical uncertainties, four scenarios emerge, each with very different views of how the Centre City might evolve.

Tower Power: This scenario combines an *open global economy* with *exclusionary values*. As an extension of the situation today, the contrasts that are becoming evident in the Centre City become more deeply entrenched. The resource based economy continues to boom and residential and commercial development abounds. Although urban sprawl continues, the Centre City becomes an increasingly attractive place for baby boomers and well-educated young professionals to enjoy luxury living. Exclusive shops and restaurants are plentiful, and arts and cultural events in the core increase. A booming economy also attracts more unskilled workers than the city can accommodate, leading many to acts of desperation and despair. Pronounced income polarization is accompanied by increased prostitution and drug abuse, which in turn are tied to violence and crime. As income disparity continues to grow, many of the poor who currently live in the Centre City are displaced and homelessness increases. The poor and marginalized are isolated socially as well as geographically, pushed further into the east end and adjacent communities. There is little support for public spending on social services. Demands on charitable organizations increase, although donations cannot keep pace with the need. Calgary becomes a city of sharp contrasts, where rich and poor are increasingly segregated, both socially and physically.

Renaissance: This scenario combines an *open global economy* with *inclusionary values.* Its achievement is the result of a collaborative process undertaken by a broad cross-section of participants who work to build a long-term plan and vision for Calgary and its Centre City. Despite continued global demand, the energy sector restructures and plays a smaller role in the Alberta economy. Calgary's prime downtown office space, once occupied by the oil and gas sector, is taken over by small and medium sized knowledge-based enterprises. Tax incentives are given for the creation of energy efficient buildings that meet the Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design (LEED) standard for 'green' buildings. Intergovernmental agreements ensure that federal tax revenue is retained by Calgary and invested in both physical and social infrastructure. Additional health and education providers move into the Centre City. Residential housing development is intensified for all income groups and family types, providing a mix of owned and rental units at various price points. Social challenges such as poverty and homelessness are tackled, rather than ignored. The increased Centre City population supports the growth of cultural and entertainment activities. Multiculturalism is embraced as many new immigrants make the area their home. Inner city communities adjacent to the core experience parallel growth and revival as they are linked more directly to the Centre City by enhanced pedestrian, cycling and transit corridors. A focus on unbridled growth and consumption is gradually replaced by a strong sense of community that is focused on common needs and values, cooperation, and civic engagement, as well as on economic, environmental and social sustainability.

Communal Self-Reliance: This scenario combines a *closed local economy* with *inclusionary values*, resulting in a pattern of decline, crisis and renewal. Global political instability and declining oil reserves lead to a decrease in energy activity and a drop in oil prices. Provincial revenue drops and support for cities is reduced. Demand for commercial space in the Centre City plummets, tourism decreases, investment in development declines, and vacancies rise. Arts, entertainment and cultural facilities experience lower attendance and diminished support. Falling tax revenues pressure The City to cut services and reduce capital investments. Fewer jobs and falling incomes lead to increases in the number of poor and homeless. Mental illness, drug abuse and prostitution increase, while social services are pushed to the limit to respond. Eventually, strong community groups emerge, many led by minorities, and a new sense of communal effort and confidence is born. Arts and cultural events are revived, often to support charitable causes. Creative ideas are tested, some with provincial and federal support. Vacant office buildings are converted into housing for low and middle income households. More social services are provided to enable the poor and disenfranchised to gain independence. Post-secondary institutions offer more programs in the Centre City. There is growing comfort with economic and cultural diversity, accompanied by the recognition that everyone is interdependent. Efforts are focused on integrating people into society, not on shuffling them off site and out of sight. Renewed gathering spaces, plus amenities and services geared to residents, generate street activity day and night. This renewed Centre City is not the commuter destination of old. Instead, it is valued for being economically, socially and culturally diverse and is seen as a place to live and visit, as well as a destination for arts, culture, and shopping.

Decline and Decay: This scenario combines a *closed local economy* with *exclusionary values*. As oil supplies decline, investment moves offshore. Employment decreases and demand for office space declines. The wealthy move out of the Centre City and back to the suburbs. Job loss is gradual and not offset by growth in other sectors such as transportation or technology. Although the energy industry has made a fundamental shift, this economic downturn is assumed to be like others before it and expected to reverse. No action is taken and the Centre City is treated with benign neglect as politicians continue to focus on suburban growth and development. After several years of slow decline, the results of gradual change become glaringly obvious. Vacancies rise and vandalism increases. Commuters come and quickly go, and concerns about safety mount. Empty buildings are boarded up and the streets are empty after hours, except for the homeless and destitute. A lack of support for arts, cultural and entertainment facilities results in many bankruptcies. With no long-term direction and diminished social capital, no one seems to know how to halt the decline, leaving the Centre City to be shaped by chance rather than by choice.

These scenarios show where we *could* end up, based on the type of local actions that are taken in response to changes that might happen to the global economy. What we need to understand now is where we *want* to be.

3.3 The Centre City We Want

Public and stakeholder engagement activities were undertaken in the summer and fall of 2005 on how to make the Centre City more livable, thriving, and caring. Ideas were collected from a wide range of citizens and stakeholders in the public, private and community sectors. Although many different and sometimes opposing ideas were expressed, participants also shared some common ideas about the future Centre City.

Most participants felt that citizens must be included in the process of planning their city and that all citizens must have equal access to services and resources available in the Centre City. Participants believe that these two actions will make the Centre City a great place for everyone.

Six dominant issues also emerged from the consultations, several of which are interrelated: safety; homelessness and crime; vitality; affordable housing; transportation and parking; and public spaces and green space. A majority of those consulted believe that each of these areas needs to be addressed to make the Centre City a desirable place to live, work and play. Each issue is summarized below.

Safety: There is a perception amongst the public that the Centre City is unsafe and in need of more safety measures, including increased street level policing and community policing initiatives. In addition, many area stakeholders call for tougher bylaws to crack down on criminal activity and drug use in the downtown core. Many respondents state that a concern for their personal safety is the main reason for not visiting the downtown more often.

Homelessness and Crime: Respondents believe there are far too many homeless people in Calgary's downtown core. Many people are deeply concerned for the wellbeing of the homeless and feel that the issue needs to be addressed. Others, however, feel that homeless persons, panhandlers, prostitutes, and drug dealers are annoying, dangerous, and a disgrace to Calgary. Some people commented that they are confronted by panhandlers and homeless people begging for money on a regular basis and, as a result, feel unsafe walking the streets of the Centre City.

Vitality: Most respondents feel that the Centre City lacks vitality, especially in the evening. Some people stated that the streets are dead after hours and, therefore, there is no reason to go downtown in the evening. This issue is closely related to respondents' fears for their personal safety, which keeps many citizens away from the Centre City and off the streets, especially at night.

Affordable Housing: The lack of affordable housing in the Centre City – and the lack of available residential housing in general – is a major barrier to increasing the use of downtown services. It is also believed this deficiency stunts the growth of vibrant and diverse neighbourhoods in the Centre City. Because of this, most respondents believe that, at present, the Centre City is a place for working, not for living.

Transportation and Parking: Overall, people value the current transit system but feel that the service could be improved by extending hours and routes, and increasing safety measures on LRT trains, buses (due to overcrowding), and LRT platforms. In addition, many respondents feel that more transit choices should be available such as extra shuttle buses, more frequent trains at high use times, additional express buses, and an increase in transportation options to encourage walking and cycling, and lessen the use of personal vehicles. In contrast, many respondents also believe that parking in the Centre City is inadequate, expensive, and discourages people from visiting the area.

Public Spaces and Green Space: While people appreciate the public parks and public spaces currently available, such as the Devonian Gardens, Eau Claire Market and Olympic Plaza, almost all respondents felt that the Centre City needs even more public spaces. They would also like to see more events programming that encourages regular communication, public interaction, and builds a sense of community. Related to this issue is the view that the downtown currently feels cold, sterile and vacant, and would attract more people if it was more aesthetically pleasing.

After reviewing the feedback received from all those who participated in the Centre City public and stakeholder engagement process, it is clear that people feel passionately about the future of their Centre City. While most felt a sense of responsibility and the need to contribute to making positive changes, some were discouraged and many felt that this type of engagement process had already taken place in the past, without any action. Based on these comments, it is clear that The City must provide feedback on decisions and actions that emerge as a result of public engagement processes such as the one undertaken for the Centre City Plan.

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The Individual as Expert

Environments that are created without acknowledging individuals as the 'public' and therefore as the primary stakeholder, do not sufficiently support individual development towards self-realization and fulfillment. Most of our physical communities are the result of a select few individuals, usually professionals or experts, evaluating this expression and making decisions as to what that expression means.

<u>Source</u>: Brassard (2002).

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3.4 Where We Are Now

Before we can move forward with a sustainable plan for social action, it is important to understand where we are now. A sustainable society has two important social dimensions – human capital and social capital. **Human capital** is the combined investment in education, health, housing, food and nutrition to ensure that basic needs are met and a good quality of life is provided for all members of the community. **Social capital** refers to the simultaneous presence of social bonds and social norms. Membership in social networks (social relationships) is a resource that provides benefits to individuals and to the wider society.

In terms of **human capital**, Calgary enjoys high labour force participation rates and low levels of unemployment. Rents are high but beginning to stabilize, although recent spikes in housing prices may result in lower vacancy rates and higher rental costs. Almost 18% of Calgary households have low income and are spending more than they can afford on shelter. The number of people receiving Food Bank hampers and the number of hampers distributed have dropped off slightly. However, the Food Bank is now providing food to other community agencies for distribution so the direct provision of hampers to individuals has decreased but the total volume of food distributed has increased. Other stressors on human capital are related to the aging population, skill shortages in the working age population, greater income disparity among different types of families, increasing poverty rates, and fewer social supports reaching those in need.

In terms of **social capital**, rates of reported crimes continue to drop in Calgary for both person and property crimes. Reported incidents of family violence and of child abuse are also decreasing. On the down side, Calgary's share of immigration may be declining, and more immigrants to Calgary lack official language capacity. In addition, both human rights complaints and hate bias offences are on the rise. There has also been an overall decrease in the number of charitable donations being made and in the average amount given per household.

All of these factors will affect how we plan for the sustainable social development of Calgary as a whole in both the short and long term. The Centre City is subject to these trends too and, in some instances, is not functioning as well as the city overall. These differences are reflected in the strategies proposed for achieving a Caring Centre City.

4.0 Priorities for Social Action

Over the past several years, a number of strategies and initiatives have been launched to improve conditions and increase development and population density in the Centre City. To understand the social issues that have been a concern in this large geographic area in recent years, The City of Calgary commissioned a report amalgamating the themes and recommendations arising from over 70 research reports and background documents on social, economic, health, and related issues in the Centre City. The report *Centre City Issues and Opportunities: Final Research Synthesis, 1999-2005* identifies social development as a critical component of sustainable urban development. It identifies seven key social issues in the Centre City: *poverty and income security*; *crime*, *safety and social disorder*; *homelessness*; *housing*; *health*; *social exclusion*; and *traffic*, particularly as it relates to living conditions.

Using the raw data from key portions of the public and stakeholder engagement process conducted to inform the Centre City Plan, the same analytic categories were used to identify *current* priorities for action in the Centre City. This analysis was based on four stakeholder workshops and the input on creating a 'caring city' provided by the general public during a three-day public Ideas Fair. The findings are presented in the report *Centre City Social Plan Backgrounder: Priorities for Action in the Centre City*.

Consultations on how to create a caring Centre City elicited a wide range of responses, although not all seven of the social issues identified in past reports were addressed directly. In particular, while priorities for action often touch on issues of poverty and health, they do not explicitly single them out. This may be due to the specific focus of past initiatives, which asked for input on issues directly related to poverty or health.

Despite this limitation, a clear and remarkably consistent set of priorities were identified by area stakeholders and the public.

> *The five priorities for social action that were identified reflect high levels of knowledge and awareness of the complex inter-relationships among residential, economic, social, and cultural development.*

Consistent with the recommendations in the *Centre City Issues and Opportunities* synthesis report, the priorities for social action combine structural and environmental design features, mixed-use residential and commercial design, the development and enhancement of services and amenities, and community development strategies to improve living conditions and address social problems in the Centre City. Some priorities address more than one social issue. In some instances, a single priority for action may change the shape and direction of several social issues. In others, priorities must be considered collectively to influence improvements.

Grouped under the issues they seek to address, the five areas identified for priority action to make the Centre City more caring are:

1. ***Addressing crime, safety, and social disorder*** by:
   - Increasing the presence of police through community policing initiatives
   - Increasing security on the C-Train and, particularly, on C-Train platforms, and
   - Making changes to environmental design, including changes to lighting, street layout, building design and management, and public spaces, as well as creating design features to foster social interaction.

2. ***Helping the homeless*** through:
   - Social and health programs, and
   - Initiatives to increase and improve non-market housing.

3. ***Increasing affordable housing and residential density*** by:
   - Encouraging the development of a range of housing types, including non-market housing and affordable market housing, and
   - Revisiting the municipal tax structure to enable the Centre City to compete with new suburban communities as a viable place to live.

4. ***Fostering social inclusion*** by:
   - Encouraging the development of arts and culture
   - Improving amenities, including health and social services, and
   - Investing in community development, and specifically in strategies to increase sense of community and social cohesion, make communities more welcoming to diversity, promote civic engagement, and address neighbourhood stigma.

5. ***Managing pedestrian and vehicular traffic*** by:
   - Improving conditions for pedestrians and cyclists
   - Reducing traffic and surface parking lots
   - Increasing public transit, and
   - Addressing the CPR tracks, which are seen as a barrier that splits the Centre City in two.

4.1 Comparing Priorities for the Centre City to Calgary and Other Cities

The priorities identified during the Centre City Plan development process can be compared to the results of *The City of Calgary Citizen Satisfaction Survey*, in which Ipsos Reid (2005) polled a random sample of 1,000 Calgarians on a range of topics. Results were weighted to reflect the relative size of each quadrant in the city and to ensure that the age and gender distribution reflected that of the actual population according to the 2001 Canada Census. For some questions, 'municipal norms' could be derived from work conducted in 26 different Canadian municipalities, which enables the comparison of Calgary to other cities on similar issues.

Poll participants were asked: *What is the most important issue facing your community, that is, the one issue you feel should receive the greatest attention from your local leaders?* Table 1 shows how the findings for Calgary as a whole (and the norms for 26 cities) compare to the priorities for social action that were identified specifically to create a caring Centre City in Calgary.

Table 1. Centre City and Municipal Priorities, 2005

Priorities for a Caring Centre City	Priorities for Calgary and Norms for 26 Cities				
	Municipal Priorities	Calgary		Municipal Norms	
		Rank	%	Rank	%
Managing pedestrian and vehicular traffic	Transportation (infrastructure, traffic, roads)	1	47%	1	31%
Managing pedestrian and vehicular traffic	Transit	2	24%	-	-
Addressing crime, safety, and social disorder	Crime, safety, policing	3	18%	2	17%
Fostering social inclusion	Education	4	18%	5	10%
Fostering social inclusion	Healthcare, hospitals	5	11%	-	-
-	Taxes	6	9%	6	9%
-	Recycling, environment	7	8%	7	8%
Helping the homeless Increasing affordable housing and residential density Fostering social inclusion	Social (homelessness, affordable housing, unemployment, welfare)	8	6%	4	10%
Increasing affordable housing and residential density	Growth	9	6%	3	13%
Fostering social inclusion	Recreation	10	2%	-	-
Source: Cooper (2006*b*); Ipsos Reid (2005).					

For Calgary overall, transportation issues such as infrastructure, traffic, roads and public transit continue to top the list of concerns among Calgarians. Other important issues relate to crime, safety, and policing, as well as education (Ipsos Reid, 2005). While transportation and transit issues affecting the Centre City are also a significant priority among citizens and stakeholders, three other concerns emerge as priorities for making the Centre City more caring. These involve helping the homeless; increasing affordable housing and residential density; and fostering social inclusion (Cooper, 2006*b*). While social issues are important to Calgarians overall, although decidedly less important than in other Canadian cities, social issues are a more pressing concern for the Centre City. This may suggest that social concerns in Calgary as a whole may not yet have reached the critical stage they have in other municipalities, but are now becoming much more evident in the Centre City.

Assessing the factors that contribute to quality of life is one means of identifying what is working well in a city and what needs improvement. According to Ipsos Reid (2005), 26% of Calgarians believe that the quality of life in the city has *improved* in the past three years. This is an increase over the 19% of respondents surveyed in 2004 who believed that to be true.

When asked why quality of life in Calgary has improved, respondents cited the economy (29%); low unemployment (17%); in-migration and growth (15%); and improvements to roads (14%). Several other factors contributing to improved quality of life that are more directly related to creating a 'caring' city were also identified. These are more services such as facilities, resources and amenities (12%); more housing (11%); improved public transit (10%); and more events to bring communities together (6%).

Viewing these issues from the opposite perspective, 30% of those polled by Ipsos Reid (2005) believe that the quality of life in Calgary has *worsened* in the past three years, versus 31% of respondents surveyed in 2004. When asked why the quality of life in Calgary has worsened, respondents cited:

- The speed of growth (35%)
- Increased crime (31%), public safety (3%), and the need for more police (2%)
- Increased traffic congestion (20%), bad roads (19%), transportation issues (5%), and poor transit (4%)
- The cost of living (11%), the cost of housing (2%), and wages not keeping pace (2%)
- Increased poverty and homelessness (7%), lack of services for a growing population (7%), and decreased quality of healthcare (2%), and
- Tax increases (6%).

Apart from rapid growth and tax increases, all other factors contributing to poor quality of life in Calgary mirror those issues identified as priorities for action in the Centre City.

Ipsos Reid (2005) also asked respondents to state their level of satisfaction with the job The City of Calgary is doing on various fronts. Respondents' levels of satisfaction (combining 'very satisfied' and 'somewhat satisfied') with services related to the five priorities for action in the Centre City were:

- Garbage collection (95%)
- Emergency Medical Services (95%)
- Parks and open spaces (95%) and the pathway system (94%)
- The Calgary Police Service (90%) and Bylaw services (81%)
- City operated recreation facilities (90%) and programs (90%)
- Support for community associations and non-profit groups (87%)
- Social services for individuals (83%), and
- Calgary Transit (68%), roads and infrastructure (58%), and traffic flow (53%).

This suggests two things that are relevant to the development of a sustainable plan for social action in the Centre City. First, while citizens are generally very pleased with the services The City of Calgary provides, there is still room for improvement. Second, since Calgarians' satisfaction with various City services is quite high but there are still five areas that are priorities for action in the Centre City, it is clear that The City cannot address these issues alone. As this blueprint for social action shows, there are many other actors in the public, private, and community sectors who have important roles to play to make the Centre City a truly caring place for all citizens.

4.2 Creating a Caring Centre City

The strategies presented in Sections 5 through 9 of this report are derived from the five priorities for social action that are needed to create a caring Centre City:

- Addressing crime, safety, and social disorder
- Helping the homeless
- Increasing affordable housing and residential density
- Fostering social inclusion, and
- Managing pedestrian and vehicular traffic.

Each section includes a summary of the Centre City Plan engagement findings on the issue, as well as detailed background information about the priority area. Overarching principles are identified and a range of possible actions are provided.

> **The *principles* identified are intended to guide future action in the Centre City in each priority area.**

> **The *actions* presented are the blueprint for creating a sustainable plan for social action in the Centre City.**

Together, the principles and actions provided in this blueprint can be used by The City of Calgary and its partners in the public, private and community sectors to create a detailed social action *implementation and monitoring plan*.

Creating a Strong Community

Strong communities are places that define a vision of their future and take the steps necessary to get there. They are open to ideas and contributions from all residents and sectors. Strong communities encourage collaboration because they respect the inherent value of diversity. Equally important, they collaborate because they understand the interconnectedness of economic, social, and environmental issues and the need for many kinds of 'expertise' to refresh the knowledge base and create synergies. Faced with complexity, strong communities do not retreat into the perceived security of the past, nor do they fragment into individual sectors or silos. Working in an integrated way, strong communities continuously strive for the high quality of place that is the mark of urban excellence in the global age.

Source: Bradford (2005).

5.0 Strategies for Addressing Crime, Safety, and Social Disorder

Engagement Summary: There is a perception amongst the public that the Centre City is unsafe and in need of more safety measures, including increased street level policing and community policing initiatives. In addition, many area stakeholders call for tougher bylaws to crack down on criminal activity and drug use in the downtown core. Many respondents state that a concern for their personal safety is the main reason for not visiting downtown more often. Most respondents feel that the Centre City lacks vitality, especially in the evening. Some people stated that the streets are dead after hours and, therefore, there is no reason to go downtown in the evening. This issue is closely related to respondents' fears for their personal safety, which keeps many citizens away from the Centre City and off the streets, especially at night.

Background

Calgary is a very safe city and has been designated as a 'safe community' by both the World Health Organization and the Safe Communities Foundation of Canada. Rates of reported person and property crimes have declined steadily since the early 1990s and the absolute number of crimes is relatively low, given the total population of the city. A disproportionately high number of crimes take place in the Centre City, however, which in 2005 was home to only 3% of the city's total population. During the one-year period from August 2004 through July 2005, Centre City communities accounted for 49% of all personal and property crimes in Calgary. It is important to note, however, that this represents the *location* where crimes took place, not necessarily the home communities of perpetrators or, for crimes against persons, the home communities of victims.

The concentration of crime in the Centre City is not unique to Calgary. Similar patterns are reported for Edmonton, Vancouver, Toronto, Montreal, New Westminster, and Winnipeg. A 2004 Statistics Canada study of crime in Winnipeg found that "crime was not randomly distributed across the city but rather was concentrated in the city centre and highly correlated to the distribution of socioeconomic and land-use characteristics." When all other factors were controlled, the factor most strongly associated with the highest neighbourhood rates of both violent and property crime was the *level of socioeconomic disadvantage of the residents*.

The second most important factor was the condition of housing stock in the area, indicated by the *proportion of dwellings in need of major repair*. The third most significant factor was *land use*. Specifically, "multiple family zoning and, to a lesser extent, commercial zoning such as hotels and restaurants, were associated with higher neighbourhood rates" of *violent* crime. Commercial zoning was the only factor apart from socio-economic disadvantage and the condition of housing stock that contributed significantly to the explanation of higher rates of *property* crime.

The findings of the Winnipeg study are of particular interest for the Centre City since 32% of Centre City residents who live in private households (i.e., not in shelters) live in low-income households, compared to 15% of all Calgarians. The Centre City also has a marginally higher than average proportion of housing that is in need of major repair (7% of Centre City dwellings compared to 6% of all dwellings in the city). The area is home to a significant proportion of the city's multifamily housing stock in the form of apartments (owner and renter occupied): 97% of all private dwellings in the Centre City are apartments, versus 24% of all housing stock in the city. The area also has a high number of commercial venues: 18% of all city hotels, 15% of all full-service restaurants, and 24% of all bars.

Much of the fear and discomfort expressed by Centre City residents, and seniors in particular (who make up a larger than average proportion of the area population), stem from the prevalence of homelessness, panhandling, prostitution, and drug dealing, which are especially evident in the Downtown East Village, the Downtown Commercial Core, and the Beltline. Residents' safety concerns, whether real or perceived, affect social inclusion and social cohesion, keeping people indoors and isolated, and limiting them from fully participating in the social, cultural, civic and economic aspects of their communities and from improving their neighbourhoods from within.

Community workers often hear feedback from seniors that they are concerned about safety issues and are hesitant to travel to the Centre City, especially in the evening. For seniors who live in or travel to the East Village, the issues of drugs and prostitution are very intimidating. For example, in 2003 and 2004, a series of events were held at Olympic Plaza to celebrate Seniors' Week. Generally, there was poor attendance from the seniors' population, despite the high proportion of seniors who live nearby. The organizers believe that concerns about safety is what kept some seniors away.

The presence of large numbers of homeless people, sex trade workers, and the illicit drug trade has a destabilizing influence on communities. Helping the homeless will address some of these concerns, although it is widely noted that complete social integration of homeless persons and other marginalized people may not be feasible. However, displacing them by forcing them into adjacent communities, for instance, is not seen a realistic or desirable option.

It is generally recognized that homelessness, prostitution, and drug involvement are often caused and perpetuated by economic, social, family, addiction, and mental and physical health problems that require special attention and comprehensive solutions. For example, the daily impact of addictions is most evident in the Centre City and calls have been made for greater enforcement. However, it is widely acknowledged that the justice system is ill-equipped to meet the needs of this often chronically involved population. A response that emphasizes treatment interventions will be an important step in addressing Calgarians' perceptions of downtown safety.

Clearly, there is a tension between making the Centre City a welcoming place where all citizens, including those who are most disadvantaged, feel welcome, and creating an environment where all citizens also feel safe. As a result, a wide array of actions have been proposed that range from increasing residential density and street level activity as a means of reducing the 'fear factor' to taking a hard line approach to major and petty crimes, and from using methods of crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED) to focusing on social development as a way to ensure the disadvantaged who live in the Centre City become actively involved in making it a strong community. Appendix B explores the complex challenge of reducing crime and victimization. It also provides a matrix of crime prevention efforts that may be useful in planning specific interventions related to crime prevention in the Centre City.

What is CPTED?

CPTED involves a range of activities aimed at *crime prevention through environmental design*. First generation CPTED emphasizes *access control*; *image* (management and maintenance); *natural surveillance* (lighting, landscaping and sightlines); and *territoriality* (controlling public-private space). While it is useful to consider these crime prevention principles when designing buildings, streets or communities, these methods are only part of the solution.

Second generation CPTED – or CPTED II – focuses on the 'four Cs.' The notion of *community culture* recognizes a community's ownership over public spaces and streets. It acknowledges that the unique needs of communities may require specific approaches to addressing crime, perhaps beginning with a greater focus on enforcement while the capacity for prevention is built. Areas with *community capacity* have active volunteers, who help to create social networks and lay the foundation for future neighbourhood programs and initiatives. In neighbourhoods with *community cohesion*, residents know each other and have a better idea of who lives in the area; therefore, they are more aware of strangers and unusual activities. Neighbourhoods with *community connections* create networks between local organizations that can provide resources to the community. They also develop partnerships with law enforcement agencies and other communities to jointly address issues related to crime.

Principles

- The concentration of crime in the Centre City needs to be addressed through the sustained and coordinated use of community policing, municipal bylaw education and enforcement, and community development approaches to crime prevention and control.

- Since displacement of the Centre City's disadvantaged population (out of the area and into other communities) is seen as neither viable nor desirable, "the only permanent solution can come not from prosecuting the underclass, but outnumbering them" (Hansen, 2005). This means that increasing both residential density and street level activity in the Centre City is essential.

- While the fundamentals of crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED) should be considered as part of the overall Centre City development and redesign process, the social development components of CPTED II should be incorporated into the design of all public spaces and places to foster community connections and create inclusive neighbourhoods.

- Opportunities should be created for microeconomic development in the Centre City to tap into the talents of the area's disadvantaged residents and enable them to contribute to building a strong social economy in the area.

- A different approach is needed to deal with crime, safety, and social disorder. This will involve adopting the 'best' approach to particular issues, which may require initial investment as well as an implementation strategy to achieve the most beneficial long-term results. New or additional programming and funding may be required.

Downtown Streets Need People

On comparatively desolate streets, even a single panhandler on an otherwise empty sidewalk can be sufficient to scare suburbanites back to the mall. Expanding our already overburdened justice system to accommodate sidewalk nuisances is both frightening and absurd. Panhandlers cannot pay fines; jailing them is an ineffective squandering of public resources. The only permanent solution can come not from prosecuting the underclass, but outnumbering them. Busy streets, as they say, are safe streets.

When you're surrounded by dozens of onlookers, the underclass no longer seems so intimidating. A more effective approach, then, would be building density by legislating surface-level parking out of existence, and the erection – through private or even public development – of mixed residential-commercial buildings: sidewalk storefronts at bottom, with apartment dwellings up above. This provides a plethora of reasons for people to be on the block while those living up above keep aware of what goes on below.

The safest neighborhoods are self-regulating. A busy downtown attracts yet more people, creating the proverbial snowball effect. As people seek to be nearer downtown, the city's population can grow, without the accompanying problems of urban sprawl.

Source: Hansen (2005).

Actions

Addressing crime, safety and social disorder in the short-term requires a range of actions to prevent and control crime by expanding the presence of uniformed officers in the area; increasing density through residential development and improved design of buildings, streets, public spaces, parks and laneways; and creating an integrated municipal response to pressing social issues. In addition, a community development response to crime, safety and social disorder is needed to engage community stakeholders in creating short- and long-term solutions to make the Centre City a safe and caring place for all Calgarians.

➢ To respond to immediate concerns about crime, safety and social disorder in the Centre City, all City of Calgary Business Units should support the recently formed Integrated Social Action Team, whose goals are to foster corporate alignment around social issues in the Centre City; provide timely responses to emerging social issues or areas of concern; pilot test new ways of working across City business units and with community partners; and serve as an information clearing house on social action in the Centre City for both the Corporation and the community.

➢ The City of Calgary's Integrated Social Action Team should review existing safety audits and crime prevention assessments for the Centre City to determine the need for further action and, if additional actions are required, establish an implementation plan for outstanding items.

➢ In response to a call from stakeholders across sectors to identify and integrate within a social plan the ways in which different social, cultural, and economic groups can co-exist more harmoniously within Centre City communities, the social plan team in Community and Neighbourhood Services should coordinate the development of a community-based, sustainable plan for social action in the Centre City that would be in place by the end of 2007. This blueprint for social action should be used as a discussion document for engaging residents and other stakeholders to identify the timing of proposed actions, the actors who need to be involved, and indicators of success for each of the actions in the five priority areas. An overall priority setting exercise involving stakeholders and the public can then be conducted to shape the first renewable social action plan for the Centre City.

➢ While a long term sustainable plan for social action is being developed, the social plan team in Community and Neighbourhood Services should identify one team member to serve as the 'point person' for information on social action in the Centre City for both the Corporation and the community. This person will also serve as an 'expeditor' to build connections between community partners who are ready to take action in the Centre City and, as needed, with City departments that can provide information or assistance to support community efforts.

➢ Council should continue to support the Crime Prevention Investment Plan and other crime prevention initiatives including the Integrated Social Action Team.

➢ Animal and Bylaw Services and the Law Department should review existing bylaws related to loitering and the use of public spaces to determine if they enable authorities to move people who, for example, sit or sleep on a bench or stay in one place in a park for extended periods of time. Action should be taken to ensure that current bylaws are enforced or amended as needed, or new bylaws are developed, to establish a fixed length of time a person can linger in a public place.

➢ The City of Calgary should review public structures and facilities in the Centre City (e.g., bridges, subways, and pathways) using CPTED and CPTED II guidelines, and make finances available to upgrade areas where the original design did not consider the use of those spaces by increasing numbers of disadvantaged citizens.

➢ Following from a successful pilot project where specially trained Community Safety Officers were deployed in the Beltline and the East Village to complement the work of the Calgary Police Service and provide an increased uniformed presence on the streets, Animal and Bylaw Services should actively pursue opportunities to develop a permanent program that would see Community Safety Officers fully deployed throughout the Centre City within two to five years.

➢ The City of Calgary should spearhead the creation of a multidisciplinary and cross-sectoral exploration of the need for a drug court, which would require treatment for drug offenders in lieu of incarceration. This exploration should include all levels of government, police, emergency services, community service providers, and other Centre City stakeholders.

➢ Recognizing the connection between increased rates of crime and socioeconomic disadvantage, housing in need of major repair, multifamily zoning, and the presence of commercial entertainment venues and hotels – all of which are disproportionately high in the Centre City – The City of Calgary should make finances available to the Calgary Police Service to increase the number of bicycle and beat officers who are deployed throughout the Centre City. In particular, a greater emphasis should be placed on patrolling downtown LRT platforms and vacant spaces, as well as 'trouble spots' identified by the community.

➢ Calgary Transit, in conjunction with the Calgary Police Service and others, should review and enhance current public safety initiatives on C-Trains and at downtown LRT platforms by, for example, continuing to design LRT stations using CPTED principles; providing adequate lighting on or around LRT platforms; expanding the security camera network used for 24-hour monitoring of platforms; and better advertising and promoting existing safety measures to the public (e.g., the presence of Help Phones for those who feel threatened and the presence of Protective Services staff who, along with police, patrol downtown LRT stations). Opportunities to pilot test innovative solutions through the Crime Prevention Investment Plan should be explored.

➢ Calgary Transit should consider hiring additional 'security and information' personnel (perhaps from among the Centre City's underemployed residents) to maintain a friendly and visible presence on C-Trains and at downtown LRT platforms. Over time, all transit operators and transit security officers in the city could be trained in and promoted as Calgary's first point of contact for information and assistance for residents, commuters, and tourists. This type of program – sometimes conceived as a 'white hat brigade' – would strengthen Calgary's image as a safe and friendly city.

- Planning, Development and Assessment should ensure that land use plans and policies for the Centre City support its evolution into an area that is dense, populated and lively – days, evenings and weekends all year round. The goal is to create an environment that is safe and welcoming to pedestrians and cyclists; reduces vehicular traffic; uses design to maximize sunlight; provides accessible public places and green spaces; promotes restaurants, cafés, arts and entertainment venues, and an eclectic, street-level retail trade (versus 'big box' stores). It should include high density residential developments, offered at a variety of price points to maximize social inclusion; require residential development to include associated amenities and services; and require adequate bicycle parking for all new developments. It is paramount that such policies and guidelines are adhered to during development and building approvals processes.

- Land Use Planning and Policy should consider integrating alleys more fully into the Centre City by, for example, upgrading alleys in some locations to create pedestrian walkways that include access to businesses (which is done in some locations in Banff) and access to mid-block destinations. Create a Laneway Master Plan to eventually convert lanes at specific locations into safe pedestrian pathways that connect public, residential and commercial areas in the Centre City.

- Land Use Planning and Policy should develop a Public Spaces Plan and design guidelines for the Centre City that foster positive social interaction, particularly at street level. This should include an examination of the Plus 15 system, which draws people away from street level, to determine ways in which the system could be used during evening hours, when these passageways are currently perceived to be empty and unsafe.

- Land Use Planning and Policy should require all proposals for development or redevelopment in the Centre City to specify how the principles of crime prevention through environmental design and social development have been incorporated into the design to include, for example, building features that promote clear sight lines and good visibility of streets, sidewalks, and spaces around and between buildings, as well as measures to create an enhanced sense of community.

- All relevant City of Calgary departments should strive to make the Centre City 'clean and green' by, for example, deploying additional maintenance and clean-up crews to the Centre City; enhancing current programs to combat graffiti; adding additional garbage bins; introducing extensive recycling programs in the area; and installing public washrooms and water fountains throughout the Centre City. The City should devote additional resources to enable City departments to increase service levels in the Centre City without reducing service levels in other areas.

- With the increased population density projected for the Centre City, river safety issues will become increasingly important. The City should explore the feasibility of adding additional river rescue launch sites at strategic locations on both the Bow and Elbow Rivers within the Centre City.

➢ Business Revitalization Zone associations in the Centre City should seek ways to engage their members and the voluntary sector organizations in their area to commit to being 'good neighbours' by, for example, maintaining their respective buildings; keeping streets, sidewalks, lanes, and green spaces adjacent to their property clean and free of debris; improving and maintaining features that affect safety such as building lighting and landscaping; and collaborating on ways to improve safety and other quality of life measures for businesses, residents, commuters, and visitors.

➢ Parks should develop a comprehensive Centre City Parks Plan to foster positive social interaction by revitalizing area parks (Olympic Plaza, Central Memorial Park, Tomkins Park, Rouleauville Park, the area surrounding Fort Calgary, and other neighbourhood parks and green spaces); creating new uses to increase activity (for example, through outdoor ice rinks in winter or renting green space to accommodate amusement park rides, artisans or vendors during summer months); working with community partners to meet specific local needs; promoting the use of green spaces for block parties and local celebrations as well as city-wide events; encouraging stewardship of green spaces by residents and businesses; and working with building owners to create 'pocket' or 'pod' parks in underused private spaces such as setbacks or easements. Parks should be well lit and, wherever possible, include amenities such as water fountains, public washrooms, and electrical outlets.

➢ The Urban Forestry Strategic Plan and Water Management Strategic Plan should be implemented once these are approved by Council. The City should develop a comprehensive Urban Forest Plan and introduce flora and fauna that grow naturally in southern Alberta and require little water or maintenance. Part of this plan should involve the introduction of community gardens and other forms of urban agriculture in Centre City neighbourhoods, possibly in partnership with service clubs, building owners, land developers, condo boards, or community associations.

➢ Continue to implement the Business Revitalization Zones' Urban Forestry Strategic Action Plan, which holds that urban trees are powerful agents of social, economic, and environmental regeneration, and vital contributors to the health and well-being of the city and its citizens.

6.0 Strategies for Helping the Homeless

Engagement Summary: Respondents believe there are far too many homeless people, especially in Calgary's downtown core. Many people are deeply concerned for the wellbeing of the homeless and feel that the issue needs to be addressed. Others, however, feel that homeless persons, panhandlers, prostitutes, and drug dealers are annoying, dangerous, and a disgrace to Calgary. Some people commented that they are confronted by panhandlers and homeless people begging for money on a regular basis and, as a result, feel unsafe walking the streets of the Centre City.

Background

Public policy decisions from 1984 to 1993 saw a withdrawal of the federal government from providing housing assistance for low-income Canadians. In 1993, all funds for social housing were cut from the federal budget and most provinces, including Alberta, followed suit. One consequence was the emergence of homelessness as a national issue (Hulchanski, 2002; Chisholm, 2003; City of Calgary, 2005*f*). A 1992 study done for the Calgary Downtown Business Revitalization Zone Association (MacLaurin, Bundgaard, and Lyons, 1992) noted that:

> Homelessness in North America is growing rapidly. This trend is occurring not only in cities with depressed economies, but also affluent communities. This increase in homelessness is related to systemic concerns, i.e., economic, social support, etc. … Calgary needs to address this situation. Not only is homelessness a significant problem itself, but the high visibility of the homeless and the 'perceived threat' associated with them seriously affects the public perception of safety in Downtown Calgary.

That same year, The City of Calgary conducted its first Biennial Count of Homeless Persons, during which 447 homeless people were counted downtown. Most of these people were housed in shelters, although five individuals were living on the streets. With the exception of the 1994 count, where the increase in homelessness was just 3% over 1992, the number of homeless persons enumerated during successive counts has increased by over 30% per count. It must be noted, however, that the number of facilities and service agencies that have been *surveyed* has also grown steadily over time. As well, the parameters of the street count have been enlarged during successive counts as awareness about street homelessness has increased. In May 2004, a total of 2,597 homeless people were counted in Calgary, with 127 of them living on the streets.

An in-depth study by Gardiner and Cairns (2002) identified the following groups among Calgary's homeless population: singles (85%), persons with addictions (69%), Aboriginal peoples (29%), persons with mental health issues (26%), youth (21%), seniors (18%), families (14%), and persons fleeing family violence (10%). Of course, many people fall within more than one category. Just over 50% of respondents were working full-time, part-time or occasionally.

Participants in the 2002 study identified a range of reasons for being homeless. Among adults, the primary reasons were lack of work or job loss; domestic difficulties; eviction or insufficient funds for rent; poor physical health (including addictions); lack of social service benefits (usually related to the inability to find supported housing for addictions, mental illness, and/or disability); and, for women, running from an abusive relationship. Among youth, the primary reasons cited for homelessness included the inability to access provincial income support, housing, or other financial supports due to age; termination of Child Welfare status; and the perception that professionals did not understand their needs or could not help them.

For young children, there are two primary paths to homelessness (Bartlett, Cooper, and Hoffart, 2002). First, some children are born to women who are already homeless, and spend their early years drifting between homelessness and marginal housing situations. American research suggests that homeless girls and women who have a history of involvement in child welfare and foster care are the most likely to have babies and the most likely to lose them to child welfare. Second, lower income families, primarily those headed by single mothers, are unable to access affordable accommodation and end up living in substandard dwellings that may be unsafe for infants and children.

The majority of parents who move from marginal housing to homelessness experienced family and residential instability when they were children. Most did not complete high school, most are unemployed, and many became pregnant in their teens. Many also exhibit a range of personal problems, including addictions and emotional instability (Bartlett, Cooper, and Hoffart, 2002).

All homeless people have two things in common: the absence of safe, affordable housing and the experience of poverty. This clearly speaks to the need to address the root causes of homelessness in a comprehensive way.

2004 Count of Homeless Persons

In May 2004, 2,597 homeless people were counted in Calgary, a 49% increase from 2002. This figure partially reflects the inclusion of 29 facilities not surveyed in 2002 (without which, the number of homeless persons would still have increased, but only by 23%). Of the homeless persons enumerated in 2004, 23% were female and 77% were male; 76% were Caucasian, 15% were Aboriginal, and 8% were members of visible minority groups.

Those counted ranged in age from infants to seniors, although 80% were between 25 and 64 years of age. A total of 5% were aged 12 years or less, 3% were aged 13 to 17 years, 9% were aged 18 to 24 years, and 2% were aged 65 or older. A total of 104 homeless families, defined for the study as "a couple, a couple with one or more children, or a lone adult with one or more children" are included in these figures. Fully 95% of homeless families and 94% of homeless individuals enumerated were staying in facilities on the night of the 2004 count.

Source: City of Calgary (2004*a*).

The first community forum to discuss possible solutions to homelessness in Calgary took place in 1996. The Calgary Homeless Foundation was established in 1998 to bring the public, private and voluntary sectors together to overcome homelessness. Federal funding began in 1999 with the National Homelessness Initiative and was augmented in 2002 with the Canada-Alberta Affordable Housing Partnerships Initiative. In the past decade, additional emergency and transitional shelter facilities have been opened in Calgary and several hundred non-market (subsidized) housing units have been built.

Community efforts have largely focused on the care of the homeless, for which Calgary has been lauded by the International Downtown Association (2003). The City of Calgary's mandate involves homelessness prevention programs provided through Family and Community Support Services and the direct development of affordable housing as a key element in both the prevention and 'cure' of homelessness.

At present, Calgary's system of emergency and transitional housing is ill-equipped to accommodate specific sub-groups within the homeless population, including youth under the age of 18; families; women with or without children who are fleeing violence; people leaving addictions treatment; and people with mental health issues or cognitive or physical disabilities (Calgary Homeless Foundation, 2003). The Calgary Foundation has now estimated that 70% of Calgary's homeless population is struggling with mental illness (Stastny, 2005). Lack of treatment capacity for addictions and mental illness, and lack of longer-term transitional housing with appropriate supports are key issues.

Homelessness is especially evident in the easternmost part of the Centre City. This is partly because four large homeless shelters are located in the area, as are a number of additional support services for homeless individuals and families. There is a significant amount of daily pedestrian traffic between the shelters and services, which means that homeless people are very noticeable in the area. Current and future residential development in the eastern portions of the Centre City, along with the expansion of Stampede Park, may contribute to the displacement of other low-income Calgarians who are currently housed in low-cost market rental units within these neighbourhoods.

Homelessness raises many issues about the support of citizens. Canada is a liberal democracy in which citizens' well-being – or the 'welfare mix' – is often described as arising from four points on a diamond: *markets*, *states*, *families* and *communities*. In simple terms, *labour markets* contribute to citizens' well-being by providing employment. *Governments* provide programs, services, and enabling legislation. *Families* provide intergenerational income transfers and care. *Communities*, through volunteers and non-market exchanges, provide services and programs such as child care, food banks, shelter, and recreation and leisure activities, which are supported by the United Way and other social service agencies in the voluntary sector, including service clubs and faith-based organizations.

A new conceptualization of the welfare mix may be needed due to a larger societal shift towards an individual rights perspective. This requires a clarification of roles and responsibilities for the individual and the family, and changes the shape of the diamond. Here, we introduce the notion of a 'welfare nest' in which the *individual* is encouraged to achieve their highest potential, cushioned by the *family*, which in turn is supported by business and thus the *labour market* within the *community*, all of which are enveloped by the *state* through public institutions, legislation and policy, and embraced by civil society as a whole.

This construct has important implications for the way in which we respond to complex social issues such as homelessness. It moves us away from assigning unitary responsibility for meeting particular human needs and towards a more holistic view of collaboratively supporting and advancing human development and individual well-being. Apart from any legal arguments that advocate individual rights, this approach is supported by vast amounts of evidence-based research from across disciplines, which concludes that the long-term societal costs of poverty and marginalization far outweigh the investment needed to focus on prevention and early intervention.

Principles

- Everyone deserves to be housed. When individuals are unable to secure shelter for themselves and when their families cannot assist them (a growing reality in a highly mobile society), it is up to the other layers of the 'welfare nest' to assure their well-being. The question becomes how can the labour market, the community, and the state work together to ensure that people who were once housed are again able to secure and maintain shelter.

- The homeless are equal members of our community and deserve to be treated with dignity and respect. Homelessness can be tackled in all its complexity by targeting various populations, each with different needs. This ranges from those who need a simple financial boost to help them secure market accommodation to those with intractable mental or physical disabilities who need permanent housing that provides appropriate supported care, from those who require culturally appropriate services to those who are challenged with the 'dual diagnosis' of mental illness and addictions.

- An immediate focus should be on breaking the intergenerational cycle of family and housing instability, often associated with adult homelessness, by making concerted efforts to target interventions towards families with children who are homeless or at risk of becoming so, and to youngsters at risk of child welfare involvement.

A Home for All

The growing gap between the rich and poor Canadians has increasingly manifested itself in the housing system. There is a great deal of *social need* for housing, but the households in need lack the money to generate effective *market demand*. Public policy decisions since the mid-1980s have exacerbated the problem and have failed to respond to several harmful trends.

The most extreme manifestation of the housing and income inequity problem in Canada is homelessness. Homelessness is not *only* a housing problem, but it is *always* a housing problem. The central observation about the diverse group of Canadians known as 'the homeless' is that they are people who once had housing but are now unhoused. Canada's housing system once had room for virtually everyone; now it does not.

Source: Hulchanski (2002).

Actions

Many of the actions for helping the homeless suggested by the public and stakeholders consulted during the Centre City Plan development process could be characterized as 'more of the same.' Recommendations include introducing more social programs to help homeless people become self-reliant; suggesting The City work with the Province to develop resources to assist people with mental health and addiction issues, perhaps by using mobile resources to maximize effectiveness and cost-efficiency; providing homeless people with places to go and things to do during the days, along with shelter at night; dispersing social services for the homeless throughout Calgary to minimize the concentration of homeless persons in the Centre City; and developing more non-market (subsidized) housing in the Centre City. While all of these actions have merit, a bolder approach would be to stop *managing* homelessness and start *eradicating* it. This shift is taking place in many cities in the United States and Canada, and is also a direction that is endorsed by *imagineCALGARY* in its long-term vision for Calgary.

➢ Based on emerging best practices, The City of Calgary should mobilize community partners to plan for the development of a comprehensive 10-year plan to eradicate homelessness. Key stakeholders in the community who can influence policies and processes that contribute to the circumstances that result in homelessness will be leaders of the plan, and partnerships with other orders of government are essential. This will mark the beginning of a dramatic shift away from our current approach to addressing homelessness, which is based on providing temporary or transitional shelter, to a comprehensive approach to ending homelessness. This new approach combines prevention strategies with rapid re-housing and the wraparound services and supports that are needed to ensure this diverse population is moved towards personal self-sufficiency and housing stability. It requires the engagement of local businesses to assist with microeconomic development activities to combat low-income, and needs a clear communications protocol for publicizing the facts about homelessness and seeking support from all layers of the welfare nest.

➢ The 10-year plan to end homelessness in Calgary will focus on outcomes that will eventually end homelessness. It will likely include strategies to collect and use appropriate data; prevent homelessness; quickly re-house homeless individuals and families, and provide them with necessary supports; and build a housing, income and services infrastructure with increased participation from sectors and systems not presently involved in managing homelessness to a great extent. It may also include a 'housing first' approach to move people quickly into shelter (which, when piloted in Toronto, proved more cost-effective than supporting additional shelter beds). New or additional programming and funding may be required.

➢ More immediately, The City of Calgary should focus its efforts on the populations most at risk of suffering long-term effects of homelessness, that is, families with children who are homeless or at risk of becoming homeless, as well as children and youth who are at risk of becoming homeless later in life due to childhood housing instability; family instability; low educational attainment; and interaction with the child welfare, foster care, or youth probation systems.

➢ Community and Neighbourhood Services should encourage collaborative responses to address the increasing number of homeless youth (under age 18) who are regularly using adult shelters for homeless persons, and work with various City departments and community agencies and organizations to develop sustained economic opportunities for youth that are linked to social supports.

➢ A small number of individuals in the Centre City utilize a disproportionately large amount of the resources offered by shelters, emergency services, and hospitals. They are known to move frequently between various social agencies, often after being responded to by Emergency Medical Services or the Calgary Police Service. These Calgarians often struggle with severe addictions, mental health concerns, or both. A multi-agency case management system should be created to identify, support, and monitor this population to ensure they receive appropriate services. This approach would also provide service efficiencies for all involved agencies, emergency services, and medical facilities.

The Power of Space

The power of space … is the basis of the desire of any group of human beings to have a place of their own, a place which gives them reality, presence, power of living, which feeds them body and soul.

Source: Tillich (1959).

7.0 Strategies for Increasing Affordable Housing and Residential Density

Engagement Summary: The lack of affordable housing in the Centre City – and the lack of available residential housing in general – is a major barrier to increasing the use of downtown services. Lack of housing and of affordable housing is also seen to stunt the growth of vibrant and diverse neighbourhoods in the Centre City. Most respondents therefore believe that, at present, the Centre City is a place for working, not for living.

Background

The links between affordable housing and positive non-shelter outcomes have been clearly demonstrated. By providing affordable housing, outcomes are improved for physical and mental health; education status; labour market outcomes; crime; community participation and social cohesion; income/wealth distribution and poverty reduction; and locational advantage[1] (Bridge, *et al.*, 2003). The effects on children are especially profound. The provision of "safe, stable and secure housing is vital to all aspects of children's health and development. … The quality, cost, tenure, and stability of housing, along with the neighbourhoods and communities in which children reside, all play a role in the achievement of desired outcomes in the areas of health, safety, education, and social engagement" (Cooper, 2001).

For Council, affordable housing "adequately suits the needs of low- and moderate-income households at costs below those generally found in the Calgary market. It may take a number of forms that exist along a continuum – from emergency shelters, to transitional housing, to non-market rental (also known as social or subsidized housing), to formal and informal rental, and ending with affordable home ownership. Affordable housing projects are targeted to households with 65% or less of the area median income," meaning households with a gross annual income of $37,621 or less (City of Calgary, 2002). A total of 34% of all renter households in Calgary have low income (less than $38,000 per year) and spend more than they can afford on shelter, meaning more than 30% of gross household income, which is a national standard set by Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC, 1991).

An individual working 40 hours per week for 52 weeks per year at Alberta's minimum wage of $7.00 per hour can afford a monthly rent of $307 (30% of gross monthly income), well below the average cost of market rental housing in Calgary. In 2005, monthly rent for apartments averaged $524 for a bachelor, $666 for a one-bedroom, $809 for a two-bedroom, and $776 for a unit with three or more bedrooms (City of Calgary, 2006*b*; CMHC, 2005). With rental accommodation in short supply and rental costs so high, there is an acute need for more subsidized housing. The City of Calgary and a range of other partners are working to secure the land needed to develop additional units of non-market (subsidized) housing in Calgary. Several new affordable housing projects have increased Calgary's stock of non-market housing units in recent years but most of these are located outside of the Centre City.

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[1]   As explained by Greive, *et al.* (2002: 1), "at its most basic, the concept of locational advantage and disadvantage considers housing in terms of its access to physical and social amenities."

A 2004 market study by Coriolis Consulting found that over the past decade, population growth in downtown Calgary has been almost exclusively among single people (40%) and couples (60%), who are aged 40 to 54 years (80%) or 75 years and older (20%), and who reside primarily in upper-end purchase or rental units in Eau Claire and the Downtown West End. The study observes that current conditions in most of downtown Calgary are ill-suited to families with children. Deterrents include high land values; the absence of schools, sports fields, and playgrounds; a lack of high quality and attractive pedestrian areas; the absence of street level row housing or townhouses and full-size grocery stores; the central location of shops and services; and parks and trails that are more appealing to singles, couples and older age groups. In contrast, the presence of schools, some multifamily and street level housing, grocery stores, and other amenities makes the Beltline more attractive than Downtown as a place for families with children.

Although figures specific to Centre City communities are not available, we know that among low-income renter households in Calgary as a whole, those with the greatest need for affordable housing are *single individuals living alone* (50%) and *lone-parent families with children* (15%). Many single individuals who live alone are seniors, and many of them have low-income. Given the projected increases for the number of seniors in Calgary over the next two decades, their need for affordable housing will intensify over time. The need for affordable housing among low-income persons with disabilities, which is already at 50% for single individuals living alone, will also grow as the population ages. One of the top concerns that community workers hear from seniors is related to affordable housing. Many seniors want to stay in the communities where they currently reside but sometimes are forced to move to other areas of the city to access housing that is affordable or better meets their changing needs.

Fully 97% of all housing stock in the Centre City consists of *apartments* (versus 24% for Calgary as a whole), and 81% of housing in the Centre City consists of *rental units* (versus 31% in all of Calgary). Other than in Eau Claire, rents in the Centre City, particularly in Chinatown and the Downtown East Village, are lower than average market rents in Calgary. Despite this, about half of all renters in Chinatown and the Downtown West End are spending more than the affordable limit of 30% of gross household income on rent. This is not surprising since 32% of Centre City residents live in low-income households (versus 15% of all Calgarians). The largest *number* of people in the Centre City who are spending more than 30% of their income on rent live in either the west end of the Beltline (formerly known as Connaught) or the Downtown Commercial Core. The housing situation for some residents of the Beltline will worsen as older boarding houses are removed in favour of new developments and Stampede expansion, and as existing rental units are converted into condominiums.

Principles

- Housing is a critical component of social infrastructure supporting the development of human capital. A mix of rental and owned, low-cost and high-end housing is vital to neighbourhood development, social sustainability, and social inclusion. Thus, increasing residential development in the Centre City should be the primary focus of community renewal in the short and mid terms.

- With only 3% of Calgary's current population, increasing residential density in the Centre City is essential, and providing various forms of multifamily housing is a desirable means to achieve that end. Housing must be available in the Centre City to accommodate population diversity in all its dimensions including household type and size, socioeconomic status, and tenure preference.

- Given that the Centre City is currently home to a high proportion of rental units, future development should seek to at least preserve and ideally increase that type of housing stock. In addition, non-market (subsidized) housing for individuals, families with children, and seniors should be fully integrated into all Centre City communities.

- The residential qualities in the Centre City must be maintained and enhanced as one way of mitigating possible negative effects stemming from the abundance of non-residential developments in the area.

Housing and Social Segregation

Housing markets largely determine where households are located in relation to other socioeconomic groups, social networks, and community resources, and this spatial sorting by income will be greatest when the housing system is most market-driven, and when the distribution of income and wealth is most unequal. At the extreme, sorting can become segregation and isolation from the mainstream in ghettos for the very poor on the one hand, and secession of the affluent from the social mainstream on the other.

Source: Jackson (2004).

Actions

A variety of actions by The City of Calgary and other stakeholders are needed to increase overall residential density in the Centre City, preserve or replace existing market rental housing stock, and provide more non-market (subsidized) housing. Many of these action strategies are echoed by *imagineCALGARY* as directions to take for the long-term benefit of the city as a whole.

➢ New housing in the Centre City must be suitable for single individuals, couples, families with children, seniors, persons with disabilities, and ethno-cultural groups whose kinship patterns are reflected in larger than average and/or multigenerational families. A 'big picture' perspective is needed to ensure that the Centre City as a whole develops sufficient housing to meet the needs of all of these populations.

➢ Housing options must be available for renters as well as owners across a full range of price points to maximize social inclusion and ensure the Centre City can compete with the suburbs as an area that welcomes middle-income households.

- To increase overall residential density and accommodate a diversity of residents in the Centre City, The City should encourage the development of a wide variety of housing types and building forms including, for example, adaptive re-use projects; apartments ranging in size from very small studios to large multi-bedroom units; town homes; housing cooperatives; live-work units; full-scale mixed use commercial-residential developments; hostels; and single-room occupancy dwellings such as boarding houses, special care facilities, and lodging houses.

- The City should examine the reduction or elimination of the current land use bylaw parking requirements for low-income and non-market (subsidized) housing (both ownership and rental) to improve the affordability of this type of housing.

- Low-income and non-market (subsidized) housing should be located on or near a transit route. Mandatory bicycle storage should be required for all facilities providing this type of housing.

- The preservation of rental stock is essential to the well-being of both the Centre City and Calgary as a whole. The City should adopt a 'no net loss' policy to ensure that rental units approved for demolition or conversion to condominiums are replaced and, where possible, increased in number. Further study may be required to determine if a fixed percentage of housing units in the Centre City should be maintained as rental units.

- Where current legislation restricts The City of Calgary's ability to regulate tenure, occupancy, or housing prices, efforts must be made to gain that control and its associated resources. The City is encouraged to advocate with the provincial and federal governments for flexible regulations and programs, along with additional sustained funding for affordable housing. This could, for example, further enable the use of rent or income supplements; the conversion of existing buildings to mixed model developments; the capital construction of new non-market housing units; the development of secondary suites; and a range of other options that would maximize the amount of affordable market and non-market (subsidized) housing that could be provided in Calgary.

- Given the high proportion of low-income residents currently living in and traditionally immigrating into most Centre City communities, there is a critical need for additional non-market (subsidized) housing in the Centre City, preferably within mixed-income developments to maximize social inclusion. The City should facilitate the retention and provision of non-market (subsidized) housing in the Centre City by supporting appropriate relaxations to bylaw regulations on a site-specific basis, where it is demonstrated that the development is secured for use by low-income households through a long-term housing agreement.

➢ The City of Calgary should ensure that municipal barriers to the voluntary provision of non-market (subsidized) housing are removed, and support the Calgary Homeless Foundation in its efforts to encourage property developers to voluntarily provide affordable housing units within other residential developments in the Centre City and surrounding communities.

➢ Corporate Properties and Buildings, as part of its short-term sustainable resource management plan, should identify specific buildings that are suitable for conversion to non-market (subsidized) housing and earmark parcels of land in the Centre City for the development of non-market housing, preferably as part of mixed-income developments to maximize social inclusion.

➢ The Community Action Committee addressing homelessness – a multi-sectoral group that developed *The Calgary Community Plan 2004-2008: Building Paths Out of Homelessness* (Calgary Homeless Foundation, 2003) – should be encouraged to bring together developers and non-profit organizations and guide them in seeking federal and provincial funding for the development and operation of non-market (subsidized) housing in the Centre City and throughout Calgary.

➢ Corporate Properties and Buildings should work with the Community Action Committee addressing homelessness, the Calgary Community Land Trust, Habitat for Humanity, the United Way's Sustained Poverty Reduction Initiative, and other partners in the public, private and community sectors to develop new ways of providing affordable housing in Calgary and to pilot test innovative solutions in the Centre City.

➢ The Community Action Committee addressing homelessness, with its partners, should be encouraged to explore the possibility of identifying and endorsing the use of one or more affordable housing platforms such as the Grow Home model,[2] which can be customized by developers for diverse populations.

➢ The City of Calgary should establish a timeline for requiring housing developments in the Centre City to meet sustainable building design standards that would qualify for Built Green, R-2000, or Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design (LEED) certification, and to use universal accessible design guidelines so as to be fully accessible to residents and visitors with mobility impairments and other activity limitations, parents using strollers, and so on. The design of housing and public spaces in the Centre City should also be culturally responsive. Such measures would support environmental sustainability and help to foster social interaction and a strong sense of community.

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[2] The Grow Home is an award winning design for low-cost sustainable housing developed in 1990 by Avi Friedman, a McGill University architecture professor. The Grow Home is a narrow, two-storey town home and its key design elements include energy efficiency, space efficiency, and flexibility of interior design. It can be easily modified to suit single people, couples, and couples with children, or can be designed as a multiplex for use by more than one family (McGill University, 2002).

➢ The City of Calgary should explore ways of revamping the municipal tax structure to ensure the Centre City can compete with the suburbs as an area that welcomes middle-income households by, for example, lowering residential property taxes in the Centre City, while imposing levies in new communities to cover the real costs of sprawling urban development.

➢ The City of Calgary should work with Calgary Economic Development to ensure that affordable rental housing is built to house workers in industries that are being drawn to Calgary. Models along the lines of those used in resort communities could be developed to package housing and industrial expansion to ensure that the required workforce will be able to secure affordable housing in the city. As part of this process, Corporate Properties and Buildings should work with the Calgary Homeless Foundation to promote the development of affordable rental housing where business nodes and industries are located.

8.0 Strategies for Fostering Social Inclusion

Engagement Summary: While people appreciate the public parks and public spaces currently available in the Centre City – such as the Devonian Gardens, Eau Claire Market and Olympic Plaza – almost all respondents felt that the Centre City needs even more public spaces and events programming that encourages regular communication, public interaction, and builds a sense of community. Related to this issue is the view that the downtown currently feels cold, sterile and vacant and would attract more people if it was more aesthetically pleasing.

Background

Social inclusion is defined as "the process by which efforts are made by a community to ensure that all people, regardless of their experiences and circumstances, achieve their potential in life" (City of Calgary, 2005*d*). In contrast, social exclusion is manifested by poverty, a low sense of community, lack of employment, low levels of education, and crime. It is fuelled by neighbourhood isolation and stigmatization; poor quality and lack of access to community resources and services; underdeveloped community capacity; and low personal and positive social capital (Cooper and Bartlett, 2005).

Although no studies have specifically measured social inclusion or exclusion in the Centre City, it may be inferred from other data on educational attainment, income, employment, and crime that the area is characterized by a degree of social exclusion. For instance, the proportion of the population with a university degree is higher in the Centre City than in Calgary overall, at 29% versus 23%. Only Chinatown and the Downtown East Village have proportionally fewer university graduates than the city average (at 21% and 10% respectively). At the other end of the spectrum, the percentage of the population in the Centre City with less than high school education is almost equal to the city average, at 19% versus 20%. However, Chinatown and the Downtown East Village have significantly higher percentages of persons with less than high school education (at 61% and 44% respectively), which adversely affects average income levels in these communities.

Poverty can be measured by the number of residents of private households (i.e., not those living in shelters) who live in low-income households, which is 32% in the Centre City versus 15% in Calgary overall. Similarly, while median household income for Calgary grew by 13% to $57,879 between 1995 and 2000, Centre City communities experienced wide variation in the growth of median household income. Income growth ranged from only 5% in the Downtown East Village (from $15,524 to $16,334) to 83% in Eau Claire (from $47,452 to $80,210). Despite these increases, median household income for Centre City communities in 2000, with the exception of Eau Claire, was lower than for Calgary overall, ranging from $9,915 less that the city median in the Downtown West End, to $29,221 less in the Downtown Commercial Core and $41,705 less in Chinatown.

The trend seen in Eau Claire in the 2001 census is spreading, as noted in a 2004 housing market study by Coriolis Consulting. It found that 10-year population growth in downtown communities has been almost exclusively in upper-end purchase or rental units in Eau Claire and the Downtown West End. As income polarization in the Centre City increases and households with higher incomes congregate in certain areas, social exclusion in the Centre City might also be expected to increase. As noted in Section 5, increases in income disparity such as these may also lead to more crime.

Labour force participation among young people aged 15 to 24 living in the Centre City is stronger than for Calgary as a whole (at 81% versus 73%) and the youth unemployment rate is lower (at 7% versus 10%). For adults aged 25 and older living in the Centre City, the labour force participation rate is slightly lower than for Calgary (at 72% versus 75%) and the adult unemployment rate is slightly higher (at 6% versus 4%). Adult labour force participation is much more varied within Centre City communities, and is especially low in Chinatown (36%) and the Downtown East Village (27%). This means that a considerable segment of the population in these two communities is neither working nor actively looking for work.

Chinatown and the Downtown East Village both have high percentages of persons with less than high school education (at 61% and 44% respectively), which may contribute to low labour force participation rates in these communities. The age distribution of the population in Chinatown also helps to explain why the labour force participation rate in the community is low since 54% of the population is aged 65 or older and therefore has reached retirement age. This does not explain the findings for the Downtown East Village since 62% of community residents are in their primary working years (aged 25 to 64). The area is home to three large shelters for homeless persons, however, which may reflect the interplay of social marginalization and economic exclusion.

Another factor affecting adult labour force participation among residents of the Downtown East Village may be disability status. Of the 2,159 residents living in the community in 2005, 222 of them (10%) received Assured Income for the Severely Handicapped in March 2005 and 188 others (9%) received Income Supports. The disproportionately high number of residents who receive government income transfers, many because they are unable to work, may also help to explain the low labour force participation rate in the district among the homeless those in low-income households.

Education, income, and labour force participation may contribute to social exclusion in the Centre City. The City of Calgary's annual Web Measurements Program Telephone Survey has consistently shown that seniors living alone, persons with low income, and persons with low levels of educational attainment are significantly less likely than others to contact the City of Calgary for information and services, and are also less likely to have access to the Internet. Centre City communities have higher than average proportions of seniors, persons with low income, and persons with low educational attainment levels. These citizens are less likely to ask for needed supports and less able to seek assistance because of limited access to the Internet, which is fast becoming a dominant source of information and referrals.

We also know that a disproportionately high number of crimes take place in the Centre City, a trend seen in many other Canadian cities. During the one-year period from August 2004 through July 2005, reported crimes in the Centre City included 96% of all street robberies in Calgary; 66% of all thefts from vehicles; 64% of all shop break and enter incidents; 48% of all assaults in the city; 43% of mischief incidents (i.e., property damage); 42% of all vehicle thefts; 37% of all commercial robberies; and 14% of all house break and enter incidents in the city.

A 2005 survey of Downtown East Village residents revealed the lowest levels of sense of community in Calgary, at 63% (versus the 2004 Calgary average of 73%). Sense of community in the area was perceived to be limited by concerns about crime and safety. In contrast, residents identified amenities such as stores, cafés, paths, parks, the W.R. Castell Central Library and other community services as factors contributing to a sense of community in the area. Sense of community was also attributed to walking in the neighbourhood, neighbourly conversations incidental to a walk, and volunteering in the community (Rempel, 2005). Indeed, the Centre City is well-served by community resources and services, a marker of social inclusion.

In terms of amenities, although the Centre City is home to only 3% of the city's population, the area is host to 10% of all human services in the city: 9% of all health services, 9 of all education services, 11% of all convenience services, and 13% of all 'other' human services in the city (which include civic, religious and advocacy organizations; individual, family, child or youth services; services for the elderly or persons with disabilities; lessors of social housing or community housing services; community or mobile food services; and translation or interpretation services).

Within the Centre City, almost half of all businesses and services (48%) are located in Census Tract 43.00 (encompassing Eau Claire, half of Chinatown, and most of the Downtown Commercial Core), almost one-fifth (19%) are located in Census Tract 44.00 (which consists of a large part of the central portion of the Beltline), and the remainder are dispersed fairly evenly throughout the rest of the Centre City.

Human services are essential to a vibrant and caring community. Apart from local residents, many other citizens use services in the Centre City because they are located near their place of employment or offer specialized services or care. In other cases, services are centralized in this large regional community to provide easy access via public transit for all Calgarians who need or wish to use them.

The effects on the Centre City of this level of service provision are mixed. While the presence of health, education, convenience, and 'other' human services are important to creating an environment that supports residential living and a dynamic community, the presence of a high proportion of commercial entertainment venues is a factor leading to increased rates of personal and property crime. This creates a challenging tension between amenities that foster social inclusion and neighbourhood participation and those that, while contributing to the economic viability of the Centre City, may also lead to fear, isolation and exclusion among current and potential residents.

A related challenge involves choosing the best focus for future development in the Centre City. Some contend the key is increasing residential density by providing middle-class housing, believing that "the amenities will follow once there is a market to consume them" (Kotkin, 2005). Others suggest that without creating amenities targeted to certain populations, density may never increase. For example, to attract families with children, an area needs competitive land pricing; schools, sports fields, and playgrounds; high quality and attractive pedestrian areas; street level row housing or townhouses; full-size grocery stores; and parks and trails that are appealing to parents with children (Coriolis Consulting, 2004).

Fostering economic inclusion is a key factor that contributes to social inclusion. In disadvantaged areas, community economic development may be an important tool for increasing social inclusion. The community economic development movement seeks to strengthen 'institutional capacity' in each of the three intertwined dimensions of spatially concentrated social exclusion – the economic, political, and civic. Its primary focus on creating meaningful work for the marginalized addresses the labour market and economic aspects of social exclusion, but is concerned with political and civic exclusion as well. Bradford (2002: 39-40) states that:

> Community economic development emphasizes the advantages of local places, focuses on building human and social capital, and seeks an 'innovative milieu' for meeting the collective needs of citizens and enterprises. … Community economic development in Canadian cities has displayed a remarkably wide range of experiments with varying targets and practices. These include initiatives in housing and homelessness; training and employment; immigrant settlement; child care co-operatives; supports for micro-entrepreneurship; financial asset-building for the poor; environmental cleanup; fresh food community gardening; and breakfast programs for school-aged children. A connecting thread has been described as 'comprehensive community initiatives.'

The use of comprehensive community initiatives may be a valuable tool for increasing social inclusion and transforming distressed neighbourhoods in the Centre City. These neighbourhood or community-wide efforts seek to improve outcomes for individuals, families, and neighbourhoods. They also build community by strengthening institutional capacity at the neighbourhood level, enhancing social capital and the creation of personal networks, and develop local leadership.

Principles

- Fostering social inclusion is at the forefront of all priorities for action identified to create a 'caring' Centre City. This includes supporting activities that build human and social capital (helping the homeless, increasing affordable housing and residential density, and managing pedestrian and vehicular traffic) and addressing issues that preclude their development (crime, safety and social disorder).

- Increasing residential density and neighbourhood vitality requires that people of all ages, abilities, and backgrounds live and feel welcome in the Centre City.

- Eradicating homelessness requires that human capital is nurtured for all citizens and that a good quality of life is available to all Centre City residents.

- Addressing crime, safety and social disorder will help to create an environment in which social capital can be developed and social inclusion can flourish.

- Increasing arts and cultural activities and providing a full range of services and amenities will add value to the Centre City for residents, commuters, and visitors.

A Virtuous Circle of Support

Unless crime, joblessness, and educational failure are dealt with, inner-city communities can't expect ordinary, risk-averse investors to commit the resources needed to revitalize markets. Put another way, markets fail when communities aren't healthy. But a life prospect of unrewarding work, low incomes, and little wealth undercuts personal commitment to school success, family formation, and respect for law. In other words, communities aren't healthy when markets fail.

Relationships among community residents are vital community glue, helpful when cooperation is needed to organize a community festival, identify a criminal suspect, or demand that a local business stop selling liquor to drunks. And community residents need relationships with powerful people and institutions outside the neighborhood that can help residents fight local problems or make investments that strengthen the community. These relationships – sometimes referred to as social capital – are just as essential to neighborhood health as the financial capital and human capital that fuel healthy markets.

Source: Walker (2006).

Great Cities

A great city is more about clean and workable neighbourhoods, thriving business districts, and functioning schools than massive cultural buildings or hipster lofts. Architects may prefer to design stunning museums or luxury high-rises, but they would do better to focus on middle-class housing, places for artisanal industry, family-friendly public spaces, and houses of worship both large and small. … Cities [should] work on the basics – public safety, education, regulations, taxes, sanitation – so they could woo entrepreneurs and cost-conscious homeowners. The amenities will follow once there is a market to consume them.

Source: Kotkin (2005).

> **Urban Design and Social Cohesion**
>
> There are a number of crucial land use and urban design choices, which, alongside the social and fiscal policy decisions of upper level governments, have major consequences for patterns of social inclusion and exclusion in cities. The spatial configuration of housing, jobs, and public spaces – and the way in which transit systems connect them – influences the degree to which all members of the society can participate in city life.
>
> Source: Bradford (2002).

Actions

Social inclusion requires that communities act to ensure that all people, regardless of their experiences and circumstances, achieve their potential in life. Increasing amenities such as schools and grocery stores, and fostering the development of arts and culture in the City Centre will attract new residents and more visitors to the area, increase social interaction, and improve overall quality of life. Actions to foster social inclusion that more specifically relate to crime and safety, housing, homelessness, and pedestrian and vehicular mobility are provided elsewhere in this report.

➢ Designate the Centre City as Calgary's 'arts hub' – a bustling and eclectic venue for arts and cultural entertainment featuring museums and theatres; visual and participatory arts; live music and dance; and public art. The Centre City could be 'branded' as an arts hub and advertised accordingly as a tourist destination that offers more than a proud western heritage.

➢ Include diverse ethno-cultural participation in the Centre City arts scene and feature additional cultural theme areas such as Chinatown. Initiate or support more cultural events to bring different groups together and sponsor community awards celebrating achievements in diversity within the Centre City.

➢ Arts and entertainment venues should be encouraged to be good neighbours to area residents by containing late-night noise. Voluntary civic responsibility is preferred to additional bylaw development and enforcement.

➢ Smaller scale neighbourhoods that are mixed use, mixed scale, and provide more direct services and amenities should be planned within Centre City communities. Developers in the Centre City should be encouraged to provide amenities that will support discrete community needs which, for example, might include grocery stores, banks, health care services, laundromats, sports or recreation facilities, community centres, child care facilities, playgrounds, and so on.

- Stakeholders from the public, private, and community sectors should seek ways in which to elevate the social and economic status of disadvantaged Centre City populations by encouraging and supporting the development of the local economy through social entrepreneurship enterprises.

- The City of Calgary should be collaborating with area school boards to keep school buildings and grounds in public hands. Schools that are currently underutilized and at risk of closure should be preserved to allow alternate uses of existing buildings in the short- and mid-term (for example, as community centres, health clinics, hospices, libraries, training centres, fitness facilities, employer-sponsored child care settings or schools, youth centres, or seniors' centres). School grounds should similarly be preserved to enable long-term planning to reclaim these sites for the public education system once the area population can support their return.

- To attract new residents, more public recreation and leisure facilities should be built in the Centre City. This could include pools, fitness facilities, outdoor sports fields and rinks, and multipurpose centres that can meet a range of needs and serve as gathering places for youth, seniors, parents with children, and so on. In a parallel process, The City of Calgary should ensure that current public facilities are inclusive and should determine if they are not being used to capacity for reasons related to access, cost, or safety concerns.

- The City and other Centre City stakeholders should support the development of downtown campuses for various faculties of the University of Calgary, the Alberta College of Arts and Design, Mount Royal College, and other educational institutions that offer day, evening and weekend programming for residents and commuters, as well as practicum opportunities and work co-ops for full- and part-time students.

- Social and health services in the Centre City should be improved and better integrated to meet the needs of a diverse resident population, now and in the future. Improve service accessibility, coordination and integration among providers by developing cross-disciplinary service teams that include social services, health care, and police. Land should also be secured to permit the development of a teaching hospital in the Centre City as the population of the area and adjacent communities increases in density.

- Pilot test 'one stop shops' where integrated service teams are housed together at venues around the Centre City, beginning with depressed areas that are beginning to undergo redevelopment. Increase front-line health and social service delivery in the Centre City by using field workers and mobile service teams to reach out to diverse populations. Accessibility should be ensured by hiring field workers who represent diverse populations and by providing interpreters and alternate forms of communication for the hearing and sight impaired.

- Foster social cohesion by designing for Calgary's winter weather. Orient public spaces to provide protection from winter winds, place outdoor heaters in areas where people congregate, and embrace the cold weather by having winter festivals and programming outdoor activities that keep people moving.

- The City of Calgary should increase local involvement in and sense of ownership for the Centre City by engaging current and potential area residents, as well as local schools, in urban design exercises and community programming, ensuring that physical, language, income, social, or other barriers to participation are removed.

- Promote broader civic engagement by involving residents in activities relevant to them, rather than just engaging them in dialogue and then moving forward to plan and implement in isolation from the community. Involvement strategies must strive to demystify the policy process for citizens and remove barriers to participation such as daytime working hours, language, disability, child care, and transportation issues.

- Engagement must be broader than community councils alone in order to create a civic culture among citizens and institutions. Foster civic engagement with a 'festival of neighbourhoods'; arts programming; mentorship and skill development programs; and a recognition program for civic engagement and community involvement in the Centre City to honour residents, businesses, and other organizations.

- Encourage the development of interpersonal networks such as condo boards, tenant boards, community associations, and community councils (for various populations such as youth, seniors, and ethno-cultural groups). Support the development of a Centre City Residents Council where all such groups are represented, which could coordinate communication among area residents. Provide community development support to help existing groups adapt to changing times, attract a new demographic, diversify and thrive (one successful example cited was a lawn bowling club that now offers public lectures on a variety of subjects, thus attracting new members to participate in a range of activities).

- Use public transit as a forum for dialogue among citizens.

- Residents need to see the fruits of their labour in order to have a sense of hope and efficacy. Consider the decentralization of decision making through the formation of community level partnerships, since these alliances are more powerful for creating strong, inclusive communities than are discrete groups working on their own. For those communities without sufficient capacity to self-organize around such initiatives, The City of Calgary should devote additional resources to deploy community workers to assist with the skill development and capacity building that may be required in the Centre City, without reducing service levels in other areas.

➢ Partnerships between The City and local community groups could be established to collaborate on the care and maintenance of local parks. A coordinated approach is needed, however, to ensure that the open space needs of the local and regional community are being met.

➢ Partnerships between The City, businesses in the Downtown and Beltline, and community agencies could be developed to address negative perceptions about the Centre City through social marketing efforts. Strategies might include educating Calgarians about the real challenges faced by marginalized populations; promoting cultural diversity; adopting an intergenerational approach to addressing the issue of social isolation experienced by many Centre City residents; and publishing a Centre City newsletter that would promote events and happenings.

➢ Greater efforts need to be made to ensure that all residents of Centre City are more aware of how they can access information about a full range of local services and supports. A joint marketing initiative should be considered to clearly promote information services such as those available online as well as through telephone information lines such as 2-1-1 for community supports, 3-1-1 for City services, and the Calgary Health Region's 943-LINK service.

➢ Since social inclusion can be fostered by economic inclusion, The City of Calgary should advocate for income security for all Calgarians and support efforts to reduce poverty that are being spearheaded through the United Way's Sustained Poverty Reduction Initiative. Consideration should be given to the adoption of a 'living wage' policy by all public sector institutions and non-profit sector employers and their sub-contractors. Education programs should be developed to inform businesses and consumers of the 'bottom line' benefits associated with adopting a wage policy that enables low-income earners to live affordably in Calgary and become more actively engaged in civic life.

➢ Revisit the election of aldermen by ward and consider electing some aldermen 'at-large' to extend representation for Centre City residents.

9.0 Strategies for Managing Pedestrian and Vehicular Traffic

Engagement Summary: Overall, people value the current transit system but feel that the service could be improved by extending hours and routes, and increasing safety measures on LRT trains, on buses (due to overcrowding), and on LRT platforms. Many respondents think that more, and more frequent, transit choices should be available such as more shuttle buses, more frequent trains at high use times, more express buses, and a Centre City streetcar or bus loop. Many suggest enhancing transportation options to encourage walking or cycling, and to lessen the use of personal vehicles. In contrast, many respondents also believe that parking in the Centre City is inadequate, expensive, and discourages people from visiting the area.

Background

Issues in downtown Calgary identified primarily by people who live outside of the Centre City are predominantly traffic related, including infrastructure, roads, congestion, and the general ability of people to 'get where they need to go downtown' (Cameron Strategy Inc., 2004). The City's *2005 Citizen Satisfaction Survey* (Ipsos Reid, 2005) reported that 47% of respondents identified infrastructure, traffic and roads as the most important issues facing their communities, followed by transit at 24%. A related issue is parking, including its availability and costs. The median monthly rate for *unreserved* parking (i.e., guaranteed a space) for covered or underground parking garages in downtown Calgary in June 2005 was $245. This was lower than the median monthly rates for Montreal ($247) and Toronto ($285), but higher than the national average of $200 calculated for 10 cities. Similarly, the median monthly rate for *reserved* parking was $302 for downtown Calgary, versus $361 in Montreal and $460 in Toronto, all of which were above the 10-city national average of $233 (Colliers International, 2005).

Some Calgarians living outside the Centre City cycle or walk to work downtown. The majority of the cyclists who access the downtown do so from the north, which is better served by the Bow River bike path than the south, where railway underpasses are major barriers for cyclists. Most of the people who commute to work downtown via bicycle are men between the ages of 25 and 54 who earn more than $60,000 per year and who choose to cycle for exercise. While bicycle paths provide excellent access *to* the downtown, traffic, road congestion, and the absence of designated bike lanes on downtown streets are cited as deterrents to increased cycling *within* the downtown core (City of Calgary, 2000).

For downtown residents, high traffic volumes negatively influence many quality of life factors that lead to strong communities. Children and the elderly are particularly vulnerable to the negative effects of traffic exposure. For children, heavy traffic reduces independent mobility; restricts opportunities for spontaneous and non-structured play; creates stress and raises blood pressure, heart rate, and levels of stress hormones; and reduces the amount of time spent outside. Research shows that, for residents of all ages, safe and livable neighbourhoods require adequate facilities for walking, bicycling and traffic calming (Appleyard, 2005).

When the Calgary Transportation Plan or GoPlan was completed in 1995, the number of jobs in the downtown was forecast reach 122,000 by the year 2024. However, by 2001, job growth in the downtown had already reached that level – 23 years earlier than expected. In 2001, there were 124,121 jobs located in the Centre City (the Downtown and the Beltline). Current forecasts from 2001 project that there will be over 158,000 jobs in the Centre City by 2023. It is important to understand that downtown jobs affect the transportation system in many ways. Roadways into the downtown "are at capacity in the peak hours and there are no realistic alternatives to increase capacity. Further growth in the downtown must be accommodated in other ways. The higher than expected growth of downtown jobs is creating major pressures on transit service to the downtown" (City of Calgary, 2005*b*).

While many consultation respondents were concerned about a perceived lack of parking in the downtown, they are likely unaware of the social, environmental, land use, and transportation network implications of adding more parking stalls. For instance, Calgary's Downtown Parking Policy, which is recommended for expansion, is the primary reason why Calgary has an effective LRT system and a high density downtown. When assessing the combined social, environmental and economic impacts (the triple bottom line), adding transit services is far more sustainable than increasing parking. Creating more long-stay commuter parking would also require an increased roadway capacity into the Centre City, an option that, as noted above, has no realistic alternatives.

Thus, a goal of the 1995 GoPlan was to reduce the overall proportion of automobile use as a mode of travel for downtown commuters, and increase the use of public transit, cycling and walking. One way to reduce automobile dependency is to decrease the *proportion* of parking stalls available for people working downtown, even though the absolute number of stalls might increase. The number of 'stalls per 100 downtown employees' dropped in 1981, when the number of downtown jobs increased but parking was restricted. After 1981, the rate went up, because the number of jobs remained constant and parking lots were built on undeveloped land. From 1996 to 1999, the rate dropped, since the number of jobs increased but the number of parking stalls remained the same. During that same period, downtown cordon counts showed that the number of people commuting to the downtown by car also decreased (City of Calgary, 2005*b*).

On average, from 1975 through 1992, auto drivers made 49% of commuter trips to the downtown. Since 1997, however, there has been a general downward trend in the use of private vehicles to commute to work. By 2001, the modal split for automobile drivers dropped to 43%. A similar downward trend was seen in the modal split for automobile passengers, which dropped from 12% in 1991 to 9% in 2002. In comparison, the modal split for transit passengers averaged 34% between 1976 and 1992, dropped in the early 1990s, and then began to increase. In 2002, 36% of commuter trips to the downtown were made by transit passengers. Pedestrians and cyclists made 5% of trips to the downtown during peak hours in 1991, but the modal split for those commuters grew to 9% by 2000 (City of Calgary, 2005*b*).

Having a higher residential population in the downtown is also desirable. It reduces demand for transportation infrastructure since people living downtown can more easily walk or cycle to work. The downtown population grew by about 100 persons a year from 1964 to 2003, which is much lower than the 450 persons forecast in the 1995 GoPlan. However, the latest 2001 forecast expects residential growth in the Centre City to triple to 300 persons per year. The 2001 population of the Centre City was 28,617, which is forecast to increase to 41,050 by the year 2023.

Calgary Transit plays an important role in providing service *to* the Centre City, with connections to and from almost anywhere in the Calgary. As well, there is a significant level of service *through* the Centre City, which has the highest and best concentration of transit service in Calgary. Even so, Calgary Transit has approval to expand service and buy more buses and C-Trains, which will boost transit service and capacity serving the downtown by 30% over the next three years, and also support other city growth areas.

In addition, Calgary Transit subsidizes the full cost of service by an average of 45%, and discounted fares are available for seniors, persons with low income, recipients of Assured Income for the Severely Handicapped (AISH), and students. As well, the 'free fare LRT zone' through downtown provides tremendous social benefits for residents and workers, who can easily travel in the downtown and connect with activity centres throughout the city. Some people call for expansion of the free fare LRT zone, and others would like to see a free Centre City shuttle bus or streetcar that loops through the Beltline and Downtown. Consultation respondents made no mention of cost recovery, however, which would require fare increases for other users, reduced service to other parts of the city, increased mill rate support for transit, some form of private financial support, or funding from the provincial or federal governments.

Principles

- A pedestrian friendly Centre City would be more walkable, which means that more pedestrians in the area would provide more eyes on the street. The result would be an increased perception of safety, which is good for residents, commuters, tourists, and area businesses large and small. It is therefore critical to adopt a 'pedestrian first' approach to transportation design (streets, intersections, setbacks, landscaping, etc.), in which priority is given, in order, to pedestrians, cyclists, transit, and vehicles.

- To increase residential density and overall activity, the Centre City needs to be very friendly to cyclists and pedestrians, including those who are physically disabled or confined to wheelchairs. Residents and visitors should be assured safe, healthy, and comfortable access to all parts of the Centre City by foot, bicycle, and transit.

- Making transit, walking, and cycling attractive experiences in the Centre City, and continuing to increase the use of public transit to and within the area will result in reduced vehicular traffic over time, particularly in the downtown core.

- Supporting the development of transit oriented design within 600 metres of LRT or Bus Rapid Transit stations is essential.

- Long-stay parking in the Centre City should be minimized to discourage all day commuter parking. However, more short-stay parking, especially outside peak hours, should be developed to benefit shoppers, people doing business, and those enjoying culture and entertainment facilities in the Centre City.

- Accommodating commercial vehicles is vital to the economy of businesses in the Centre City.

Transportation and Neighbourhood Characteristics

Transportation demand and corresponding costs are highly correlated with characteristics of the neighborhood. Even among wealthy households, neighborhood characteristics influence how much is spent on transportation and how many vehicles are owned, given that the characteristics of place also shape transportation demand. Neighborhood characteristics such as density; walkability; the availability and quality of transit service; convenient access to amenities such as grocery stores, dry cleaners, day care, and movie theaters; and the number of accessible jobs shape how residents get around, where they go, and how much they ultimately spend on transportation. Neighborhoods with the above characteristics are considered 'location efficient,' providing convenient access to shopping, services, and jobs, and low-cost transportation alternatives to the auto.

Source: Center for Transit-Oriented Development, and Center for Neighborhood Technology (2006).

Public Transportation is a Public Good

Safe, affordable, and accessible public transit is a key to promoting [social and economic] inclusion. Public transportation is a sustainable public good requiring an ongoing civic support.

Source: Edmonton Social Planning Council (2005).

Actions

Strategies to manage pedestrian and vehicular traffic in the Centre City cover a wide array of possible interventions. Improving 'walkability' is a priority in order to increase safety and social development in Centre City neighbourhoods. Although increasing pedestrian access and safety may require a reduction in vehicular traffic, some people also call for more and cheaper parking in the Centre City. The majority of those consulted, however, would like a reduction in parking – and certainly in surface parking lots – in order to increase public transit use and discourage people from bringing vehicles into the core. Continuing to provide affordable public transit will help Centre City residents to access jobs, education, and services. Another key area of interest is addressing the rail corridor that splits the Centre City between 9th and 10th Avenues.

Given the complex and sometimes contradictory nature of the actions proposed for this strategy, the first action listed is of primary importance and should inform all others.

➢ To manage pedestrian and vehicular traffic in the Centre City, The City of Calgary should complete a comprehensive Centre City Transportation Plan to determine the best mix of transportation options, routes and corridors in the Centre City. The goal would be to improve access to and mobility within the Centre City for pedestrians, cyclists, and transit users; maximize transit use; reduce the use of personal vehicles and increase carpooling; and facilitate appropriate access to the area by taxis and commercial vehicles.

➢ Create integrated Transit, Walkability, and Cycling Plans for the Centre City, which would be implemented by The City of Calgary, developers, businesses, the Calgary Stampede, and other area stakeholders.

➢ Improve walkability in the Centre City by widening sidewalks, adding landscaping and street furniture, and encouraging commercial development (retail or service) at street grade. Ensure that all sidewalks are smooth and have curb cuts for wheelchairs, walkers, and mobility scooters. Create twin paths for pedestrians and cyclists on the pathway system in the Centre City, where these are not already provided.

➢ To increase pedestrian safety, reduce the speed of traffic in the Centre City by lowering the speed limit. Consider making some Centre City streets two-way. Consider increasing bans on the use of private vehicles on selected streets in the downtown core (as is done on the Stephen Avenue Mall). Consider making automobile users pay to access the downtown core (similar to what is done in London, England).

➢ Enliven the pedestrian environment in the Centre City with, for example, public art, creative architecture, street festivals, and music. Protect key view corridors such as to the rivers and interesting architectural features, and introduce more signage for pedestrians to direct them to major landmarks and destinations of interest.

➢ The City of Calgary should create new standards for Centre City sidewalks, pathways, road widths, and urban design. A Centre City Standards Team should be formed to review standards in other cities around the world, determine what has been effective elsewhere in improving pedestrian environments and street life, and identify which Centre City streets are priorities for redesign.

➢ Encourage cycling by introducing bike lanes in the Centre City, first on downtown streets then, over time, by adding additional bike lanes throughout the Beltline. A good starting point may be to introduce dedicated cycling lanes along 8th Avenue. Install covered, locking bike enclosures and bike racks throughout the Centre City.

- ➢ Establish a 'use a bike' service, where bikes can be borrowed and dropped off at venues throughout the Centre City. Bikes could be accessed for free (like shopping carts are accessed at malls) or rented for a nominal fee. Consider the introduction of a 'bike taxi' service for the Centre City that could employ unskilled residents as part of a local economic development initiative.

- ➢ Improve taxi service and availability in the Centre City. Consider introducing water taxis along the Bow and Elbow Rivers, primarily as a summer tourist attraction.

- ➢ The downtown shuttle bus service that contributes to the mobility of seniors and persons with disabilities living in the Centre City should be more widely advertised, and supplemented with additional buses as needed.

- ➢ Continue to increase public transit to and through the Centre City. The frequency of buses and C-Trains during evening hours and on weekends should be increased. In time, the C-Train should operate 24 hours a day.

- ➢ Explore the use of a high standard transit service connecting the Beltline, Stampede Park, the downtown core, the Calgary Zoo, and Kensington. This service should be operated with high predictability (e.g., every 10 minutes, 24 hours a day, every day) to enable transit to compete with vehicles as a preferred means of transportation.

- ➢ Introduce a streetcar or shuttle bus that circles the entire Centre City, which would attract local visitors as well as tourists. Encourage commuters to park outside the downtown core and take the shuttle to work. Explore the feasibility of making this a free service.

- ➢ The provision of a free fare LRT zone should be re-evaluated, starting with a study of who actually uses the service. There is clear social benefit to the service for downtown residents, many of whom have low income. It also benefits area workers and commercial venues. Some people advocate for the zone to be expanded to include Kensington, the Calgary Zoo, and the Stampede Grounds to further benefit residents, commuters and tourists. However, others contend that the zone facilitates criminal activity by enabling 'quick escapes' from law enforcement officers.

- ➢ Encourage the broader implementation of flexible work hours and telecommuting among Centre City businesses (possibly through tax incentives), which would be supported by extending the duration of peak transit service.

- ➢ Promote complementary modes of travel on designated streets and avenues in the Centre City. This would, for example, pair transit with pedestrian travel, pair low volume vehicular traffic with cycling, and assign high volume vehicular traffic to designated routes.

➢ No new surface parking lots should be allowed in the Centre City. Permits for existing surface parking lots should be renewed for periods of three years or less, and then not renewed in subsequent years.

➢ Replace all surface parking lots along 9th and 10th Avenues with a green belt, complete with bike and walking paths. This area should also be targeted for high-density residential and business development.

➢ Existing parkades should be better advertised by the Calgary Parking Authority and the Centre City Business Revitalization Zone associations. Centre City parkades and parking lots should be required to remain open for extended hours during the evening and on weekends. The use of reduced rate programs to stimulate parkade and parking lot use during non-business hours should continue to be promoted.

➢ Revisit codes for parking stalls in the Centre City to determine if suburban-sized parking stalls are required in the core or if the rules on stall size can and should be relaxed.

➢ Plan for the possibility of adding high-speed commuter rail service in the future that uses the existing Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) tracks (similar to the GoTrains used by Toronto commuters). As part of this process, plan to develop an inter-modal commuter terminal to facilitate transfers between people using rail and transit, long-distance bus services and transit, and so on.

➢ While removal of the CPR tracks that bisect the Centre City is advocated by some people as a way to better integrate the Beltline and the Downtown, many others support continuing to build over the railway tracks (as with Palliser Square and Gulf Canada Square), building underpasses or wide pedestrian bridges to connect the two areas, or adding new level crossings. Connecting Olympic Way to 4th Street SE is seen as a priority.

A number of other recommendations were made that do not fit into the expected life span of the current Centre City Plan. Suggestions included requiring the creation of green pathways as a condition of all Centre City development; converting traffic lanes on major Centre City roads into green pathways; replacing Bow Trail with a park, public transit, and housing; and relocating the CPR tracks and rail yards to a location outside of the city. While these ideas are not considered feasible at the present time, some of these suggestions might be revisited during the Centre City Plan's next iteration in 25 to 30 years. In the sustainable Centre City of the future, what seems improbable today may become not only possible but realistic.

10.0 Summary Conclusions

The causes and consequences of social problems are interrelated and multifaceted, and so are the solutions. While the prevalence of homelessness, social disorder, crime, poverty, and isolation deters positive residential, commercial, cultural and social development, it is also true that residential, commercial, cultural and social development are all part of the solution to social problems.

The action strategies in this report were derived from the findings of consultations and studies conducted from 1999 through 2005 on the Centre City and the issues faced by its many populations. These were amalgamated with the findings of the public and stakeholder engagement process held for the Centre City Plan during 2005. This resulted in five priorities for social action:

- Addressing crime, safety, and social disorder
- Helping the homeless
- Increasing affordable housing and residential density
- Fostering social inclusion, and
- Managing pedestrian and vehicular traffic.

Within each priority area, overarching principles and a range of possible actions have been identified. Since a great many of these action strategies will have an impact on various City of Calgary business units, a draft version of this paper was circulated within The City for comment. The feedback has been incorporated into this final report.

> The *principles* identified are intended to guide future action in the Centre City in each priority area.

> The *actions* presented are the blueprint for creating a sustainable plan for social action in the Centre City.

Together, the principles and actions provided in this blueprint can be used by The City of Calgary and its partners to create a detailed social action *implementation and monitoring plan*. While that plan is being developed, the five areas identified for priority action can be used as a lens through which current initiatives and those proposed for the Centre City can be evaluated and prioritized.

Residents and other stakeholders with an interest in the Centre City will be engaged to review this blueprint for social action and identify the *timing of actions*, *actors*, and *performance indicators*. This work, planned for the fall of 2006 and the spring of 2007, will focus on the actions needed to provide a dynamic, welcoming and accessible environment throughout the Centre City, which, in turn, will help to make the area more socially, economically, and environmentally sustainable. The result – a sustainable plan for social action in the Centre City – will be presented to Council and the community for endorsement and implementation. This will enable coordinated and complementary efforts to be undertaken in a strategic way by the community, government, and private sectors to benefit the Centre City and Calgary as a whole.

Once implemented, these actions will produce a variety of social benefits for those who live, work, study and play in the Centre City. Not all actions in this blueprint can or should be taken by The City of Calgary. Community partners from the private and voluntary sectors, with the support of other orders of government, may be better positioned to take a lead role on certain initiatives.

Seeking agreement on social objectives and the means to address them is what social planners refer to as a 'wicked problem,' meaning one for which there is no easy or obvious solution. The magnitude of the problem-solving challenge for issues such as these generally reflects the diversity amongst those who have a stake in the problem and its solutions. Initiatives like the development of a social plan have a wide range of stakeholders with divergent opinions about how best to deal with identified issues. This is the key challenge in crafting a Centre City Social Plan.

While it is difficult to assign precedence to any one priority, it is clear that increasing density and activity in the Centre City by using a range of strategies is seen as one of the most essential steps in revitalizing the urban core. The vast majority of participants in the consultation process believe that the centre of a thriving, world-class metropolis must represent and accommodate population diversity in all its dimensions. The Centre City should reflect the best of what Calgary has to offer – socially, architecturally, artistically, economically, and environmentally – but care must be taken to ensure that all residents and visitors have the opportunity to participate in, benefit from, and contribute to all aspects of community life.

Social inclusion is at the forefront of all priorities for action. It is widely agreed that increasing density and vitality requires people of all ages, abilities, and backgrounds to live and feel welcome in the Centre City. One exception is the strong desire to remove the criminal element from the area, which most people point out does not refer to people who are poor, homeless or otherwise disadvantaged unless they are engaging in illegal activities.

While there is virtually no disagreement among stakeholders and members of the public about the five priorities for action, the emphasis placed on different strategies varies somewhat among groups of participants. Among the public, comments focus on safety perceptions, social disorder, parking and traffic woes, lack of services and amenities, and a desire for increased activity in the Centre City outside of business hours. Among area stakeholders, the emphasis often varies with the professional backgrounds of the individual participants. Architects and urban planners, for instance, tend to propose solutions relating to the built environment, while social planners focus more on service integration, housing, and social cohesion.

Almost all consultation participants agree on the ways in which the key issues can be addressed: Interventions require improvements to the built and natural environments; the provision of adequate and affordable housing; positive economic development; access to high quality, integrated services and amenities; and social development and inclusion.

The strategies proposed for addressing priorities for social action in the Centre City are of three types. The City of Calgary and other Centre City stakeholders from the public, private, and community sectors are called upon to:

- ***Continue to do what is being done well:*** Where The City and other stakeholders are already taking successful action on social issues, it is critical that that funding and support continue to be invested to sustain and, as needed, expand these beneficial efforts, without funneling resources away from other programs or locales.

- ***Begin to take new approaches to address social issues:*** It is essential to be able to experiment with new approaches that are based on best practices from other cities or developed as 'made in Calgary' solutions, knowing that they may not always succeed. A tolerance for failure is required to enable new solutions to be created that will ultimately benefit the Centre City and all Calgarians.

- ***Consider making bold changes in the future:*** Based on the recommendations that will be proposed in the final Centre City Plan, it is important for all City Business Units to support and implement strategies that, over time, might dramatically change the Centre City in terms of its appearance, use and function, but which will also make it a dynamic, welcoming and accessible environment for all those who live, work, study, and play there.

The enormous variety of actions proposed clearly indicates that a comprehensive and coordinated approach to addressing priorities for social action in the Centre City will be the most effective way to proceed. From what we have learned, we can propose a set of overarching principles for creating a caring Centre City.

First Principles

- The values espoused for the Centre City apply to the city as a whole.

- Every citizen of Calgary deserves to be treated with dignity and respect.

- Every citizen of Calgary contributes to the vitality of the city.

- Every citizen of Calgary has equal access to the goods, services and infrastructure needed to create and sustain human capital, enable each individual to achieve their maximum potential, and contribute to a high quality of life in the city. Fundamentally:

  - *Goods* include safe, adequate, and affordable food and shelter

  - *Services* support health, education, recreation and leisure, arts and culture, and community and protective services, and

  - *Infrastructure* includes the public, private, and community institutions that support the delivery of goods and services.

- Individuals, families and the public, private and community sectors collectively invest in the creation of enabling conditions that maximize the development of individual potential, healthy neighbourhoods, and a high quality of life for all citizens.

The Making of a Caring City

*What if the two things that attracted people to Calgary
and kept them here were imagination and ethics?*
George Elliott Clarke (2006)

The soul of a city is what breathes life into a centre of commerce and, by giving it life, creates both a culture of celebration and an ethos of engagement. By harnessing the spirit of economic energy that abounds in a business centre like Calgary and focusing it on a broader civic purpose, the social and political energy that emerges will ensure that all citizens are included in the life of the city, benefit from its success, and are buffered from its suffering. The sustainability of the natural, social and cultural environment will become paramount, and the built environment will function to support that aim.

Source: Adapted from Clarke (2006).

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Appendix A. Centre City Social Plan – Background Research

All of the background research completed to inform this blueprint for social action in the Centre City can be downloaded from The City of Calgary website by clicking on the "Centre City Social Plan" link at www.calgary.ca/centrecity. Direct links to the individual reports are also provided at the end of each section in this appendix.

The Centre City and Trends that Affect It

To learn more about the Centre City and the socio-economic trends that affect it, please see the following reports:

- *Forward Thinking: Calgary's Socio-Economic Trends* – This summary report provides a brief overview of some key socio-economic trends for Calgary, drawn from the *Calgary and Region Socio-Economic Outlook, 2005-2010.*

- *Centre City Community Profile* – This report helps to illustrate the diverse make-up and pressures experienced by the six Centre City community districts. It combines these data for the Centre City region and compares it to Calgary as a whole. These data provide important baseline facts about the Centre City that will help to inform both short and long-term planning, design, and development strategies for the area. The *Calgary Centre City Community Profile* provides data on population, household composition, education, income and employment, housing, and diversity.

- *Centre City Asset and Event Mapping* – This report provides data by community district, census tract, and for the Centre City as a whole that identifies numerous community assets and illustrates some of the social, health and safety issues in the area. It includes information on businesses and services located in the Centre City, numerous indicators of civic participation, as well as crime statistics and data on fire incidents and emergency medical responses.

- *Backgrounder: A Profile of the Centre City* – This short report provides an overview of the socio-demographic composition of the Centre City drawn from the *Centre City Community Profile* and compares data for the Centre City to Calgary as a whole for population, household composition, education, income and employment, housing, and diversity. Additional information is taken from the report *Centre City Asset and Event Mapping*, which identifies community assets and illustrates some of the social, health and safety issues in the Centre City.

  Forward Thinking: Calgary's Socio-Economic Trends (561 KB)
  Centre City Community Profile (397 KB)
  Centre City Asset and Event Mapping (1519 KB)
  Backgrounder: A Profile of the Centre City (318 KB)

Issues, Opportunities and Priorities for Action

Over the past several years, a number of strategies and initiatives have been launched to improve conditions and increase development and population density in Calgary's Downtown and Beltline areas. To better understand the social issues that have been a concern in this large geographic area, The City of Calgary commissioned a report amalgamating the themes and recommendations arising from research and background documents on social, economic, health, and related issues in the Centre City. In a parallel process, public and stakeholder engagement activities were undertaken in the summer and fall of 2005 to collect ideas from a wide range of people in the public, private and community sectors on how to make the Centre City more livable, thriving, and caring.

The report *Centre City Issues and Opportunities: Final Research Synthesis, 1999-2005* identifies social development as a critical component of sustainable urban development. It identifies seven key social issues and challenges in the Centre City: poverty and income security; crime, safety and social disorder; homelessness; housing; health; social exclusion; and traffic, particularly as it relates to living conditions. The same categories were used to identify current priorities for action in the report *Centre City Social Plan Backgrounder: Priorities for Action in the Centre City*. These were based on four stakeholder workshops and the input on creating a *caring* city provided by the general public during a three-day public Ideas Fair Main Event.

Increasing density and activity in the Centre City is considered to be one of the most essential steps in revitalizing the urban core. The vast majority of participants in the consultation process believe that the centre of a thriving, world-class metropolis must represent and accommodate population diversity in all its dimensions. The Centre City should reflect the best of what Calgary has to offer – socially, architecturally, artistically, economically, and environmentally – and care must be taken to ensure that all residents of and visitors to the area have the opportunity to participate in, benefit from, and contribute to all aspects of community life. Social inclusion is at the forefront of all priorities for action. It is widely agreed that that increasing density and vitality requires that people of all ages, abilities, and backgrounds live in and feel welcome in the Centre City.

> Centre City Issues and Opportunities January 23, 2006 (842 KB)
> Backgrounder: Priorities for Action in the Centre City February 2, 2006 (400 KB)

Additional research has been done to learn how other cities address social issues including crime and safety, drug use, and public toilet alternatives. These reports were prepared in 2005 by Planning students from the Faculty of Environmental Design at the University of Calgary.

> Crime and Safety Case Studies (941 KB)
> Urban Revitalization: Strategies to Address Drug Use (1003 KB)
> Urban Revitalization: Public Toilet Alternatives (840 KB)

Centre City Plan Engagement Reports

Centre City, Centre Stage was a public and stakeholder engagement process that took place from July through December 2005. It was designed to collect input from the public and stakeholders about how to make the Centre City more livable, thriving and caring. Data collected from Calgarians came from written comments on questionnaires, short answer idea cards, as well as through email messages, telephone hotline messages, notes from stakeholder meetings, and recorded discussion points from stakeholder workshops.

Targeted public outreach was conducted from October 19 to November 22, 2005 and included 20 events at venues located throughout Calgary. Events were held in suburban locations and in the Centre City to ensure the process was as inclusive as possible in reaching out to Calgarians to gather insights and ideas. The highlight of the public engagement process was a three-day fun and interactive "Ideas Fair Main Event" held at two prominent Centre City venues: Banker's Hall and the EPCOR Centre.

The stakeholder outreach component of the Centre City Plan engagement process had two components. At the request of various stakeholder organizations or groups, members of the Centre City Plan team met with them to discuss the project and receive input on their vision for the Centre City of the future. A total of 19 meetings were held. In addition, a total of 119 individuals took part in four stakeholder workshops held in October and November 2005. Participants were drawn from the public, private and community sectors based on their interest in and knowledge about certain aspects of life in the Centre City.

The results of the engagement process showed that participants felt that in order for the Centre City to be a more livable, thriving and caring place, citizens must be included in the process of planning their city. As well, all citizens must have equal access to the services and resources available in the Centre City, which will make the Centre City a great place for everyone. Six dominant issues emerged about how to make the Centre City *livable* and *thriving*, as well as *caring*: safety; homelessness and crime; lack of vitality; lack of affordable housing; the need for better transportation and parking; and the lack of public spaces and green space. Many Ideas brought forward by the public and stakeholders will find a place in various strategies and actions for the Centre City.

The results of the Centre City Plan engagement process are summarized in the report *Centre City Plan Engagement Process: Results Summary*. Detailed findings are in the report *Centre City Plan: Public and Stakeholder Engagement Results*. The full report includes many pictures and has been split into four parts to make it easier to download.

        CCP Engagement Results: Summary (03-13-06) (495 KB)
        CCP Engagement Results: Part 1 of 4 (03-13-06) (835 KB)
        CCP Engagement Results: Part 2 of 4 (03-13-06) (1199 KB)
        CCP Engagement Results: Part 3 of 4 (03-13-06) (692 KB)
        CCP Engagement Results: Part 4 of 4 (03-13-06) (634 KB)

Community and Neighbourhood Services, Social Research Unit

Appendix B. Crime Prevention – Understanding a Complex Process[3]

Crime prevention involves both *formal* and *informal* social controls, which work together towards the reduction of crime and victimization. *Formal controls* primarily support law and order, whereas *informal controls* focus more on preventative measures.

The United Nations (1999: 2) states that *formal systems of control* "serve the dual purpose of deterring law-breaking among the population at large and of apprehending, punishing and treating those who offend." Efforts are made by governments to make formal control systems more effective by strengthening policing efforts, streamlining judicial processes, diverting less serious offences away from the criminal justice system, increasing the severity of punishment for serious crimes, and expanding the range of penal treatments available for repeat offenders. Alone, however, formal systems of control are insufficient to effectively deter, reduce or prevent crime and victimization.

Outside of the criminal justice system, *informal systems of control* constitute a variety of measures taken by families, schools and social institutions to exert social control over others. This includes, for example, instilling children and youth with respect for the law, regulating conduct, and protecting persons and property through precautionary and security measures. As the costs and limitations of formal control systems have become more apparent, governments have moved to place greater emphasis on social controls.

Governments make pronouncements to parents, schools, communities and social institutions to promote the rule of law, but are also becoming more directly involved in the promotion of informal social contracts under the banner of "crime prevention, which covers a very wide range of possible actions" (United Nations, 1999: 2). *Situational prevention* is designed to reduce criminal opportunities, whereas *social prevention* is intended to reduce criminal motivation.

Focused on reducing opportunities for crime, *situational crime prevention* has been the fastest growing type of crime prevention activity in the past 20 years. It encompasses private policing and security services; crime prevention advertising campaigns; planning and architectural design controls to promote community safety; and the alteration of products and practices that give rise to crime in homes, businesses and industries.

In contrast, *social crime prevention* takes three distinct approaches to reducing criminal motivation – child development, community development, and social development:

- ***Child Development:*** Research has shown that a variety of risk factors in early childhood are associated with later delinquency and crime. Interventions to address risk factors focus on the *individual* through enhanced parenting, enriched early education, and improved physical and mental health.

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[3] The contents of this appendix are abstracted from Sharon M. Stroick (2002: 2-8), *Action on Crime Prevention: A Multimedia Profile of NCPC Pilot Projects* (Ottawa: Canadian Policy Research Networks Inc.). Works cited in this summary are listed at the end of the appendix.

- ***Community Development:*** Community characteristics and environments have been shown to promote or inhibit crime. Interventions to create supportive *community* environments increase both economic viability and social cohesion in local communities; provide local services and facilities for community enhancement; strengthen community ties among residents; educate young people about the importance of the rule of law; and develop local police-community relations.

- ***Social Development:*** The underlying premise of this approach is that much crime results from *societal* factors such as poverty, lack of paid employment, poor education, discrimination, and other social or economic deprivations.

In a comprehensive literature review on the subject, the John Howard Society of Alberta (1995: 2-3) explains the eventual inclusion of social development in the fight against crime:

> Until 1970, primary responsibility for crime prevention rested with the police, courts and corrections, and the focus of their strategy was primarily to reduce the opportunity to commit crime. The anti-crime efforts of the 1970s witnessed a move toward increased community involvement in crime prevention; Neighbourhood Watch is a well-known example of the popular opportunity reduction programs of the era.

> However, by the 1980s, reductions in crime rates proved negligible and the long-term effectiveness of reduction based strategies came into question. … Thus, there emerged an interest in prevention strategies which address the social and economic causes of crime. This approach is known as crime prevention through social development (CPSD) and, by the 1990s, CPSD was widely viewed as a vital component to any serious attempt at crime prevention.

This assessment is echoed by the National Crime Prevention Centre (NCPC, 2000a), which states that the annual cost of crime to Canadians is estimated to range between $35 and $46 billion. The vast majority of criminal justice system expenditures are related to police, courts, and corrections – the agencies responsible for crime detection and control. In keeping with international trends, however, since the mid-1980s, Canada has shifted more resources to addressing crime through a balanced strategy that incorporates conventional methods of crime control as well as innovative approaches to crime prevention.

But what exactly do innovative approaches to crime prevention look like? Many authors attempt to classify crime prevention in a more pragmatic fashion. One commonly used approach borrows the terminology of medical epidemiology to create models that distinguish between *primary, secondary* and *tertiary prevention*. This enables interventions to be targeted to have the greatest preventative impact, with primary prevention regarded as the ideal objective since it is truly proactive.

Brantingham and Faust (1976) identify the target of *primary prevention* as the general public or the environment, the target of *secondary prevention* as those regarded at risk of offending, and the target of *tertiary prevention* as those who have already succumbed by either criminality or criminal victimization (cited in Gilling, 1997: 3-4). Gilling (1997: 4-5) finds an advantage in distinguishing between primary, secondary and tertiary prevention because discrete victim- and offender-focused initiatives can be developed for each target group, creating a six-part crime prevention typology. To this, Crawford (1998) adds community/neighbourhood-focused initiatives, which creates the nine-part matrix of crime prevention efforts shown below.

An Applied Approach to Crime Prevention			
	Primary Prevention	*Secondary Prevention*	*Tertiary Prevention*
Victim-Oriented	Target-hardening awareness campaigns and "designing out" crime	Prevention measures for at-risk groups; risk prediction and assessment	Repeat victim initiatives; victim support, compensation, reparation
Community/ Neighbourhood-Oriented	Increased formal and natural surveillance; Neighbourhood Watch, Block Watch, and so on; architectural design and environmental planning	Targeting at-risk groups, places, and sources of conflict in the community; leisure facilities (i.e., for recreation, sports, arts, and culture); community mediation	Targeting communities with "hot spots" or high levels of crime; prevention as urban regeneration
Offender-Oriented	Citizenship programs, education and socialization; target-hardening through increasing the effort and the risks, and decreasing the rewards of crime	Work with those at risk of offending, particularly youth, the unemployed, and so on; deterrence	Rehabilitation; confronting offender behaviour; aftercare; diversion programs

Source: Adapted from Crawford (1998: 16).

This way of classifying crime prevention helps us understand how innovative programs could be shaped in *practice*. With this approach, formal and informal social controls as well as measures aimed at social and situational crime prevention are interspersed. One result is that the *theoretical* distinctions between categories are lost when specific interventions are developed in policy or implemented as practice at the grassroots level. This helps to make sense of the variety of initiatives that fall under the mantles of crime prevention, community safety, and social development.

The Government of Canada plays a key role in crime prevention through the *National Strategy on Community Safety and Crime Prevention* administered by the Department of Justice and the Solicitor General of Canada. The *National Strategy* is designed to complement existing efforts at crime control by focusing primarily on crime prevention through social development, which is explained in this way (NCPC, 2000: 1):

> Crime prevention through social development, or CPSD, "is an approach to preventing crime and victimization that recognizes the complex social, economic, and cultural processes that contribute to crime and victimization. CPSD seeks to strengthen the 'bridge' between criminal justice policies and programs, and the safe, secure, and pro-social development of individuals, families, and communities. It does this by tackling the factors which contribute to crime and victimization that are amenable to change."

Although it is recognized that "societal influences such as poverty, gender inequality, media violence, racism, and discrimination are part of the crime prevention context," the *National Strategy* "tends to concentrate on secondary prevention measures." These include directing resources to social and community development strategies, as well as to early intervention initiatives that have been shown through evidence-based longitudinal research in Canada and abroad to "foster 'protective factors' and mitigate situations of risk or disadvantage." Such programs "demonstrate the ways in which supportive strategies can significantly improve child development, educational achievement and social adjustment, and reduce the likelihood of later involvement in crime" as well as susceptibility to victimization (NCPC, 2000: 1-2).

In a December 2001 speech to the Canadian Urban Institute, Barbara Hall, Chair of the *National Strategy on Community Safety and Crime Prevention*, described the approach in this way (NCPC, 2001*a*: 2):

> Criminal acts require a motivated offender, a suitable target, and a lack of guardianship. If one of these three factors can be altered, a crime can be prevented. Most crime prevention strategies involve increasing guardianship and making targets less suitable to offenders. In simpler terms, [this includes] things like steering wheel locks and well-lit bank machines; reducing the opportunities. These are important. But the only way to permanently reduce crime is to reduce the number of motivated offenders. Crime prevention through social development.

The presence of *risk factors* – which can be found in families, peer relationships, school experiences, and communities – increases the chance that young people will be victimized or will develop behaviour problems, a likelihood exacerbated by the presence of multiple risk factors in the lives of children and youth. Conversely, *protective factors* can reduce the effects of exposure to risk factors, and thus lessen the chances that a young person will develop serious antisocial behaviour that could lead to criminal motivation and criminal acts, or to being harmed. The following table lists some key examples of the risk and protective factors that are of concern to the *National Strategy*.

Key Examples of Risk and Protective Factors

Risk Factors	Protective Factors
• Poor housing and unstable living conditions • Family poverty, family size, poor or inadequate parenting, parental criminality, and parental substance abuse • Individual personality factors or cognitive deficits including a lack of problem solving skills, self-control, critical reasoning, or judgment; failure to consider the consequences of behaviour; low intelligence; hyperactivity; and the early onset of aggressive behaviour • Relationships with friends or peers who follow a delinquent or criminal lifestyle • Poor educational achievement and school truancy; deficient school environments; and exclusionary school policies • Lack of training and employment opportunities	• Problem-solving and communication skills • Sociability • Resilient personality • Sense of belonging • Secure attachment to parents and family • Positive relationships with peers • Access to caring adults • Appropriate discipline • Opportunities to experience success and build self-esteem
<u>Source</u>: Adapted from NCPC (2000).	

The literature on crime prevention through social development is clear about "the need to focus prevention efforts upon young children, upon children who appear to be at most risk, upon the factors that place them at risk, and upon those efforts that can reduce the risk of delinquency" (NCPC, 1996: Section 4.1). The *National Strategy* also identifies two other 'priority groups' to whom support should be directed – Aboriginal peoples and women.   Disproportionately high rates of violence, victimization and poverty are experienced in Aboriginal communities, which is partly the result of geographic and cultural isolation. Similarly, over half of women in Canada over the age of 16 have experienced at least one incident of violence, which contributes to a fear of crime that limits their full participation in society (NCPC, 2001*b*).

To reach all of these priority groups, the *National Strategy* supports projects that use a variety of strategies. *Individual-level strategies* often target children and youth or involve client-centred interventions that bring a range of supportive services to the individual. *Family-oriented strategies* help build family capacity by providing support and training to the parents of young, at-risk children. *Community-level strategies* create partnerships that build connections among individuals or provide community outreach (NCPC, 2000). More than one strategy can be used in a single project. For example, projects that target young children may include elements that involve their parents as well as teachers, police, and so on.

This type of multifaceted approach may prove useful in planning specific interventions related to crime prevention in the Centre City.

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