Though much is taken, much abides; and though
We are not now that strength which in old days
Moved earth and heaven, that which we are, we are---
One equal temper of heroic hearts,
Made weak by time and fate, but strong in will
To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield.

Ulysses, Alfred, Lord Tennyson, 1833

University of Alberta

Responding to Rapid and Unexpected Retail Innovations: Planning Retail Resilience

by

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Department of Earth and Atmospheric Sciences

Spring 2014
Edmonton, Alberta

Dedication

To Dr. Coching Chu

It is my honor to pass on the faith of truth of the National Chekiang University.

I determine to be a brave trail blazer carving out new “sidewalks” to freedom.

To my legendary families

Every aunt is my mom. Every uncle is my dad.

My parents have two sons and three daughters.

I have one brother and three sisters.

To my beloved girlfriend, Mio Hu

Will you marry me?

Abstract

Retail areas within cities have traditionally not only satisfied the demands for various goods and services, but also promoted community sustainability and healthy lifestyles. Since the end of World War II (WWII), retail innovations have occurred rapidly and unexpectedly. In retail development, economic efficiency is highly prioritized over other functions, in opposition to sustainable development. In retail planning, a communicative approach frequently results in the public responses by "Not In My Back Yard" sentiments, contradicting the projected cooperation between different stakeholders. This research implements the resilience theory to tackle the shocks created by these rapid and unexpected retail changes, based on a comparative case of Edmonton (Alberta, Canada) and Portland (Oregon, USA). Primarily through interviews with senior planners in both cities, it is found that adaptive retail management, polycentric retail planning, a well-informed public, and the use of consensus building could better stimulates resilient retail outcomes.

Acknowledgement

I held a cup of hot coffee with both hands and stood outside of "*Sugar Bowl*" (a coffee and juice bar, 10922 88 Ave NW, Edmonton, AB, Canada). Watching the unique snowflake fly into my coffee, I felt that snow was awesomely warm. Many people shivered in their heated automobiles, and stared at the white with dull eyes. To them, snow was damn cold. I would firstly salute to the great long winter in Alberta, Canada. You make me become more sensitive to any kind of warmness, no matter how small or how quick it is.

Thank you, Bob. You are my supervisor for not only master's research, but also Canada. I appreciate your open mind to new ideas and ambition to think big, and your consideration, patience and trust on me. You have provided sound and professional guidance to this thesis, while gifted me with sufficient freedom for creative writing. Our frequent communications and debates on urban issues through emails, chats, and so forth, benefit me a lot.

Thank you, Damian. You have a very caring heart for the social minorities and strong sense of justice, just as a real life "*Gandalf"* from the "*Middle Earth"* (Let's forget that he actually smokes.). You have not only efficiently assisted me to edit my thesis, but also taught me many practical techniques in rigorous academic writing.

Thank you, Kurt and Brian. I will forever be happy about the days when we had "*Java Jiva*" coffee together in HUB, and be proud that I once worked with a cool musician and a great hunter. I am grateful to you for all the efforts on assisting me to settle down, improving my academic writing skills, and cheering me up to go through hard times.

Thank you, all my respondents in Edmonton and Portland. Your thoughtful and selfless contributions firmly underpinned this project, and your passion on a good urban life inspires me to accomplish this research at my best.

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Chapter I - Introduction

1. Background

Retail stores and services have played an important role in communities throughout the period of human settlements. In addition to the provision of the goods and services, retail locations can play other roles including maintaining neighborhood sustainability, nurturing unique sense of place, ensuring adequate access to goods and service to a diverse population, and stimulating sustainable and healthier lifestyles. However, market forces often tend to prioritize economic efficiency with little regard for providing public space functions.

Over the past half-century, North America saw a series of new retail forms driven both by the widespread adoption of automobiles in society and by retailers and consumers seeking economic efficiencies (Guy 2007, 2006; Duany, et al., 2010; Jacobs, 1961). These include various forms of shopping malls first developed in the 1950s, strip malls and power centers dominated by big box stores first established in the 1980s, and online retail business that first emerged in the 1990s (Gibbs, 2012; Guy 2007, 2006; Kramer, et al., 2008; Ngai, 2003). These forms are drastically different from traditional local retail areas which had a long history of providing a great number of public space benefits to communities.

Through this period of time, cities were faced with the challenge of responding to development pressures driven by retail format innovation. In retrospect, these new retail formats, and new knowledge in relation to retail planning act as a series of shocks to the retail systems within cities (particularly after the 1980s). Different cities experienced and responded to shocks differently through this period and as a result, retail landscapes differ from city to city.

The two case studies for this thesis, the metropolitan[1] areas of Edmonton and Portland, currently offer a contrast in retail systems. Edmonton has a large number of power centres including the largest in North America, one of the largest shopping malls in the world, and a history of urban decay in many inner city retail areas. Portland, on the other hand, is often seen as a touchstone of sustainable urban planning and development (Hagerman, 2007; Song & Knaap, 2004; Wheeler, 2003; Egan, 1996; Abbott, 1994), where a notably vibrant and competitive small retail business atmosphere providing a balanced retail function is identified (Portland Development Commission, 2011).

The major objectives of this research are:

1. To explore the concept of resilience as a means to study retail planning.
2. To examine how Edmonton and Portland have responded to external changes to the local retail systems in a resilience framework.
3. To identify factors of the retail planning system which affect retail resilience in the two case studies.

[1] Unless particularly explained, the term "metropolitan" used in this research does not include rural areas. In Canada and USA, the term "Census Metropolitan Area" includes both urban and rural areas. Though the boundary between urban and rural areas was ambiguously interpreted by different methods, it was suggested that the "Population Center" defined by Statistics Canada and the administrative boundary of Metro (the regional government headquartered in Portland, OR, USA) delineated acceptable urban areas within the Census Metropolitan Areas of both case cities.
For the detailed definition about "Population Center", please refer to: http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2011/ref/dict/geo049a-eng.cfm
For the detailed information about "Metro", please refer to:
http://www.oregonmetro.gov/index.cfm/go/by.web/id=24201

2. Theoretical Framework: The Concept of Retail Resilience

The framework for this thesis draws upon existing retail planning theory and history and the theory of resilience, particularly the recent incarnation of resilience work known as retail planning. It derives from earlier work on ecosystem resilience and more general work on social science and resilience.

Rapid and unexpected eco (e.g. the 2012 Hurricane Sandy, Eastern Canada and USA) and economic crises (e.g. the 2008 Global Financial Crisis) have continuously shocked human societies and brought great losses. In these circumstances, traditional theories envisioning a stable system largely fail to provide reasonable explanations and sound policy guidance. Meanwhile, the concept of resilience first raised by Hollings in 1973 has become more and more prominent, because it is focussed upon coping with crises.

2.1 Ecosystem Resilience

The concept of resilience has evolved from a body of literature initiated by Holling (1973) that focused upon the resilience of ecological systems. The concept of ecological resilience can be defined as *"the capacity of a system to experience shocks while retaining essentially the same function, structure, feedbacks, and therefore identity"* (Walker, et al. 2006, Resilience section, para. 1). This differs significantly from the more conventional perspective of stability which emphasizes the ability of a system to return to its previous state after disturbances. In contrast to earlier knowledge on sustainability, the concept of resilience suggests the prioritization of adaptation as opposed to stability (Folke, 2006; Holling, 2001; Scheffer, et al., 2001; Holling & Meffe, 1996). It also suggests that the management of systems should move away from seeking

to resist or avoid perturbations, and towards identifying and tackling structural flaws (Scheffer, et al., 2001).

2.2 Social System Resilience

Resilience was brought into the social sciences by researchers seeking to challenge the dominant modernist paradigms which tended to emphasize rationality (as expert knowledge) and stability. It was argued that these dominant paradigms overlooked existing structural segregation and injustice in human societies (Harvey, 1973) and societies were complex in nature adding to unpredictability and thus risk (Beck, 1992; Tuan, 1979). In recognizing injustice, unpredictability and risk, many social scientists creatively argued that the concept of ecological resilience could be adapted to understand better the resilience of human societies (Holling, 2001; Adger, 2000).

As illustrated by Figure 1-1, this involved adapting the concept of resilience from the natural to the social sciences, first in relation to resource use and management (Lu & Stead, 2013; Brown, et al., 2012; Folke, 2006; Holling, 2001; Adger, 2000), then in relation to recovering from natural disasters (Goldstein, 2012; Allan & Bryant, 2011; Campanella, 2006), and third in relation to managing socio-economic crisis and generating sustainability (Lang, 2012; Raco & Street, 2012; Pierce, et al., 2011; Young, 2011;). Generally speaking, the social sciences have applied the concept of resilience as the ability of a system to adapt successfully to unexpected changing conditions over time (Fernandes & Chamusca, 2013; Lu & Stead, 2013) as is evidenced in this broad definition: *"the ability of groups or communities to cope with external stresses and disturbances as a result of social, political, and environmental change"* (Adger, 2000, p. 347,). In discussing the relationship between economics and resilience Perrings noted

that resilience was *"the ability of the system to withstand either market or environmental shocks without losing the capacity to allocate resources efficiently"* (Perrings, 2006, p.418).

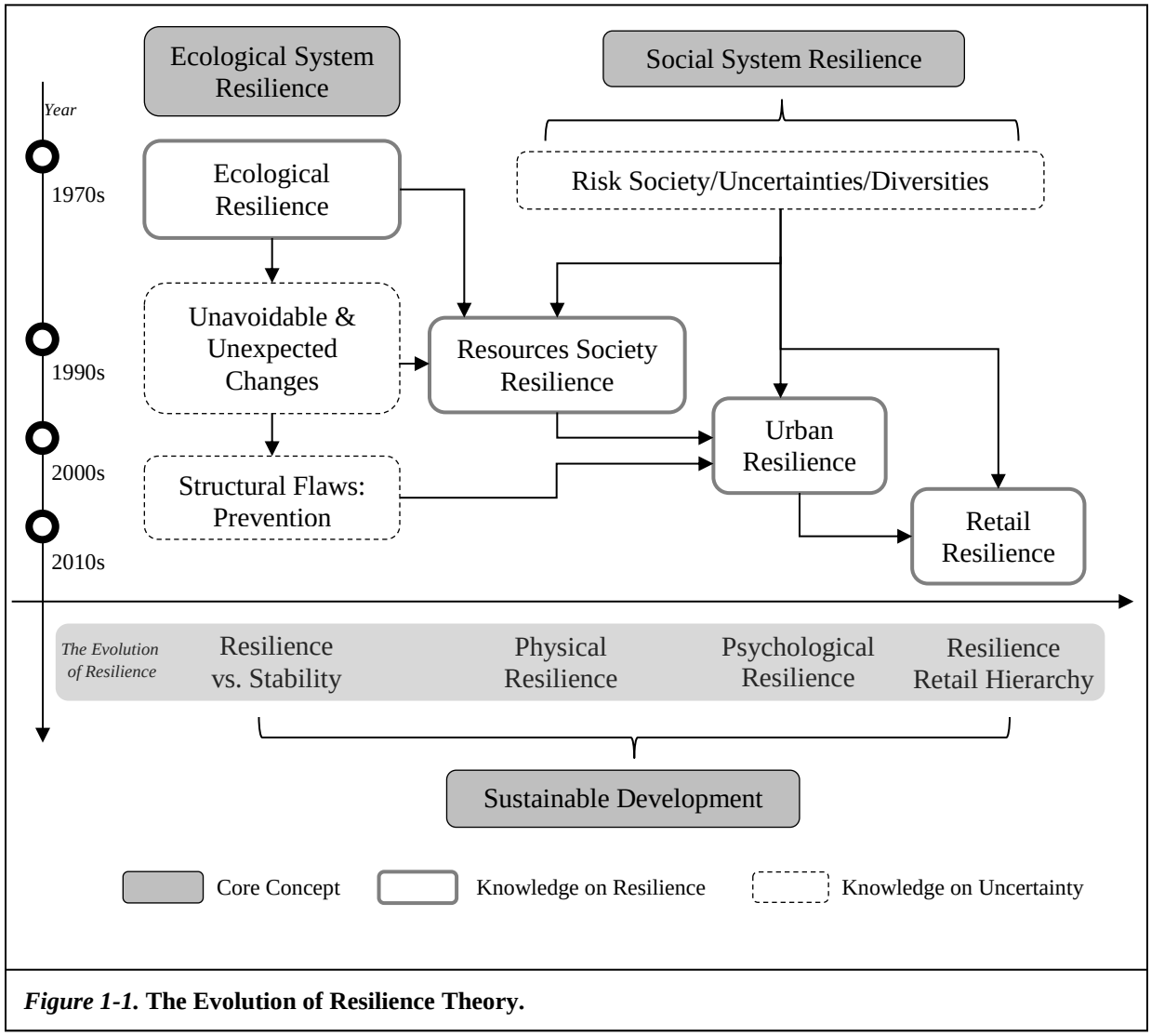


Figure 1-1. **The Evolution of Resilience Theory.**

2.3 Retail Resilience

As used in this thesis, the *retail system* includes all of the retail establishments within a defined area or community. The term *retail* will be used in the broad sense encompassing stores selling goods or services to customers.

In recent years, the concept of retail resilience has been developed (Barata-Salgueiro & Erkip, 2013; Fernandes & Chamusca, 2013; Kärrholm, et al., 2013). Retail resilience has been defined as *"the ability of different types of retailing at different scales to adapt to changes, crises or shocks that challenge the system's equilibrium, without failing to perform its functions in a sustainable way"* (Fernandes & Chamusca, 2013, P. 2,).

In the North American retail context, *"functions in a sustainable way*" implies achieving a balance of the market and public space functions, which will be explained in the next section (*3. Retail Function*). The "*changes, crises or shocks"* relate to innovations in retail formats and planning approaches, which will be discussed in a subsequent section (*4. Retail Innovation in the North American Context*). Each of these innovations challenged the ability of retail systems to deliver a balance of market and public space functions, and the planning systems in affected communities were left to respond to the challenges posed.

3. Retail Function

Retail systems not only have a base market function of facilitating economic exchanges of goods and services in an efficient manner, but also public space functions. Because the public space function is less easily quantified than the economic exchange function, it is subject to greater interpretation and debate. This section introduces various planning approaches to retail functions, and argues that facilitating a balanced retail function best suits the principles of sustainable development.

3.1 Base Market Function

The base market function of retail systems is the exchange of goods and services. The best retail productivity will be achieved if the costs of transporting goods, facilitating exchanges, consumer transportation and other costs of transacting are efficiently reduced under the least regulations (Nicoletti & Scarpetta, 2003). Given that many of the public functions of retail are not well accounted for by markets, there is a tendency for retail innovation to emphasize the exchange function (Gibbs, 2012; Hodge & Gordon, 2008; Guy, 2007).

3.2 Public Space Function

In planning and related literature (Kärrholm, et al., 2013; Francis, et al., 2012; Greenburg, 2012; Giddings, et al., 2011; Duany, et al., 2010; Miles & Song, 2009; Sandercock & Dovey, 2007; Jacobs, 1961; Geddes, 1915), retail areas are regarded as special "public space" that are suggested to offer contributions to a number of collective priorities. They should be able to contribute to neighbourhood sustainability (avoiding urban decay), generate and maintain a

unique sense of place and sense of community, ensure adequate access to goods and services for a diverse population, and support environmentally sustainable and healthier lifestyles.

3.2.1 Neighbourhood Sustainability (Avoiding Urban Decay)

Urban decay has been identified as one of the major issues undermining urban sustainability in North America since the end of the World War II (WWII) (Baker & Wood, 2010; Lowe, 2005; Grant, 2002; Sandercock & Dovey, 2002; Wrigley, et al., 2002). Note that the phrase urban sustainability here is meant to refer to a sustained quality of the neighbourhood environment in terms of vibrancy, function and property values (in essence, the opposite of urban decay). The high costs of and barriers to redevelopment of urban land versus developing greenfield sites perpetuates inner city decay. This is further exacerbated by the ongoing process of retail innovation as new forms do not fit easily into previously developed areas.

Vibrant retail areas in a traditional format (e.g. main street) have been shown to contribute significantly to preventing urban decay and to revitalizing decayed communities (Photograph 1-1). This has become a principle of contemporary planning theories including New Urbanism, Smart Growth, and Transportation-Oriented Development (Ratner & Goetz, 2013; Duany, et al., 2010; Guy, 2007). In the United Kingdom, these principles have driven the prioritization of main street stability in planning well above that of basic retail functioning (Baker & Wood, 2010; Thomas & Bromley 2003, 2002, 2000; Balsas, 2002). Thus, it can be said that retail locations have external public effects relating to neighbourhood sustainability.

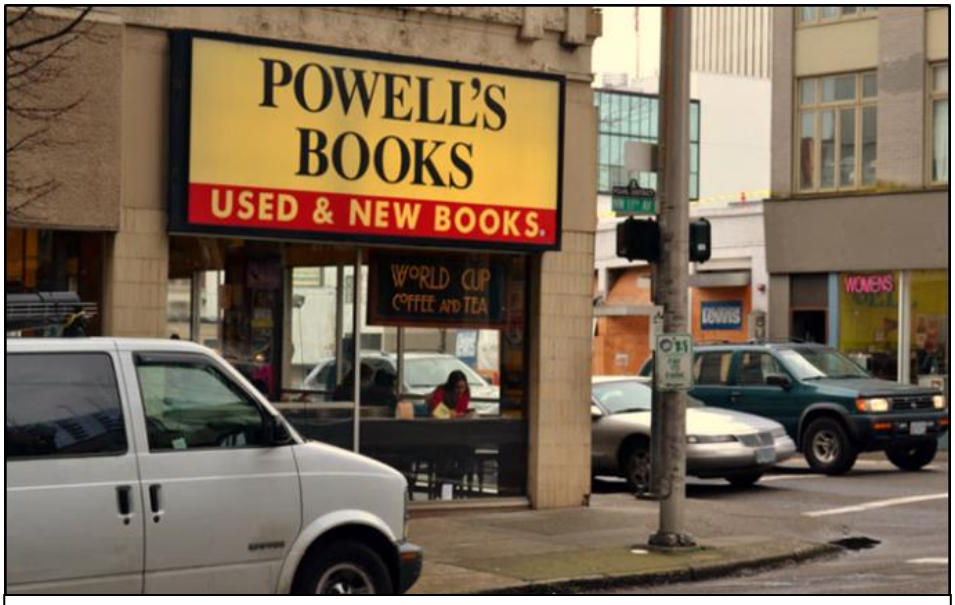
Photograph 1-1. **Bloor Street, the Annex, City of Toronto, Ontario, Canada.**

Source: Author, 2013

3.2.2 Sense of Place

Spaces develop a sense of place due to the unique collection of attributes including visual and other aesthetics, unique or authentic goods and services available, the people who are regularly present, as well as any additional factors that help to define it (Creswell, 2005; Hubbard & Kitchin 2010; Carter et al., 1993). In many ways sense of place is easiest to understand when considering its absence, a condition labelled as 'placelessness' (Kunstler, 1993; Relph, 1976). In terms of retail environments, placelessness can be conceived of by envisioning any mass market chain that emphasises consistency. Global retailers such as IKEA, for instance, often employ similar décor, similar staff behaviour, and provide similar products globally. Retail malls that consist of multiple chains often appear nearly identical whether one is in Dubai, Bejing, or Toronto.

Places with effective 'sense of place' exude uniqueness to individuals who visit or live in an area. For residents, they could incrementally evolve as the "*place*" where people identify themselves and thus contribute to a sense of community (Greenburg, 2012; Duany, et al., 2010; Jacobs, 1961; Longstreth, 1997). This connection between humanities and objects transforms placeless physical buildings into "dwellings" with authenticity (with respect to culture, art, etc.) at the human scale (Heidegger, 1971). Thus, sense of place and sense of community often intertwine. Powell's Books (Portland, Oregon, USA; Photograph 1-2) is not only the largest independent bookstore in North America, but also an authentic place where people talk about "reading" rather than book sales (Chamberlin, 2010) .



***Photograph 1-2*. Powell's Books (Downtown Location), Portland, Oregon, USA.**

Source: Author, 2013

3.2.3 Community Interaction and Sense of Community

Local retail areas (e.g. a single retail store or a main street) have traditionally been able to facilitate vibrant and frequent opportunities for socialization contributing to a strong sense of place (Photograph 1-3). This mechanism be intrinsically interpreted as a direct form of "*Township*" (Tocqueville, 1835/2013) and "*Public Sphere*" (Harbermas, 1962/1991) where people could freely, directly, and sufficiently deliberate their concerns on public affairs (Francis, et al., 2012; Sandercock & Dovey, 2007; Oldenburg, 1989, 1991; Harvey, 1973, 1996). Olenburg (1989) identified these as *third places* and anchors of community life that facilitated local interaction and a sense of community.

Photograph 1-3. **Left: Palio Dessert & Expresso House (the center of LADD's Addition), 1996 SE Ladd Ave, Portland, Oregon, USA, Right: Ladd's Addition (an inner southeast neighborhood of Portland).**

Source: Left: Author, 2013; Right: Google Earth, 2013

Such spaces allow for unique communities to emerge and to challenge commonly accepted values of society. Greenwich Village (NYC, USA), for example, was not only the place where

Jane Jacobs stood up against modernist freeways for local retail stores at the street-level and found many allies in doing so, but also the space where gay & lesbian (usually the social minority) bars were inclusively concentrated.

3.2.4 Adequate Access to Goods and Services for a Diverse Population

Prior to WWII, a great deal of retailing was very localised and personalised. While large department stores were located only in the urban core, many goods were available within easy walking distance of most urban residences (Longstreth, 1997; Girouard, 1985; Geddes, 1915). Other goods and services were accessible through streetcar networks. A particular feature was that individuals with limited means or mobility could access most retail locations due to the diverse transit options available. Even today, these traditional retail formats positively take care of their front streets and provide better year-long walkable public space than many purely public organizations (Photograph 1-4).

Photograph 1-4. **Left: Sugar bowl Coffee and Juice Bar (10922 88 Ave NW, Edmonton, AB, Canada); Right: Garneau School (10925 87 Ave NW, Edmonton, AB, Canada).**

Note: Both photos were taken after the first snow in Edmonton, AB, Canada on November 15th, 2013.
Source: Author, 2013

In the Post-WWII era, with the rise of shopping malls, strip malls, and power centres, and the associated subsidized freeway construction, access became focused primarily upon servicing automobile owners, a category that included households with the greatest levels of disposable income (Gibbs, 2012; Guy, 2007; Longstreth, 1997). However, it left many of those with limited means or mobility in a disadvantaged position (Litman, 2003).

3.2.5 Environmentally Sustainable and Healthy Lifestyles

In the mid-1970s, the impacts of the change in retail format on issues of energy consumption, pollution, and health were beginning to be recognized in planning (Abbott, 1983). Physically, the traditional retail system encouraged the efficient use of non-renewable resources. As noted, it was largely designed to be compatible for walking, cycling, streetcars, and trains with a smaller

environmental footprint relative to automobile transport (Photograph 1-5). The preserved environmental quality provides obvious health benefits (Francis, et al., 2012). Specifically, these transportation modes significantly encourage routine walking, which contributes to better health (e.g. people who walk routinely are less likely to have obesity and chronic disease, Frank, et al., 2006). Also, unlike the burst of the post-WWII retail innovations that significantly destroyed many "unnecessary amenities", the traditional retail system valued the hidden psychological benefits that could hardly be quantified in the market. It could effectively nurture a strong sense of place that catered for positive emotional well-being, and facilitated good behaviors strengthening physical health (Francis, et al., 2012; Talen, 2002; Jacobs, 1963).

Photograph 1-5. **Jane Jacobs Street New York City, NY, USA.**

Source: Author, 2013

3.3 Planning Thinking on Retail Function

Retail development before the end of the WWII was driven primarily by spontaneous market actions related to the distribution of streetcar lines and residential locations. Following WWII, the rise of planning as a profession across North America resulted in significant policy and planning influence upon the location and form of retail developments. Thinking on retail function at that time can be classified into two major categories: "prioritizing the base market function" and "facilitating a balanced retail function".

3.3.1 Prioritizing the Base Market Function

Two very different retail planning strategies (or movements) that emphasized the base market function have emerged in the Post-WWII period. The first, the ideal retail hierarchy, involved the strong direction of planning experts (e.g. planners, engineers, economists) to identify and implement an efficient hierarchy of retail distribution throughout cities. The second, rational neoliberal planning aimed to maximize economic efficiencies through deregulation.

Ideal Retail Hierarchy

In the early 1950s, with the rapid rise of automobile usage, an interest in increasing the separation of uses, the rise of new format shopping centres (discussed further later in this chapter), the rise of rational comprehensive planning and the related emphasis on urban efficiency, planners in many cities moved towards the development of an ideal retail hierarchy. This ideal typically placed the highest order shopping district remaining downtown followed by a hierarchal distribution of new shopping centres throughout the city. The intent of this was to prioritize the efficiency of goods distribution throughout the city resulting in efficient transit of

goods and access for individuals. The rational planners of the day were intrigued by logical distribution models such as central place theory presented by Christaller (1933/1966). As such, they derived their models of retailing from them (Dennis, et al., 2002; Guy, 1998). Regional and neighbourhood centres would be located in concentrated developments along arterial roadways and freeways providing the easy delivery of goods. Residents would access these goods primarily by car making fewer trips than previous generations of shoppers (who would visit retail areas much more frequently in 'inefficient' trips). The locations of these centres would minimize travel times through a rational distribution (Dennis, et al., 2002; Guy, 1998).

As shown in Table 1-1, public functions (e.g. sense of place) were taken into account to a limited extent in this hierarchy, but received significantly less emphasis than the efficiency of the base market function. Shopping centers (mostly in the shopping mall style) were favored because retail stores were concentrated in a nucleated style and were comprehensively managed (i.e. being significantly convenient for generating economic efficiency). Traditional neighborhood retail streets, which had been developed in linear formats along arterials, were discouraged due to their dispersed and chaotic nature.

Table 1-1

A Typical Retail Hierarchy

	Neighborhood Center	Community Center	Regional Center
Major function	Sales of convenience goods and personal services	Some functions of the Neighborhood Center plus sale of shopping goods (apparel, appliances, etc.)	Some functions of Community Center Plus sale of general merchandise apparel, furniture, etc.
Leading Tenants	Super market and drugstore	Variety store and small dept. store	One or more large, major department stores

Location	Intersection of collector streets and/or secondary roads	Intersections of major roads and/or expressways	Intersections of expressways and/or freeways
Radius of Service Area	1/2 miles	2 miles	4 miles
Minimum population to support center	4,000	35,000	150,000
Site Area (Gross Land Area)	4-8 acres	10-30 acres	40-100 acres and over
Desirable maximum size of center as percentage of total area served	1.25% (1 acre/1,000 pop.)	1.00% (0.75 acres/1,000 pop.)	0.50% (0.67 acres/1,000 pop.)
Ranges of Gross Leasable Area (GLA)	30,000-75,000 sq. ft.	100,000-250,000 sq. ft.	400,000-1,000,000 sq. ft.
Number of stores and shops	5-20	15-40	40-80
Parking requirements	Parking ratio: 4 to 1 (Parking area is four times gross floor area of building: 400 sq. ft. per parking space)		
	200-600 spaces	1,000-3,000 spaces	4000 spaces and over

Source: City of Edmonton, 1967

Neoliberal Planning Approaches

Neoliberal approaches towards planning forgo the role of the planner as the defender of public space functions, which is was hitherto central to the practice of planning (Baeten, 2012). Those who advocate for neoliberal approaches suggest that planners should simply facilitate market development. They emphasize markets as the most effective approach to the allocation of resources in society and as such, see many common planning practices as intervening in markets and causing inefficacies. Neoliberalism has been an influence on planning in some cities and regions in North America throughout much of the Post-WWII period, however, during the 1980s following the rise of neoliberal federal governments in both Canada and the USA (and a general

global neoliberal shift), neoliberal approaches to planning expanded. This led to a situation where the competition for efficiency was heavily facilitated while the provision of public space functions was either ignored or supressed. In terms of the role of planning in terms of directing land use, neoliberalism is diametrically opposed to rational comprehensive planning, but in terms of retail planning, the practice of planning in neoliberal governments has tended towards emphasizing the primacy of the market function of retailing and has been particularly conducive to the rise of large format retail big box stores.

It could be argued that such stores have not only benefited from market liberalisation, but indeed significant public subsidization driven by the coordination of developers and large format retailers to affect not only markets, but also political decision making. For instance, Amazon received 277 million USD public subsidies from 2005 to 2012 in Schertz and Irving, Texas, USA (Story, et al., 2012), even though governor Rick Perry has emphasized that Texas is an ideal model of free market economy (Stone, 2013). Bass Pro Shops and Cabela's (major retail chains selling hunting, fishing, and other outdoor gear in North America) have received more than 2.2 billion USD public subsidies from American taxpayers (Reeder, 2012).

3.3.2 Facilitating a Balanced Retail Function

In the 1960s, grassroots movements against the ideal retail hierarchy as depicted above as well as related 'rational' efforts such as urban renewal and major freeway projects arose. As the most prominent opponent of rational planning, Jane Jacobs (1963) forcefully defended traditional public functions of the retail system. Many planning experts were inspired to challenge the retail hierarchy advocated by the prevailing wisdom, and contributed to the new planning thinking promoting a balanced retail function leading to approaches in planning such as New Urbanism,

Smart Growth, and Transit Oriented Development (TOD). In such approaches, retail areas are perceived as "public spaces" within a community or city that could not only offer affordable goods and services, but also generate diverse public space benefits as discussed before (Francis, et al., 2012; Greenburg, 2012; Giddings, et al., 2011; Duany, et al., 2010; Miles & Song, 2009; Sandercock & Dovey, 2007; Jacobs, 1961; Geddes, 1915).

4. Retail Innovation in the North American Context

A series of retail innovations in retail format and planning approaches hit North American municipalities from the immediate Post-WWII period through to present. In relation to urban development and urban planning timelines, these changes were particularly rapid. They were also unexpected. Drawing from the terminology used in retail resilience literature, they were "changes, crises or shocks" to the retail system.

4.1 Retail Development

4.1.1 Pre-WWII Retail Area

Before the end of the WWII, most retail areas were made up of street based shops accessible either by walking or by short trips via streetcars. The retail hierarchy in most middle to large North American cities primarily consisted of the downtown core which functioned as the traditional central business area, with at least one main street containing at least one department store and wide range of other storefront shops. Nearly all specialty shops within a region were located in the downtown core and the area was typically the densest, the most vibrant and diversified place (mixed land use) within a city (Longstreth, 1997; Girouard, 1985).

Further out were commercial strips located around streetcar stops where regular residential goods and services could be obtained. In most cities, the majority of residential units were within walking distance of these locations. Beyond this, a series of lower order neighbourhood stores were integrated within the urban residential fabric which provided convenience goods for local residents. This system provided a wide diversity of public functions and met the general needs regarding the exchange of goods and services for local residents.

4.1.2 Suburban Mall

Beginning in the late 1920s, in response to the rising use of automobiles, new regional suburban shopping centers (mostly open air centres) started to emerge near major North American cities. Simultaneously, the City Beautiful Movement had become prominent in North America. As one of the leading figures, Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. envisioned comprehensively planned retail areas with beautiful park systems and architectures based on his public-minded professionalism (Peterson, 2009).

As the first "City Beautiful" work designed specifically for the needs of automobile commuters, Market Square (Western Avenue, Lake Forest, Illinois, USA) represented the general principles of retail development in North America before the end of WWII. It not only catered to automobile uses with the provision of parking and easy roadway accessibility, but also provided nice architecture, a civic square with sculptures and fountains, year-long walkable streets with beautiful boutiques and porches, and other amenities that could positively facilitate a strong sense of place (Photograph 1-6). These merchant driven endeavors manifested the spirit of the City Beautiful Movement, with an explicit intention to become not only a retail hub, but also a public plaza, often with open spaces and design features such as decorative fountains and squares (Gibbs, 2012; Guy 2007; Longstreth, 1997; Architectural Forum, 1943). The notion at the time was that retail areas had to provide a pleasant environment to be successful (Longstreth, 1997). However, these retail development projects were not generally targeted to the general public, but rather the affluent automobile owners in society at the time. These malls were few in number and the format did not make a major impact on North American retailing at the time as widespread development was halted with the onset of the Great Depression followed by WWII.

Photograph 1-6. **Market Square, Illinois, USA.**

Source: Griffith, Grant & Lackie Realtors, 2013

In the Post-WWII period, a number of factors aligned that resulted in the rapid proliferation of shopping malls across North America including the widespread adoption of automobiles, the growth of suburban communities, pent up demand for new development, the growth of freeway systems, the support of planners for shopping mall developments, the rise of mass consumption, and strong economic growth (Greenberg, 2011; Levy, 2011; Duany, et al., 2010; Robertson, 1997; Jacobs, 1961). A diversity of small neighbourhood centres and much larger regional shopping centres that included department stores began to be developed in the Post-WWII period. This development of department stores outside of the downtown areas was a significant shift in retailing.

By the mid-1950s, enclosed shopping promenades with inward facing storefronts (i.e. the shopping mall format) became the dominant form. The indoor mall format freed middle class shoppers from the impacts of climate and from sharing space with panhandlers and lower income groups (Gibbs, 2012; Kramer, et al., 2008). Parking lots were placed around the retail area, which significantly reduced the total walking distance of customers. These conveniences were

very attractive to the automobile-based middle class and malls were very successful (Gibbs, 2012; Levy, 2011; Robertson, 1997). The impact of malls during the Post-WWII period demonstrates a dramatic shift in retail form. In 1950, only 100 shopping centers were recorded in America by the Urban Land Institute. By 1984, this had increased to 20,680 (mostly in the format of the shopping mall) (Casazza & Spink, 1985).

While malls offered consumers pleasant locations to shop, these spaces were now separated from communities as opposed to being integrated within them. There were notions that malls could be town centres (e.g. the General Plan of Edmonton 1967). However, without any meaningful physical integration into communities and as entirely private-owned space, malls cannot fulfill all of the public functions found in more traditional centres.

4.1.3 Big Boxes, Power Centres, and Strip Malls

In the 1980s, a new round of retail innovations emphasizing further retail efficiency occurred. Strip malls, 'big box' stores, and power center developments began to be the dominant form of new retail development (Jones & Doucet, 2000; Levy, 2011). All of these formats abandoned any pretense of providing public functions. The base market function became the only factor of concern with low cost, easily retrofitted 'open' structures that could be adapted to host any retail outlet format. Design elements were minimal, but auto accessibility, shipping and receiving, and retail gravity were maximised. This retail model typified most of the suburban retail landscape in North America, and resulted in seriously "thin places". The natural, social, and individual diversity were significantly sacrificed, with mostly uniform and utilitarian values being left (Relph, 1976). This retail placelessness was positively associated with the alienation of suburban communities (Duany, et al., 2010; Jacobs, 1961). Small open-air strip malls became the

dominant form of new neighbourhood level retail development. With non-descript designs, low costs, and lots of parking, they offered a highly functional location for video rental stores, laundry mats, convenience stores and even uses such as churches and libraries.

This period also saw the rise of big box stores, large stand-alone stores with the storefronts facing a large parking area. In many cases, the building has no outside design elements beyond minimal utilitarian requirements. The large window displays of the early department stores are no longer a concern here, simply a large parking lot, a large building with a warehouse-like interior and a large sign for consumers to identify the store. Kramer et al. (2008) and Leland Consulting Group (2008) identifies four types of big box stores: Discount Department Store (General Leasable Area: 80,000- 200,000 sq. ft.; e.g. Wal-Mart), Category Killer (GLA: 20,000-120,000 sq. ft.; e.g. Home Depot), Outlet Store (GLA: 20,000-80,000 sq. ft.; e.g. Nike Outlet Store), and Warehouse Clubs (GLA: 100,000-200,000 sq. ft.; e.g. Costco). Early versions of big box stores were built along arterial roads, but these later evolved into the power centre format (GLA: 250,000-1,000,000 sq. ft.) where several big box stores are developed in a cluster with very large parking lots (O'Mara, et al., 1996). These are usually located along major freeways to provide easy access for automobile commuters. They are nearly un-walkable environments with great distances between stores and often freeways and other barriers surrounding them. They intend to provide virtually none of the identified public functions of retailing and concentrate solely upon retailing efficiency that only takes these costs and benefits being accounted for by markets into account. For instance, the price of a box of milk selling in Wal-Mart does not include the ecological costs of automobile emissions, the maintenance costs on public infrastructure, and the like which are shared by the public. The rise of Wal-Mart is a case that

demonstrates this process. Established in 1962, Wal-Mart was initially a humble company focused on discount retailing, and cost cutting was an important element of their strategy. In 1988, the first Wal-Mart store based on the "supercenter" concept (one-stop shopping) opened in Washington, Missouri, aiming to fulfil the consumers' desire for cheap products. In just two decades, the number of Wal-Mart supercenters reached 2705 in 2009 (Courtemanche & Garden, 2009). They either independently sought prime locations along major arterial roads, or joined massive power centers as a major anchor tenant[2]. In 2012, Wal-Mart achieved global sales of 469.2 billion USD (roughly 2.5 the sales of Apple Inc.) and ranked at the first place in the Fortune 500 list (CNNMoney, 2013).

Retailing innovation did not end with the development of power centers. The most recent store based retailing innovation is the development of lifestyle centres. Lifestyle centers aim to create aesthetically pleasing atmospheres, opportunities for shoppers to meet with one another (coffee shops for examples) and private areas resembling public space. Thus, in some ways, this is a return to providing some of the public function elements of traditional retail shops. However, lifestyle centres have been targeted primarily towards upscale retailing. They often remain as physically separated from residential areas as power centres and cater primarily to those with automobiles. Unlike traditional shopping malls and power centres which use large anchor stores to draw customers (often with significant subsidies to the anchor), lifestyle centres use an agglomeration of high end retailers and urban design amenities to attract customers (Gibbs, 2012; Kramer, et al., 2008; Leland Consulting Group, 2008). The attention to urban design provides a nod to the idea of public amenity, but their separation from residential areas, discrimination

[2] In America, Wal-Mart proposed to enter the inner city neighbourhood of mega cities, such as New York. This was just a very tiny share of the market that Wal-Mart focused on currently. Please refer to the related report: http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/money/industries/retail/2010-09-20-walmart-urban_N.htm

based on wealth and dependence upon auto transport greatly limit a contribution to the broader public space functions.

4.1.4 Online Retailing

In the 1990's online retailing arose and in the 21st century it is beginning to have significant impacts in many areas of merchandising. As shown in Figure 1-2, the total electronic shopping and electronic auction[3] sales of USA reached 278,451 million USD in 2012, which equals to 62.6% of the total sales of warehouse and supercenter[4] (444,665 million USD). Also, the annual growth rate of online sales has been significantly larger than the latter formats since 2000 (except in 2004).

[3] According to North American Industry Classification System 2012, this industry (electronic shopping (454111): establishments engaged in retailing all types of merchandise using the internet; electronic auction (454112): consumer-to-consumer or business-to-consumer trade) is largely equal to the online sales identified by this research.
[4] According to North American Industry Classification System 2012, this industry (452910) comprises establishments known as warehouse clubs, superstores or supercenters primarily engaged in retailing a general line of groceries in combination with general lines of new merchandise, such as apparel, furniture, and appliances. It is largely equal to the retail format "4.1.3 Big Box, Power Center, and Strip Malls" identified by this research.

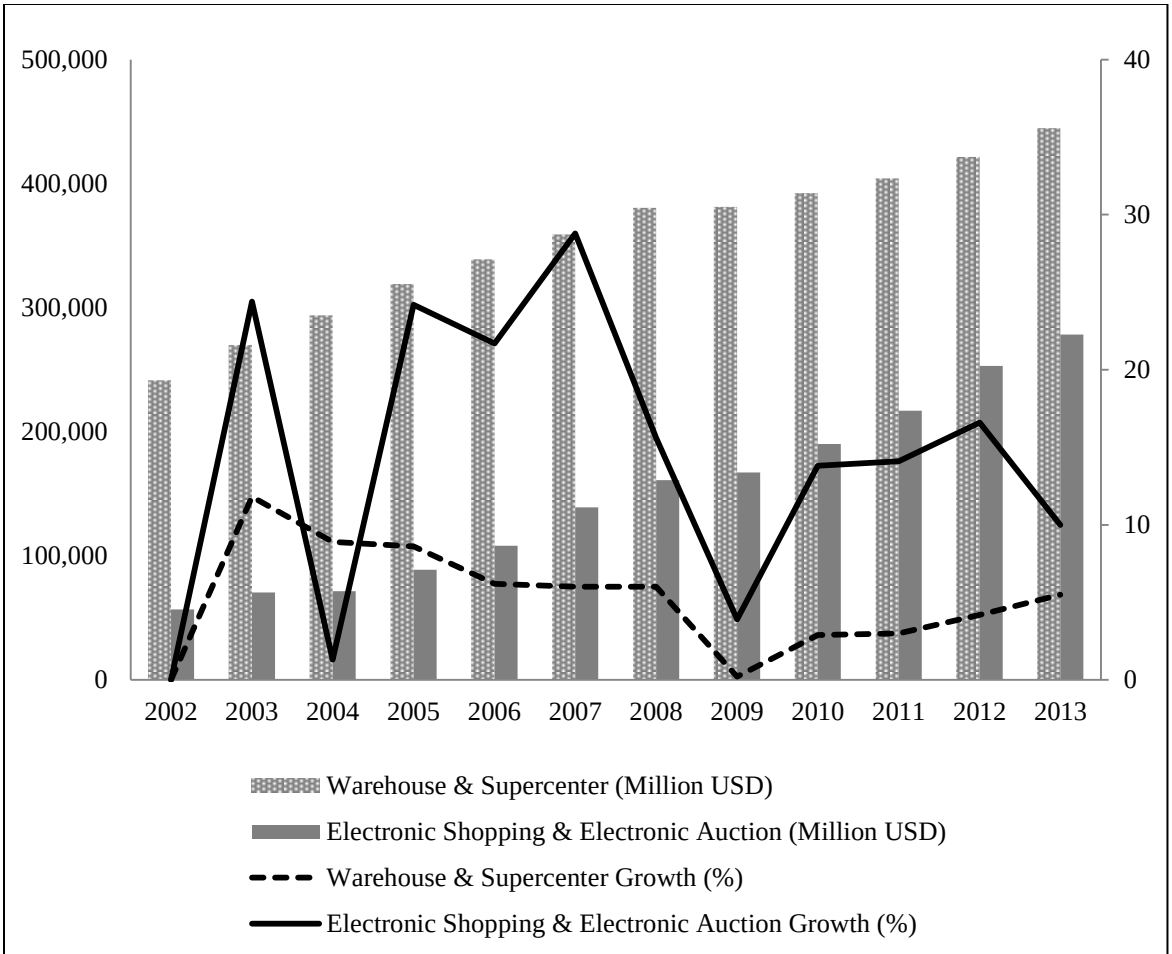


Figure 1-2. **The Annual Sales and Growth Rate of Warehouse & Supercenter and Online Retail in USA (2001-2012).**

Note: The statistic data of 2013 is estimated by IBISWorld.
Source: IBISWorld Database. 2013a. 2013b

For instance, new online book companies, such as Amazon, significantly swept away the traditional bookstore industry through the provision of cheap paper books and e-books. In 2011, Amazon's books and movies sales rose 15.7%, while the sales of the whole bookstore industry deteriorated by 0.9%. In 2012, Amazon achieved an annual sale of 42,513 million USD, which was nearly three times larger than the whole bookstore industry (17,678 million USD) (IBISWorld Database, 2013c). Even the prestigious Gotham Book Mart which had been a long-

time cultural landmark in Manhattan, New York City bankrupted in 2007, confronted with the fierce competition from online book sales.

Online retail provides an interesting contrast to the other forms in terms of the public space. While it offers no physical form to allow it to provide any value in terms of sense of place or community (and indeed competes with locations that do this), it offers individuals with limited mobility great opportunities to access certain goods. The long term impacts of online retailing are difficult to predict and will certainly have some effects on retail resilience within municipalities.

4.1.5 Conclusion

Retail development in the North American context has experienced rapid and unexpected changes since the end of the WWII and it should be expected that it may continue to do so. What the impact of internet retailing will be upon the viability of new TOD developments, for example, is very difficult to predict. Retail development is a relatively rapid area of change and one that challenges municipalities to adapt.

4.2 The Evolution of Approaches to Retail Planning

The formal processes of planning are somewhat similar throughout much of North America. Municipalities and regional governments primarily affect development through the creation and enforcement of plans and policies at various scales and through zoning and development controls typically enacted through land use bylaws. They can also affect development through direct capital investments, through subsidies and tax systems, and through the enactment of other bylaws. The provincial/state governments often impose fundamental principles on planning,

including principles with relevance to retail development, and provide and control capital funding for investments which can have a significant impact on urban form.

However, retail planning in practice involves a wide number of stakeholders asserting influence, and as such planning is not something that is solely managed by city planners. This influence takes the form of lobbying, legal action, political engagement, deliberative processes, and so forth. Stakeholders include individuals such as affected residents; adjacent municipalities, state/provincial governments, federal governments, NGOs; developers[5]; elected representatives (and the public who elect them); and planners, engineers, economists and other professionals. How this occurs and the level to which different groups exert influence differs from case to case. Therefore, retail planning functions more as complex system. The following explores a few of the major trends in planning practice since the 1950s.

4.2.1 Rational and Comprehensive Planning

Starting in the 1940s and through to the 1970s, municipalities adopted rational and comprehensive planning approaches. Rational planning focused upon the use of empirical research and statistical techniques to model efficient and optimal outcomes (Hudson, et al., 1979; Etzioni, 1967). Comprehensive planning involved the development of detailed short and long term plans for cities that would be used to guide all aspects of growth (Hudson, et al., 1979; Etzioni, 1967). During the rational planning period, the role of the professional as 'expert' was emphasized. Economists, engineers, planners and others were assumed to have the knowledge

[5] In this research, "developer" implies both land developer and retailer. Since big box retail became popular in the 1980s, many major retail giants preferred to facilitate retail development on their own, such as the Wal-Mart Supercenter (in many cases, they are independently located and developed.). Thus, the roles of the conventional developer and retailer were somehow mixed up. Even in the 1950s, when shopping malls were popular and mostly built by big developers, big retailers (mainly department stores) acted as a close business ally of developers and played a dominant role in mall management.

and capacity to completely address the development challenges of society. Their knowledge was held above that of the public.

In terms of its roots, rational comprehensive planning drew from an overall modernist trend in governance at the time emphasizing expert knowledge and scientific decision making. It drew inspiration from the heavily planned wartime effort where industrial production and military success were improved significantly by the use of rational scientific processes. It also drew from an overall modernist trend associated with the rise of new mass technologies such as the widespread adoption of automobiles.

It should be noted that while planners as professionals were strongly influenced by these modern approaches, they were also open to complex human elements such as aesthetics, social interaction, human perceptions and comfort, and other concepts difficult to quantify. In general, the professions of engineering and economics were more predisposed to ignore intangible elements of development and focus on basic efficiencies (Guy, 2006; Abbott, 1983).

4.2.2 Public Participation in Planning: The Talk between Different Stakeholders

The political battle between Jane Jacobs and Robert Moses over the construction of the Lower Manhattan Expressway in the 1960s has become somewhat iconic in representing the fall of rational comprehensive planning in North America. Moses represented modernity with an emphasis on technology, expert decision making, the abandonment of the old and creation of the new. Jacobs emphasized the complexity of human systems, the richness of 'old' existing developments that had evolved over long periods of time, the value in human interaction and diversity, and the importance of inclusiveness and deliberation in decision making.

Through the 1960s and 70s planning theorists continued to challenge the supremacy of rational comprehensive planning, and emphasize the critical role of the public in planning. Schools of planning theory, such as incremental planning (Lindblom, 1979) and transactive planning (Friedmann, 1973), demonstrated the limits of planners as 'experts' and the limitations of plans in successfully addressing uncertainty and complexity. They further argued that the public should be included in planning and transactively cooperate with the planners (Hudson, et al., 1979). As a result of this shift, beginning in the 1970s, municipalities across North American established public engagement approaches in their standard planning processes. Meanwhile the shift culminated in the development of communicative planning which contended that communications between all the stakeholders who had vastly different interests should be achieved (Healey, 1992).

4.2.3 Consensus Building: Developing an Agreement between Different Stakeholders

It is assumed that good planning practices would show up once the talks between different stakeholders were well facilitated. However, the conflicts between different stakeholders and backlashes against sustainable forms of urban development often occurred (Huxley, 2000; Innes & Booher, 2004; Innes, 1996). For instance, Terwillegar Towne, Edmonton (Alberta Canada) is regarded as the first New Urbanism-style development within the city boundary (City of Edmonton, 2013). However, the social inclusiveness and mixed housing types suggest by New Urbanism were not well accepted. In 2013, local residents harshly fought against and successfully blocked a proposal for an affordable apartment building for formerly homeless persons. As one comment stated on CBC, *"After all, it's a government responsibility to tackle*

the homeless problem, but not at the expense of people living in Terwillegar." (CBC News, 2013, section Harsh Reaction Online Follows Decision to Nix Homeless Residence, para. 8)

As a response to the fierce conflicts between different stakeholders, consensus building was developed based on reflections on communicative planning (Innes, 2004). It aimed not only to promote the talks between various stakeholders, but also to encourage them to 'agree with each other' through informal norms, such as local culture (Abbott, 1997).

Unlike communicative planning, consensus building clearly recognised the difficulties in facilitating a truly collective agreement. As noticed in many cases employing communicative approaches, the majority ruled and overlooked the needs of the minority (Huxley, 2000; Innes & Booher, 1999). Consensus building also encouraged different stakeholders collectively to reflect on the fundamental planning principles, and respond to new planning knowledge and other related changes. In terms of retail planning, consensus building is implemented by several urban planning pioneering municipalities, such as Portland (Oregon, USA).

4.2.4 Conclusion

Retail planning approached in the North American context have become more and more complex and unpredictable since the end of the WWII. As argued by Innes and Booher (1999), this reflects the recognition of the complexity of the world and planning problems. The mid-20th century planning systems based on rational and comprehensive planning were highly simplified, and only required planning experts to compute the rational ideal. Public participation has been positively promoted and widely implemented since the 1970s. Incremental planning, transactive planning, communicative planning, and so forth are developed to facilitate engagement between

different stakeholders in the formal planning process. Recently, consensus building has become prominent in some municipalities. It is built upon communicative planning and encourages different stakeholders to agree with each other through informal norms.

5. Methodology

This research sought to fulfill the objectives outlined in section 1 above using a comparative case study approach. The following sections explain how this comparative case study was designed and implemented, and how the qualitative data were retrieved, analyzed and reflected.

5.1 The Rationale for Comparative Case Research

A comparative case research[6] was used for this study due to its advantages for developing an understanding of a complex system (Teddie & Tashakkori, 2009; Hay, 2008; Holling, 1973). Unlike the conventional quantitative studies, comparative case research could better illustrate theories in depth (Yin, 2009; D. Smith, 1991). Even in the process of comprehending ecological resilience, the most successful and profound studies mainly rely on qualitative discussions of multiple cases, such as Holling's (2001, 1973) contributions.

To facilitate a comparison between urban systems, a workable comparative urban framework should be built. However, a lack of the theories on urban system is identified as a major barrier for comparative urban study (Kantor & Savitch, 2005; Merton, 1968). The comparative approach provides two major advantages in understanding urban systems (Kantor & Savitch, 2005). First, it precisely illustrates how similar variables function differently in a myriad of settings. Second, it can assist in comprehending the anomalies within different urban systems.

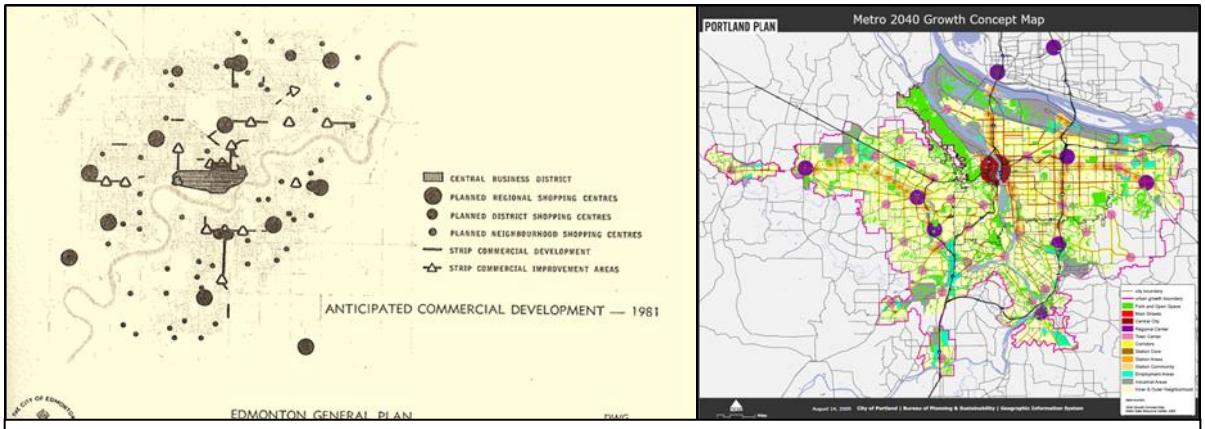
It is argued that a qualitative comparative case research appropriately suits this study. As stated before, the research framework of this project is based on the theory of resilience. As a mature

[6] As Yin (2009) explained, case study is frequently regarded as a qualitative method while it could be launched quantitatively. In this research, the term "comparative case research" implies the case study based on qualitative methods.

theory in ecology and a theory frequently practiced in social science, the concept of resilience offers a sound basis for analyzing retail systems. Further, this research identified two cases (Edmonton, Alberta, Canada and Portland, Oregon, USA) that have some similar variables but an interesting contrast in retail planning performance. By implementing a comparative case approach, these similarities and anomalies (as introduced below: 6.2 Case Selection) could be best discussed and analyzed.

5.2 Case Selection

Edmonton and Portland were selected as cases because both cities are prominent in the post-WWII retail planning history of North America. Prior to the 1980s, Edmonton was a leading city to embrace modernity in adopting a strong comprehensive plan emphasizing a planned retail hierarchy (P. Smith, 1995, 1991). It is important to note that Edmonton's plans at this time were highly advanced compared with much of North America. Portland has built up its reputation in sustainable retail development and urban planning since the 1980s (Abbott, 1997, 1983). The general concept was to build up a hierarchical retail system providing a balanced retail function. This was very similar to the goal initiated by Edmonton as early as in the 1960s (Map 1-1).



Map 1-1. **Left: Edmonton General Plan, 1967; Right: 2040 Growth Concept Plan, 1995.**

Source: Left : City of Edmonton, 1967; Right: City of Portland, 2009

However, the outcomes in the two cities differ significantly, with Edmonton becoming one of the leading markets for retail innovations with a large number of power centres including the largest in North America and one of the largest shopping malls in the world. Along with this, the City has encountered many problems in terms of urban sustainability with a history of urban decay in many inner city retail areas. Portland, on the other hand, is a pioneering city known for sustainable retail development (especially the preservation of traditional retail areas). The city's rate of 28 small businesses (mostly in the retail and professional services sectors) per 1,000 residents ranked the 9th highest in USA and 2/3 of these small businesses are located within local neighborhoods (Portland Development Commission, 2011).

5.3 Area of Study

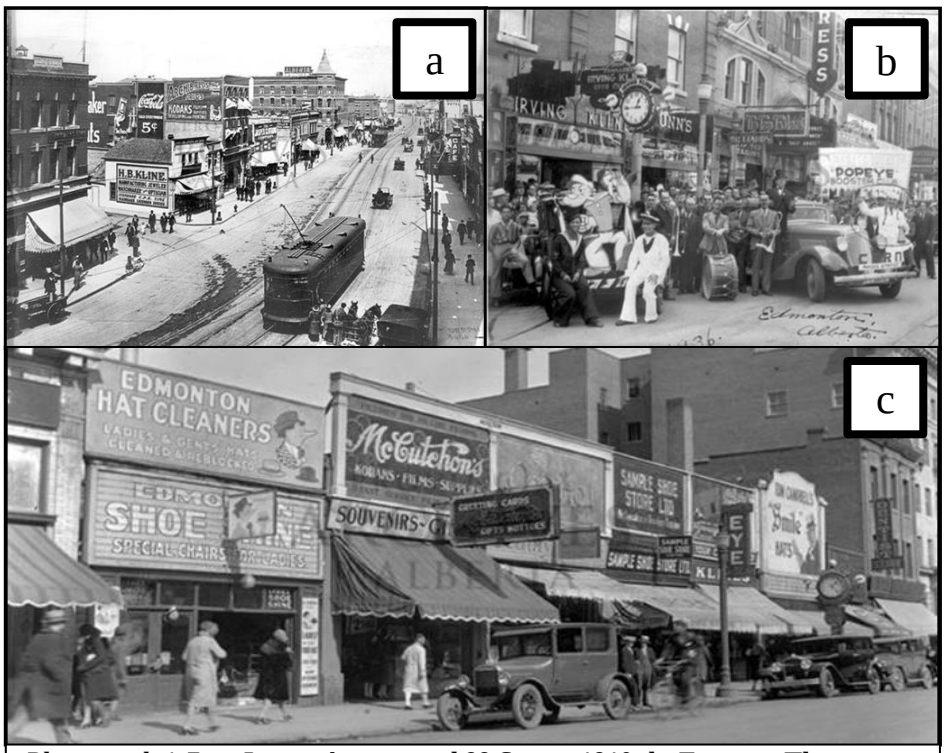
The City of Edmonton currently has a land area of 684.37 km^2 and a population of 812,201(Statistics Canada, 2013). Since the 1950s, the City of Edmonton has endeavored to amalgamate satellite cities, with the intention to manage regional issues comprehensively through a single municipal government. Edmonton retains roughly 85% of the Population Center

(Population: 960,015; Land Area: 855.32 km^2) and 70% of the Census Metropolitan Area (CMA, Population: 1,159,869; Land Area: 9426.73 km^2) (Statistics Canada, 2013). Therefore, the retail planning policies made by the City of Edmonton have significant regional impacts. A form of official regional planning existed in Alberta as early as in the 1950s. The Edmonton Regional Planning Commission (ERPC) was established in 1950, as a means to address regional conflicts. Supported by Premier Peter Lougheed, the *1977 Planning Act* was approved. Official regional planning in Alberta was dismissed in the mid-1990s by a fiscally conservative government. Currently, a nominal regional plan has been prepared by the Capital Region Board (a regional NPO consisting of 24 municipalities within the Edmonton-CMA), with a largely a non-binding agreement between municipalities (Capital Region Board, 2013).

The Metropolitan Area of Portland discussed in this research is based on the administrative boundary of the regional government named Metro, and is different from the one identified by U.S. Office of Management and Budget (Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro Metropolitan Area, land area: 17,310 km^2, population: 2,289,800). It makes up of 25 municipalities with a land area of 1209.52 km^2 and a population of around 1.5 million (Oregon Secretary of State, 2013). As the largest and also the central city, Portland has a land of 376.6 km^2 and a population of 585,845 (City of Portland, 2013). The regional retail planning was largely coordinated through Metro, which was organised in 1978 and was the only elected regional government in USA. Metro did not fully resolve regional issues, but provided the public platform for negotiations. Cities, counties, Metro, and the State negotiate and conflict with each other frequently with regards to planning and other municipal issues. Even though Metro had substantial planning power (e.g. the designation of Urban Growth Boundary) over different municipalities, it is subjected to the

decisions of courts. Instead of presenting a few minutes' lecture during a public hearing, different stakeholders could make hours of arguments at the court, which provided the public an easy access to the details of these regional issues.

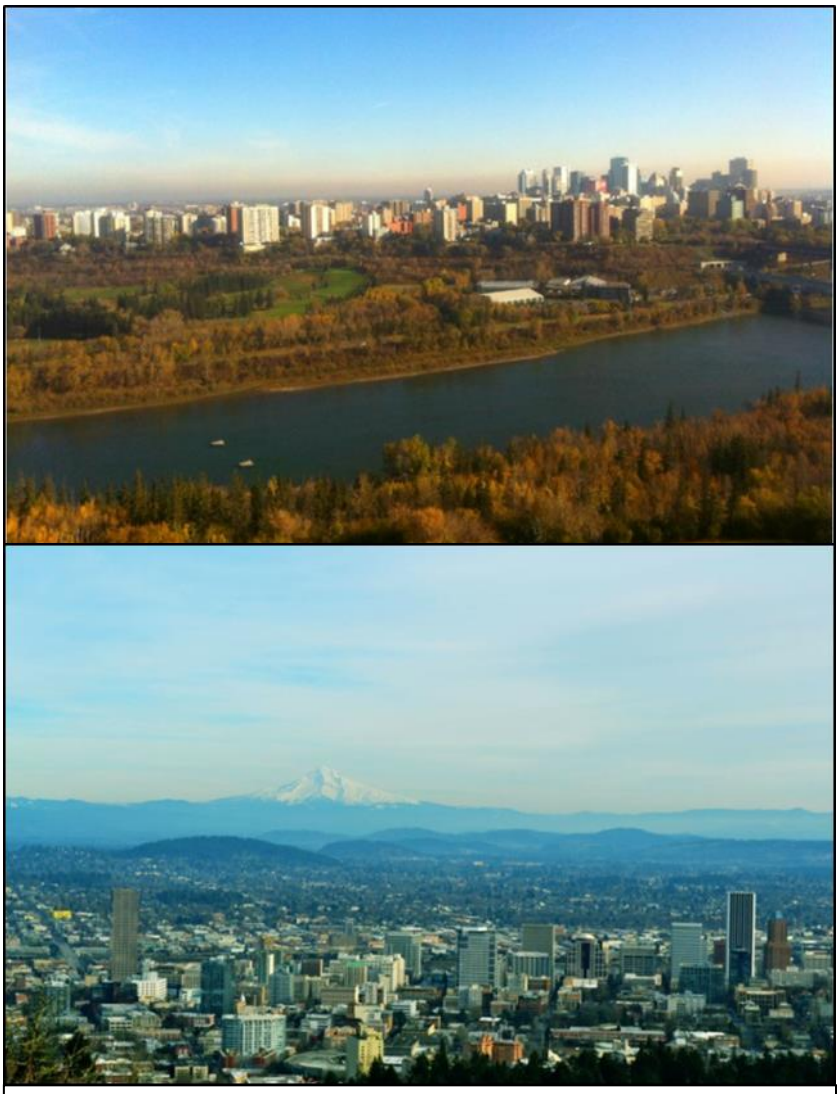
There are differences between the cities in terms of the natural environment. The most obvious relevant difference between them would be climate. Portland has a mild one, which is friendlier for outdoor retail areas, such as main streets. Edmonton sees a long cold winter, which encourages indoor retail activities such as shopping malls, indoor pedways and the use of automobiles. However, winter cities can achieve sustainable retail development. The city of Copenhagen (Denmark) is famous for its vibrant downtown and fascinating neighborhood retail areas. Also, the city of Edmonton had a fairly vibrant downtown, several prominent main streets, and countless interesting neighborhood stores in the first half of the 20th century. As shown in Photograph 1-7, Jasper Avenue (the main street of downtown Edmonton) in 1910, 1936 and 1942 saw vibrant retail strips (outdoor) catering for the year-long needs of pedestrians. In present day Edmonton, Whyte Avenue is a vibrant retail area year round.



Photograph 1-7. **a: Jasper Avenue and 99 Street, 1910; b: Empress Theatre on Jasper Avenue, 1936; c: Business on Jasper Avenue, 1942.**

Source: H*e*RMIS, 2013a, 2013b, 2013c

Though the topographies of both cities have distinct features, they both contribute to spectacular esthetic values and certain restrictions on sprawl (Photograph 1-8). In Edmonton, the North Saskatchewan River goes across the city in a southwest-northeast direction, and brings in rich ravine systems to the inner city. In Portland, the Tuolatin Mountains (West Hills) work as a natural barrier to restrict the urban expansion at the west side, and provides a unique view of the city and Mountain Hood.



Photograph 1-8. **Top: The Skyline of Edmonton (with North Saskatchewan River Valley); Bottom: Portland (with Mountain Hood).**

Source: Author, Top: 2012; Bottom: 2013

In terms of planning and retailing, as introduced above, these two cities each provide a unique set of factors. These will be introduced and explored in detail in Chapter II which explores retail planning and retail resilience in the two cases.

5.4 Data Sources

The research involved the collection and review of related official planning documents, policy statements, council meeting minutes, and print news media related to the period (1945-2013). These were retrieved primarily from city websites, city archives, newspaper archives, and university libraries. Using available data has eminent advantages in reviewing and analyzing histories, social structures, social changes, and cross-cultural problems (Singleton & Straits, 2010; Hyman 1972; Creswell, 2009). For instance, available data could assist to build the fundamental understanding on the settings of different case cities, and further leads to an efficient identification on research focuses (Hay, 2008).

Additionally, twelve interviews (six in Edmonton, five in Portland, and one with a professional who has worked in both cities) were carried out with senior planners and councillors who were involved in the planning process during the periods investigated. Interviews were semi-structured, and on the one-to-one basis. As key informants are usually well educated and are accustomed to public speaking and consultation, it is possible to gift them with more freedom than normal respondents in an interview (Singleton & Straits, 2010; Hay, 2008).

5.5 Data Collection

Data collection was launched from April 2012 to February 2013 for collecting available data. From October to December 2012, interviews in Edmonton were accomplished. Simultaneously, site visits were made in Edmonton[7] and the connection with Portland interviewees was built. The field trip to Portland was from January 29 to February 6, 2013, consisting of interviews and site

[7] As the principal investigator lives in Edmonton, it is very convenient for him to observe different retail areas within the city.

visits. The investigator also immersed himself into the research setting (i.e. in both cities) during the observation, aiming to better understand the qualitative data.

Table 1-2 showed the major official planning documents and reports, and media products (videos/movies/TV series) that were referred to in the data set. Key retail planning and community sustainability policies and events for each city since WWII were identified and focused upon.

Table 1-2.

Collection of Available Data

	Edmonton	Portland
Official Planning Document and Reports		
Regional/ Municipal Development Plan	Municipal Development Plan, 1967-1981 Municipal Development Plan, 1982-1989 Municipal Development Plan, 1990-1998 Municipal Development Plan, 1999-2008 Municipal Development Plan, 2009-2018	Portland Improvement, Robert Moses, 1943 Comprehensive Development Plan, 1958-1980 Comprehensive Plan, 1980-2012 METRO 2040, 1995 The Portland Plan, 2012-2035
Area Development Plan	Mill Woods Development Concept, 1971 West Jasper Place Outline Plan, 1972 Clareview Town Center Neighborhood Area Structure Plan, 1980 Summerlea Neighborhood Area Structure Plan, 1983 Mill Woods Town Center Area Structure Plan, 1987 Capital City Downtown Plan, 1997 South Edmonton Common and Edmonton Research and Development Park Area Structure Plan, 1998 Strathcona Area Redevelopment Plan, 1998 Business Revitalization Zones Handbook: a Guide for Edmonton BRZs, 2007 The Quarters Downtown: Urban Design Plan, 2009 Capital City Downtown Plan, 2010 Mill Woods Station Area Plan, 2012 Transit Oriented Development Guidelines, 2012 Complete Street Guidelines, 2013	Park Plan, Olmsted Brothers, 1905 Downtown Plan, 1972 Northwest District Policy Plan, 1977 Central City Plan, 1988 Albina Community Plan: History of The Albina Plan Area, 1990 Albina Community Plan: The History of Portland's African American Community, 1993 Northwest District Plan, 2003 Amendments to the Cascade Station/Portland International Center Plan District, 2005 Portland Development Commission Strategic Plan, 2010-2014 Portland State University District Framework Plan, 2010 City of Portland Neighborhood Economic Development Strategy, 2011

Report	The Roles and Relevance of Alberta's Regional Planning Commissions, Thomas L. Burton, 1981 Plans and Planning in Alberta, Makale & Kyllo Planning Associates Ltd., 1979 Managing Urban Change in Edmonton, 1987 A Working Paper of the Downtown Area Redevelopment Plan: Building Envelope Testing, 1980 Second Street Arcade, Edmonton Downtown Development Corporation, 1987 The Downtown Ideas Catalogue, 1994 Planning and Financing Streetscape Improvement, 1992	A History of METRO, Carl Abbott, 1991 Downtown Portland Retail Strategy, Economic Research Associates, Crandall Arambula, Marketing Development Inc. IBI Group, Zenn Associates, 2002 Portland Downtown Retail: Local Retail Review, Leland Consulting Group, 2008 Portland Downtown Retail Strategy, Leland Consulting Group, 2009 Research and Recommendations in Support of the Downtown Portland Retail Vision, Leland Consulting Group, 2009
Media Products (Videos/Movies/TV series)		
	The City of Edmonton: "Edmonton, a City Well Built" Travel Alberta: "Feel the Beat in Edmonton" "Wonderland In Christmas", 2007	Portlandia: "Art Project" Portlandia: "Dream the life in the 1990s" Portlandia: "Dream the life in the 1890s"

A pilot interview (open-ended) with a senior planner was first implemented in Edmonton, as a means to practice communication skills, and develop a fundamental interview script for the later semi-structured interviews. Individuals who were significantly active in media coverage of retail issues were identified and contacted as key informants. They not only helped to recruit other interviewees through snowball sampling, but also assisted to refine the interview script (Flowerdew & Martin, 2005). At the beginning of each interview, the principal investigator made objective statements (story-telling) regarding the retail development and planning history identified from paper documents, in order to assist interviewees to better understand the topic and setting (Creswell, 2009). Then interviewees were asked to state their retail planning

experience as early and comprehensively as possible, and to answer specific questions based on the interview script. All interviews were digitally recorded and lasted around an hour on average.

5.6 Data Analysis

During the analysis, the interviews transcripts (13 hours and 27 minutes) were coded. Two sets of codes were developed (*temporal codes* and *content codes*). As interviewees were asked to indicate the general date when key retail incidents occurred, *temporal codes* consisting of *1950s, 1960s, 1970s, 1980s, 1990s,* and *2000 till now* were implemented to assist a longitudinal assessment. *Content codes* were used to identify the key factors influencing the management of retail development. They were created using a deductive process, based on existing knowledge of the research and frequent discussions with research partners (Creswell, 2009). A reflexive iteration process was used throughout involving numerous reviews of the data during the coding and analysis process.

Economy, regional management, the role of planning (as technical tool/politics/market), *local culture and demography, top-down or bottom-up planning paradigm* were identified as the content themes (Table 1-3).

Table 1-3.

Themes and Definitions

Theme	Definition
Economy	General economic condition (measured by GDP, Employment Rate, etc.)
Regional Management	Inter-municipal Retail Development Coordination
The Role of Planning	
Technical Tool	Planners should hold neutral (objective) values and provide technical

	suggestions
Politics	Planners should Actively participate in political discussion with a clear intention to promote public interests based on expert experience and knowledge
Market	Planners should actively participate in political discussion with a clear intention to promote public interests based on market experience and knowledge
Local Culture	Local attitudes toward retail development and planning
Demography	Demographic feature in terms of population change and occupations
Planning Paradigm	
Top-Down	A planning approach dominated by top-down planning power
Bottom-Up	A planning approach primarily supported by bottom-up planning initiative

6. Thesis Format and Structure

This dissertation is written in the paper format, with this chapter on introduction, one main paper chapter, and one conclusion chapter.

This chapter justifies the research rationale and methodology. It particularly explores the resilience theory in the study of retail planning, and further provides the framework for comparative case research that is launched in Chapter II. It also expands the discussion on retail function and innovations that are concisely explained in the next chapter.

The main paper (Chapter II) focuses on the comparative case study on Edmonton and Portland. It reviews the post-WWII retail development and planning history in both cities, and identifies how they have reacted to the major violations of their retail plans. Thus, the research objectives stated in section 1 are fulfilled.

The conclusion (chapter III) provides the major research findings, reflections on the research methods, and potential contributions to the field and future research opportunities.

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Chapter II - Planning Retail Resilience:

A Comparative Case Study on Edmonton and Portland[8]

1. The Establishment of Comprehensive Retail Planning in North America

From the beginning of the 20th century to the end of World War II (WWII), retail development in most North American municipalities consisted of a retail hierarchy involving a central vibrant downtown, commercial streets located in streetcar suburbs, and a distribution of small neighbourhood stores throughout residential areas (Alexander & Akehurst, 1999; Longstreth, 1997; Architectural Forum, 1943). The two decades following WWII saw the widespread emergence of rational comprehensive planning. Municipal plans of this period tended to be both comprehensive and transformational in nature, identifying a clear and detailed vision of the future of the communities (Gibbs, 2012; Duany, et al., 2010; Hodge & Gordon, 2008; Longstreth, 1997; Abbott, 1983; Moses, 1970; Architectural Forum, 1943). It also saw municipalities seeking to adapt their cities to the 'new realities' of an automobile based society and the mass expansion of suburban developments.

Retail planning in the 1950s and 60s tended to focus on the establishment of a new retail hierarchy (Kramer, et al., 2008; Dennis, et al., 2002), one that would reflect the transition to an auto based society and that would achieve high levels of efficiency through an efficient hierarchical distribution of retail centres based upon notions of central place theory (Christaller, 1933). Along with this, a wave of post war innovations in retail form by developers saw the rise of indoor shopping malls and larger format grocery retailers (Duany, et al., 2010; Kramer, et al., 2008; Guy, 2007; Thomas & Bromley, 2003; Longstreth, 1997). In most cities these new retail

[8] Edmonton, Alberta, Canada; Portland, Oregon, USA

development were supported by planning departments and incorporated into the retail hierarchy involving a vibrant downtown, a small number of town centres, and a series of lower order neighbourhood centres (Gibbs, 2012; Hodge & Gordon, 2008; Zhang & Fang, 2004). In line with rational comprehensive planning, the notion at the time was that this new hierarchy would be longstanding and not subject to radical changes other than expanding outwards with growth. In other words, planners saw the adaptation to the modern auto-based city as a single major change that would stand for a long period of time.

Over time, comprehensive plans for a pre-defined, spatially distributed, hierarchy of specific retail formats were challenged by the unanticipated rise of additional retail formats, market developments, the decay of urban cores, and significant shifts in planning theory and application. This case study research examines how two metropolitan areas[9], Edmonton (Alberta, Canada) and Portland (Oregon, USA), have coped with these rapid and unexpected changes since WWII. It does so through developing and exploring the concept of *retail resiliency* at a metropolitan scale and applying it to both centres. The two cases offer a valuable contrast in terms of how retail planning systems can affect the retail resilience of a city. It should be noted here that the phrase 'retail planning system' is used here to refer to all processes and stakeholders affecting planning decisions, not only the formal planning agencies[10] within cities.

[9] Unless particularly explained, the term "metropolitan" used in this research is not intended to include rural area. In Canada and USA, the term "Census Metropolitan Area" includes both urban and rural areas. Though the boundary between urban and rural areas was ambiguously interpreted by different methods, it was suggested that the "Population Center" defined by Statistics Canada and the administrative boundary of Metro (the regional government headquartered in Portland, OR, USA) delineated acceptable urban areas within the Census Metropolitan Areas of both case cities.
For the detailed definition about "Population Center", please refer to: http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2011/ref/dict/geo049a-eng.cfm
For the detailed information about "Metro", please refer to:
http://www.oregonmetro.gov/index.cfm/go/by.web/id=24201

[10] In this paper, formal planning agencies can be private as well as public sector.

This research employed a comparative case study to develop an understanding of the factors influencing the resilience of the urban retail system within the two metropolitan centres. Qualitative methods were employed as they allowed for an in-depth analysis of the complex systems being studied (Creswell, 2009; Hay, 2008; Bryman & Teevan, 2005; Holling, 1973). The research involved the collection and review of related official planning documents, policy statements, council meeting minutes, and print news media related to the period (1945-2013). These were retrieved primarily from city websites, city archives, newspaper archives, and university libraries. Additionally, twelve semi-structured interviews[11] (six in Edmonton, five in Portland, with an informant who has worked in both cities) were carried out with senior planners and councillors who were involved in the planning process during the periods investigated. Those being significantly active in the related media coverage were identified and contacted as key informants, and the connection with other interviewees was developed through snowball sampling. All interviews were digitally recorded and lasted around an hour on average. Site visits to key locations were also made in each of the cities.

During the analysis, the interviews transcripts (13 hours and 27 minutes) were coded. Two sets of codes were developed (*temporal codes* and *content codes*). As interviewees were asked to indicate the general date when key retail incidents occurred, *temporal codes* consisting of *1950s, 1960s, 1970s, 1980s, 1990s,* and *2000 till now* were implemented to assist a longitudinal assessment. *Content codes* were used to identify the key factors influencing the management of retail development. They were created using a deductive process, based on existing knowledge of the research and frequent discussions with research partners (Creswell, 2009). A reflexive

[11] When referencing direct quotes, this research identified interviewees as R1 to R12.

iteration process was used throughout involving numerous reviews of the data during the coding and analysis process.

2. Resilience and Retail Planning

Holling (1973) conceptualizes the concept of resilience as the ability of systems to absorb changes and still persist. It is different from the conventional perspective of stability which emphasizes the ability of a system to return to its previous state after disturbances. As more and more empirical evidence indicates that all ecosystems are exposed to unavoidable changes (Folke, 2006; Holling, 2001; Scheffer, et al., 2001; Holling & Meffe, 1996), the concept of resilience receives more recognition as a key element of sustainability. In contrast to earlier knowledge on sustainability, the concept of resilience suggests the prioritization of adaptation as opposed to stability which emphasizes a return to a specific previous state (Scheffer, et al., 2001).

The concept of resilience was adapted from the natural to the social sciences, first in relation to resource use and management (Lu & Stead, 2013; Brown, et al., 2012; Folke, 2006; Holling, 2001; Adger, 2000), then in relation to recovering from natural disasters (Goldstein, 2012; Allan & Bryant, 2011; Campanella, 2006), and most recently in relation to managing socio-economic crisis and generating sustainability (Lang, 2012; Raco & Street, 2012; Pierce, et al., 2011; Young, 2011; Brown, 1997). However, the notion of stability as a goal has been critiqued in the social sciences since the 1970s. This is because uncertainty, risks, adaptation and complexity can be regarded as fundamental elements of human society (Giddens, 2009; Ostrom, 2005; Harvey, 1996, 1973; Beck, 1992; Tuan 1979).

In recent years, the concept of retail resilience has been developed (Barata-Salgueiro & Erkip, 2013; Fernandes & Chamusca, 2013; Kärrholm, et al., 2013). It has been defined as "the ability of different types of retailing at different scales to adapt to changes, crises or shocks that challenge the system's equilibrium, without failing to perform its functions in a sustainable way''

(Fernandes & Chamusca, 2013, p. 2). To employ this definition in a meaningful way, it is necessary to first outline the "functions" of retail within a city.

Kärrholm, et al. (2013) seeks to capture a broad spectrum of retail functions in noting that urban retail areas must not only "respond sustainably to the needs, wants and desires of different users, consumers and investors", but also "be part of a structure enabling resilient everyday life". More specifically, it could be said that retail systems include both the *base market function* of facilitating economic exchanges of goods and services in an efficient manner, and *public space function* of contributing to a number of collective priorities. These priorities include contributing to neighbourhood sustainability (avoiding urban decay), generating and maintaining a unique sense of place, ensuring adequate access to goods and services for a diverse population, and supporting environmentally sustainable and healthier lifestyles (through efficient locations promoting low impact transport) (Francis, et al., 2012; Greenburg, 2012; Giddings, et al., 2011; Duany, et al., 2010; Miles & Song, 2009; Sandercock & Dovey, 2007; Jacobs, 1961; Geddes, 1915). This does not suggest that every retail outlet must support all of these functions, but rather that the entire retail system within a municipality or region should effectively address these factors in a manner consistent with societal goals. When referring to retail and service commercial developments, most municipal plans (at all scales) identify such priorities.

Rapid and Unexpected Changes

In hindsight, the notions of a stable urban retail hierarchy as envisioned by the rational comprehensive planners over 50 years ago were unfounded. Municipalities across North America have had to deal with changes such as rapid innovation in retail forms and changes to planning priorities.

Innovations in Retail Format

The latter half of the 20th century presented a series of rapid innovations in retail formats (Gibbs, 2012; Levy, 2011; Kramer, et al., 2008; Guy, 2007; Jones & Doucet, 2000; Kotin & Peiser, 1997; Longstreth, 1997). The first, discussed above, was the post war development of large supermarkets and regional and neighbourhood shopping centres. At the time, planners saw the widespread adoption of the automobile and the proliferation of indoor malls as the 'new normal' and the new ideal retail hierarchy as an adaptation into a new stable plan of development. Retail innovation continued after the development of these plans with innovations such as large format retail stores along arterial roadways, strip malls as neighbourhood centres, power centre agglomerations, lifestyle centres, and others. These new innovations streamlined many of the logistical processes for retailers, and the massive agglomerations of stores in power centres and lifestyle centres become highly attractive to consumers with access to automobiles. Retail innovation has continued with the rise of internet retailing, the impacts of which have yet to be identified.

Innovations in Retail Planning

Innovations did not only take place in retail form, but also within planning. These included the rise of new social priorities such as improving sustainability, multimodal transportation choices, and urban redevelopment (Priemus, 2013; Greenburg, 2012; Guy, 2007, 2006, 1998; Stokes, 2006; Hernandez & Jones, 2005; Symes & Steel, 2003; Nijkamp, 2002; Talen, 2002; Wrigley, et al., 2002; Robertson, 1997). This manifested itself in the rise of new planning ideals, such as Transit Oriented Development (TOD), Smart Growth, New Urbanism, Complete Streets, and others (Fernandes & Chamusca, 2013; Ratner & Goetz, 2013; Tsou & Cheng, 2013; Baker &

Wood, 2010; Duany, et al., 2010; Lowe, 2005; Deitrick & Ellis, 2004; Grant, 2002; Fainstein, 2000).

Concurrent with the changes in normative planning was the rise of new approaches to planning involving much greater levels of public involvement (Gleeson, 2012; Luo & Shen, 2008; Caruso & Weber, 2006; Brody & Highfied, 2005; Robinson, et. al., 2005; Murtagh, 2004; Balsas, 2000; Carr & Feiock, 1999; Porter, 1997, 1995) and consensus building (Innes, 2004; Innes & Booher, 2004; Abbott, 1997; Innes, 1996). They significantly complicated the power relation of retail planning system, and functioned as an important force contributing to the unpredictability of retail system.

3. Edmonton: Seeking a Stable Ideal

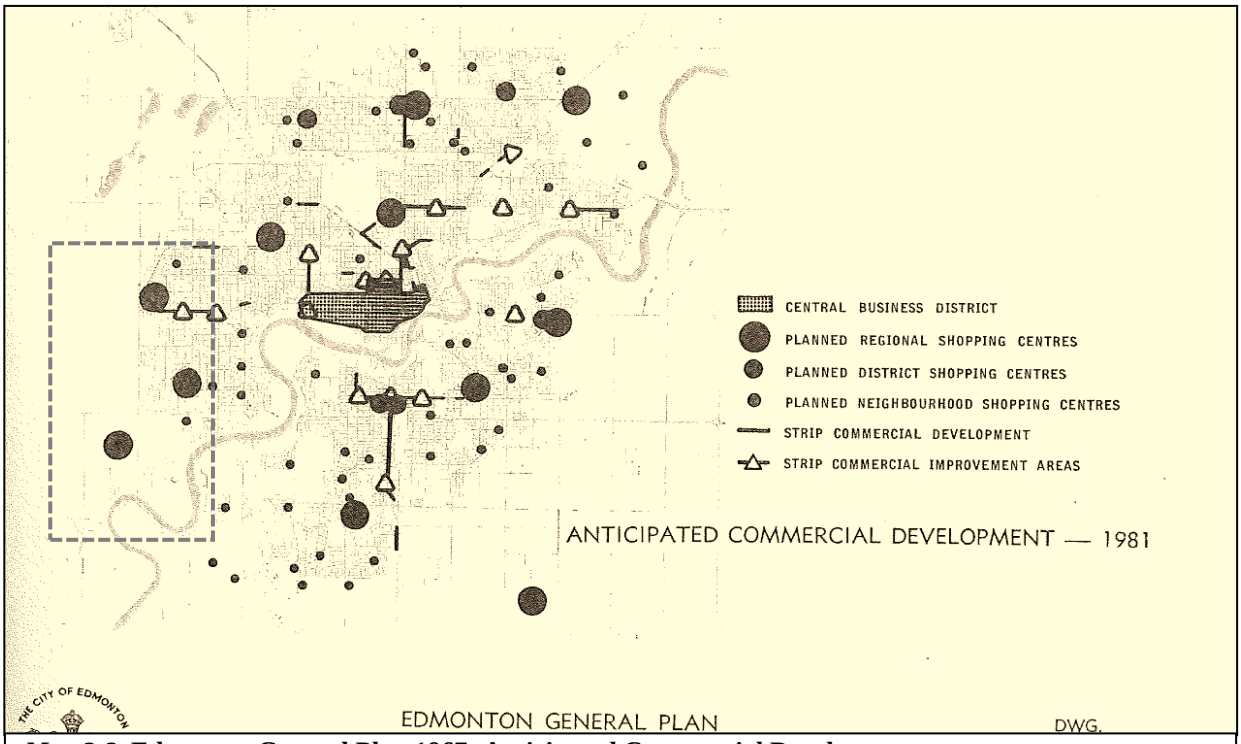
The City of Edmonton currently has a land area of 684.37 km^2 and a population of 812,201 which is roughly 85% of the total in the metropolitan area (Statistics Canada, 2013). Therefore, the retail planning decisions made by the City of Edmonton have significant regional impacts. In terms of regional planning, a non-binding regional plan has been prepared by the Capital Region Board (a regional NPO consisting of 24 municipalities within the Edmonton-CMA) (Capital Region Board, 2013).

In 1949, Edmonton was experiencing rapid growth precipitated by the discovery of oil. The City introduced official urban planning in 1949 and recruited planners from Europe (especially England) to staff their planning department. The strong urban growth of the region and the open prairie geography provided ideal conditions for the new planning department to enact the rational planning principles that dominated planning at the time. Beginning in the 1950s, the new planners developed a rational and comprehensive 'ideal' retail hierarchy rooted in concepts introduced by Christaller (1933/1966) and reflecting the rise of automobiles as a means of transport. In 1967, these concepts were documented in the comprehensive *General Plan for the City of Edmonton* (City of Edmonton, 1967).

The retail hierarchy was to consist of a central business district, regional shopping centers, district shopping centers, and neighborhood shopping centers (Map 2-1). There was also some recognition of existing retail developments as pre-war strip commercial developments were included in the hierarchy, although no new developments of this sort were to be allowed. Planners envisioned this hierarchy not only to meet the needs of communities in terms of retail

exchange, but also to secure the public space functions with centres acting as places of community interaction and celebration:

"A variety of land uses should be integrated with new shopping center designs. These uses may include cultural, park and recreation, educational, governmental and residential as well as other facilities which can be sited harmoniously and compactly together in the same unit for economy and convenience. This should improve the viability of the center and provide the neighborhood or community with a more clearly defined focus or center for a wide variety of community functions" (City of Edmonton, 1967, Section "Principles for Commercial Development", para. 4).



Map 2-2. **Edmonton General Plan 1967: Anticipated Commercial Development**

Note: The grey polygon (dashed line) indicates the general area shown in Map 2-2.
Source: City of Edmonton, 1967

In essence, the planners believed that the public space functions of retailing that previously had taken place in public streets and in the downtown core could be shifted to the new privately

owned regional/town centres that they were planning. In order to achieve these outcomes, quantitative regulations on floor area ratio, site area, urban design, transportation alternatives and so forth were developed by planners, and were enforced by the municipal government through the municipal land use bylaw.

From the early drafts of 1967 comprehensive plan (which were circulated as early as 1961) through the early 1970's, planners maintained a powerful role in directing the locations of new retail development. However, the limits of planning power had begun to show in the 1970s. As the planning department began to integrate elements of communicative planning into their process, many good planning ideas were overwhelmed by the utilitarian value held by most residents in new neighborhoods, as one interviewee explained:

"In those days though, I mean Edmonton has had a very, a very much reputation of being very utilitarian, very practical, which means cheap and ugly. As long as, you know, the lights work and the heating goes up, and you get in, well that's fine. And only in the last, I would say 8 or 9 years, some of the sentiment began to significantly change that finally looked at some quality design and centered on that. But that's recent. By that time, probably no one paid attention to that. Councillors were, the mayor were part of not paying attention to that." (R1)

The public response challenged the need for aesthetically pleasing streets leading to town centres that facilitated walking, and public transportation, and instead pushed for wider roads.

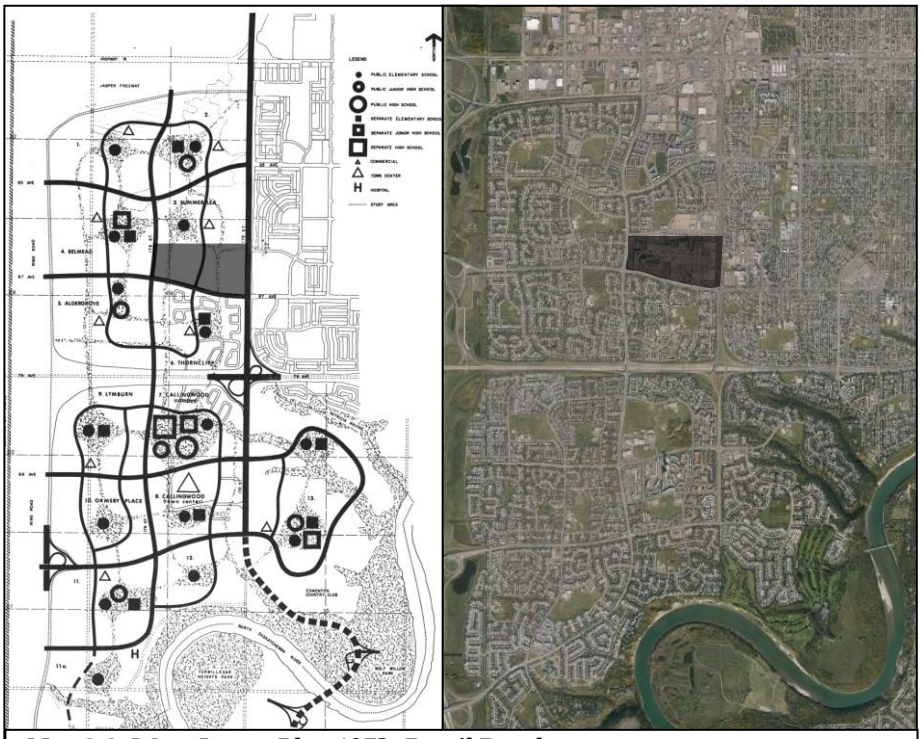
"It was an idea to build a separate bus route through the communities that was only for public transportation. (…) All the people in Edmonton or in the oil patch mostly, just said: 'Oh…to hell with this system! We will drive through anyway'. So the whole concept was lost." (R4)

These utilitarian arguments were also put forth by city economists who emphasized only the market distribution role of centres and not the more social elements (R3, R4 & R5). As a result, public investment and the requirements for developers fell far short of what was needed to fulfill the retail public space functions envisioned by planners.

Furthermore, market forces presented unanticipated challenges to the plans as they had been developed. The urban core, which had been envisioned to be the highest order location for retailing, saw significant retail decay in the 1970s due to a series of factors. On one hand, new shopping mall developments were constructed in suburban locations and became competitive in the market (Kuban, 2005; Bill, 2003; Parnell, Semotuk, & Swain, 1974). On another hand, a large number of exsiting historical buildings with unique character were dismantled and rebuilt into modern placeless towers. As a result, the traditional downtown atmosphere and lifestyle were critically damaged. Some residents were disappointed by the great loss of the uniqueness in downtown and blamed planners as the close ally of large retail developers (Parnell, Semotuk, & Swain, 1974). In support of the city plans and to respond to concerned residents, the city invested in the downtown core in the 1970s emphasizing the development of shopping malls within the center to bolster its attractiveness (Mason, 1977). The city planners continued to emphasize the pre-eminence of the downtown core in their planned ideal retail hierarchy.

In 1973 came the proposal to develop West Edmonton Mall, the largest shopping mall in the world when it was completed in 1985. The planners held firm to their plan and recommended that the rezoning for the mall not be approved, because it significantly violated the General Plan 1967 and the West Jasper Place Plan 1972 (Map 2-2). In their report to council, they noted that the planning department will not support the requested amendment for the reason that the mall would jeopardize the sustainability of the planned town centre developments in the proximity

(Callingwood) as well as the whole concept of outline plans as a positive planning tool (Smith, 1991; City Council Minutes (City of Edmonton), 1973; Edmonton Journal, 1973). City council, somewhat less inclined to support strong planning measures, approved the rezoning and permitted the development of the mall (Leo, 1995; City Council Minutes (City of Edmonton), 1973). A review of the council meeting minutes and local media coverage at the time indicates that there was very little public opposition to the rezoning.



Map 2-3. **West Jasper Plan 1972: Retail Development**

Note: Triangle represents the planned retail area on the left map. As shown in the map, the town center is located at Callingwood (the largest Triangle). The site (the polygon colored in dark on the right satellite map) where West Edmonton Mall is located on (Summerlea) is planned as a pure residential area.
Source: Left: City of Edmonton, 1972; Right: Google Earth, 2013.

In 1981, Phase I of the mall was built, and had immediate market success (Fairbairn, 1991). Two years later Phase II was accomplished. At the same year, the Summerlea Area Structure Plan was crafted, and officially designated WEM as a town center. The mall developer sophisticatedly

aired the mall expansion (Phase III) in the market and then requested another rezoning. The market impact of this proposed expansion was studied and the results were presented to city council. A report, undertaken by Urbanics Consultant (1983) on behalf of the city dramatically noted that the mall's expansion would have a devastating impact on existing and planned retail developments in the City. It concluded that the expansion of WEM would threaten the traditional role of downtown as the central shopping district and impact the sustainability of shopping centres in Edmonton and the region. City council, however, supported the rezoning. Once Phase III was fully constructed in 1985, the mall (Gross Leasable Area: more than 3 million ft^2) significantly exceeded the limits of the largest suburban retail area (regional center) suggested (Gross Leasable Area: 1 million ft^2) by the planned retail hierarchy.

The approval and development of the mall disrupted the existing retail system of Edmonton and challenged the authority of the planning department (Smith, 1991). First, it disrupted the retail hierarchy which had been stable and somewhat predicable during the past three decades. Second, it challenged the primacy of the official plan as a source of retail planning and introduced unpredictability into future developments. Third, WEM achieved spectacular success in capturing local retail markets drawing from existing retail centres and the downtown core which were already struggling due to a weak economy in Edmonton in the 1980s (Fairbairn, 1991; Johnson, 1991). As one respondent noted:

"You see, they allow the Ghermezians to build the WEM. They almost bankrupted the city center [in terms of retail sales]. (…) WEM sucked the life of the city center for ten years [during the 1980s]" (R5)

Over the next decade, the Ghermezian Brothers would continue to expand the mall (Phases IV & V) and its entertainment elements as they sought to build their 'Grand Bazaar' in Edmonton (Pristin, 2011, May 10). As claimed by the developer, *"West Edmonton Mall's concept is inspired by the traditional urban bazaars of Persia, where shopping and entertainment were plentiful and operated in tandem, fulfilling a variety of consumer needs all in one place."*(West Edmonton Mall, 2013, Section "About West Edmonton Mall", para. 2) In Persian cities, bazaars have functioned as downtown cores contributing to not only vibrant retail atmosphere and but also socialization.

The 1982-1989 Plan was developed prior to the approval of WEM and retained the vision of the 1967 Plan for the ideal retail hierarchy. The 1990-1998 Plan showed WEM as a regional shopping centre, but continued to emphasize the basic retail hierarchy developed prior to the 1967 Plan. WEM was identified as a secondary retail node and downtown retained its primacy despite WEM having become the de facto primary retailing, entertainment and social location within the city boundary (Fairbairn, 1991; Johnson, 1991; Smith, 1991).

Through the 1980s and 90s, retail innovations continued to arrive in Edmonton, from big box stores to early power centres. The planning department and the presence of the statutory planning document opposed unplanned big box development. The 1982-1989 Plan contended that "a general commercial character is not appropriate in highway entrances corridors". The 1990-1998 Plan envisioned orderly development of major commercial corridors along arterial roadways. However, Edmonton saw significant arterial big box development in the late 80s and throughout the 90s. Small strip malls also proliferated. As concluded by R1, R2, R3 and R6, the planners and the ideal retail hierarchy outlined in municipal planning documents had lost much of their effective authority with council approving rezoning for developments that were counter

to their goals. The approval process shifted to one of loose deliberation with vague development concepts identified (growth, progress) and more nuanced planning notions ignored. Interview respondents involved in planning at the time (R1, R2, and R3) all independently noted that a mostly utilitarian public remained largely disinterested in affecting the decisions made regarding ongoing retail changes. In 1998 came the approval for South Edmonton Common (SEC, the largest power center in the world at 320 acres), once again without the support of the planning department and without any significant public opposition (R1, R3, and R5). A review of media reporting on the development of both WEM and SEC demonstrate mostly enthusiasm for the "exciting new retail" options coming to Edmonton, with limited discussion concerning their long term impacts.

"And clearly, South Edmonton Common fills a market niche; just ask the thousands of happy shoppers who fill its vast parking lots every day. But there's no excuse for city council to perpetually abdicate its responsibility to safeguard the long-term interests of the city as a whole." (Simons, 2003)

Retail functioning in Edmonton shifted dramatically with the de facto collapse of active retail planning in the 1980's. It had deteriorated to such a level that it was no longer addressed in the 1998 Plan (City of Edmonton, 1998). With retail innovations and the related influential developers driving the process, efficiency in retailing was the sole determinant in the form and distribution of retailing. As such, public space functions such as walkability, urban design, environmental sustainability, widespread public accessibility, and supporting neighbourhood sustainability (as opposed to urban decay) were not factors. Through this period, some initiatives to counter urban decay were initiated, including the development of Business Revitalization Zones (BRZ), which are the equivalent of Business Improvement Districts elsewhere in North

America, and the streetscape & façade improvement program (City of Edmonton, 2007, 1992). However, retailers in areas that benefited from these initiatives continued to face significant competition from the new retail locations throughout the city. They also faced more stringent zoning regulations, higher design standards, and covenants restricting usage that hampered redevelopment and adaptation.

One exception to the ongoing urban decay in the core of Edmonton was a community-led revitalization of Whyte Avenue. Local retailers (Old Strathcona Business Association), residents, and the university population nearby progressively organised the Old Strathcona Foundation (in 1974). They collaboratively challenged the planning department, landowners, and developers, all of whom advocated redeveloping the traditional (and decayed) commercial strip of Whyte Avenue by increasing traffic flow and building mall based developments. Their passion and endeavor for the old town living preserved the street and led to it becoming one of Edmonton's premier retail districts.

As noted by R5, "*The council and the owners of the land, generally speaking, did not support it [preserving the vibrancy of Whyte Avenue]. But they were overwhelmed by the will of the people in that area, whom have always been different, always different. And the group called the Old Strathcona Foundation that was formed to promote that.*"

Local civic groups and activists first pushed for the revitalization of Whyte Avenue and they were later joined by the planning department who proposed a BRZ supporting the local vision. Though significant retail gentrification has taken place, the vibrancy and character of the street has been maintained through architectural restrictions (City of Edmonton, 1998) and public support. For instance, the beloved independent bookstore "Greenwoods" (1979-2012) closed

their business in 2012 (Mah, 2012), while the largest bookstore chain in Canada "Chapters" took a prime location. This monster bookstore positively adapted to the main street architectural atmosphere and contributed to a welcoming street corner at human scale. In other areas, "Chapters" are frequently seen in the format of the big box store.

In retrospect, the resilience of the retail system in Edmonton could be described as weak, as it lacked adequate mechanisms to ensure that new retail developments provided a balance of retail functions for the city. While planners presented an idealized retail hierarchy that would have perhaps provided such a balance, the retail planning system proved to be unable to adapt when confronted with retail innovations and the associated influential developers. As a result, the City shifted from a pre WWII period where a balance of retail functions were provided, to one where the base market function was prioritized and the public space functions were abandoned. Retail innovations emerged in Edmonton, including the largest shopping mall in the world (at the time) and the largest power centre in North America. This was due, in part, to the fragile nature of the planning system which was unable to resist or redirect these developments into locations or forms that would have been more effective at addressing the public space functions of retailing. As will be seen in Portland, a more robust system can result in adaptive processes that result in an improved balance between the market and public functions of retail developments.

4. Portland: Adaptive Management

The metropolitan area of Portland is made up of 25 municipalities with a land area of 1209.52 km^2 and a population of around 1.5 million[12] (Oregon Secretary of State, 2013). As the largest and also the central city, Portland has a land area of 376.6 km^2 and a population of 585,845 that is only around 40% of the metropolitan population (Oregon Secretary of State, 2013; City of Portland, 2013). The regional retail planning was largely coordinated through the regional government named Metro.

The City of Portland's experience during the time when rational comprehensive planning was expanding across North America was complex. There was essentially a duel system of Planning with the formal planning department and a series of separate initiatives led by Robert Moses, who consulted for the City, through ad hoc committees. The work of Robert Moses in New York was admired by the City Councils of the 1940s and 50s who sought to bring his form of urban modernization to Portland including freeway development and urban renewal. Moses' plans for the city presented a clear intention to segregate retail development from communities and improve automobile access to retail areas (Abbott, 1983; The Portland Improvement Plan 1943). The city, however, experienced stagnant economic conditions through the 1940s and 1950s, halting the process of modernization and as such, much of the pre-war development, including the inner city street-based retail system, was retained.

In 1960, Lloyd Center was developed to the northeast of downtown, and acted as the first significant challenge to the retail primacy of downtown. While there was no comprehensive plan at the time that dealt with retail developments, the mall was in-line with the concepts of

[12] The Metropolitan Area of Portland discussed in this article is based on the administrative boundary of the regional government named METRO, and is different from the one identified by U.S. Office of Management and Budget (Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro Metropolitan Area, land area: 17,310 km^2, population: 2,289,800).

development held by the planning department. By this time, Portland started to break its links to Robert Moses due to growing discontent with Moses' approaches elsewhere (including the protest movement led by Jane Jacobs). Moses was a polarizing figure and his involvement, as well as his plans oriented towards freeways and the demolition and redevelopment of traditional neighbourhoods, resulted in the rise of a great deal of grassroots opposition in the 1960s. Simultaneously, the locally based electronics and instrumentation industry and service industry also experienced significant growth. This encouraged an influx of well-educated outsiders and stimulated the rise of several younger politicians with progressive ideals and a willingness to take risks, and this underpinned a change of the attitudes regarding urban development/redevelopment (Abbot, 1983).

In 1972, the Downtown Plan for the City of Portland was crafted through a process of enthusiastic public participation. In it, automobiles were tagged with the label of being "*noisy, smelly, and dangerous"* (City of Portland, 1972 , Pg. 33). It had a strong focus on retail planning and prioritized pedestrian-friendly retail developments that provide both convenience goods (such as groceries) for downtown residents and comparison goods to attract consumers from throughout the region (McKie-Krisberg, 2003), to strengthen the sense of downtown identity, and to stimulate the building of a pleasurable human environment (City of Portland, 1972). Since then, sustainable development has been accepted by the public as the new fundamental planning principle, and has further underpinned the basis of the political coalition at the metropolitan level.

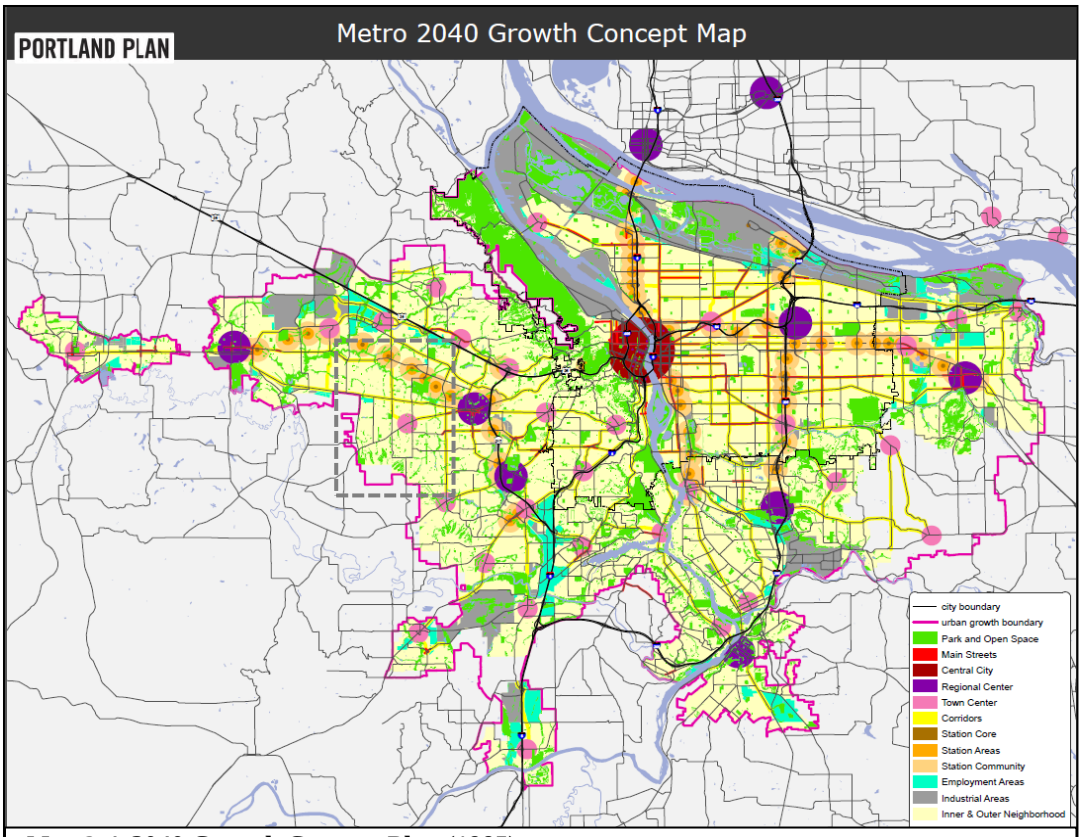
Metro (the only elected regional government in USA) was established in 1978, and was given the responsibility to manage the new Urban Growth Boundary (UGB) and regional coordination of land use planning, particularly as it relates to transportation systems including light rail transit. Simultaneously, the grassroots advocacy movement that began in the 1960s became increasingly

formalized in the 1970s and a variety of planning focused NGOs formed. For instance, 1000 Friends of Oregon was formed in 1975 in opposition to transportation plans that sought to build new bypasses (Abbott, 1997, 1983; Richmond, 1997). A rich civil society around planning led to new political coalitions. Generally speaking, these groups fight for elements of the public space in opposition to private interests.

"The battles are legendary. You go to the court. People live with their lawyer. And there is even a legal system to settle these conflicts. It is very used. Everybody learns over time to game in the system. So you game in the game." (R12)

In 1995, the 2040 Growth Concept Plan was adopted, and became the primary comprehensive planning document for the metropolitan area of Portland. Similar to the 1967 Plan of Edmonton, it delineated a retail hierarchy consisting of a central city, regional centers, town centers, main streets, corridors, and station communities (Map 2-3). The pluralistic functions of retail development were well recognised. For instance, town centers were designed to provide localized retail services within a two to three mile radius and be able to generate a strong sense of place (Metro, 2000). As a regional plan, the 2040 Growth Concept Plan primarily functioned through the designation of an UGB, which restricted development in undeveloped areas, and the allocation of infrastructure investment (rapid transit). While it has been claimed that the UGB did not have a significant direct impact on retail form (R8; R11; Fischel, 1997), it could be argued that it was part of an overall planning ethic in the Portland region and that it helped promote better urban forms as a result.

"My own opinion is, what hasn't been successful is that there is still urban sprawl inside the UGB. They certainly didn't create better suburbs. They are similar type to other places."(R8)

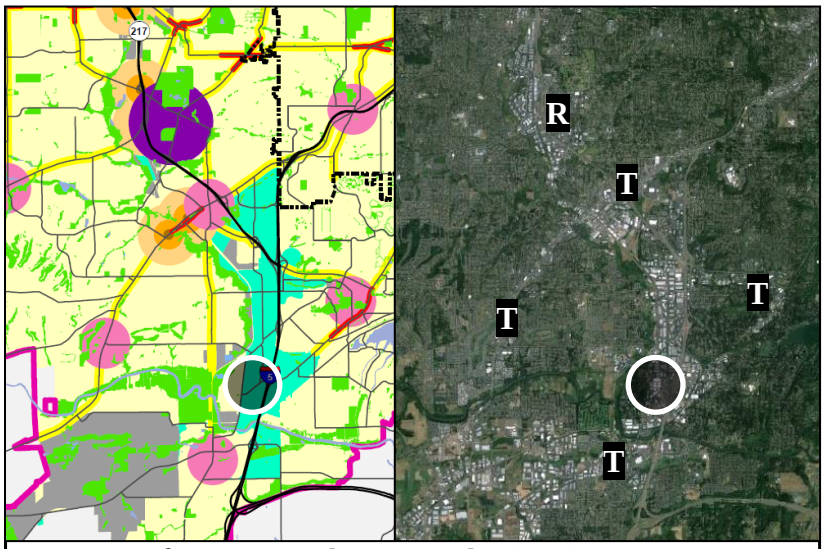


***Map 2-4*. 2040 Growth Concept Plan (1995).**

Note: The grey polygon (dashed line) indicates the area shown in Map 2-4.
Source: City of Portland, 2009.

Unanticipated challenges to the plan began to occur soon after it was developed. Many well-built Transit-Oriented Stations failed to achieve their development expectations (Miles & Song, 2009; Song, 2005; Song & Knaap, 2004), while many unplanned retail areas were successfully developed or revitalized. In 2005, a new lifestyle centre, Bridgeport Village (BV) was built in an areas zoned as an "employment area" to the southwest of the city (in the municipalities of Tualatin and Tigard) under the 2040 Growth Concept Plan (Map 2-4). It fell within an area that had four planned town centers nearby and would challenge the well-designed retail hierarchy proposed at the regional level. Negotiations between the affected municipalities led to the rezoning which permitted BV to be developed (Tims, 2003). The rezoning process held BV to a high standard of design, in part because of the many active stakeholders (Washington County,

neighbouring municipalities, retailers, and residents). It quickly, and somewhat unexpectedly (for regional planners at least) became one of the most profitable and vibrant retail projects within the metropolitan northwest, including Portland and Seattle (Leland Group, 2008). The unexpected market success of BV significantly challenged Metro's regional plan (Tims, 2007).



Map 2-5. **Left: 2040 Growth Concept Plan (1995).**

Note: The dark circle on both maps indicates Bridgeport Village, which is located on an "Employment Area". On the left map, "R" and "T" represents "Regional Center" and "Town Center" on the right map respectively.
Source: Left: City of Portland, 2009; Right: Google Earth, 2013.

The response to BV was very different than the response when WEM was proposed in Edmonton. Adaptive recognitions based on the market reality, rather than mechanical defences of the planning ideal were employed.

"Now Metro wants to designate it. … A group like Metro has gone out and identified it. What they largely do is recognise what actually happened on the ground. And so what happened as that's developed, actually more of regional center than town center." (R7)

Since 2009, the report "States of Centers" has been published and updated by Metro as a means to stimulate public discussions on how to cope and adapt to these violations against 2040 Growth Concept Plan at the regional level, such as BV. The 2009 report refined the initial conceptualizations of shopping centres to better reflect market innovations and pressures. The report emphasizes urban design elements and the promotion of multimodal transportation as key elements of a 'good' centre and discards previous notions of defining specific 'acceptable' size categories and retail capture areas. Local municipalities were encouraged to use this set of standards to revaluate not only the designated centers within their boundary, but also any other areas that have the potential to be a center.

In addition to BV, Portland has seen a series of other retail developments that deviate from the regional plan. In each case, multiple stakeholders collaboratively responded to these rapid and unexpected changes through an adaptive process, one that recognized the core principles of the existing plan (particularly the concept of sustainable development), but allowed for significant alteration regarding the planned retail geography for the region.

Cascade Station was planned to be a large mixed use TOD station next to the international airport of Portland under the regional plan. However, no actual retail development was initiated within three years of the station opening in 2001. In response to the failure to attract development at the station, Metro worked with the Portland Development Commission (PDC, a public-private joint venture), private developers, and active citizen groups to allow a more 'market friendly' development at the site. Big box retail development was permitted, but with strong urban design guidelines (City of Portland, 2005). The development retained many elements of an effective TOD with contiguous store developments that were well serviced by sidewalks. Additionally, small stores were developed along the park block, with storefronts

facing both the parking area and the LRT station. Though the project failed to achieve the original TOD mixed use design, it integrated urban design and sustainability principles to a much greater level than most power centers in North America.

It was not only large developments that challenged the TOD plans that Metro included, but also clusters of small retailers, often located off the planned TOD routes within the inner city. In the early 2000s, a number of these began to emerge as successful market areas. Small retailers usually formed collectives based on a main street or a community and they developed a myriad of approaches to distinguish their areas. Gradually, communities identified themselves through diversified genres of retail development, which accrued to the funky and chaotic culture of "*Portlandia*".

"Portland is such a weird place. Look at what they build, they are so funky. There are a lot of things to eat and funny things to see. That part of the Portland culture takes it very seriously. They will fight till death technically. That's the heart of our Portland esteem, whatever they call it, Portlandia." (R8)

As they emerged, these small retail clusters were well respected and assisted by planners and the PDC despite their growth being counter to the planned TOD developments in the area. As opposed to resisting this change, or ignoring it and holding firm to the planned streetcar routes and associated planned TOD developments, the City of Portland altered the planned routes of the streetcar system to service these emerging areas. Powell's Bookstore, which had risen to prominence in the downtown edge as North America's largest independent bookstore was connected to the revitalised streetcar system. This linked it to other major retail nodes within the central city, including 23rd Avenue and the trendy Pearl District.

Another case is Mississippi Avenue, which was once seriously decayed. The 2040 Growth Concept Plan did not designate it as a main street, and planned to develop a new TOD commercial strip just to the west. The well-planned TOD stations failed to achieve vibrant retail development, while Mississippi Avenue became more and more vibrant due to the influx of a young population. Two respondents clarified the reasons for this result, which challenged the regional plan.

As suggested by R8, many TOD strategies regulating high density and mixed land use were in the plans which were not supported by market forces. *"It's like some great ideas on paper that had nothing to do with the market."* He further emphasized*, "Ladies and gentlemen, let me tell you that transportation does not create any market any way. (…) The transit can organize the development. It adds some amenities to the market. (…) It is so overestimated by some people in its ability to just make development and investments happen because they put a train there."*

R11 expressed a similar viewpoint in discussing some of these emerging market areas (including Mississippi Avenue), *"When you get into the heart of city itself, the heart of downtown, whether it is dense development, office buildings and so on, in my view, this is a rationale for a number of those controls [mixed land use, TOD, etc.], but if you impose those controls on Mississippi, on Alberta [another inner city main street in the city of Portland], It wouldn't happen. It couldn't emerge, simply because it carries with the cost at a very expensive entry level to participate."*

Corresponding with R11's comments, it was noticed that many sustainable development principles, such as mixed land use with high density, were not well implemented on most of the successful main streets outside of downtown Portland, including Mississippi Avenue. They mainly saw retail uses in one to two floor buildings. On Mississippi Avenue, one of the key

factors attracting small retailers was the affordable rent of the historical buildings (single land use & low density).

PDC adapted its sustainable development strategies to the unexpected rise of Mississippi Avenue, rather than defending the prime status of the TOD stations nearby. Planners with expertise in urban design were recruited by the PDC to assist local retailers in achieving positive urban amenities (e.g. attractive storefronts and outdoor patios on public sidewalk, Photograph 2-1) while increasing the attractiveness of their businesses. Subsidies were offered to address the costs of certain municipal licences (e.g. sewage and drainage fees) for independent retailers, as a means to divert their investment on beautifying storefronts in diverse styles.

***Photograph 2-1*. Mississippi Avenue, Portland, Oregon, USA.**

Source: Neighborhood Notes, 2013.

Also, as explained by R9, these subsidies were provided to retailers understanding the benefits of good urban planning instead of fixing the "broken windows" on the street.

"People wanted to pick up the worst building and fix it. And that's usually owned by the worst owner. He is not going to do anything for a while. So you don't start with him. (...) They don't have the vision to do it. So usually the best people to start with are the 'owner users'. People who have a retail store and build in their own [owner-users], because they understand."(R9)

Incrementally, the consensus on good urban planning grew and more local retailers with the awareness were attracted to the area. As a result, Mississippi Avenue became one of the trendiest main streets in Portland.

In conclusion, the retail resilience of Portland has been strong because the breadth of retail functions was maintained, including public space functions, when unexpected changes were encountered. The planning system adapted plans and infrastructure to align with market initiatives, but it also forced changes to the plans of developers in their efforts to bring in retail innovations that initially did not align well with the need for retail locations to provide public space functions. The situation was not stable as significant retail transformation occurred within the metropolitan region including the decline of the existing downtown shopping centres, urban decay in some commercial streets, and the rise of new forms of retail; however, the core public space functions relating to sustainable development, good urban design, walkability, and accessibility significantly influence retail development. The discussion section below will examine some key factors that help to explain why the experiences of Edmonton and Portland differed.

5. Discussion

From the 1950s through to the 1970s, Edmonton appeared to have ideal retail planning conditions which would balance the diverse public functions of retailing with the market forces. It had a well-developed comprehensive plan, a well-staffed and influential planning department, few regional planning issues to complicate the implementation of plans, and few physical barriers to development. By contrast, the metropolitan area of Portland faced a number of challenges. It consisted of multiple adjacent municipalities, it was experiencing a conflict in planning philosophies between those who held the ambitious modernization views of Moses versus those whose views aligned more with Jane Jacobs, it did not have a strong comprehensive plan for the region until quite late, and it lacked a strong centralized planning department.

Portland appears to have developed a much more functional, balanced, and sustainable retail system of development. In retrospect, the planning system in Portland was able to employ a system of adaptive management to cope with rapid and unexpected market changes while broadly preserving retail functions across the region. The Edmonton situation was more rigid and when the planning system was unable to sustain the initial ideal plan, retail planning collapsed and much of the public space function of retailing was lost.

A number of related factors contributed to the process of adaptive management that existed in Portland's system. First, an informed and engaged public emerged in Portland in the 1960s due to intense debates on urban development and the planning process. These coalesced into powerful formal organizations in the 1970s that emphasized sustainable retail development. In Edmonton, despite the adoption of communicative planning processes in the 1970s, the public remained mostly apathetic to the enactment of retail planning principles as a utilitarian mindset

predominated the city. When significant challenges to the retail systems came in both cities, the Edmonton planning system, which was almost entirely rooted in the municipal planning office, collapsed to seek sustainable retail development. By contrast, in similar situations Portland's commitment on sustainability were bolstered (and often pushed through lawsuits and other mechanisms) by a myriad of NGOs, the City of Portland and some neighbouring municipalities, the state government, and the regional government that advocated for public space functions in individual retail developments and throughout the retail system of the region (Abbott, 2003, 1997, 1983; Leo, 1998; Lang & Hornburg, 1997). There was a depth of interested and informed stakeholders supporting the public space functions of retailing in the planning system in Portland. This did not exist in Edmonton.

Second, as a result of the large number of influential stakeholders involved, decision making in the Portland metropolitan planning system was polycentric in nature and relied upon critical deliberation and consensus building. To the opposite, Edmonton's planning system included a small number of significant actors (primarily developers, the planning department, and the city council). The planning department was somewhat of an isolated body which employed the authority of the comprehensive plan to ensure a higher quality of retail development would take place. This system proved fragile as it relied upon the municipal council respecting the authority of the plan. In Portland, the polycentric system created an environment where stakeholder interaction (often including lawsuits and other conflicts) resulted in collective deliberation and consensus building drawing on contemporary planning principles, from a diversity of sources. In this case, comprehensive plans acted as a guide rather than as an absolute.

Third, the cultural differences in the two cities manifested itself in the market as well as in the planning movements discussed above. With the notable exception of a small cluster that

emerged on Whyte Avenue in the 1980s, Edmonton's local culture tended to support the development of contemporary placeless modernist retail developments with efficiency valued above authenticity and uniqueness. It should be noted that in recent years, this has shifted and the public awareness of sustainable retail planning is growing in Edmonton (R5). In Portland, diversity and authenticity became prioritized and significantly influenced local entrepreneurs and developers leading to the success of numerous small retailers. "*Portlandia*", a popular comedy TV series set and filmed in Portland, suggested that the streets/neighbourhoods of the City of Portland could be envisioned as a series of art projects (Armisen et al., 2013, February 8). Because small-scale retail developments were so diversified, a tremendous diversity of places was created, each with a strong sense of place rooted in the built environment. This synthesis of local cultures and places produced a retail market competing on uniqueness.

6. Conclusion

This research explores and conceptualizes retail resilience to examine two case studies that demonstrate very different approaches to retail planning with divergent outcomes. With Portland considered to be one of the leading regions in terms of North American planning (Hagerman, 2007; Song & Knaap, 2004; Wheeler, 2003; Abbott, 1994), it might be logical to hypothesize that its well-developed retail system was the outcome of powerful planning department and well established local and regional plans. However, as was shown through the paper, it is instead the outcome of a polycentric system of retail planning; an active, informed, and highly organized public; and the use of consensus building approaches involving significant deliberation.

Edmonton, in comparison, did have a powerful planning department and well developed 'utopian' comprehensive plan for a long period. Its planning department was at the forefront of retail planning in the 1950s (Climenhaga, 1997), but the retail planning system proved fragile when it encountered development pressures. As a result, Edmonton's retailing system became dominated by the market pursuing economic efficiency. In Edmonton, Whyte Avenue (next to the University of Alberta) provides one case of very active citizen involvement regarding retail developments. It almost acts as a small example of "Portland".

Thus, it can be concluded that retail resilience in the North American context does necessarily lie in formal institutions, but that it can be a function of the entire retail planning system. The adaptability of Portland's system was rooted in its complexity involving multiple stakeholders in a polycentric system of decision making, many of whom supported the diverse mix of retail functions. Edmonton's system was simplistic and fragile, relying upon a single unit of authority (the planning department and the official plan) with few other stakeholders actively involved.

Relating this back to Holling (1973), there are parallels as he notes that complex systems tend to be resilient, whereas simplistic systems tend to be prone to collapse.

The identified features of adaptive management in these cases, a polycentric system of retail planning; an active, informed, and highly organized public; and the use of consensus building approaches could assist both researchers and practitioners to understand the mechanism of retail planning that stimulates resilient retail outcomes. More studies are required to test and improve the use of resilience theory in retail planning studies. It is suggested that future research should be undertaken in other cities both within and outside of North America to identify how alternative approaches to retail planning have fared.

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Chapter III - Conclusion

1. Tackling the Structural Flaw

As reflected in Chapter I & II, the assumption of a stable social and natural world was proved to be inappropriate, and was also regarded as a structural flaw of scientific research. However, this flaw was poorly understood and tackled employing a very static perspective. The associated treatments evolved with new flaws that neglected the complexity of urban systems, such as comprehensively redesigning urban environment in an effort to achieve the optimal state envisioned by the top planning wisdom (Goldstein, 2012; Greensburg, 2011; Jacobs, 1963). Based on the conclusions of Chapter II, it is possible to revisit this structural flaw with the assistance of resilience knowledge.

1.1 Replacing Pure Rationality with Sustainability

Understanding the bounded-rationality (Simon, 1957) of human beings, scholars and practitioners have progressively promoted a myriad of sustainable retail development strategies, such as New Urbanism, Smart Growth, and Transit-Oriented Development (TOD). Under the current knowledge system, most of these strategies are inclined to promote sustainable development (Francis, et al., 2012; Greenburg, 2012; 2011; Duany, et al., 2010; Miles & Song, 2009).

In the early Post-WWII period, the concept of complete rationality was considered the ideal approach to decision making, though in retrospect it had a number of failings. As one of the most notorious cases, the Robert Taylor Homes (RTH, Chicago, Illinois, USA) were built by the Chicago Housing Authority in 1962 based on rational planning (Venkatesh, 2002). The vast area

did not grow into the envisioned city neighborhood, but decayed due to a concentration of gang crimes and poverty. In 1993, RTH was planned to be replaced by mixed-income communities. The last building of RTH was demolished in 2007 (Balmer, 2010).

It is also possible that our current conclusions on sustainable development might be inappropriate when new knowledge is produced in future. Simply replacing the rational retail planning thoughts with sustainable development strategies is similar to old wine in a new bottle.

As discussed in Chapter II, some respondents in Portland critically challenged the current planning knowledge. R7, a planner, reiterated the misunderstandings on the relationship between the streetcar and the success of the inner city retail development in Portland.

"The streetcar may accelerate the pace of development, but it is going to happen anyway. The streetcar did not make them. They [local developers who ran the risk to invest the inner city] made the streetcar. It's a wonderful amenity. But it wasn't like "when you put the streetcar that people just walk there." That's a crap. That did not happen like that at all!"

He also argued that the "*mixed land use*" doctrine was *"like some great ideas on paper that had nothing to do with the market"*. His suggestions were echoed by many other planners interviewed in the study, such as R11:

"So you look at these places, they are edgy, they are greedy, they are just distinctive, there is no pattern of design control, there is no master plan…it is a series of independent intuitive creative decisions that create these places. That's what cities really are. Cities are edgy, greedy, different, and they are interesting, and they are not overly designed."

They identified as an example that the most trendy and symbolic main street of America: Rodeo Drive, in Beverly Hills, California, simply had plain concrete sidewalks. Nevertheless, the street was attractive because of its endless and colorful storefronts. They also identified the new anchor of downtown Portland: Powell's Books, the largest independent bookstore in North America. This challenged most theories regarding downtown retail development which conceptualized major department stores and shopping malls as the anchors.

It is more effective to admit the perpetual existence of uncertainty within complex systems, rather than planning in a manner that accepts the latest knowledge as being absolutely correct. The respondents did not deny the power of planning knowledge, but argued for the importance of developing and integrating knowledge simultaneously and continuously in the retail planning process.

1.2 Public Engagement as an Easy Answer

The importance of public engagement has been incorporated as a required decision-making procedure by North American cities (Innes & Booher, 2004). However, it has frequently functioned as a barrier to sustainable development (through factors such as NIMBYism). The starting point of public engagement is the development of a shared consensus which is often ignored in the popularly-used contemporary planning approaches. When a shared consensus amongst stakeholders is inclined to promote sustainability, the grand vision of these planning approaches could be largely achieved. However, if the public does not hold views aligned with sustainability principles, the process of public engagement might act as a barrier to sustainable retail development. Building a consensus prioritising sustainability is significantly complicated

and difficult, because it requires not only formal procedural rules of engagement, but also the fostering of a culture of sustainability and sustainable norms amongst stakeholders.

In relation to formal rule design, most North American cities have officially incorporated sustainable development into their long-term goals. As to the informal beliefs and values held by the population, the differences between the case study cities in research were obvious. The typical household of Edmonton would accept large increases in travel times and travel costs to be able to live in a single-detached house (Hunt, 2010). As discussed in Chapter II, Edmontonians tended towards havingutilitarian values regarding retail environments that emphasized low costs and favored large format retail stores and freeways during the Post-WWII era. However, "*pretty much every neighborhood (in Portland) has some sort of commercial district that is kind of its heart*" (R9). As introduced in Chapter I, the center of the historical LADD's Addition (Inner city neighborhood in the City of Portland) was a local retail store ("Palio Dessert & Expresso House") facilitating vibrant socializations.

More intuitively, urban planning has historically been a marginalised topic among the public of Edmonton, but is the core theme of the daily chat in Portland. When the primary investigator took the Coast Starlight Train from Seattle to Portland (for the purpose of the field trip), he had a nice chat regarding urban planning with the elderly woman from Portland sitting next to him. She was a retired elementary school teacher, and was familiar with different planning organizations from Portland Development Commission (a public & private joint venture) to Metro (the regional government). She recruited urban planning graduate students with either domestic or international background to her class for urban planning education, and organised regular trips for students to learn and use the public transit. When the train finally arrived at the old Union Station of Portland that was slated for demolition by Robert Moses in 1943, she

enthusiastically assisted the primary investigator with buying a "seven-day pass" for public transit at a nearby LRT station as if she had taught a new "elementary student" about Portland. Hearing this trip note, R12 who had significant experience as a practicing planner in both Edmonton and Portland commented, *"You don't have that sort of awareness here (Edmonton). So it is a very different value system."*

In a city like Edmonton, public engagement that cedes meaningful influence to stakeholders could not succeed without the great efforts in building a culture of sustainable development in the city. Most North American cities have a fairly good set of formal rules promoting sustainability. However, they may lack the related informal beliefs and values that align with those rules, thus significantly limiting the effectiveness of public engagement.

1.3 Conclusions of the Thesis

This thesis explores the Post-WWII retail planning systems of Edmonton and Portland based on the concept of resilience. It concluded that the retail planning system of Portland demonstrated more resilience when confronted with rapid and unexpected changes (retail innovations and new retail planning knowledge), and coped more effectively with the structural flaws of the retail planning system in the Post-WWII era.

Major features of the resilient retail planning system in Portland were identified. First, the system functions with an acceptance that the world is full of uncertainty and prepares for rapid and unexpected crises. Second, it employs polycentric planning deliberations and implementation that result in a diversity of planning strategies. Third, the consensus promoting sustainability is sufficiently discussed, reflected on, and shared by the public. This underpins powerful public engagement and the extensive coalition of stakeholders that progressively pursue sustainable

development. Fourth, in the North American context, local culture and other types of informal norms play a more prominent role than formal rules in contributing to the consensus promoting sustainability. Finally, the function of planning should be engaging the public through communicating contemporary planning ideals to them and facilitating consensus building. It is inappropriate to regard planning as a detailed projection towards the future. Planning knowledge should be developed and reflected on simultaneously and continuously.

Thus, a more appropriate way to understand Portland's planning reputation is to review carefully how local communities have led retail planning, rather than idolatrously to admire fancy planning instruments, such as the Urban Growth Boundary (UGB). Similarly, the long-time bust of retail planning (particularly from the 1980s to the millennium) in Edmonton is not simply caused by the absence of many high quality planning instruments, such as the town center development strategies first initiated in the 1960s. It is exacerbated by the relatively low acceptance of sustainable retail planning amongst the public.

2. Reflections from Pre-Modernity

WEM has long attracted the attention of the academia due to its massive size and market success. Most scholars conclude that WEM is an outstanding mega mall combining massive retail and entertainment facilities (Dennis, et al., 2002; Johnson, 1991; Smith, 1991). Thus, WEM is incorporated into the index of modern retail formats.

However, this mainstream conclusion might naively underestimate the complexity of WEM. R6 enriched the understanding on WEM. He claimed that "*This family [the Ghermezian family, Iranian Jewish, the owner of WEM,] comes with an already baked and cooked idea [Bazaar] and is ready to serve Edmonton with this from the Middle East.*" This opinion is forcefully proved, after the official website of WEM renewed its introductions recently in 2013: "*West Edmonton Mall's concept is inspired by the traditional urban bazaars of Persia*".

A Bazaar is a covered street, or series of streets, with small shops. The light and weather are regulated by the bazaar courtyards that ensure the livability of space (Proudlove, 1969). These features are shared by the typical mall. Also, several open spaces, central courtyards containing green space, wells of water and trees, and religious facilities are mixed with these enclosed main streets in Bazaar, as a means to facilitate socialization (Iranian Cultural Heritage, Handicrafts and Tourism Organization, 2009; Proudlove, 1969). This explains why WEM provides significantly more public and entertainment spaces (e.g. the World Waterpark, Sea Lions Rock) than conventional malls.

These features of a bazaar largely follow the Islamic city design codes (Saoud, 2002), and make it function as the cultural, social, commercial, and educational heart of Islamic cities. Particularly, the *social codes* require that cities should be segregated into quadrants based on ethnic origins

and cultural beliefs. So look at WEM, it contains theme areas (e.g. "*Bourbon Street*", "*Europa Boulevard*" and "*China Town*") that were unusual in the typical mall.

Thus, it is short-sighted and arrogant to perceive WEM simply as a mega mall. WEM was designed to be the new heart of Edmonton by its developer, and this ambition is largely fulfilled. In the era (since the 1990s) when shopping malls were significantly abandoned by the market (Kramer, et al., 2008), WEM continued its legendary success. In 2012, Simons (a major department store based in Quebec) opened its first store outside of Quebec in WEM. In 2013, Target (a major supercenter retailer in North America) and Tiffany & CO. (a major luxury jewelry brand) contributed their first store in Edmonton to WEM as well. The success of WEM based on the traditional Islamic city and bazaar development knowledge is a powerful argument supporting more attention to, and implementation of, pre-modern knowledge.

3. Reflections on the Methodology

3.1 Comparative Case Research

As discussed in Chapter I, the performance of comparative case research is significantly influenced by the strength of its theoretical basis. This research contends that the concept of resilience provides an appropriate analytical framework because it overcomes the structural flaw envisioning stability and focuses on resilient adaptation. Biases could be produced if these research questions are discussed in the conventional mindset envisioning a largely stable and controllable world. Then ad hoc research outcomes and policy recommendations would follow, and the structural flaws would be ignored. By reflecting how WEM had destroyed the municipal development plan in the 1980s, Smith (1991) argued that planners should positively participate in the politics regarding retail planning and defend the well-initiated plans more forcefully. However, the fundamental premise of the resilience theory admits a system's inability to react to crisis. Namely, no matter how fiercely planners fight against with unwanted retail development projects, they will take place anyway. Thus, it is possible to argue that Smith's (1991) conclusion is partially flawed because "bouncing back" (forcefully defending the original plan) will result in the collapse of the retail system.

There is no golden rule that provides an exact answer regarding how many cases are appropriate for a comparative study, but this research suggests that comparisons naturally lead to a better research rigor than a single case study. Before undertaking the interviews in Portland, the primary investigator identified that Edmonton had numerous great retail plans which would have worked if WEM was never built, which was also the one of the predominant opinions held in academia (Smith, 1991). He also learnt that in the 1980s Portland was using a similar retail

hierarchy that was initiated in Edmonton as early as in the 1960s. If the study ended here, the conclusions would be drastically different.

Respondents in Portland offered reflections on many prestigious Portland planning achievements, such as the UGB and TOD. Respondents in Portland argued for a new approach to satisfy the goals of UGB and TOD: consensus building. The investigator made full use of his time in Portland to understand the Portland approach to "consensus building". In addition to cycling around Portland's downtown and main streets, he visited the well-planned TOD area with mixed land use and high density near the International Airport of Portland (Cascade Station). In Edmonton, the monster power center, South Edmonton Common (320 acres), is similarly situated. Arriving at Cascade Station and seeing the typical big boxes such as IKEA and Best Buy, the major investigator realized that Portland also failed to implement its well-designed retail hierarchy (similar to Edmonton), contradicting his initial judgement prior to this field trip. Simultaneously, he was stunned as this retail area full of big boxes was even more walkable than many of the main streets in Edmonton. The profit-oriented developers and big box retailers slightly changed the layout of the retail area (storefronts were lined-up for walkability) and provide conveniences for both automobile and rapid transit commuters. This change corresponded well with the LRT station and park block funded by the local government.

Combining respondents' viewpoints and the observation of this field trip, the major investigator reflected on the prestigious reputation of Portland's urban planning. The core of Portland's success was potentially to facilitate coordination between different stakeholders via the consensus on sustainable development principles, and adapt to unexpected and rapid retail changes. It may not be related to how forcefully the retail planning system could block unwanted retail changes.

Thanks to the comparisons, the concept of resilience was identified to facilitate a better comparative analysis, and the conclusions presented at the beginning of this chapter were arrived at. This self-reflection is a powerful case proving the advantages of comparison compared with a single case study.

3.2 Objectivity

Scholars are assumed to have a neutral point of view when confronted with research questions, yet this research adopts sustainable development as the key measurement for discussion. It is argued that the research rigor of this project is well defended for two reasons.

First, promoting socially and environmentally sustainable towns and cities is one of major tasks of the United Nations and is the consensus of the leaders in most countries (UN-Habitat, 2013). Through the urban development history, various cases have indicated that the withering or death of cities is frequently the result of wildly exploiting or abusing natural resources, such as the disappearance of the ancient "*Loulan Kindom"* because of the critical water shortage (Fan, et al., 2002), and the abandoning of the modern city "*Prypiat*" due to the *Chernobyl Nuclear Disaster* (Former Soviet Union).

Second, the discussion is based on the concept of resilience which carves out a new approach on adapting to uncertainty, including uncertainty regarding future knowledge and perspectives. Thus, the discourse of this study is not confined to the current standards on sustainability, but positively acknowledges the fast-changing nature of knowledge as a means to be "objective". A retail system with good resilience could nimbly catch up with the latest trends of sustainable development.

Portland regulated the first UGB in North America in the 1970s, as a quick reaction to the contemporary progressive thinking at that time: sustainable development. Recently, when many cities proposed to facilitate UGB, Portland reflected on its failures in implementing UGB (e.g. poor suburban design quality and violations against the regional retail plan), and reset its concentration on nurturing the resilience of community through an emphasis on core principles (e.g. building complete communities and supporting local small business).

3.3 Who to Interview

Due to the restrictions on time and funding, this research mainly interviewed professional city planners. It is strongly contended that more stakeholders should be incorporated in terms of better comprehending retail planning systems if possible.

Planners are usually well educated and are able to provide professional opinions. However, their viewpoints have limitations. First, their good planning knowledge may lead to biases in certain issues. Mostly, planners may overly emphasize the public function of urban retail development and misunderstand the motivation of developers and the public. Also, planners are just one group of the stakeholders within the planning system. It is difficult for them delineate the complete image of the whole system.

At least, the public (particularly those active in the topic) and developers should be included in the interview. As the stakeholder who controls the ultimate power in policy deliberation and implementation, the public need to be carefully studied. Developers are usually regarded as rational players who are relatively predictable, yet they are more complex than this conventional thinking. As shown in the case of WEM, the developer's intention to build mega malls (modern bazaars) is significantly unimaginable for the North American market.

3.4 How to Recruit

Snowball sampling was used to recruit planners for interviews, because the major investigator did not have sufficient connections with professional planners in case cities (particularly in Portland) and the research time was limited. Nevertheless, the convenience of recruitment via snowball sampling may lead to the potential ignorance on certain opinions, because the identified respondents might largely result in a same social network holding similar views on retail planning.

Snowball Sampling is frequently used to identify interviewees with similar interests or characteristics in relation to the research question (Hay, 2008). Thus, it is noticed that the planners recruited by this research (within each city) are well known with each other and once worked on similar projects (as can be seen through reviewing media coverage and their LinkedIn relationships). Their viewpoints on retail development do not show major conflicts. This may lead to certain bias in discussion the research question. A reasonable alternative is to identify multiple gatekeepers holding divergent viewpoints on several key planning cases (extreme sampling), and from there facilitate a multi-route snowball sampling.

4. Contribution to the Field

With all the reflections above (with respect to the contents and methods of this research) in mind, this study suggests that the following contributions are made to the field.

In terms of academic contributions, this research explores the implementation of the resilience concept in a social science context, and enriches the current discussions on retail resilience. Second, it potentially clarifies the real strength of the planning system of Portland. Portland's reputation should be more associated with its planning to achieve resilience as opposed to specific high profile planning instruments. Third, it utilizes some historical knowledge to assist the comprehension on certain issues that could hardly be explained by the modern retail knowledge. As reflected before (section 2. Reflections from Pre-Modernity), this research perspective is potentially beneficial in improving the understanding of urban planning.

For retail planning practices, it is strongly suggested that nimbly recognizing market changes is more important than stably defending a predetermined 'perfect' plan. Also, the construction of an LRT or Subway is not an omnipotent cure for retail revitalization, though it is popular among North American cities. Only when it aligns well with the market for retail developments, could it deliver the functions of TOD. Third, coordination between different stakeholders is crucial. For main streets areas supported by retailers and residents with well-developed knowledge of and enthusiasm for public engagement and sustainable development, more substantial planning power should be shifted to the local communities. Fourth, education is the fundamental and ultimate competitiveness of future. Without a strong consensus on good urban planning and real sustainable lifestyles among the public, the resilience of the whole retail planning system could hardly be achieved. Thus, budget cuts to education are the worst and most short-sighted policy

that could be made by a modern democratic government. Finally, it is important for decision makers to understand that retail stores may play a more important role than housing and transportation in community sustainability. As shown in Portland, well designed TOD stations frequently failed, while a vibrant retail store (e.g. Powell's Books) or main street (e.g. Mississippi Avenue) successfully attracted a higher residential density and diverse transportation modes. In Edmonton, though automobiles can "fly" on Whyte Avenue, people enjoy walking and cycling on the street due to its retail vibrancy.

5. Recommendations for Future Research

5.1 Measuring Competiveness via Quantitative Methods

As Leo (1998) asserted, the goal of land use control in Portland aims to promote regional competiveness rather than to restrict economic development. Thus, it would be interesting to measure and compare the economic competiveness of Portland and Edmonton on quantitative terms. A possible approach is to study their downtown retail anchors.

In Portland, Powell's Books has functioned as a powerful anchor not only because of people's love for real reading, but also due to market competiveness. It works with a local GIS company, and provides indoor book navigation service within a mobile app[13]. The prices for different sales approaches (Physical books: brand-new, second-hand; Online books) are given as well. In Edmonton, the downtown anchor is still the conventional shopping mall. Fascinating research results may be achieved through a comparative study on their quantitative market competitiveness in the era of information technology.

5.2 Comprehending Independent Retailers via Participatory Observation

Although the diversified personalities of independent retailers have been significantly overlooked by modern retail studies because they have very limited market influences at present, it is important to keep in mind that they are a major force contributing to vibrant socialization, a strong sense of community, eyes on the street, and so forth (Greenburg, 2012; Duany, et al., 2010; Jacobs, 1961). Also, the importance of independent retailers in creating complete communities was reiterated by respondents and observed by the major investigator. For instance, In Edmonton

[13] The App is called "Meridian" in Apple's App Store: https://itunes.apple.com/us/app/meridian/id404946736.

Duchess Bake Shop[14] at 124th Street and 107 Avenue probably invigorates the whole neighborhood by itself and is becoming a strong force promoting the street's revitalization.

Compared with surveys and interviews that are frequently used in retail studies, participatory observation is potentially a better approach to facilitate this research initiative focused upon independent retailers. By immersing oneself into the setting, it is possible to feel and closely observe the details of community life within the independent retail area. Specifically, researchers could seek to observe how people communicate with retailers, how the retail space could be used as public space, how zoning bylaws restrict the creativity of retailers, and so forth

5.3 Exploring Retail Planning Systems outside of North America

In North America, the primary planning power is centred on cities, while elsewhere the official power relation between the federal/central government, state/province, and city is significantly different. It is worth launching comparative studies between the *North American Model* and these alternative approaches. Three planning systems are given as prospective research objects.

First, the *English Model*: The national government retains a great deal of power in setting planning policy. With this, English cities are very active in preserving the balanced functions of retail (Guy, 2007; Thomas & Bromley 2003, 2002, 2000). Second, the *Australian Model*: Many metropolitan areas consist of multiple cities (e.g. the metropolitan area of Melbourne includes 31 municipalities), and due to the potential for fragmented decision-making, the states play a significant role in regional governance (Baker & Wood, 2010; Sandercock & Dovey, 2002). Third, the *Chinese Model*: The prefecture-level cities (which are similar to the regional

[14] *Duchess Provision* opens at the next door, and sells goods and books related to bakery. It supports online sales: http://duchessprovisions.com/.

government under the North American context) and the national government collectively hold the largest planning power in retail development (Tsui, 2011).

A comparison of these different structures with a focus on retail resilience proves to be highly informative for the purposes of understanding the functionality of different models of governance and decision making. Also, more case studies covering diverse urban systems would assist to test and enrich the theory of retail resilience. This project has pioneered this research imitative on retail resilience through the case study on two North American metropolitans (Edmonton and Portland), and received two prominent research outcomes. First, retail systems relying on adaptive management; a polycentric retail planning system; an active, informed, and highly organized public; and the use of consensus building approaches, could resiliently cope with rapid and unexpected retail changes while still functioning in a sustainable way. Second, comparative case research is proved to be an effective tool to analyze retail systems.

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Appendix

Appendix 1. Information Letter

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Introduction
You are invited to participate in a research project examining the factors influencing the management of retail development. This research is being conducted by Fujie Rao, a master's student at the University of Alberta, under the supervision of Dr. Robert Summers. The data gathered in this research will be published in academic research papers and will be presented at academic conferences. It will also be used in the completion of a master's thesis.

Purpose
I am seeking to develop a better understanding regarding how municipalities have managed the tensions between economic forces driving retail change and efforts to maintain existing local retail areas. This will be achieved through the review of public documents and through interviews with government officials and other stakeholders. Your participation is important and greatly appreciated.

Study Procedures
If you agree to join this research, and sign this consent form, I will schedule a one-to-one interview with you at your convenience. The interview will be approximately one hour long. In total, I will be conducting about 25 interviews with professional urban planners and city councillors in Edmonton (AB, Canada), Portland (OR, US). These interviews will be audio recorded, and I will take notes during the interviews. The audio recordings, notes, and any other identifying information will be stored in secure location. These audio recordings will be transcribed and all identifying information will be removed from the transcripts.

Voluntary Participation
Participation in the research is entirely voluntary. This means that you are free to participate, pause, modify, and withdraw from my research at any time prior to the beginning of the data analysis stage in my research. After the date, you will not be able to request that the information you provided be withdrawn from the study as elements of it may have been analysed and presented publically.

Confidentiality

This research will be fully confidential meaning that you will not be identified in any of the research publications or presentations. To protect your identity, identifying information will be removed from the transcripts. The recordings and transcripts will be stored securely for at least five years and then destroyed as per University of Alberta policies.

Further Information

If you have any further questions regarding this study or would like to obtain a copy of your transcripts and/or the final report, please do not hesitate to contact the primary researcher, Fujie Rao by calling (780) 242-0425 or emailing fujie@ualberta.ca, or the supervisor of the study, Dr. Robert Summers at (780) 492-0342 or by email at Robert.Summers@ualberta.ca.

The personal information requested on this form is collected under the authority of Section 33 (c) of the Alberta Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act and will be protected under Part 2 of that Act. The plan for this study has been reviewed for its adherence to ethical guidelines by a Research Ethics Board at the University of Alberta. For questions regarding participant rights and ethical conduct of research, contact the Research Ethics Office at (780) 492-2615.

Appendix 2. Interview Script: Edmonton

Key Words: retail hierarchy, high standard urban design, Main Street, shopping mall, highway commercial strip, inner city, suburban development

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Could you please briefly introduce about the retail development after the end of the Second World War? Could you name some major examples in your perspective?

Could you please briefly introduce about the key retail development strategies of the MDPs in different decades after the end of the Second World War? Could you name some major examples in your perspective?

The concepts of 'retail hierarchy' and 'town center' have been included in the MDP before the 1990s. In the 1980s, the Municipal Develop Plan of Edmonton has set a limitation (1,000,000 square feet) on the floor area of shopping mall, yet the actual floor area (3,800,000 square feet) of the West Edmonton Mall has significantly exceeded this limitation. What factors have led to this breach of the MDP?

In terms of the advent of the West Edmonton Mall and its breach/violation of the MDP), how did they affect the retail planning systems and practices for the next few decades.

(1990-1998: new types of commercial and industrial land uses: service society; Highway commercial strip, from specially designed for the travelling public to providing for major commercial corridors…) Is there any debate on this rapid change in the MDP? What factors have been discussed in the debate? Which of them win?

How do you think of the advent of the South Edmonton Common (highway/legitimate)? What factors have been discussed in the debate? Which of them win?

Do you know about the 23rd interchange project which costs around 261 million Canadian dollars? Is there any debate on the issue? What factors have been discussed in the debate?

In terms of the advent of the South Edmonton Common, how did they affect the retail planning systems and practices for the next few decades?

Do you know about the Façade Improvement Program and Development Incentive Program for Business Revitalization Zone? How the city council has thought about them? Is there any debate regarding the subsidy?

What factors do you think have contributed to the vibrancy of the Whyte Avenue (other traditional commercial strips fail to achieve the similar vibrancy, from revitalization to be aware of the conflicts between the strips and the adjacent residential area. Discourage to unique value)?

What factors do you think have contributed to the current downtown area (dominant role, focal point, primary focus, etc.)? Why it is not as vibrant as the Whyte Avenue?

Is there any change in terms of the retail planning system in Edmonton during the past few decades? What's the role of city councillors and planners? In your opinion, what factors have primarily influenced the retail planning system in Edmonton during the past few decades?

If the interview has extra time:

Do you consider the space of a retail shop on the Whyte Avenue as public space, private space or in-between when making urban plan? Why? Could a municipality supply certain fund for this kind of space? Why? Has such space received enough funds currently in Edmonton? Why?

How do you think of the prevalent planning strategy (since the 1980s) that strictly separates the residential area from the commercial area? Is it consistent with the "mixed land use" principal? Why?

How do you think of the relationship between the Whyte Avenue, downtown, West Edmonton Mall and South Edmonton Common in terms of retail sales? Do you believe that the South Edmonton Common has significantly created new job opportunities or attracted existing job opportunities from the inner city since it opened up?

Appendix 3. Interview Script: Portland

Key Words: retail hierarchy, high standard urban design, Main Street, shopping mall, highway commercial strip, inner city, suburban development

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Could you please briefly introduce about the key retail development incidents, and relevant strategies of the Portland comprehensive plan/central city plan in different decades after the end of the Second World War?

Is it possible to identify a retail hierarchy in Portland? How will you describe it?

In terms of the advent of the Lloyd center, how did they affect the retail planning systems and practices for the next few decades?

Lifestyle center has become more and more popular in the recent years. The Bridgeport Village is the latest lifestyle center built within the Portland region. The initial plan decides to have residence above the ground floor, yet it does not make it. Why? There is also a proposal to turn the mall into a town center, how do you think of this idea?

In terms of the idea of complete community, is it a new development orientation or a long tradition in the planning practise of Portland?

How do you think of the main street program and tax increment finance, in terms of their functions to urban revitalization?

What factors do you think have contributed to the vibrancy of the downtown Portland?

What is the role of Metro in influencing the retail development and planning in Portland? Is it primarily based on Urban Growth Boundary?

Is there any other primary change in terms of the retail planning system in Portland during the past few decades? What's the role of city commissioners (Sam Adams) and planners?

In your opinion, what factors have primarily influenced the retail planning system in Edmonton during the past few decades?

If the interview has extra time:

Do you consider the space of a retail shop on a main street as public space, private space or in-between when making urban plan? Why? Could a municipality supply certain fund for this kind of space? Why? Has such space received enough funds currently in Edmonton? Why?

How do you think of the prevalent planning strategy (since the 1980s) that strictly separates the residential area from the commercial area? Is it consistent with the “mixed land use” principal?

Appendix 4. Consent Form

____ I understand that participation in this study is completely voluntary.

____ I understand that I can withdraw my consent at any time during the data collection process without consequence. I understand that if I withdraw my consent by Jan. 15th 2013, all collected data will be destroyed and excluded from research findings any other materials generated by this study.

____ I understand that I cannot withdraw my consent once results have been publicly presented.

____ I understand that while personally identifying information will be collected, it will be excluded from interview transcripts and research findings and kept separate in a locked cabinet from all transcripts and research findings.

____ I understand that I may obtain a copy of the research findings by contacting the researcher or study supervisor.

____ I acknowledge that I have been provided with two copies of this form, one signed and returned to the researcher and one for my own records.

____ I have read the above information and have had all questions answered to my satisfaction. I consent to participate in this study.

_____
Name of participant

_____
Signature of participant

_____
Date

_____
Signature of researcher

_____
Date

☐ Participant received a copy.

The plan for this study has been reviewed for its adherence to ethical guidelines by a Research Ethics Board at the University of Alberta. For questions regarding participant rights and ethical conduct of research, contact the Research Ethics Office at (780) 492-2615.