

CONFLICTING EXPECTATIONS:
THE SITUATION OF THE LOCAL AREA PLANNER IN VANCOUVER

by

LIDIO DANELUZZI

Laurea in Sociologia,
Libera Università Degli Studi di Trento, 1973

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
School of Community and Regional Planning

We accept this thesis as conforming
to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

August, 1978

© Lidio Daneluzzi, 1978

In presenting this thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements for an advanced degree at the University of British Columbia, I agree that the Library shall make it freely available for reference and study. I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by the Head of my Department or by his representatives. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Lidio Daneluzzi

School Community and Regional Planning
~~Department~~ of _____

The University of British Columbia
2075 Wesbrook Place
Vancouver, Canada
V6T 1W5

Date 17 August 1978

ABSTRACT

Local area planning is an approach to city planning which has developed in Vancouver over the past five years, and a major unit in the administrative structure of the Vancouver City Planning Department. This thesis is concerned with the purposes of this approach as they have evolved, particularly with the interplay between the purposes actually served and the structure of the civic bureaucracy, and with the choices made by planners among conflicting demands. The methodology used has two elements, an historical analysis based chiefly on contemporary documents, and a sociological analysis of the role relationships of planners working in Area Planning based on interview data. The conclusions suggest that the original purposes for doing Area Planning are no longer being served by the existing organizational structure, and that there is an opportunity and a need for restructuring of the organization and restatement of the purposes if the objectives of Area Planning are to be attained.

The Area Planning Division of the City Planning Department was established in 1974, in response to the public demand for participation in the planning process among other reasons. It has grown rapidly, to become the largest division in the Planning Department. A 1973 report suggested three basic reasons for introducing this new approach to planning in Vancouver:

Planning is more effective if a strong centralized planning effort is coordinated with neighbourhood oriented planning at the local level.

Local area planning brings the planning process closer to the people.

Local area planning promotes planning with citizens on a cooperative basis, rather than confrontation responses to plans and proposals.

The planner is seen as the central figure in the process. In addition to responding to policy directives and the informal support and guidance of others in the same situation, the position taken by a planner is shaped by compromises among the conflicting expectations and demands placed on the person in this position by those in a variety of related roles. Guidance, or the lack of it, through policy directives is researched through study of documents. The literature is also the basis for specifying three different models of the structure of the work situation in which the local area planner is the central element. These models identify by organizational position and interest the significant others in the planner's environment, but they do not indicate how the planner chooses among the inconsistent expectations and demands made by those involved in these role relationships. To develop the models further interviews were conducted with all of the planners in the Area Planning Division, their superiors to whom they are administratively responsible, representatives of other civic departments who are in frequent contact with Area Planning, some aldermen, and some citizens active in local area planning programmes in their own neighbourhoods.

It is clear from the data that the rapid expansion of the Area Planning Division has not corresponded to a parallel expansion of area planning services. The major factor contributing to an increase in staff size is administration of two federal programs, NIP (Neighbourhood Improvement Program) and RRAP (Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program). RRAP is clearly an implementation program rather than planning, and NIP differs in significant ways from the local area planning ideal. The second major factor in the growth of the Area Planning Division is the development of an "in-house" group of planners working within City Hall using a planning

approach which has little in common with the Area Planning concept.

The growth of the division and diffusion of its activities seem to have negated the spirit which characterized the intent and early implementation of Area Planning. In addition to the loss of its initial motivation, Area Planning is now at a critical point in time because of the cancellation of future NIP programs and changes in the RRAP approach by the federal government.

A restructuring or replacement of the Area Planning Division will be required to establish again a local planning approach as a part of more effective and democratic governance of the city.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
Statement of Methodology	4
Organization of the Thesis	6
CHAPTER 2: AREA PLANNING IN ITS HISTORICAL CONTEXT AND DEVELOPMENT	16
Area Planning in Vancouver	18
CHAPTER 3: AREA PLANNING IN ITS THEORETICAL CONTEXT	30
CHAPTER 4: THREE OPERATIONAL MODELS	53
The NIP Program	54
The LAP Program	58
In-house Activities	61
CHAPTER 5: DESCRIPTION OF THE METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH	64
Data Sources Description	64
Collection of Data	68
Use of Data and Pro Forma Analyses	75
CHAPTER 6: THE FINDINGS	77
Introduction	77
The Site Office Location	80
Planners' Perception of Their Own Role	86
Objectives	96
Duration of an Area Planning Program	102
Community Participation	106
Other City Departments and the Bureaucratic Role	114
Politicians	122
CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSIONS	128
BIBLIOGRAPHY	136
APPENDIX I: PLANNER'S INTERVIEW SCHEDULE	142
APPENDIX II: DIRECTOR'S INTERVIEW SCHEDULE	144
APPENDIX III: CIVIC DEPARTMENTS INTERVIEW SCHEDULE	145

	<u>Page</u>
APPENDIX IV: ALDERMEN'S INTERVIEW SCHEDULE	146
APPENDIX V: COMMITTEE MEMBER'S INTERVIEW SCHEDULE	147
APPENDIX VI: LIST OF BRIEFS AND SUBMISSIONS BY CITIZENS, CITIZEN GROUPS, AND OTHER PUBLIC AGENCIES IN RESPONSE TO THE "LOCAL AREA PLANNING REVIEW"	148

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My thanks go to Henry Hightower for his patience, constant support and encouragement; to George Gray for his contribution in the moments of major need. Lyn Howes also deserves the chief credit for going beyond the call of her duties in helping me with this work. This thesis is theirs as much as mine in the measure in which they contributed with their comments and guidance.

I must also record my gratitude for all the people interviewed, in particular the staff in the Area Planning Division for their contribution to making this an enriching experience.

Finally to Bev for bearing with me.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Area Planning is one of the major innovations in urban planning in Canada in recent years. Many observers see this new approach to planning setting a trend for the future of urban planning. Where is this trend leading? What are its consequences for the planner and the planning profession? These are the two major underlying questions this thesis will explore.

A strong indication that something is changing in the planning profession comes from the recent findings of Reg Lang and John Page about the educational background of Canadian planners (Page and Lang, 1977). According to the results of this research, among those planners with an undergraduate degree, 64% of the ones with degrees in architecture and engineering received their degrees before 1966 and only 36% after 1966. By contrast, 74% of this group having geography degrees received them after 1966 and only 26% before 1966. It becomes easy to find a relation between the changing background of the planners and the more socially oriented approach to planning found in Area Planning.

It was necessary, for the purpose of this master's thesis, to limit the scope of the research to a particular aspect of the problem and a specific geographical area. It was felt that the most important aspect of the Area Planning process to be researched, given his/her central position in the process, is the planner and the various conflicting roles he/she is asked to play. Vancouver was selected as the natural setting for the research for several reasons:

- It was one of the first Canadian cities in which Area Planning was introduced.
- It was accessible and because of its size could set a trend for other

cities.

- The Director of Planning is publicly known as a supporter of Area Planning.
- The researcher had spent the previous summer (1977) working for the Area Planning Division in Vancouver. Together with a first hand look at the situation, this fact would facilitate the access to information regarding Area Planning and the people involved in it.

The limited amount of research and literature on the field of Area Planning was a strong incentive for conducting this study. It also encouraged an open-ended approach to the research with generally exploratory intentions. The expected result of this approach was a set of conclusions defining potential areas of study rather than giving just dogmatic definitions of the present situation. The research was conducted with the area planner in mind and the conclusions are intended to stimulate a discussion on the present state of the art, offering to the planners an alternative point of view on which to build a process of constructive self-criticism.

It is important to define at the outset of this presentation the meaning of some of the definitions frequently used throughout the thesis in order to avoid possible confusion for the reader. Some terms such as "Area Planning" have been given a specific meaning in the context of this thesis to make it possible to use them as technical terms with the same meaning throughout the thesis.

Planning Department - One of the departments in the executive branch of the Vancouver city government, which is organized into five major divisions of which Area Planning is one.

Area Planning - Will be used to refer to activities of the Area Planning Division including the West End Local Area Planning program and to

avoid confusion statements that do not refer exclusively to that unit of the Vancouver government will use the terms "community planning" or "neighbourhood planning".

Local Area Planning - Used only in some quotes or references is a term almost interchangeable with Area Planning.

NIP - Neighbourhood Improvement Program, introduced by the federal government through the National Housing Act (Section 27.1 to 27.7), funded by three levels of government and implemented in the City of Vancouver by the Area Planning Division of the City Planning Department.

LAP - Local Area Planning program, in the context of the thesis the acronym is only used to indicate those Area Planning Division programs which City Planning defines as LAP.

Site Office - Office located in the community; planner and staff implementing NIP and LAP operate from site offices.

In-house Planner - Planner working for the Area Planning Division from City Hall.

Area Planners - Include all planners working for the Area Planning Division independently from their location.

Capitalized terms will be used for officially recognized units, their functions and personnel, and lower case terms like "neighbourhood planning" are used in their generic meaning.

For the purpose of this thesis Area Planning is defined as "a process to facilitate public participation in planning". The development of Area Planning in Vancouver can be better understood by referring to the 1973 report titled "Local Area Planning". This is the only document clearly stating the purposes of Area Planning in Vancouver. Although the report was never endorsed by Council, the author of the report was chosen to

implement the first Area Planning program in Kitsilano. From there on, Area Planning programs were based on what can be defined as "oral tradition" with new programs following the steps of the ones that preceded them. In this context it becomes difficult to clearly define Area Planning, its purpose and objectives. To understand what Area Planning is in Vancouver, one must refer to its historical development as described in the next chapter, the three operational models describing the Area Planning activities in Vancouver and the individual interpretations obtained in the interviews will contribute to present a clear picture of Area Planning in Vancouver.

STATEMENT OF METHODOLOGY

The methodological approach used in this research is based on the semi-structured interview technique. This approach has been successfully adopted in the two major works pioneering research in the field of neighbourhood planning and it was felt that this was the most appropriate technique to use in exploring this relatively new planning field. Among other reasons, the previous experience of the researcher working in the Area Planning Division made the planners more accessible for interview and thus encouraged the interview approach. The information collected in the interview was to be compared with the material previously collected by analyzing all documents that were made available. The study of documents and existing literature on Area Planning and the role of the planner was also to form the basis for the theory supporting the research. The informal approach adopted in this research has made possible the exploration, using a variety of techniques, of all avenues that could lead to a better understanding of the role of the planner in Area Planning.

The first stage of the research included the study of all documents available including newspaper clippings, minutes from Area Planning committee meetings, Planning Department publications and the Area Planning files to which the researcher had access. This information integrated with the existing Area Planning literature and the role theory was used to define the theoretical model on which the interviews were based.

At the second stage of the research area planners and other participants in the Area Planning process were interviewed. The interview format was slightly different for different groups of actors but was designed to cover common areas on which the research was based. As to the community members participating in the process it was felt that the semi-structured interview was inadequate to cover the great variety of their positions and opinions, therefore public statements from community participants were also collected at a recent conference of NIP and LAP committees. Furthermore, the Local Area Planning review presently conducted by the Planning Department has encouraged more reactions and comments from people involved in Area Planning, these comment-responses were made available to the researcher. By using this approach the number and variety of positions presented were much larger than would ever have been possible by limiting the research to the semi-structured interview.

One serious drawback to the semi-structured interview technique is that it is wide open to manipulation by the researcher in both the range of questions asked and in the selection of answers presented in the analysis. To compensate for this weakness in the research, whenever possible feedback was solicited from people close to Area Planning about the process followed and the assumptions made. These contacts included a continuous dialogue with the thesis advisor, and informal conversations

with area planners and other people actively involved in the Area Planning process.

The advantage with the technique used is that it allowed the exploration of this field of research from a more realistic perspective leaving the research constantly open to new suggestions and possibilities. All interviews were tape-recorded and subsequently typed to form the reference material for the thesis.

The final result is the comparison of the findings with the theoretical model used to test the accuracy of the hypotheses contained in the model and then to move to a higher level of analysis of the Area Planning situation in Vancouver and the position of the area planner in particular.

ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS

The body of the thesis can be divided into two parts, the first describing the context in which the research is conducted and the second containing the presentation and discussion of the findings. This introduction is intended to offer a summary of the contents of the different chapters in the thesis as a guide for the reader approaching this study.

The first of the two parts of the thesis contains an introductory chapter, a brief historical perspective on Area Planning in Vancouver, a chapter discussing the theory on which this study is based, the presentation of the three operational models adopted in the research to interpret the reality of Area Planning in Vancouver, and the chapter concluding this first half of the thesis explains the methodology adopted in the research.

The introductory chapter of which this section is a part, has already explained the purpose of the research, the expected findings and possible conclusions together with a statement of the methodology used and

a description of how the thesis has been developed.

The following chapter briefly presents Area Planning in its historical context and development, explaining how Area Planning originated from the demand for citizen participation that was created by the public movement in opposition to urban renewal.

The early seventies saw a change in the municipal political scene in Toronto, Vancouver and other Canadian cities and with it saw the introduction of Area Planning as an innovative and more humane approach to planning. In Vancouver the new political atmosphere was created by The Electors Action Movement (TEAM) when that party swept to power in 1972, with Area Planning as part of their political platform.

The historical development of Area Planning in Vancouver follows the first steps in the West End experience, the arrival of Ray Spaxman, a supporter of Area Planning as new Planning Director, his reorganization of the Planning Department with the introduction of the Area Planning Division and finally the advent of the federal NIP program. In addition there is a description of NIP and LAP programs as well as in-house activities from 1974 to the present time.

The third chapter presents the theoretical context of the research. After a summary and discussion of the literature related to role theory and the various roles the planner plays, three different situations in which area planners operate are described. These are three variations on the theoretical model. Role theory defines the position of the planner as the result of conflicts among different roles. The different roles the planner is asked to play are considered in the context in which the planner operates. The first variable in the model is the location of the planner; Area Planning in Vancouver is done in site offices as well as

from city hall. Location has an effect on how the planner operates, and also has some consequences for the direction the Area Planning Division is taking. The second important element of the model has been defined as the structure of the planning process. Structure results from a combination of different factors and best defines the situation in which the planner operates. The elements of this structure are: the scope of the planning process, residents' input, financing of the program, guidelines for the program and accountability of the planner. Location and structure help to define the context in which the planner operates; in this context there are several participants to the planning process that contribute with their different expectations to conflicting definitions of the planner's position in the process. Because of the part they play in the planning process, these participants are called role definers. Their different expectations are presented and the result of the conflict created by their expectations analyzed. The first of the role definers presented is the planner with his/her needs as an individual and a professional. The second role definers, the Planning Department, are shown to have possible areas of conflict with Area Planning. Politicians and their relation with the area planner are discussed next. Another role definer is the local community. Its expectations are discussed together with the planners' role as advocate for the communities in which they work. The opposite of the advocate role is the bureaucratic role encouraged by other civic departments acting as definers of the planner's role. This chapter concludes with a discussion of the conflicts created by all these different definitions of the area planner's role, and the position the planner can chose when facing the conflict.

The three operational models illustrating different situations in which the planner operates are individually described in the next chapter; they are defined as NIP and LAP programs and in-house activities. The three models are also presented graphically in Appendix . This separation of the planner's activities in three categories helps to understand better the position of the planner in the planning process. The same planner may be involved in activities that fall in more than one category, and in that case the separation in different categories helps to understand the planner's reaction to different situations. The presentation of the methodology chapter, which concludes the first part of the thesis, begins with a description of the variables operating in the theoretical model, follows a description of data sources, origin of the information, how the information is obtained, describing in detail the technique used in the semi-structured interview used in the research. Finally there is an explanation of how the data obtained are used and analyzed.

The second half of the thesis contains the presentation and discussion of the findings. The material collected in the interviews is presented here and compared with other relevant information obtained from various documents, newspaper articles and other sources of information. For clarity of presentation and to help the researcher to systematically organize the material, the information is presented under different headings representing areas of investigation. The presentation highlights those points that are supported by the findings from other areas of investigation. By indicating the links between these findings it is possible to illustrate how and why certain conclusions are reached. The conclusions presented at the end are only some possible interpretations

of what is happening in Area Planning in Vancouver. The extent to which the material presented covers the area researched and the way in which it is presented should allow the reader to reach different conclusions based on the same information presented. This is because of the exploratory character of this research intended to open new avenues and to stimulate discussion rather than just to offer one of the possible interpretations of the position of the area planner today in Vancouver.

The presentation of findings begins with a discussion of the function and importance of the site office underlining its importance as the most visible of the characteristics of Area Planning. Planners located in site offices can identify better with the local area in which they are working, and be identified by others with their areas. The location in the community has several positive aspects as underlined by planners during the interview. It also puts planners in a position different from city hall as they are on their own, held responsible by city bureaucracy for what is happening in the community. The American literature (Needleman in particular) sees the community planner as an advocate for the local community. The area planner in Vancouver has never really operated as an advocate for the community and is presently moving further away from that role to take a position that can best be designated as decentralized bureaucrat. The reasons for this can be found in the basic differences in socio-economic and racial conditions between Canada and the U.S., the recent Canadian recession resulting in a more reactionary attitude in the public, the type of programs implemented by the Area Planning Division (NIP in particular), and the division of Area Planning into the in-house group and the group of planners working in the site

office. The characteristics of the in-house activities are different from what is done in the site office and the in-house planner generally lacks the contact with the public that represents the key element of Area Planning. The development of the in-house group to its present strength has largely contributed to change the Area Planning Division from a small group of young planners aimed by common ideals about the future of the city to a large group where the lack of understanding about individual positions has resulted in little support for the area planner from the division.

The planners' perceptions of their own role is discussed next together with their supervisors' definitions of a good area planner. Area planners see themselves and are seen at the centre of conflicting expectations coming from different sources. In such a position the planners are required to use skills that are not part of the planners' training, they must be the central actor and at the same time direct all the other participants in the planning process. The planner is expected to be politically astute, so as to avoid open conflict between different expectations. Being politically astute also means aware of the hidden agendas that various participants bring to the meetings, and being able to develop the planning process in the middle of these conflicting expectations. In particular, the planner must be aware of the political preferences of individual aldermen in order to be able to predict whether they will support the planner on the individual issue. In this situation, rather than taking a strong political stand, the area planners in Vancouver retreat toward a more bureaucratic role considering their activity just a job. In this way the planner can deny the frustrations caused by the impossibility of pleasing everyone. From a situation in which area planners were fighting

for their ideals, they are now just working for a salary considering their frustrating position just part of the job and as such to be left in the office with all the coloured maps when they go home. The importance assumed by the NIP program among the Area Planning activities has contributed to put emphasis on the role of the planner as administrator of funds allocated by three different levels of government. Also, the particular conditions in which NIP is administered (stable residential areas) has forced the planner into a role of community worker educating the community about the civic process.

Community development is one of the most important objectives pursued by the planner implementing NIP from a site office. Other objectives the area planners are pursuing are not as clear to them or others. This lack of clarity about the purpose of Area Planning has historical origins. The initial report introducing Area Planning in Vancouver was not formally endorsed by council. The newly created Area Planning Division had no clear direction from the beginning; under these circumstances it has been easy for NIP and its guidelines to become a model for Area Planning activities in site offices. At the same time the in-house Area Planning group looking for objectives found the bureaucratic model immediately available. In this context LAP has become "a program whose ideals are objectives after which you run". One of these ideals is social equity. Many of the area planners feel that their communities have been treated unfairly in the past and that the main reason for their presence in the area is to correct this imbalance by giving those communities the "historical pay-off". This concept of equity conflicts with the approach used by other departments which consider equitable, the even distribution of resources independently of what has happened in the past and thus perpetuating the present.

disparities.

There is a general consensus among all people involved in Area Planning that a time limit has a beneficial effect on the planning program. Politicians like to move on to another area to get more exposure, other civic departments believe that a time limit eliminates endless discussions and the community itself likes to have some deadlines so that things can be done. The major negative effect associated with deadlines is that they give to the public the false impression that planning has a point at which it begins and a point at which it ends. NIP with its clear cut deadlines has largely contributed to creating this impression. The time constraints also contribute to forcing the area planner into the position of community worker. The main concern of the area planners is to prepare the community for when the program will be over and the process must be continued by local organizations.

Community participation is what brought Area Planning into being and makes it different from other Area Planning processes. Many of the problems the planner encounters are also associated with public involvement in planning. The rationale for having the public participating in planning is to make the process more humane; the planner becomes a person dealing with other people concerned about issues affecting their lives. This concern is transferred from the planner to the city bureaucracy and politicians. At the same time the members of the community involved in the process become familiar with the intricacies of city hall. For the in-house group, the contacts with the public are noticeably reduced. This affects their activities and indirectly the direction of the Area Planning Division.

The participation of the public is not seen positively by the majority of the civic departments. It is time-consuming and the other departments

do not have time and resources to go along with it. Furthermore, they are not interested in residents' opinions because they consider themselves the experts supporting council in making decisions. Their bureaucratic structures are not prepared to deal with the involvement of citizens in the decision-making process.

Some aldermen see Area Planning as threatening their political authority and want the planning committee to remain in an advisory capacity. Area Planning is also associated by some with the reorganization of the political structure of the city into a ward system. This causes a negative reaction toward Area Planning from some members of council. This negative attitude, based on fears more than on a political evaluation of the reality, has improved since several aldermen have been assigned a local area with which to act as liaison. This has contributed to making individual aldermen more familiar with Area Planning and as a result their attitude has noticeably changed; they appreciate the function of Area Planning and use the feedback they obtain from the local community through the process. To take advantage of the situation, aldermen expect the planner to be "politically astute" by acting as a buffer preventing politically unpopular issues from reaching council. The planners in site offices are not considered simply experts contributing to the working of the city bureaucracy, they are seen in a political position because the results of their actions are immediately political. The area planners are directly accountable to their superiors and to council but there are also different levels of accountability to all the participants in the Area Planning process, in particular the local community and the planning committee representing it. In addition, the planner implementing NIP is also accountable to senior levels of government, in particular the federal, and is faced at times with the more or less

explicit requests by a local M.P. or M.L.A. to support a pet project.

The findings presented in the second part of the thesis illustrate different aspects of the situation in which the planner operates. The following conclusions discuss the conflict among roles the area planners face in their working experience and indicate how they solve their conflict and define their position in the planning process.

The area planner is left alone in the site office to deal with the local community from an "independent" position, while receiving little support from the Area Planning Division. Its historical development has brought Area Planning to a point where its objectives are not clearly stated. In this situation the traditional area planner, young and idealistic, cannot bear all the pressure associated with all the different roles he/she is expected to play. As this type of area planner fades out a new type of planner is attracted to Area Planning, one that can bear the conflict among roles because he/she chooses the bureaucratic role and denies the ones conflicting with it. In doing this the planners change the original nature of Area Planning, from an innovative planning approach to a decentralized bureaucratic approach to planning.

CHAPTER 2

AREA PLANNING IN ITS HISTORICAL CONTEXT AND DEVELOPMENT

The concept of Area Planning can be better understood if seen in its historical context. This survey of the events that preceded and introduced Area Planning in Canada and in Vancouver includes a brief analysis of urban renewal in Canada in the late sixties, its failure, and a subsequent change of attitude on the part of the governments.

In the sixties the North American answer to urban blight was Urban Renewal. Through this program entire neighbourhoods were wiped out to create the space for modern buildings and fast highways.

Gradually residents of areas proposed for renewal began to realize that their lifestyle and the social network on which it was based were being destroyed along with their place of residence. At this point they began to organize themselves to fight urban renewal.

One can see a parallel between the student movements of the late sixties inside North American universities and the popular movements against urban renewal with the consequent demand for citizen involvement in planning. The same distrust for authority and expertise can be seen to lead people in several Canadian cities to express their opposition against decisions taken by planners with disregard for the consequences of their actions on the lives of people affected by urban renewal.

The political establishment soon realized the need to modify its public image in order to regain the failing credibility. At the municipal level, planning departments with their urban renewal programs were getting the spotlight and it was felt that this was the place to start making changes. The Planning Department up to that point had been involved in many of the most important issues as they were related to land use. It

therefore appeared that planning needed to be restructured, in order to respond to the demand for citizen involvement in decisions related to urban land use.

Local area planning was introduced as a new approach to planning based on consultation with the public. Toronto was the first Canadian city to introduce the local area planning concept with the Trefan Court experiment. Winnipeg introduced area or "district" planning as part of its Unicity reorganization of 1971. In Vancouver the area planning concept became a reality when The Electors Action Movement (TEAM), the new "reform" party, swept to power in 1972.

The reasons for introducing local area planning in various cities throughout Canada were similar, as Anderson illustrates with the policy statements reported in his article:

Vancouver: Local Area Planning can make planning more effective by allowing citizens to influence the development of their community. At the same time a two-way flow of communication is established between citizens and city hall humanizing bureaucracy and making people aware of and involved in civic affairs. City resources and problems should be redistributed among the neighbourhoods correcting imbalances within the city. The Local Area Planning Program will involve individuals within the community from the first stages of plan preparation in an effort to work on a participatory, co-operative basis. A strong initiating role on the part of the city staff will guarantee the leadership essential to the planning in Local Areas.

Toronto: The community is encouraged to become involved in the planning process from the beginning through the Community Planning Committees or Task Forces set up in most areas with the participation of local residents, business and institutional interests.

Winnipeg: What we are working towards is a system whereby a residents' group is the creator of a district plan by determining their own concerns, issues, policies and programs for the implementation of the policies.

(Anderson, 1977, 35).

A general definition of Area Planning is: a planning process that includes citizen participation in determining the future of their neighbourhood. To make this process possible, a planner and supporting city staff are assigned to a designated area. An office is opened in the area and while the planning staff are collecting information about the characteristics of the area, local residents are encouraged to get involved. A committee of residents is established to discuss issues in the area, analyze the information, develop goals and propose a plan to city council. After refinement and approval the plan is ready to be implemented.

The length of the planning involvement in the local area remains a political decision. On one side the supporters of local area planning would like to see a permanent involvement at the local level, on the other side the supporters of the short-time involvement point to the financial constraints and the advantages of rotating the staff around the city to cover a larger number of neighbourhoods. The desire of city council and other levels of government to make their presence more widespread by moving on to another local area after a short period of time has tended to dominate.

AREA PLANNING IN VANCOUVER

Vancouver was one of the very first Canadian cities to raise effective opposition to urban renewal. The movement began in Strathcona after the city had already implemented Stage 1 and 2, clearing eleven blocks and displacing 2,000 Strathcona residents. Stage 3, approved by city council in October 1968, was about to bulldoze the rest of the district. At this point the mainly Chinese residents were mobilized. Their reaction was made much more effective by the surprise it created. The Strathcona

Property Owners and Tenants Association (SPOTA) was formed in December 1968 and soon became the voice of more than 400 members anxious to stay in the district.

A freezing of federal contributions to Urban Renewal saved Strathcona from immediate demolition, allowing the opposition by SPOTA to gain momentum. The newly appointed minister of housing, in a policy speech given at a banquet organized by SPOTA in his honour, attacked the conventional wisdom of urban renewal, and then bluntly informed city council that Strathcona residents must be involved in any planning for the area. What he proposed was a kind of participation different from the "blue ribbon" type where business leaders and other important personalities were invited to participate in the planning process giving with their presence the approval of the community to planning schemes.

It is interesting to note that the Social Planning Department was established in Vancouver the same year SPOTA was formed. The terms of reference of the department were broad, including housing and urban renewal together with health, education, employment, recreation and welfare. The function of the new department was to co-ordinate the efforts of other civic departments and voluntary agencies. Social Planning efforts in the first few years of operation were concentrated on attempting to co-ordinate social services on a local area basis. After being instrumental in organizing social service teams on a local area basis, the department moved away from the "community development" role by subcontracting that function to a private social agency, the Neighbourhood Services Association. This agency established a Community Development Department and made available to local areas of the city a complement of community development workers.

By late 1970, the local area co-ordination approach to municipal social planning in Vancouver had virtually disappeared. Part of this change can be explained with the words of the Director of Social Planning stating that the department's success arose, not from staff roles as local area planning co-ordinators, but rather by selective intervention in city-wide issues. As a result, the narrow approach, based on local area co-ordination of social services was abandoned in favour of a strategy of selective intervention over a broader and much wider range of urban issues and concerns.

In spite of this change in direction, the Social Planning Department established and co-ordinated the first Local Area Planning program in Vancouver. The West End was in fact a large enough arena to attract the department's attention and after the initial involvement of social planners with residents, the program was initiated.

The introduction of the Social Planning Department was one indication of the trend toward planning with people rather than for people. While the city fathers were still maintaining a rigid attitude toward citizen participation, it was evident that the ground was ready for some major innovations in the planning process. At least this was evident to TEAM, the emerging "reform" party. TEAM made the local area planning concept part of the 1972 election platform, won the election and subsequently changed the head of the Planning Department importing Ray Spaxman, a strong supporter of local area planning, from Toronto.

Before Spaxman's arrival, the city pressed ahead with an experimental Area Planning program in the West End opening a site office and assigning a team made up of staff from the Social Planning, Planning and Engineering Departments. This experiment did not achieve the expected success in terms of motivating residents and gaining influence with council. The TEAM party

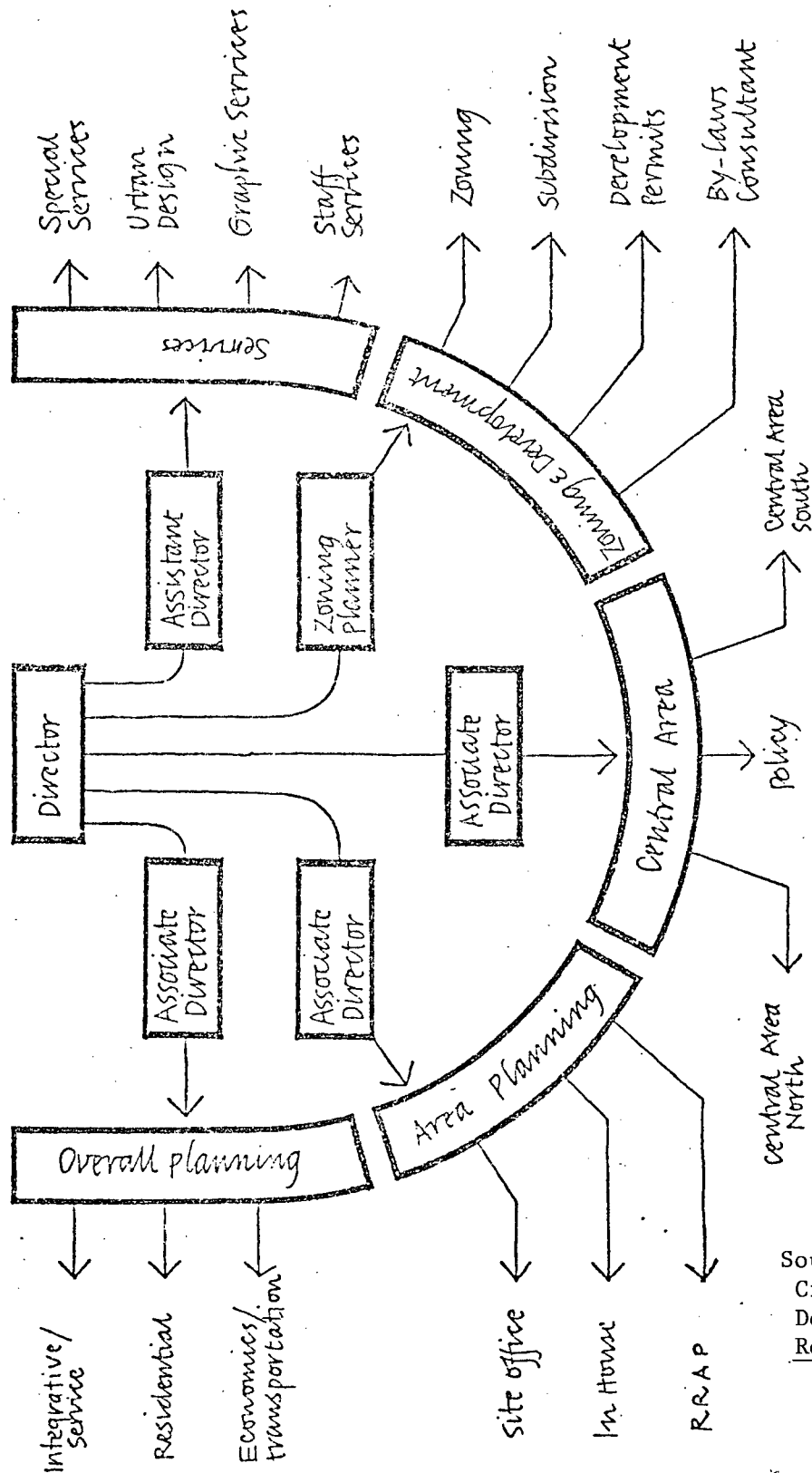
holding the majority in council became disillusioned about the whole process of Area Planning and shied away from the original idea of continuous involvement in the community in favour of more rewarding, from the politician's point of view, short range programs. Council felt that by reducing the involvement in an area to six to eight months would increase the productivity of the process allowing at the same time the involvement in a larger number of areas in the city.

Arriving in Vancouver, Spaxman found Area Planning in serious trouble, the West End having failed to obtain the needed support from the public and city council. The "TEAM" approach which was deliberately set up separate from City Hall was criticized because of its apparent disassociation from its respective departments. To correct the situation, it was felt that the Area Planning activities had to be organized under the direction of one department with staff input from others. Following the arrival of the new director, the Planning Department was reorganized and the Area Planning Division was created. See the diagram of the present organization of the Planning Department (page 22).

The first Local Area Planning (LAP) program was initiated in Kitsilano in the spring, 1974, planning staff was assigned and a storefront office was opened in the area. Other LAP programs followed Kitsilano; Fairview Slopes, Charles/Adanac, Champlain Heights (all three without establishing a site office in the area). Grandview Woodland was initiated in 1975 and more recently Marpole in January 1978.

From the beginning LAP was associated with a new federal program. The Neighbourhood Improvement Program (NIP) was initiated in Kitsilano a few months after LAP was introduced and the planning staff together with the Planning Committee began to manage the two programs at the same time.

General Organization of the Planning Department - 1978



Source: Vancouver
City Planning
Department, Annual
Review, 1977/78

In a study preceding the introduction of Area Planning the Planning Department had collected information about the condition of the housing stock, streets and other physical aspects throughout the city, including an inventory of recreational facilities and park space available to citizens living in different neighbourhoods. A list of local areas needing attention was drawn based on this study and the various Area Planning programs were initiated in the areas indicated by the study. Thanks to the financial support from the two other levels of government, several NIP programs have been implemented in Vancouver in the past few years. The last NIP programs were started in the Kensington and Kiwassa neighbourhoods in October 1977.

In 1978, the federal government has decided to consolidate the Neighbourhood Improvement Program, the Municipal Infrastructure Program and the Municipal Incentive Grant Program into one Community Services Grant Program. It is still early to see how this new policy will effect the future of Area Planning but it will certainly mean a reorientation of the Division's activities.

The Neighbourhood Improvement Program has been the backbone of Area Planning in Vancouver since the availability of funds from other levels of government has encouraged the proliferation of NIP giving to the Area Planning Division a steady flow of cash partially independent of city funds. NIP has also contributed to make the participatory process in planning possible by opening site offices in areas where it was implemented.

Some of the Area Planning Division staff is not involved in NIP or LAP and operates from city hall. These planners are generally assigned different parts of the city to monitor and where possible to get involved with local citizens. The Division also includes the staff administrating

RRAP. The Area Planning Division, with a staff of 43 is by far the largest in the Planning Department; it includes 10 planners, 9 planning assistants, RRAP advisors and promoters, and clerical staff. As shown in the diagram, 5 planners and 7 planning assistants are working in site offices while the in-house group comprises 5 planners and 3 planning assistants (see page 25).

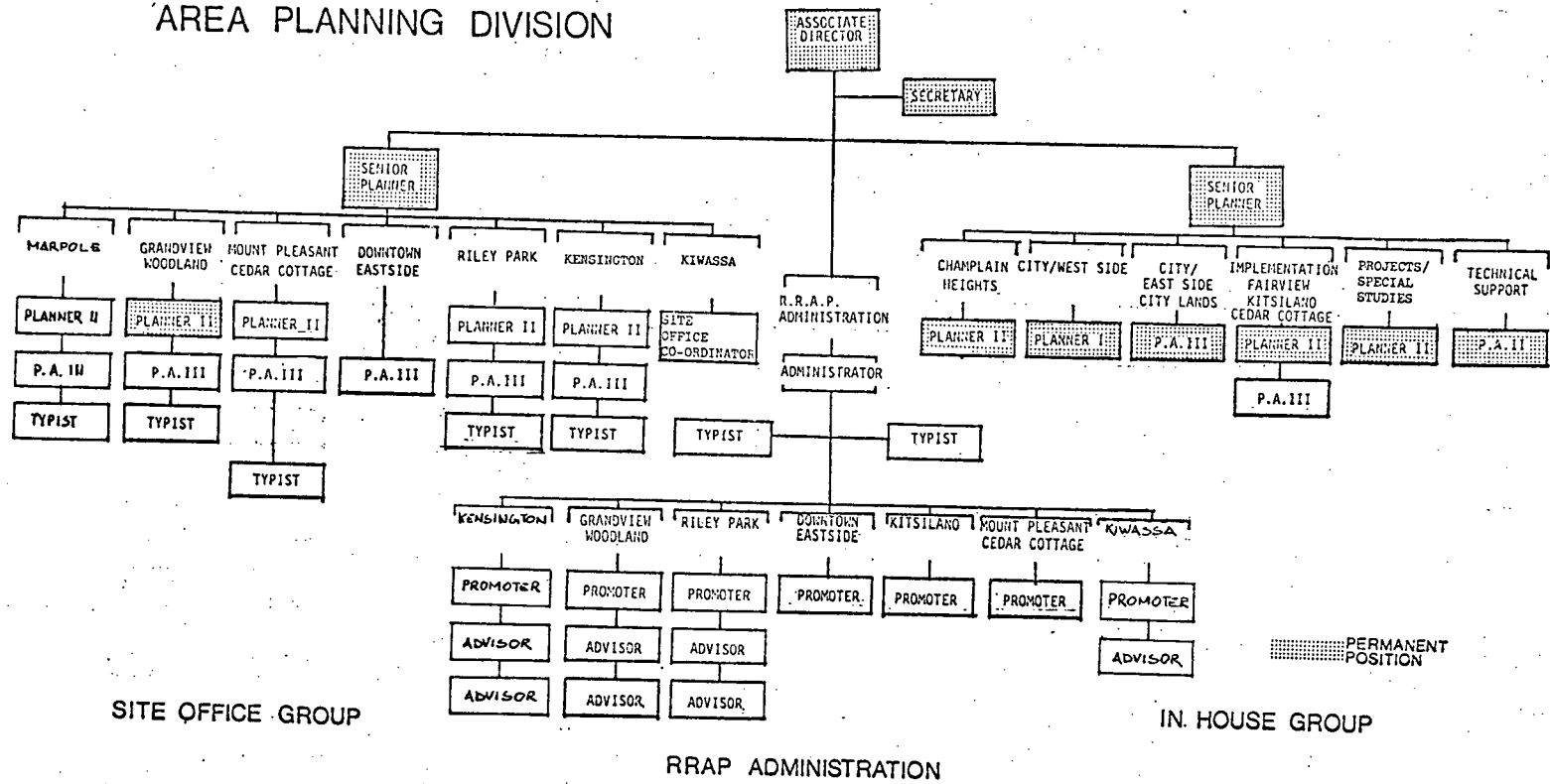
A brief description of NIP and LAP activities in Vancouver is obtained from the Local Area Planning review produced by the Planning Department.

The review presents the following LAP activities as council-endorsed Local Area Planning programs. The Charles/Adanac experience has not been included in this group by the author of the report although it is considered by some planners as a real LAP program.

(1) West End: Initiated in February 1973; Social Planning Department co-ordinated team of civic staff (Social Planning, City Planning, and Engineering), working on consultation with citizens (upon advice of citizens, no citizens' committee was organized); local site office in operation for two years. Program was undertaken within context of sixteen policy guidelines adopted by Council. Results to date include two rezonings to reduce future population densities, traffic - open space improvements west of Denman, and the joint planning of the West End Community Centre (now in operation) and the Haro Park Senior Citizens Complex.

(2) Kitsilano: Initiated in February 1974; Terms of Reference for Citizen Committee (written by the Chairman of the then Community Development Committee, Ald. Volrich) were adopted, and are now used as a 'model' for future programs; Planning Department team approved and local site office operated for 2 1/2 years. Results to date include Area Plans for Apartment Area, Kits Point, Pt. Grey Road, West Broadway, and Conversion Areas. New zoning schedules were adopted to encourage the retention of existing good housing, reinforce the viability of local and district commercial areas, and facilitate the development of compatible new residential and commercial uses and buildings. An N.I.P. program was initiated in the spring of 1974 in conjunction with the R.R.A.P. program to upgrade existing housing stock. The Citizens Committee continues to advise on planning and N.I.P. matters.

AREA PLANNING DIVISION



Source: Vancouver City Planning Department,
A Review of Local Area Planning, September 1977
(updated to 1978).

(3) Champlain Heights: Initiated in Spring 1974; Citizens Committee organized to advise on development and compatibility of Areas E and F, Champlain Heights and overcoming the deficiencies of existing built-up areas. Results to date include the adoption of Area Plan to guide the comprehensive development of Areas E & F. Residents continue to advise on implementation through new Citizens Committee.

(4) Fairview Slopes: Initiated in Fall of 1974; Planner assigned, and Citizens Committee appointed; Terms of Reference adopted. Results to date include adoption of Area Plan on June 1, 1976, new zoning schedule adopted to encourage retention of existing houses and permit new low-profile residential development and some compatible commercial. Implementation of required physical improvements, including parkland acquisition, and development of social housing delayed for lack of funds. Citizens Committee dissolved by Council but residents still able to participate in development process through Development Permit Board.

(5) Grandview-Woodland: Initiated in Summer of 1975; Planner assigned; local site office opened in December 1975; support staff added in Fall of 1976. Citizens Committee appointed (after community elections and Terms of Reference adopted). Results to date include initiation of NIP/RRAP in portion of area. Area Plan to be considered by Council in late 1977 or early 1978.

NEIGHBOURHOOD IMPROVEMENT PROGRAMS - N.I.P. (with complementary Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program - R.R.A.P.) were established in 1973 under the National Housing Act. This is a cost-shared effort (Federal - 50%, Provincial - 25%, and City - 25%) to improve municipal services and utilities as well as social and recreational facilities. The R.R.A.P. program is a Federal program to improve housing conditions.

(1) Kitsilano (1974-1977) - total \$1.2 million
Housing - \$584,000 - to buy existing housing for renovation and to buy sites for redevelopment for low/moderate income persons.
Child Care Centres - \$250,000
Community Centre Facilities - \$150,000
Playground and Adult Rest Areas - \$123,000

(2) Cedar Cottage (1974-1977) - total \$1.8 million
Parks and Recreation - \$281,340 - primarily for development of Clark Park, China Creek Park, Brewers Park, and John Hendry Park.
Traffic and Transportation - \$50,000 - specifically for bus shelters and redesign of Findlay/Victoria Diversion.
Beautification and Public Use Areas - \$315,000
Grandview Community Centre - \$500,000
Housing - \$500,000

(3) Downtown-Eastside (Oppenheimer Area) (1975-1979) - total \$685,000

Community Health Facilities - \$200,000
Social, Recreation & Community Facilities - \$130,000
Japanese Community Facilities - \$150,000
Public Open Space - \$95,000 - primarily Oppenheimer Park.
Projects Encouraging Employment of Residents - \$5,000

(4) Mt. Pleasant "Triangle" (1975-1979) - total \$1.8 million

Community Facilities - \$440,000 - for Kivan Boys and Girls Club and a new Neighbourhood House
Parks Improvement - \$369,000 - South China Creek Park, Sunnyside Park and Robson Park
Schools - \$50,000
Bus Shelters - \$45,000
Streets and Curbing - \$475,000
Boulevard Trees - \$100,000
Traffic and Safety - \$90,000

(5) Riley Park (1976-1980)- total \$2.0 million

Community Facilities - \$710,000
Parks Improvements - \$267,000
Streets Upgrading - \$210,000
Commercial Area Improvements - \$170,000
Schools Improvements - \$75,000

(6) Grandview-Woodland (1976-1980) - total \$2.5 million

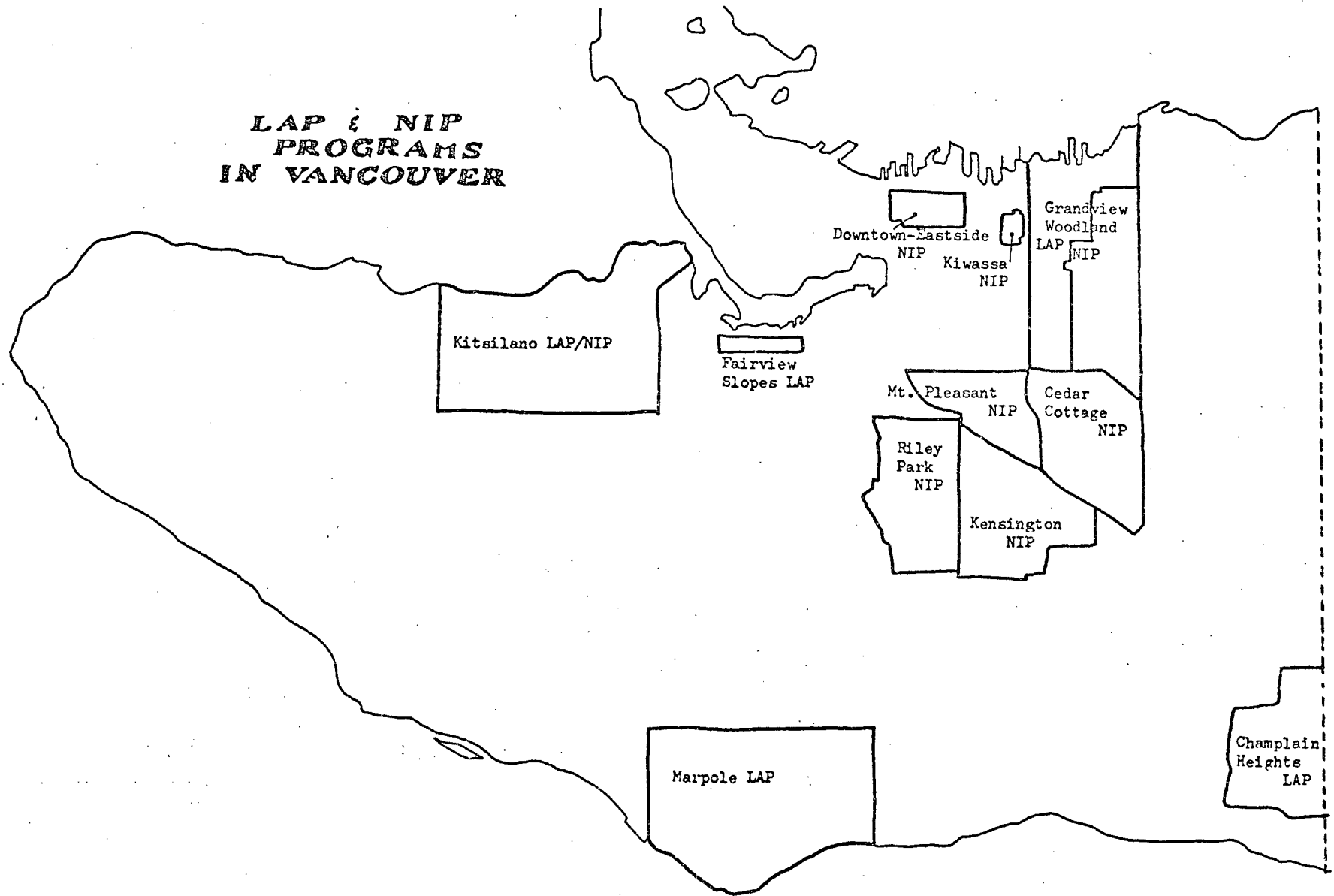
School Improvements - \$1,035,000
Parks Improvements - \$460,000
Street Beautification - \$201,000
Street Curbing/Bus Shelters - \$181,000
Social Services - \$90,500
Housing - \$250,000

(7) Kensington (1977-1981) - total \$2.6 million and Kiwassa (1977-1981) - total \$400,000

The concept plans for these two neighbourhoods have just been approved by CMHC and the Province and are now on their first stage of implementation of the program.

The Local Area Planning Review describes two other categories of activities; neighbourhood initiatives, and other local area planning efforts in the form of projects that council instructs the Planning Department to undertake. These activities are managed by the in-house group of the Area Planning Division.

**LAP & NIP
PROGRAMS
IN VANCOUVER**



The in-house group is, in the words of the Director of Planning a pre out-house group. Their activities cover a wide range of planning issues trying to service the remaining areas of the city not receiving NIP or LAP attention.

CHAPTER 3

AREA PLANNING IN ITS THEORETICAL CONTEXT

The historical background of Area Planning in Vancouver and the distortion caused by the domination of Area Planning by the two federal programs, NIP and RRAP, have created a confusing situation, not only for the public but also for the planners operating in the division. The lack of clearly defined objectives defining the purpose of Area Planning programs becomes particularly critical now that the federal government has decided to discontinue NIP programs in Canada.

This chapter proposes a theoretical model for the analysis of Area Planning in Vancouver, a model based on the positions area planners assume in the process.

The position of the area planner is defined by roles that are at times incompatible. Several groups are acting as role definers; citizens on one side and politicians and bureaucracy on the other together with many other participants in the Area Planning process are pressuring the planner to play conflicting roles. Area planners are required to fill simultaneously several roles that present inconsistent, contradictory, or even mutually exclusive expectations. Over a period of time they cannot fully meet their own and others' expectations, and to the extent that they fail to meet expectations for the management of one or another of the roles they may be judged ineffective by the defining group. Some of the various defining groups may be aware of the complexity of the position of the planner and think that the planner is choosing the wrong one among the various roles, from their point of view, and therefore see the planner not as a failure but as an enemy acting against their interests. David Eversley's definition of the planner as "allocator of scarce resources"

also clearly indicates why the planner will never be able to fully satisfy any of the groups that he is working for (Eversley, 1973). This can also contribute to explaining the conflicts within the bureaucratic role of the planner.

For Bates (1956), within any given position there tends to be a strain toward consistency or adjustment among the various roles that define the position. This is based on the assumption that psychological tension is aroused in individuals that occupy a position containing inconsistent or maladjusted roles. As a result of this process certain roles become dominant (Getzels, 1954) and determine the structure of the position in which it is found. The other roles become recessive and are changed or adjusted in relation to the dominant roles.

For the area planner there are a number of roles any of which can be dominant. They vary from a cluster of roles centered on the role of advocate for the local community to another set centered on the role of bureaucrat acting as a "buffer for the politicians".

There is a basic incompatibility between those roles, roles that have in common a bureaucratic orientation and those that have in common an advocate orientation.

Getzels (1954) equates intensity of the conflict with ineffectiveness in at least one of the roles. The extent of role conflict is a function of the number and magnitude of incompatible expectations.

The theoretical model proposed in this study has a static component represented by the location of the planner and the structure of the planning process. Planning structure is defined in the model as the combination of scope of the planning process, program guidelines, duration and financing of the program and type of citizen involvement. Planners'

accountability is seen as the linkage between the two components. The dynamic component of the model is represented by the various participants in the Area Planning process with their conflicting definitions of the planner's role. The area planner, considered as an individual and a professional, is the first definer of his/her own role; the others considered in this model are the planning profession, planning department, other civic departments, development interests, local community and politicians.

The presentation of the theoretical model in its various components is integrated with the discussion of role theory, the different roles the planner is facing and the conflict among them. The theoretical model is subsequently applied to three major categories of the planner's activities, NIP programs, LAP programs, and in-house activities.

Probably the most important element in the theoretical model is the location from which the planner operates. The decentralization of the planning operation is very much a part of the Area Planning concept. The "Local Area Planning" report preceding the introduction of Area Planning in Vancouver considered the site office "primarily necessary to facilitate citizen/planner dialogue". The site office also helps the planner to get a better understanding of what the community feelings and needs are. The planner tends to identify with the local area in which he/she operates and becomes associated with it in the eyes of colleagues and city bureaucracy in general.

Anderson considers the planner in the site office as the "director of planning" for the neighbourhood. In this situation the planner has more freedom of action but becomes accountable to the civic bureaucracy and politicians for that community.

Half of the planners in the Area Planning Division of Vancouver are operating from city hall. They are generally dealing with specific planning issues as they arise but their function also includes monitoring areas of the city not covered by other programs and some NIP and LAP programs. In the words of the director of planning, the planners in the in-house group are "sort of preliminary out-house group in the sense that they are covering things that haven't reached the size of issue that would require a full-time person" (from interview with Ray Spaxman). This definition overlooks the consequences that the different location has on the two groups of planners. The decision to open a site office implies the commitment to the development of real citizen/planner dialogue, and there are substantial costs to that commitment if only in the time it takes to develop community/site office or citizen/planner relationships. The in-house staff are working in areas where there is no commitment of this kind, either because the level of communication is not desired or because the costs cannot be covered within the budget. As a result, the planners' choice of roles is affected by their location and the presence of a large in-house group may have a strong impact on the orientation of the Area Planning Division.

Together with the location of the planner there are other factors contributing to the definition of the character of different programs. In this thesis several of these factors have been grouped under the definition "structure of the planning process".

The scope of planning is the first of the factors to be considered. It may vary from the preparation of a comprehensive plan for the area or a plan for the use of NIP funds to the monitoring of a defined area or the production of a report on a specific issue.

Guidelines the planners must follow may vary from program to program making the activities of the Area Planning Division diversified. Deadlines assume different importance in different programs, becoming crucial in NIP for the release of funds. Different funding arrangements also contribute to diversify Area Planning activities in Vancouver. The input from local residents in the planning process is emphasized by planners in site offices more than by their in-house colleagues. Planners in the site office produce a plan with the co-operation of a committee of local residents. They obtain feedback from the community through public meetings and questionnaires, and the constant interaction with people attracted by the storefront location of the site office. The in-house planners work closer to their mother bureaucracy and their contact with the public is limited by their location. They don't generally work with a committee and may be involved only in some public meeting.

The accountability of the planner cannot be considered entirely part of either the static or dynamic component of the model; it is rather a linkage between the two components and contributes to making the planner's choice among the different roles more difficult. The area planner has a plural accountability with the community on one side and the civic bureaucracy and city council on the other. In NIP the planner also becomes accountable to the federal and provincial governments.

Among the different role definers to which area planners become accountable, the first one to be presented is the planners themselves. The importance of the personal attitude of the planners towards the roles they are expected to play is supported by Akerman. He thinks that the extent to which the role is successfully handled is a function of the degree of overlap between the role expectations and the planners' own needs. In

the context of this research it becomes necessary to analyze the planners' personal needs to understand better their reaction to the given roles and the ethic position of the planner as a professional asked to make non-technical choices.

Personal history and background will help to understand a planner's attitude toward the different expectations and the variety of roles he/she is pressured into playing. Educational background and previous working experience are also important elements determining the planner's decisions. Some characteristics of community planners make them different from other planners in the department. Needleman found that community planners as a group are much younger than their colleagues. In the departments he visited the average age of the community planner was 27, that of the rest of the staff, 34 (The Needleman, 1974; 187). Needleman's community planners were also more socially oriented and from a generally humanistic background. Community planners enter the civic arena with strong ideas about the role they are going to play. The inability to perform in the chosen role may lead to frustration, and eventually to resignation from the planning department or the retreat to a more comfortable bureaucratic role.

In their book, the Needleman outline the "guerrilla" tactics community planners use to fight successfully the bureaucratic structure from the inside. Interestingly enough, the Needleman notice that the planners who are more successful in the role of guerrilla are the ones that leave the department. This may indicate that those planners had definite objectives and once they managed to achieve them they consider their mission accomplished (the Needleman, 1974; 294).

Not all the planners interviewed by Needleman are "guerrillas". Some of them are not willing or able to oppose the planning department that

employs them, or to reject the comprehensive planning approach they were trained to value. Despite the most intensive community pressure, some strive to work in terms of the traditional priorities and methods of elite encapsulated city planning. Others wish to act as administrative guerrillas on behalf of their community but lack the personal characteristics and skills necessary for the role. These "misfit" community planners - a minority among those interviewed - develop patterns of behaviour the Needleman call role resistance and role incapacity.

Gower (1972) has an interesting theory on how planners solve their moral and legitimacy problems, as well as the insecurity within the profession on the topic of social change. Gower contends that planners when threatened will (i) cling to the local fiction that they themselves do not make decisions, and (ii) accord technology an independent authority of its own.

Donald A. Barr suggests that to be professional it is not necessary to subordinate personal or group concerns to the aim of the governing apparatus. With an understanding of his position and his limitations, the urban planner can describe those things capable of regulation and, as well, those things which cannot be regulated. His plans are not the only plans. In other words, the planner can admit that the plans he/she prepares are incomplete and he/she can indicate that they can be completed only if complemented, and contested, by the ideas of other less legitimate sources (Barr, 1973; 159).

In their survey of Canadian planners, Lang and Page define a profession as characterized in part by a definable body of theory. This theory provides the framework guiding the practice of the professional while practice turns theory into "real knowledge" (Lang and Page, 1977). A

professional must not only know the theory but be able to devise new ones in light of change (Craig, 1977; 13). From this definition of planner as professional it appears that community planners are in a situation in which they are expected to be more than just a planner and this makes the search for a professional identity confusing.

Some planners react to this difficulty in reconciling their position with their professional identity by assuming a critical position toward their profession.

Urban planning today is not a profession because what we do is adopt the principles or non-principles of the people that pay our salaries. That goes for the ones who work for cities as well as development companies.

Planning is not a profession. It has no code of ethics. It does not know what it is doing, we have no unified direction. ... I feel about the planners the same way Alinsky felt about social workers. He wouldn't have them around because no matter what they profess, they've invested so much time and money in developing their own tiny perfect expertise that they cannot abandon it.

(Anderson, 1976; 217).

The same dissatisfaction with their profession was expressed by planners in Lang and Page's research. In particular they were dissatisfied with the characteristics of planners, the ineffectiveness of planning in society and with C.I.P. (Canadian Institute of Planners). As far as CIP was concerned, various suggestions were made to improve it, the main one being the need for the continuing education of planners. Planners also expressed the opinion that the CIP Code of Ethics should be improved. For example, they should have the right and responsibility to judge their colleagues at work (Craig, 1977; 13).

In the American scene the planning profession seems to be more concerned with dissent and how to deal with those planners acting on their

own for what they deem proper. Nader in his speech at the AIP conference in 1970 defines a profession in contradistinction to a trade as

... a body of learned knowledge with an ability to examine itself and its purposes; an ability to link its body of knowledge with other bodies of knowledge to achieve common purposes; the ability to defend dissent, not just within the society but dissent by its members in conflicts with their employer organizations or their government agencies or corporations; and above all, the ability to pioneer new policies that are not brought into effect by market incentives".

(Nader, 1970)

In the U.S. apparently neither ASPO nor AIP have publicly stated that they share Nader's views on the defense of their dissenting members. The 1971 AIP Code of Professional Responsibility mentions such professional standards as "social consciousness," service "in the public interest," and "independent professional judgement," but is open to question whether AIP will do anything to protect a planner who takes these standards seriously and gets into trouble with his employer. The AIP code says that a planner serves primarily the public interest, but it tells a planner who feels that his/her work conflicts with the public interest to quit instead of blowing the whistle or fighting from within. The planner, according to the AIP code, "shall accept or continue employment only when he can insure accommodation of the client's or employer's interest with the public interest".

The ASPO Code of Ethics says that the organization does not attempt to police ethics in planning but rather to promote such ethics within these self-professed constraints. It is interesting to note that ASPO's code resembles AIP's in that it does not concern itself with cases of employer vindictiveness against a planner employee. The reason for this is that ASPO is an organization whose members are both professionals and laymen, open to anyone with interest in planning, while AIP (and CIP)

restrict their membership to persons who demonstrate some level of professional competence in planning.

Ralph Nader believes that there must be some sort of inner initial determination that the individual employee would go only so far in obeying the dictates of the organization and beyond that will have to, in effect, "blow the whistle" and achieve the resolution of his own conscience by attaching his concerns and his information to outside authorities (Nader, 1970).

Finkler suggests that it is necessary to institutionalize dissent and independent initiative within the planning profession, if the maximum positive benefits are to be realized. Under the present system even with minor changes and increased protection for dissenters the conflict tends to overshadow the potential contribution for new and innovative ideas (Finkler, 1971; 57).

The bureaucratic structure in which the planner operates tends to suffocate the independent initiative. If we look at the planning department as a function of government, any planning becomes subordinate and part of the governing role. Barr suggests that the emphasis in urban planning is placed on ordering social and physical things and making such ordering more rational and predictable (Barr, 1973; 157). Using this definition of planning it becomes possible to explain how conflict arises between community planners and their department. The bureaucratic structure of the planning department is not equipped to deal with the unpredictability of the decisions made by citizens involved in the planning process.

The planners that are attracted to neighbourhood planning are not only younger than the rest in the planning department, they also base their action on different philosophical beliefs. The Needleman identified in

their research three sources of irritation creating a sense of mutual dislike and distrust between neighbourhood planners and many of their colleagues. Planners in other sections of the Planning Department perceive differences between their own personal style, background and work attitudes and those commonly found among neighbourhood planners. These differences extend to the definition of planning with neighbourhood planners tending to differ with most other staff members over the proper degree of political activity planners should engage in, the legitimate scope of planning, the proper degree of citizen participation, and the most useful time frame for plans. Finally, there are problems of co-ordinating neighbourhood planning with the other activities of the planning department. These friction points are of course interrelated (the Needleman, 1974; 186).

Given its status in the Planning Department of the City of Vancouver, it is by far the largest division and has strong support from the Director of Planning, the Area Planning Division receives little opposition within the Planning Department. The conflict with the civic bureaucracy seems to occur at a different level involving the other civic departments. Because of its nature, Area Planning covers a wide range of activities and in doing so has overlaps of responsibilities with other sectors of city bureaucracy.

The basic philosophical differences between Area Planning and other departments can be seen as the major source of conflict within the bureaucratic organization of the city. The activities of the other civic departments are based on their own expertise while for Area Planning consultation with the public becomes the most important element. In planning their activities other departments consider the needs of the city as a whole and establish a list of priorities. Area planners feel that the

communities in which they are working have been neglected in the past and must now get their fair share of attention. They point out that the bureaucratic concept of equity used by other departments makes the implicit assumption that all the areas of the city are equal and as a result disparities among neighbourhoods are ignored and the existing inequalities perpetuated.

Because of this different approach to city planning, area planners are always asking more for their communities than other departments are ready to give. The inability of the bureaucratic structure to deal with the conflicts the planner raises in the community can also be considered a major source of conflict. Rather than modify their existing structure to assimilate Area Planning, other civic departments consider this approach to planning a threat to their own existence and their actions reflect this attitude; by doing this, city bureaucracy fails to recognize the importance of area planners as a stimulant for the ongoing conflict necessary to the healthy functioning of the human society.

Barr recognizes that the order necessary to maintain a healthy conflict between the parts of man, his society and his environment may be seen as disorder by a bureaucracy preoccupied with maintaining only certain of these parts. In fact, according to Barr, "the amount of order that we see as necessary to man's environment varies with the understanding we have concerning the parts of that environment" (Barr, 1973; 158).

Having said that, Barr points out that the government is so prominent in the present system that any planning becomes subordinate to and part of the governing role. He further suggests that planners should be considered as government functionaries in order to understand better what the planners do and why they do it. Urban planning is a bureaucratic

function. Seeing it in this light and understanding its limitations we can appreciate or respect what it does well and cease to expect from it what it cannot deliver because of its nature (Barr, 1973; 157).

The bureaucratic role has been described by Normal Beckman using a summary of the literature given to new Bureau of the Budget employees which, he said, was applicable elsewhere:

The employee has a difficult role to play. He must be humble, self-effacing, and quietly loyal. He will have little or no opportunity to use pronouns in the first person singular ... he is a team player.

(Beckman, 1964; 326)

Many community planners will refuse to identify themselves with this definition. Nevertheless this is a description of the bureaucratic reality. It clearly shows how irreconcilable this role is with that of the advocate planner suggested by Davidoff. In this situation the Needleman see the guerrilla tactics as the only possible way out.

On this side of the border community planners find themselves fighting against the same type of opposition. Gerecke (1971) found the practice of planning in Canada highly bureaucratized with the result that change has not been internalized into its own practices. This situation originates the paradox where in one direction decentralization demands that civil servants be armed with new skills, attitudes, roles and values, and simultaneously in the opposite direction the public bureaucracies reportedly resist change, particularly the profound changes seemingly represented in decentralization. The classic crisis between the irresistible force (the demands for a new cadre of public servants) and the immovable object (the bureaucratic rigidity of the public service) arises.

The Needleman (1974) stress the same point:

The community is unprepared for this new kind of planning, much of the structure of city government and finance is antagonistic to it, and the community planners themselves are confused as to their mandate. Community planning fits into the community's expectations and the city's institutional structure like a heretic in church.

City hall and its different departments are given an important place in this thesis as definers of the area planner's role. Politicians, aldermen in particular, are also considered for the important role they play in city government.

The analysis of the area planner's relation with other civic departments has been limited in this thesis to the departments with which the interaction is more frequent; the Engineering Department, the Parks Board, the Social Planning Department and the School Board.

The Engineering Department manages most of the city's physical operations, from traffic to garbage disposal. Area Planning becomes very much dependent on this department during the implementation stage of various projects, particularly with NIP which is limited to funding for physical (i.e. capital) improvements. The conflict between the two arises when Area Planning projects do not conform to the list of priorities established by the Engineering Department and they cannot accept the suggestions of the area planner to reorder their priorities in favour of his/her community. A great deal of energy is wasted in this arm wrestling competition where the Engineering Department maintains a strong position. In this circumstance City Council is frequently called upon to arbitrate, making decisions that may cause the Engineering Department to give in on the particular case without changing either policy or attitude toward Area Planning.

Like everyone else, the Park Board has its own list of priorities and

is not prepared to deal with suggestions to alter that list. Furthermore, Park Board staff considered themselves "experts" and were not willing to "waste" time and money to hear citizens' opinions. This general attitude has been partially mellowed by the fact that in these days of budget restraints, the funds provided by various NIP programs represent a major contribution to Park Board projects. According to their spokesman:

The NIP programs have been recently the major source of ~~parking~~ funding. Through NIP the Parks Board has received in the past few years \$1 million used to provide new and repair existing equipment. We can get a better idea of the impact of NIP by comparing that \$1 million to the \$1.5 million that the Parks Board has in its budget this year to spend over the whole city. This amount does not include the operation budget which is separate.¹

The Social Planning Department feels particularly threatened by Area Planning. The role of community educators assumed by the area planners and their interference in the design of social services for their communities cause a dangerous friction between the two. The Social Planning Department enters into direct competition for the allocation of resources with Area Planning while it witnesses the division steadily increasing its size.

The School Board is in a situation similar to other departments. The fact that the board's concern is limited to education often contributes to frustrate the area planner's attempts to suggest alternative use for underutilized school facilities.

Development interests play an important part in the Area Planning process as in any other type of planning. Developers are concerned with the consequences Area Planning activities may have on their interests and

¹ Stephen Cripps, Parks Development Manager, Vancouver Parks Board. Statement made at a meeting of the Marpole Citizens Planning Committee, April 20, 1978.

follow the planning process very closely. Community involvement in planning is something developers do not appreciate; nevertheless it is being accepted as the community voice is becoming stronger.

Among the role definers presented in this chapter the local community has one of the strongest impacts on defining the planner's position in the Area Planning process. In the site office in particular the planner's direct contact with the local community contributes to a great extent to emphasize the role of the planner as advocate for that community.

The concept of advocacy in planning was introduced by Paul Davidoff in 1965 with his famous article "Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning". In his article Davidoff supported the idea that the planner should do more than explicate the values underlying his prescriptions for courses of action, he should affirm them, he should be an advocate for what he deems proper (Davidoff, 1965; 331). The advocate role is to be played by the planner in a context of plural planning. Advocacy becomes the means of professional support for competing claims about how the community should develop. Pluralism in support of political contention describes the process. Advocacy describes the role performed by the professional in the process. Advocate planning, by making more apparent the values underlying plans, and by making definitions of social costs and benefits more explicit, should greatly assist the process of plan evaluation. Davidoff adds later that much of the work of an advocate planner would be educational (Davidoff, 1965; 333).

The success of Davidoff's definition of the planner as an advocate is largely due to the upsurge in the late 60's of the public participation movement. A generation of young planners decided that their place was with the people, the poor and the minorities, that had been neglected by

the traditional approach to planning. These planners called themselves advocates for these members of society and devoted their energies to making the claims of these minorities heard. While advocacy became a popular word in the jargon and practice of the planning profession, the context in which the advocate role was to be performed was forgotten. Pluralism as a planning process simply remained an ideal after which to run. As a result the planner-advocates were not in a position to contribute to the planning process, they were simply fighting the established power in order to get as much as they could for the groups they were serving.

The Needleman with their "Guerrillas in the Bureaucracy," largely contributed to a redefinition of the advocate role, de-emphasizing pluralism, the most interesting aspect of Davidoff's definition. In Canada and Vancouver in particular, the racial, economic, social and political conditions are different from those in the eastern United States where Davidoff and the Needleman conducted their research. These different conditions allow the area planner in Vancouver to emphasize the pluralistic aspect of planning rather than simply to fight the bureaucracy as Needleman's guerrillas did. Pluralism in planning is obtained by presenting the input from various participants in the process and in particular, performing the educative role described by Davidoff.

The educative function of the area planner consists mainly in making the participants aware of how the civic administration operates, what the different functions of city government are and how citizens can effectively participate in the process.

Neighbourhood planners find themselves in an ambiguous position. On one side they are city bureaucrats directly accountable to city hall, while on the other, the community with which they are in close contact

expects the planner to be its advocate and support its demands. If the neighbourhood planners consciously chose to play the role of advocate for their community they must first counter the doubts that remain in the community about their position with a token of their commitment to the community. The Needleman described two different strategies used by planners to deal with this problem. The first, "agency betrayal" consists of indirectly demonstrating loyalty to the community by committing acts of disloyalty against the planning department. One device commonly used for this purpose is verbal rejection. By openly criticizing the government and the planning department position the neighbourhood planner gains the community's confidence. The most effective form of agency betrayal however is leaking information about the city plans and operation to community groups (The Needleman, 1974; 125). The other techniques used by the planners described by the Needleman is "symbolic delivery," rather than something tangible, they deliver a token of the city interest and good intentions for the community. When the disillusionment of the community is such that it makes a symbolic delivery useless, the planner falls back on the strategy of delivery conversion to prove their serviceability. Unable to deliver what the community wants, they encourage the community to want what they can deliver. They try to interest the community in the value of the one resource they do control: information (the Needleman, 1974; 130). These techniques can be successfully used by the planner who believes in a strong advocate role as well as by the planner accepting the bureaucratic role.

Community planners do not consider themselves as just another civil servant. They view planning as a profession with ethics and concern. The Needleman point out that to be denied the authority they feel is

necessary and then to be blamed for acts they have no control over is a "Catch 22" frustration they wish to avoid at all costs. It is not easy for the planners to communicate to the community that their role is highly specific and independent of other agencies. In order to satisfy residents that changes are possible area planners, with few exceptions, choose, according to the Needleman, community organization and political education over land-use planning (the Needleman, 1974; 90). This may explain the general complaint reported by Michael Brooks, that the advocate planner invariably ends up doing more advocating (e.g. organizing and participating in protest actions) than planning. From the academic community, however, came the related complaint that those students who are most interested in advocacy often tend to be quite disinterested in mastering the technical skills of the profession (Brooks, 1970; 42)..

According to Beckman this situation is certainly to be avoided. He thinks in fact that the professional should resist revealing strong attitudes which might raise doubts about his objectivity (Beckman, 1964; 326). For others like Paul Ylvisaker, the advocate role is essential. He predicted a rush of Naderism during the 1970's, an outcropping of advocate planners keeping the system honest by exerting constant pressure upon it (Ylvisaker, 1970; 15).

By assuming the role of advocate for the local community the planner rejects the role of civil servant and becomes an important actor in the political process. By doing so the planner enters into competition with the politicians who have been elected to govern the city.

David Eversley supports the thesis that the planner cannot leave the decisions solely to politicians, attempting to play a "neutral" role. To resign oneself to manifest injustices in the society in which one has,

de facto, such large powers, is to abdicate the task in ignominy, as well as violating one's own conscience if one knows the facts. He must point out the consequences of each opinion to their masters and it would be surprising if they managed totally to conceal an ideological bias in favour of one or another (Eversley, 1973; 202).

In neighbourhood planning the planner has to respond to many masters and cannot assume a value neutral position because when the planner "passes the buck" to the politician, he does more than merely keep himself pure and value neutral, he effectively denies his role of planner and the planning function in government, replacing it with the role of administrator of current programs (something akin, if not identical to the city manager). Thus if planning is considered to be of some value by the planner and the community, the adoption of an entirely value neutral stance by the planner works at cross purposes to the objectives of the planner in the community (Singer, 1971; 111).

Wronski sees the planner as subservient to the public interest and, in fact, well removed from public policy making.

His (the planner's) role is not that of adjudicator or referee ... he must inform and advise his boss and his political masters. He must be prepared to advocate the public interest as he sees it but in the final analysis he must accept the decision of the politicians and work within the limitations of political values which they set.

(Wronski, 1971; 66)

The complexity of the position of the planner operating from a decentralized location is underlined by several authors; Bolan (1969) sees the city planner not as a technocrat but as a personal relations manager where the "engagement and commitment of the client are of greater importance as a means of professional skill and service than are the

methodological skills with which the problem has been analyzed and a solution developed." Social abilities in the form of organizing and communication skills, personality traits, and knowledge of group dynamics, politics, role theory, and organizational studies were considered vital.

John Friedmann seems to have been following a similar road to Bolan with regard to the decentralization of planning services and the projection of new abilities required in this new environment. In 1969, he remarked that the success of planning was largely a function of managing interpersonal relations (Friedmann, 1969; 311). By 1971, Friedmann explicitly enjoined his profession to change from "inflexible automatons programmed to only a thin repertoire of action responses," to something similar to Dyckman's urban policy analyst (Friedmann, 1971). This new form of planner has much greater contact and a much closer relationship with the client than the traditional professional, whom Friedmann rejects. In fact, the planner-client relationship he envisions is symbiotic, requiring of the planner professional competence in developing interpersonal and on-going exchanges.

Within this same period, 1969-1970, Bolan introduced his theoretical inquiry into the local approach to urban planning. In his breakdown of community decision behaviour (1969), Bolan contended that the skill and ability with which the planner performs his role in the larger decision-making system will have a significant impact on the system's outcome. The roles of the planner are wide-ranging and suggest a similar span of competence. They include: critic, initiator, planner, technical expert, investigator, analyst, socio-emotional expert, strategist, organizer, spokesman-advocate, mediator-arbiter, negotiator, propagandist, symbolic leader, enforcer, and evaluator. But beyond this catalogue of roles, it

is the subsequent hypothesis of the article which is of prime importance to this study. Bolan suggested that the determinants of the planner's role performance were motivation (the inclination to participate), opportunity (a matter of resources) and skills. By "skills" he denoted the following qualities and abilities: personal intelligence; personal experience in local decision-making; competence in inter-personal affairs; good ability with communications (speaking and writing well, with effective use of the media); extensive and specific knowledge of the local issues; and a wide network of socio-professional contacts. From his own knowledge Bolan concluded that the planner does not have all the skills required and that appropriate education in inter-personal skills, social integration, group dynamics, politics, communication, and community organization were essential. Lack of training in these areas, in Bolan's opinion, "has contributed to failures in urban policy making."

This thesis will not be focussed on the advocate-bureaucrat dichotomy as much as on the various aspects of the bureaucratic role area planners are playing in Vancouver. One of the reasons for not analyzing in depth the advocate role is that there is already a large body of literature dealing with the subject. The second reason is that the economic, social and racial structure of Canadian society is different from the U.S. where most of that literature originates and as a result the advocate role attributed to community planners assumes a completely different character in the Canadian context.

In Vancouver in particular the distortion of Area Planning into NIP has forced the planner into the role of administrator of federal programs. Planning becomes a secondary function, and the advocate role is completely ignored in this context. The concept of Area Planning is confused with

its distortions and the area planners are faced with a variety of roles they are expected to play.

The individual ability of the planner to reconcile apparently contradictory roles plays a very important part in the performance of the Area Planning program. There is an element of incompatibility between the roles of career civil servant and community worker, and the planner is left alone to solve this conflict. The following description of three different situations in which area planners operate in Vancouver will help to understand the area planners' struggle in defining their own position.

CHAPTER 4

THREE OPERATIONAL MODELS

This section describes three different applications of the theoretical model presented in the previous chapter. They show how the position of the planner is affected during the planning process by different role definers together with other variables, particularly the different structures in which the planner operates. The same variables are present in all the three models but the role definers are not the same for all structures. The intensity with which the role definers pressure the planner to play different roles also varies at different stages of the process.

The following applications of the theoretical model represent three different ways in which Area Planning is implemented in Vancouver. This theoretical distinction helps to understand and separate the various activities of the area planner. In practice, the same planner can be operating within more than one structure at the same time; this will make a comparison between different models very difficult. The separation and categorization of the different activities of the planner will nevertheless contribute to understand the complexity of the situations in which the planner operates. Another important function of the models is to offer a context in which the interview responses can be interpreted.

The three categories of activities to which the theoretical model is applied are here presented under the titles of NIP program, LAP program, and In-house activities.

THE NIP PROGRAM

NIP (Neighbourhood Improvement Program) is the most popular Area Planning activity in Vancouver. Confused and identified with LAP, it has become the backbone of the Area Planning Division, at least in an administrative sense and in terms of staff size.

In a situation where Area Planning is getting consent from different sides but little financial support from City Council it is easy to understand why NIP has become the most important function in the Area Planning Division. The city is contributing only one quarter of the capital allocated to each NIP program. In other words, the city is getting back four times as much as it is paying for. The program is funded by different levels of government: 50% federal, 25% provincial, 25% municipal. Its purpose is to improve the more rundown areas of the city by assigning a fixed amount of money (approximately \$2 million for a neighbourhood of 10,000 people) to be spent in the area for physical improvements. At the same time the federal RRAP (Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program) helps with loans and/or grants, homeowners and landlords in the designated area to improve their buildings.

When NIP/RRAP areas are selected by the city and approved by the senior governments, funding commitments are established, a planner and staff are assigned by the city, a citizens' advisory committee is established, a site office is opened and a "concept plan" to allocate funds to specific projects is worked out in co-operation with the citizens, planners and other civic staff. Final decisions on expenditures are made by City Council. An interdepartmental NIP Assistance Committee had been established in September 1975 to facilitate the implementation of the program.

The major difference between the NIP model and the others is the presence as role definers of the federal and provincial governments. The NIP program was introduced by the federal government in Section 27.1 to 27.7 of the National Housing Act; the way in which the program is funded is specified as well as the steps that must be followed to obtain the funds. In implementing the program, the planner must follow the guidelines established by the federal government governing ways in which the funds can be used and deadlines to be met by the program. In this program, the funds are used as a carrot to stimulate citizen participation while the guidelines and deadlines are used as a stick to control the program.

The strong financial involvement of the federal government may generate political pressure from individual Members of Parliament who feel they should be able to get the pet projects in the local area undertaken with NIP funds.

City politicians jump on the NIP bandwagon to take advantage of the exposure the program offers. Aldermen can have a say in the selection of needy neighbourhoods. At this level they can favour one area rather than another and therefore become accountable to their electorate for this choice. During the preparation of the plan, Council has little input except for the political influence that individual aldermen, in particular the one appointed as liaison with the area, can exercise on the committee or the planner to influence the orientation of the plan.

Council is in a way delegated by the federal government to deal with NIP and their approval of the plan is a major step necessary to gain access to the funds. Council approval becomes more a formality since the guidelines imposed on the committee guarantee a high level of acceptability of the plan by all governments. Because of their location, planners tend

to isolate themselves from the Planning Department.

The Planning Department perceives NIP positively since it represents an opportunity for extra funding and consequent expansion. The Area Planning Division in Vancouver has been able to expand to its present size mainly because of NIP. This particular fact may account for the direction the division is taking towards a function of administrator of federal programs rather than an Area Planning function.

The RRAP is associated with NIP and although the planner has no responsibility for RRAP, the two programs are operating out of the same office and are perceived by the general public as one.

Other civic departments cannot openly oppose NIP since they have no control on its funding and the projects proposed by the NIP committee can be considered a gift to them. In general the other departments appreciate the extra funding they are getting but would prefer to decide on their own how to spend it rather than take directions from the citizens. The bureaucratic structure of civic departments is not flexible enough to accept and to utilize to their own advantage the input from the residents in the community. They see anything different from their traditional planning approach as a threat to their existence and power. Other departments see the NIP planner as interfering with their activities and oppose this intrusion with all means available to them; they may oppose NIP simply by not assigning enough support staff, during the preparation stage of the plan they may retain information or give unreal estimates on projects, they may also become unco-operative when asked to concur on various items in the plan before approval by Council. Other civic departments may use their influence to pressure the Planning Department and city politicians to take action against NIP programs.

Although NIP can expect from development interests the type of opposition that all programs involving public participation receive, the direct contact of the planner implementing this program with developers is limited. One of the reasons for this is the fact that NIP programs are initiated in stable residential areas, in neighbourhoods whose physical condition can be improved without requiring a major redevelopment. In this situation, developers will direct their action at the political level, in particular the federal where the program originates.

Residents are the major partner of the planner in this program. They are lured into it by the presence of the funds they can use to improve their neighbourhood. A variety of people are attracted by the program, their characteristics also vary according to the phase of the planning process; some people are concerned with general issues and the design of policies for their local area, others prefer to focus on the improvement of a street or park. To describe the participants in the planning program, we can also refer to the comment made by Anderson and Needleman that in most of the cases they are residents that know little about planning and cannot see further than their own front yard. The planner has to gain their confidence in order to obtain their co-operation, but he represents the bureaucracy of city hall and he is called upon to explain city policies. To get out of this contradiction the planner has to side with the community versus City Hall and its bureaucracy. By doing this the planner can still play a safe game by pointing out to the citizens the constraint existing in the structure of NIP when they are stepping out of line. By showing to the committee the constraints in the process the planner may present as a victory what otherwise would seem a normal achievement. This technique has been recognized and defined by the Needleman as "symbolic delivery".

In this situation the most successful NIP planner is not the one that tries to play the advocate role or the role of guerrilla, but the one that plays within the rules of the system. The major achievements that the planner can obtain are a general improvement not only in the physical aspect of the community but also in the social network of community activities, the planner can through the program educate the participants to the planning process and the intricacies of the city bureaucracy contributing in this way to the democratic process.

THE LAP PROGRAM

LAP programs are established when the planning needs of a local area warrant extra attention. The program is expected to produce a comprehensive plan for the area.

The LAP model is the one that reflects more closely the theoretical model for Local Area Planning as presented in the 1973 report preceding the introduction of Area Planning in Vancouver. The Area Planning experience in Vancouver has been rarely based on the policies indicated in the report. In most of the cases the Area Planning programs were dictated by external circumstances.

In Kitsilano, the first Local Area Planning (LAP) experience, the LAP program was partially incorporated in NIP when this program was initiated in the area. The second major LAP program began in Grandview Woodland in 1975. The same planning staff is managing the NIP program at the same time with a different Planning Committee. At the present time the Grandview Woodland LAP program, after some frustrating experiences, is merely surviving and will soon be unable to justify its existence. Other programs were labelled as LAP, and produced a plan for the area,

but were managed by a planner working at city hall.

Recently, an LAP program has been introduced in the Marpole Local Area. Since Marpole will not qualify for NIP this can be considered the very first LAP experience in its pure form. The time allocated to produce a plan is 18 months. No other guidelines have been specified in the assumption that after four years of Area Planning in Vancouver, the staff in the site office will be able to manage the program.

The personal characteristics of the area planner implementing LAP can be assumed to be the same of the NIP planner; they both operate from a site office with very similar characteristics.

The structure of LAP, contrary to NIP, is not defined. The program is expected to deal with the major planning issues in the area, rezoning in particular.

The federal government is not directly involved with LAP, this planning process remains in the hands of Council. Individual aldermen maintain personal positions toward the program, they look at the process from different political standpoints and maintain different individual expectations. Some of them consider the program an expensive luxury, others a necessary step to get the community involved. In spite of their differences, Council feels the same way about one thing, they are the only elected body and as such can make political decisions. The local area planning committee must remain in a consultative function.

Since there are no funds allocated for LAP other than for the administration of the program, other civic departments may feel that they can maintain a better control on the planning program and therefore be more co-operative with the planner and the committee. On the other hand, because there are no funds allocated, LAP must compete with the other

departments for the allocation of a share of the city budget and this may cause conflict. In the case of collision between the committee and the city bureaucracy the planner will not be protected by well defined guidelines as for NIP. In this situation the planner can remind the committee of the terms of reference indicating that the planner can express his/her opinion if different from the position of the committee.

Developers whose interests are going to be affected by the LAP program use their influence particularly at the political level to get the plan moving in the direction more favourable to them. The unpredictability of the planning process and the loss of time associated with it are considered as negative factors by the developers. The interests of the local community and those of developers do not generally coincide and the planner may remain caught between the two.

Contrary to NIP the focus in LAP is not on how to spend the money but how to get funds or on projects that do not require funding. If the immediate interest of the community is not on spending the funds allocated, the residents can concentrate on their interests as individuals or members of community groups. The LAP program brings to the surface the different and conflicting interests in the community creating the conditions for a split in the community over issues. The planner may not be prepared to deal with this conflict and other civic departments will not be prepared to react positively to it. Council will not appreciate the fact that it is called upon to make a decision that will make aldermen unpopular with one of the sides and the LAP program will be considered a failure.

The residents contributing to the planning process for idealistic reasons will be frustrated when caught in between conflicting forces and eventually will drop out of the program. Those residents that see the

present situation in the area as favourable to them, oppose LAP activities or chose not to participate leaving the program open to the accusation of not representing the local community.

The expectations imposed on the planner by his/her training and profession will have an effect on the way the individual planner choses to solve the conflict among roles. What emerges from the analysis of the literature is that the profession has not really clarified to the planners what position they are supposed to take in the struggle to produce the plan. The planners are left alone in a situation in which they cannot possibly please all sides.

IN-HOUSE ACTIVITIES

The activities of the in-house group are aimed at offering some service to the areas in the city not covered by NIP or LAP programs. These activities can be classified as monitoring and special projects or issues. These activities are also performed by the planners in site offices who do in fact monitor areas adjacent to the one in which they are producing a plan and also deal with specific issues as they arise in their area.

The difference between the two groups of planners is that while for the site office planner the main objectives is to produce a plan for the area, the in-house group responds to the demands of Council and gets involved in issues identified in the department's work program. The number of pressing issues is such that the monitoring function is generally very limited.

The in-house planners work in offices close to the other members of the division and of the Planning Department zoning staff in particular. Their activity is closely monitored by their superiors and their free

initiative limited. They are area planners only by definition, in practice their approach to planning differs little from that of colleagues in other divisions. In fact they may work together in task force teams also involving other departments. Because of this close working relationship and because they are not usually identified with a specific local area, some in-house planners consider themselves generalist planners and are perceived as such inside city hall.

It is difficult to explain how the characteristics of the in-house planners differ from those of the ones in site offices since many of the planners now working in-house have recently worked in site offices and/or are about to move to one. What can be said is that the characteristics of in-house activities are such that may attract planners who have no interest in moving to a site office and are not interested in working with residents preparing a plan.

The in-house planner is supposed to deal with the public directly but the contacts with the community are generally limited and are more confrontation than co-operation as with the committee. The in-house planners are too closely associated with city hall to be able to sell an image of themselves independent of city bureaucracy. The best they can do is to explain the political process to the people, hoping they will understand their position. The in-house planner gets involved generally when the issue has developed into a problem and little can be done to avoid confrontation. The planner in this situation is not in a focal position as the site office planner is.

The activities of the in-house planners are "report" oriented, which means they have been instructed to work on a specific project and are expected to report to Council about it. This has several implications:

the planners rather than community workers see themselves as experts offering technical support to Council; they are aware of the political climate in Council chamber and are directly reacting to it, and obviously are directing themselves to City Council.

From the picture given so far it is evident that the in-house planner contributes very little to making the planning process more humane. The planner is just a bureaucrat facing developers, the community, Council, and anyone else involved with little control on the outcome of the planning process.

The separation of Area Planning activities in the three categories presented is only an attempt to classify the different Area Planning programs in view of the position the planner occupies in it. The three categories presented are not mutually exclusive in the sense that a planner may be involved in more than one of them; the reality of Area Planning is that the different activities are so intertwined that a separation would be very difficult and certainly confusing. Furthermore there is a noticeable discrepancy between the various ways planners and the way each perceive and define their own activities. In these circumstances, only very broad categories would allow the reaching of a satisfactory degree of consensus on the definitions used.

CHAPTER 5

DESCRIPTION OF THE METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

DATA SOURCES DESCRIPTION

The data used in this research can be grouped in two major categories: the first includes the existing literature, relevant documents and material published by the Planning Department, and the second results from several sets of semi-structured interviews.

At the first stage of the research, the analysis of the existing literature is accompanied by research of various Area Planning documents - they include minutes from different Area Planning Committee meetings, interdepartmental memoranda, and other material contained in the Area Planning files at City Hall. Newspaper clippings and other articles regarding the subject of the thesis were also an excellent source of information. The objective at this stage was to gain a clear understanding of Area Planning history, its origins, the political climate in which it developed, and its evolution to date. This information was needed to design a model of the structure within which the planner operates. The validity and accuracy of the theoretical model was tested at a later stage by comparing it to the data collected in the interviews about the various components of the theoretical model.

The major difficulty in defining the models was that individual planners in many cases operate within more than one structure. This increases the difficulty of collecting information for each separate structure and may also alter the planners' perception of their situation.

At the second level, the accuracy of the model was verified through semi-structured interviews. Area planners were the largest group of people to be interviewed, in fact all the planners in the Area Planning

Division were interviewed. Planner assistants were interviewed in cases where they actually perform a planner's job. Senior planners supervising the in-house and the site office groups were interviewed as well as the associate director in charge of the Area Planning Division and the director of the Planning Department.

Other participants in the planning process were interviewed to obtain their perceptions of the role of the planner and to define the relation they develop with the planner. For some of the agencies or groups interacting with the planner it has been easy to limit the number of interviews to one or two persons since the agency has a person assigned to deal specifically with Area Planning issues. This is the case with the Social Planning Department, Engineering, Park Board and School Board. The person or persons being directly involved in Area Planning activities have a direct and unique knowledge of the problems associated with their relation to Area Planning. They see Area Planning activities from their department's point of view and can clearly point out where the conflict arises between their approach to planning and the Area Planning activities.

Citizens and members of Council are two groups that could not be approached in the same way. Every citizen and member of Council will have a personal point of view and it would have been impossible to interview each individual and a questionnaire would have been inadequate for the task. The problems associated with the distribution of the questionnaires and the predicted low return rate encouraged the researcher to pursue the route of the semi-structured interview. Once this decision was made, the next step was to select a small number of people among the hundreds of citizens that have been involved to date in Area Planning.

The two alternatives considered were random selection and the selection of those participants more deeply involved in Area Planning and better capable of articulating their thoughts about it.

It was felt that although the random selection would tend to balance biases, it would not guarantee the proper coverage of the topics investigated. The sample frame would prove inadequate because the experiences of the citizen participants in Area Planning are related to different time frames and are associated with a variety of Area Planning situations.

The second alternative allowed selection of those participants that have been involved in Area Planning for a long period of time, have a broader perspective on the topics researched and are more articulated in presenting it. There are all kinds of biases associated with this approach and the best that could be done to eliminate the effect of those biases would be to be aware of their existence and to present the material produced by the participants in the appropriate context. Biases cannot be eliminated but can be balanced by presenting a spectrum of opinions that attempts to encompass the different positions of citizens involved in the Area Planning process.

It is very difficult to choose the people that are to speak for the public. If there were such persons there would be no need for public participation and consequently for Local Area Planning. The choice of the spokesman for the resident participants is open to bias. The researcher also being biased by deciding who to interview and the person interviewed can be only sure of representing his/her point of view.

It was decided that although the interview approach would offer interesting insights into the process, it was not sufficient to represent the wide range of public opinions. Therefore it needed to be supplemented

with other information regarding the public reaction to Local Area Planning.

At a conference of LAP and NIP committees in Vancouver on the 23rd of October 1977 various problems arising from the program were discussed by the public, civic staff and politicians. The working paper for this conference was the report on Local Area Planning produced by the Planning Department. The report is continually being revised and the workshop was a good opportunity to obtain feedback to the report. Furthermore all planning committees and interested citizens were invited to respond to the report. As a result, 12 briefs were submitted by citizens and citizen groups and five from other public agencies (see Appendix VI for list of submissions).

All these comments were used in the research to present the view of the public on Local Area Planning. The major research problem associated with the utilization of this material is represented by the fact that the comments were not addressed to the questions posed by the research. In spite of this it was possible to extract from the material presented, comments relevant to the research purpose. This information was supplemented by a few interviews conducted with people chosen for the length and continuity of their involvement and for their ability to present an articulated analysis of the Local Area Planning process. In addition to this, the writer has been an observer/participant in various Local Area Planning programs, sitting in on many planning committee meetings in different local areas since December 1976 and presently sits in the Marpole LAP committee as a resident member.

Some steps were taken in order to reduce the effects of biases; the first was the use of extreme caution in selecting the statements so that they would be representative of the wide range of opinions expressed.

Another important step was the comparison of these statements with the conclusions presented in the Report Back on Consultation with Public on the Review of Local Area Planning produced by the Planning Department.

The process by which these conclusions were reached was also analyzed.

The interviews with aldermen were limited to those members of Council who have been more involved with Area Planning and whose opinions represent opposite extremes. The aldermen interviewed are also the ones acting as a liaison with those neighbourhoods where Area Planning programs are more active at the present time.

COLLECTION OF DATA

This approach to the problem of defining the planner's position in Area Planning may not have the rigor required of a more scientific approach. If so, it is because the purpose of this research is exploratory, shedding some light in an area that has not been the subject of much investigation. The position of the planner in Area Planning is nevertheless a critical subject. The planner's response to the various expectations determines to a great extent the final output of the program.

It was felt that in this case the end justified the means and it was more important to break as much ground as possible than to try to find the final answer in a situation where there cannot possibly be a final answer. The semi-structured interview was judged to be the best data collection tool. This technique is broad enough to simultaneously generate and test new hypotheses, going beyond the boundaries of the research design if necessary. The concern for the vast amount of information which has yet to be articulated was in this way satisfied. The potential of the loosely structured interview, particularly in the area of neighbourhood planning,

has been demonstrated in two of the most complete studies of the situation; in the U.S., "Guerillas in the Bureaucracy" and in Canada, "The Local Area Planner in Canada".

As noted by Anderson, the author of "The Local Area Planner in Canada," the one serious drawback in this technique is that it is more open than usual to manipulation by the researcher in both the range of questions asked and in the selection of answers presented. It becomes important to compare carefully the hypothesis, interview schedule and data presented in this way to insure that the hypothesis is thoroughly explored by the schedule. The responses presented reflect the results of the research accurately, and finally any conclusions drawn are supported by specific responses.

Some other steps have been taken in setting up the research design in order to control bias. Some of the questions directed to the planners were screened out after a pre-test of the interview schedule. For the other groups of people interviewed it was impossible to pre-test the interview schedule because they were different for each group, there were several groups and the number of people for each group was relatively small. Errors were controlled by using multiple data sources and techniques. They include the available documents, Area Planning files, newspaper clippings and other articles regarding the topic of the thesis and the particular inside knowledge of the researcher acquired in the previous summer while working for the Area Planning Division in Vancouver. This last element has hopefully contributed to generate a set of answers that were more honest and to the point as opposed to a set of answers merely directed to creating or maintaining a certain type of public image.

Valuable comments were obtained in situations different from the interview setting. "Off the record" comments made by people interviewed

after the tape recorder was turned off were also a very important source of information for the research. The accuracy of the information presented in the thesis was checked by a planner working for the Area Planning Division. The final step in the effort to control bias was to understand the origin and the impact of methodological problems that could not be eliminated.

The first set of interviews was administered to some of the planners in the Area Planning Division. The interview of the Director of Planning and the Associate Director for Area Planning followed this first group and preceded the interviews with the remaining area planners. This approach allowed acquisition of more specific knowledge of current events from the planners before approaching the directors, and it also allowed the use of the directors' comments in controlling the responses of the planners whose interviews followed.

Both planners and directors were presented with an outline of the subject areas of the interview while the full set of questions was administered by the interviewer. The reason for giving the outline to those interviewed was to reduce anxiety and reassure them. The intention was to facilitate communication and establish a dialogue by putting interviewed and interviewer at the same level.

For the other group of people interviewed there were fewer, more general questions, more open-ended and intended to stimulate discussion. The questions contained in the interview were outlined at the beginning of the interview to give respondents a better feeling for the areas being covered.

The intent of these interviews was to investigate the various elements of the theoretical model, more specifically the questions were aimed at

investigating the relations established by the area planner with the other participants, what the expectations of the other participants are, their perception of the role of the area planner and their interpretation of Area Planning objectives together with the awareness of the conflicts associated with the planner's position.

In all interview schedules, general questions more open to personal interpretation were followed by more specific ones; in this way if the answers to the first set of questions did not offer enough information about the areas investigated, the subsequent questions pointed directly to those areas investigated in the research. The purpose of this approach was to give the respondent the opportunity to freely interpret the situation before being asked more specific questions about the theoretical model used in the research.

The interview schedule used with the area planners was much longer than the others and contained more than sixty questions (see Appendix I) grouped under nine different headings.

The first group of questions presented under the heading "Job Description" were designed to explore the planners' perception of their own job, to see whether they recognized their activities in the models proposed, to understand their perception of accountability for different activities and the general rules associated with their job.

The second set of questions was aimed at the planner's perception of the scope and objectives of their activities within the Area Planning Division, and their degree of success in achieving those objectives.

The questions under "Guidelines" were designed to find out what kind of guidelines the planner was following, who established them and how they were affecting the Area Planning process considered in the more general

context of city planning.

The effects of deadlines and duration of the program were analyzed in the fourth group of questions. The planner was also asked about the ideal time frame for various planning activities.

Different financial arrangements for the various programs were analyzed in the following set of questions, their implications and effects on the program.

The next group of questions was the most important in the research. The questions dealt with role definers and were aimed at finding out which groups were interacting with the planner, the kind of expectations they imposed on the planner, how the planner reacted to these expectations, in particular when they were in conflict with each other and finally, the perceived effect of all these pressures on the planner him/herself.

The role of local residents in the planning process was specifically investigated in the next set of questions. The planner was asked about different techniques used in getting citizens involved, the different expectations citizens pose on the planner and the degree to which residents involved were representative of the local community and their input into the decision-making process.

Questions regarding the location of the planner were aimed at investigating his/her feelings about site offices as opposed to planning from city hall.

The final set of questions dealt directly with the planner. It included personal data regarding the planner, his/her background, work experience, hours of overtime work, satisfaction with the present job, problems associated with it and qualities that were felt necessary to make a good area planner together with their own definition of the planner's

proper role in the city's decision-making process.

The same interview schedule used with the area planners was presented to their supervisors, the in-house and the site office senior planners. In both cases, the interviewer explained to the senior planners that the interview schedule was the same administered to the planners under their supervision and asked them to respond constantly keeping in mind the position of the planners they supervised. The last set of questions in particular was used to obtain information about the planners supervised and was focussed in particular on the role senior planners expect the area planner to play.

The questions asked of the Director of Planning and the Associate Director for Area Planning were intended to cover the same nine areas investigated in the planners' interview but were focussed on the director's definition of Area Planning and the role of the planner including the exploration of the qualities they expected in an area planner. The questions directed to the directors were fewer than for the planner and of a more general content. A specific question was asked of the directors about the qualities they required of the planner that was going to fill the position left vacant by the resignation of the planner in Grandview Woodland. The intent of this question was to compare their previous statements about the qualities required in an area planner with a real life situation and to determine the reasons for selecting certain qualities in this particular instance.

The interview schedule adopted with other departments, citizens and politicians were similar to those already presented but were relatively short. Rather than investigate the various elements of the theoretical model individually, the interview focussed on the role definers' perception

of Area Planning, the role of the planner and the expectations they have of the planner and the planning process. Role definers were asked about the relation they establish with the planner and the effects of location on the relation and the planning process.

The interviews were conducted in March 1978 beginning with the Planning Department staff. The interviews were tape recorded and lasted a little more than an hour on the average with the exception of the two directors whose interview schedules were shorter.

Before initiating the interview, the planners were given an interview outline and were also told about the expected length of the interview. This contributed to making the planners feel at ease as was pointed out by some of them.

In several cases, after the interview was completed the planners continued the discussion offering "off the record" interpretations on Area Planning. The planners were reassured that their comments would be used in the thesis without making direct reference to the author of the comment defending in this way their anonymity as far as possible.

The interviews with people outside the Planning Department were designed to last about half an hour and were conducted very much in the same manner adopted with the other planners.

All the interviews were taped and subsequently transcribed in their original form. The transcripts were used as a data base for the research. It was felt that only in this way would it have been possible to maintain the original character of the statements made and at any point in the research it would have been possible to go back to the original statement recorded in its context. By following this procedure the distortions associated with the interpretation of the comments are minimized and the reader

is presented with quotations of the original comments.

USE OF DATA AND PRO FORMA ANALYSES

The information obtained in the interviews will be presented with the other data collected during the research. Rather than limit the presentation of the findings to the testing of the three operational models, the data have been organized and are presented under different sections representing the different components of the theoretical model.

It was felt that this approach, while still allowing the comparison of the finding with the theoretical model, would encourage alternative use of the findings thereby emphasizing the exploratory character of this thesis. The use of this approach in presenting the research data allows one to go beyond the testing of the operational models, encouraging further exploration of new hypotheses. In this context, the operational models become a base from which to expand into other areas of investigation.

The conceptual and the operational models presented are the tools used to gain a better understanding of the theoretical background and the practical problems of Area Planning. They were also a necessary step in order to be able to design the research questionnaires and effectively present them to the people interviewed.

The limitations of the operational models can be seen by comparing them to the research findings. In cases where the models are slightly in contrast with the comments obtained in the interviews, they can be adjusted to cover the gap between theory and reality. In many cases, the statements contradicting the interpretation of the model can be explained by uncovering the bias that has led to that statement or the discrepancy between the investigative interest of the researcher and that of the

interviewed.

One limitation not evident from the presentation is related to the number of operational models used in the research. To simplify the presentation, the number of models was reduced to three from the original four. The design of the research included in fact two different groups of in-house activities: "monitoring" and "specific issues". For reasons that are explained in the findings, monitoring becomes only a secondary function and the model for this activity irrelevant. It was felt that by including the two in-house activities in the same operational model the presentation would be more effective without altering the character of the findings.

Several other problems were encountered during the presentation of the interview schedule because of the many different interpretations of the Area Planning situation by the people interviewed. Even among the area planners there are very different interpretations of Area Planning. While these problems have raised some doubts and many questions, the value of the operational models as a theoretical tool was confirmed.

CHAPTER 6: THE FINDINGS

INTRODUCTION

This introductory section states the strategy used in presenting the research findings. The logical sequence in which the research data are presented takes the reader from the simplest elements to the more complex ones. The transition from a group of data to the next and the link between the different sections become crucial points in understanding the logic of the presentation.

The data collected during the research have been organized under different sections representing the various components of the operational models described in this thesis. It was felt that the use of this approach would allow the description of the various situations in which the area planners are operating more fully than it would have been possible by simply testing the three operational models. Presenting the findings in this way would reduce the need to select and manipulate the data and minimizes researcher bias. The presentation of a large amount of information should also encourage alternative uses of the research data emphasizing in this way the exploratory nature of this work.

There are several reasons for beginning the discussion of the findings from the site office location. The site office is the most tangible representation of Area Planning. By locating the planner in the neighbourhood the city establishes its commitment to the area. At the same time the planner's working conditions are quite different from city hall. The contact with the public is more direct, and the planning approach assumes some unique characteristics. Thus the location of the planner is the most important element distinguishing and characterizing the two groups of planners operating in the Area Planning Division, the in-house

group and the planners working in site offices.

The importance of the distinction between the two groups of area planners will become clearer in later sections of this chapter. At the present time it is important to note that the most important consequence of the location is its effect on the planners' perceptions of their own roles. There is in fact a marked difference between the way in-house planners and other planners working in a site office perceive their relative positions. This difference has important consequences for the definition of the goals and objectives of the Area Planning Division.

The impact planners have in determining the direction for the division is amplified by the fact that Area Planning at the present time has no clearly defined objectives. The increased size of the in-house group and the character of the programs the division is administering have also had a strong impact on Area Planning and have changed the original character of the division. The planners located in site offices are pressured by these forces to redefine their position.

The subject of its objectives is followed by the discussion of the time frame of the Area Planning programs. The duration of the program in any one area is directly associated with the objectives of the program and is an important indicator of the planning approach used. Duration of the program becomes a more important element in the NIP federal programs where the release of funds depends on observing federally established deadlines.

At this point in the presentation of the research findings, the image of the planner implementing Area Planning should emerge clearly in a context defined by their location, perception of their position, Area Planning objectives and duration of the programs. To complete the picture, other participants in the Area Planning process are presented in the

following sections. They contribute through their differing role expectations to defining the position of the planner.

From the data collected three groups emerge more clearly as role definers: the community, city bureaucracy, and politicians. Community participation makes the Area Planning process uniquely different from other planning approaches. The close working relationship the planner in the site office develops with the local community has a definite impact on the planner's role definition and puts an emphasis on the planner's role as advocate for the local residents. In contrast to this, civic departments expect the area planners to adapt to a role that is compatible with the bureaucratic organization of the city. While the limited contact with the public makes the integration in the civic bureaucracy easier for the in-house planners, the site office planners' task becomes more difficult. Site office planners find it advantageous to abandon the role of advocate for the local community and to move away from the original ideal of public involvement in planning that was the original motivator of Area Planning.

The final section deals with the role of the politician as a role definer. They are the masters and have the final say in what the planner can do. While city aldermen are gaining a higher level of awareness about Area Planning, their present involvement and contribution is not helping area planners to make their position clear.

The presentation of the findings is followed by a concluding chapter. The conclusions reflect all of the data developed in this research. What is more difficult to show and cannot be separated from the final conclusions are the personal impressions of the researcher. They are based on four months of work in the Area Planning Division, almost two years of involvement at different levels of Area Planning and all the personal contacts with

people who are making Area Planning what it is today.

THE SITE OFFICE LOCATION

The presentation of the research findings begins with a discussion of the location in which the planner operates. The site office is a visible representation of the basic philosophy of Area Planning. The site office location of the planning activity has been accepted as an integral part of Area Planning and very little discussion on the appropriateness of the site office concept has followed.

Little, if any, comment about the location effect on the planner can be found in the literature. The first consideration that comes to mind is the possibility that the planner by being in the neighbourhood tends to assume the advocate role for that neighbourhood.

The Local Area Planning report (1973) recognizes the importance of the site office and considers the establishment of its presence in the area as the first of the activities preceding an Area Planning program. In the report the site office is considered:

... primarily necessary to facilitate citizen-planner dialogue and to improve the information base for planning by obtaining an intimate awareness of the issue within the community. The planner is readily available to members of the community and makes the planning function more visible, thereby reducing the mistrust between officials and residents. The site office should not be identified with any one group within the community.

Each of the site offices established so far had a storefront location to make their presence more visible and to be more accessible to the community. As the title of an article in the Vancouver Sun, May 24, 1973, puts it, the "Store Front Scheme Puts the Planners on the Street". The article was based on an interview with the man in charge of the first local

Area Planning operation in the West End. Lynn Uibel claims in this article that it is best for planners to be on location to facilitate the role of residents in local area planning and to let people know what their city is doing for them. A final authoritative comment on the function of the site office in the early days of Area Planning was made by the then recently appointed Director of Planning, Ray Spaxman:

... the location of a site office in the community provides, in some cases, a very essential presence in the community, and a very important communication link in the planning process.¹

At the present time there are a total of five Area Planning site offices in Vancouver; four at different stages of implementation of NIP. Of these four, the Grandview Woodland office also manages an LAP program. The other site office is in the Marpole area where the Planning Department has just started an LAP program.

Some of the area planners working at city hall have recently been working in a site office and their comments, based on direct experience, are most enlightening. Most of the comments obtained in the interviews generally express support for the site office as a working environment. The site office has definite advantages over city hall in that it gives the planner a more immediate and direct feeling about the community, humanizing the planning process. The presence of the site office is a tangible expression of the commitment to the area, a commitment which could be generalized by creating a number of local city halls throughout the city. This idea has an obvious relationship to the debate presently going on about the ward system.

¹ Memo to Mayor A. Phillips from R.J. Spaxman, Director of Planning, City Hall, July 25, 1974, Vancouver.

All the area planners interviewed expressed support for the site office concept using a variety of arguments:

The site office improves the visibility of the program in the neighbourhood.

The site office is also good as a source of information for the neighbourhood. It is really good as a social and organizational force in the neighbourhood. Being out there means there is space available for meetings, there is organization behind.

I think that it provides a good service for the community. It gives us a place to meet. It gives me a much better feeling for the community just being here.

The planning office is a storefront operation whose size and atmosphere are hard to duplicate at city hall.

The informality of a site office breaks down barriers, effectively helping people to overcome their reluctance to approach the city hall bureaucrats.

People that otherwise would never write a letter or call city hall come to the office, express their feelings and become involved when a communication link is made visible at the local level.

One of the advantages indicated by several planners working in site offices is that it gives them an immediate and direct feeling for what is happening in the community which they become part of. The presence of the planner in the area creates the impetus that the planners cannot maintain when they return to city hall:

I feel sort of at a loss for not being in the neighbourhood because I could sort of identify with the neighbourhood.

On the other side, the same planner later commented:

At city hall I've very good accessibility to people that work in different departments. I can contact them face to face. It is an advantage to bounce ideas off the other planning staff. I felt a little isolated in the site office.

Other planners seem to be less ambivalent about their feelings and show unqualified support for the site office location. Those more committed to the local area dismiss the problems of communication with city hall with statements such as:

... location has no effects, we use the phone to contact other departments.

The general consensus on the site office is that it makes the planning process more humane; the city bureaucrat is seen as a human being, aware of planning with and for people, not numbers, and can transfer that feeling to the city hall bureaucracy.

You are more involved with people in the site office, but in fact that is what you need to have, that is where all your knowledge comes from, from people telling you about things you can never learn from books or experts, so you need that kind of interaction.

Not all departments appreciate the advantages planners derive from their location, and for different reasons have a negative reaction to the site office. In one department the frustration of not being able to participate in the various Area Planning programs for lack of resources and mandate has provoked strong comments from the department spokesman against the site office:

You don't need the site office for the planner to become familiar with the area. You can go out there for a few days a week and walk around during lunch hour to know the physical layout. It is needed only to try to get the people involved and that's all. They do not really need a special place to hold the meetings, they can use any public space, as schools, churches ... The site office has become the kind of political ward office, they get complaints about every aspect of the city... I'm not saying you don't need an Area Planning office, maybe it is expensive, it is a luxury, it gives easy access to the community, but I think that a telephone number at city hall could be just as good. I don't think the site office is necessary for the success of the program.

The planners working in site offices see their position as a commitment to the area, a way to bring government out to people, a way of saying, "We have come to you, please come to us".

This is a commitment that takes much of the planner's energy. He cannot turn away anyone that comes into the office even if they have the silliest reason and arrive at the most crucial time.

Yesterday I was trying to complete the minutes of the committee meeting, I had a half hour before the mailing deadline and a lot of people are getting these minutes, when a guy comes in and wants to tell me there is a need for a signal light at the intersection by his house for him to gain access more easily to the main arterial. Unfortunately the planning assistant was away and the secretary could not help. I had to listen because that is what we are here for. People dropping in are a problem, especially on Mondays or Fridays when not all the staff are in the office because of the four day work week.

Planners must protect themselves from constant interaction by:

... creating a division of labour within the office, a screening process that allows someone else to take that interaction whenever possible.

There is a possibility that some planners use this screening procedure to isolate themselves recreating a working environment similar to city hall.

Several of the planners interviewed would like to see the commitment to the local area expanded to the scope of a mini city hall. They are facing all kinds of questions from the public and would like to be able to get the support needed to satisfy the demands of the public. The same feeling is expressed by the Director of the Planning Department:

We look forward in the department to the time when city hall has and the community has, a wish to have the services of city hall decentralized more than they are. ... One imagines a place within walking distance or a short ride, a place where you can find out about libraries, medical health, dog licences, and planning advice. The person in there is not a planner that says I am sorry I don't know anything

about health but I can put you in touch with somebody. This person is one that knows a bit about it, but is not the professional planner that has to spend most of his time answering questions he doesn't know the answer to.

Comments like these raise the fears of those opposed to the ward system. They see Area Planning as preceding and advocating the restructuring of that type of political and administrative organization within the city. In reality Area Planning as it is done today in Vancouver contributes very little to the creation of the ward system in the city. During the interviews planners did not express any political commitment to change the present system. If Area Planning is the road that leads to the ward system we are still far from the end of the road and a more general interest and commitment must be created for the ward system to become a reality.

One reason the site office has a strong impact on the planner is because the planner in the site office is implementing a program while the in-house planner is generally dealing with single issues. The few area planners that have left the site office to manage NIP or LAP programs from city hall have a lower degree of involvement in the community than the planner in the site office. The direct contact with the public is almost completely eliminated and the planner feels very much a part of the city bureaucracy.

The planners working in the site office feel physically removed from the rest of the civic bureaucracy, more directly responsible to the local community, and to the city bureaucracy for what is happening in the community. They cannot hide behind a bureaucratic structure but must act on their own in a situation loaded with potential for conflict.

More and more, the planners tend to react to this situation by developing a decentralized bureaucratic model rather than acting as advocates for the community wants. By denying the conflict in this way they deny the fundamental philosophy that originated Area Planning and confine themselves to the role of administrator. This finding is developed in the next section.

PLANNERS' PERCEPTION OF THEIR OWN ROLE

Several answers to the questions contained in the interview can be used to understand how the planners see themselves and are seen by others. The answers that can help to describe how the planners see themselves are those obtained when inquiring about planners' accountability, overtime, the qualities of good area planners, satisfaction with the job, what other profession they would chose and the question: "How do you see yourself as a planner?"

The findings emphasize the importance of the planner as the key figure in the Area Planning process. The parallel is easily drawn between this planning process and a stage performance where the planner becomes the central actor.

During the implementation phase of the NIP the planner is considered as mainly an administrator. This is a restricted interpretation of the planner's role since at this stage in the process planners are also promoting community development. This basically educative function brings back the definition of advocate planner also described by Davidoff as the one that contributes to pluralism in planning through the process of making the community aware of its rights and how to have them recognized.

Not all the planners seem to be aware of this aspect of the advocate role they are playing and seem to prefer a more bureaucratic definition of their own role. The findings also show that the area planners interviewed expressed general satisfaction with their job. The accountability question underlines a major difference in the way planners perceive their role, as a function of their location.

The image the planners have of themselves is finally compared with the definition of a good area planner obtained from their supervisors, the Associate Director for Area Planning and the Director of Planning. In a later stage, these definitions will be compared with those of the various other role definers.

Most of the planners in the site office share the consciousness about the importance of their role; they feel that the success of the program largely depends on their performance.

I cannot say if the program is successful. I think a lot depends on the planner.

The success of the program will reflect on my own capabilities.

Area planners in site offices are aware of the importance of their position and would like to receive more recognition, especially from city hall. Some planners expressed some disappointment for not receiving enough feedback from their superiors and colleagues. Area planners receive little public recognition for the work they are doing and one of the reasons for this was pointed out by one of them:

One of the things I have found out about working in Area Planning is that you cannot achieve a status of a good area planner. You can establish a situation in which you can live with yourself or the Director of Planning supports you, but everybody else ...

The centrality of the planner's position is recognized by the planners as well as by other participants in the Area Planning process. There is an interesting difference between the in-house planners and the site office group. The role self-definition of the in-house planners is best represented by the expression, "I feel like I'm sitting on the fence," with Council and city bureaucracy on one side and citizens on the other. For the site office planners the scene becomes more crowded. The planners are still at the centre but the number and variety of people with which they are interacting is increased. In their own definition the planner is "a link and a balance between all the actors," and "the focus of the committee activities," a "co-ordinator," a "mediator," a "reconciliator," "someone that tries to find a solution that most people can live with".

The site office planner is also a manager responsible for the success of the operation. As Anderson (1976) pointed out, the planner in the site office is like the Director of Planning for the neighbourhood.

Many area planners perceive the importance of their role as a site office co-ordinator. They see themselves as the primary actor. Some of them find it difficult to adjust to this new role and feel "on stage" at the committee meetings or "like a fish in a tank" watched carefully by a lot of citizen groups in the neighbourhood. Needleman recognized this aspect of the neighbourhood planner's position in his research:

The administrative guerilla requires skills that most planners received no training in and never imagined they would. The administrative guerilla has to be able to think on his feet. He has to present his argument to skeptical, often hostile, community leaders with enough eloquence to persuade them and enough forcefulness to inspire their confidence. In winning community acceptance, he is forced to function not only as a planner but also as an actor, a politician, a salesman, a con man, perhaps even a charismatic leader.

(Needleman, 1972).

There is another aspect to the theatrical stage situation that Vancouver planners did not make explicit in the interview. Whether they recognize it or not, this aspect of their performance has a very important part in the process as Lisa Peattie (1970) points out. She imagines the area planner as a theatrical agent, cognizant of dramatic moments, performance, emotional engagement, and staged demonstrations and actions. Peattie's planner is an actor in a political theatre, manipulating an audience of political clients. The same imagery is pursued by Keyes and Teitcher (1970), who argue that decentralization has shown a propensity for "exportation" rather than more traditional "nuts and bolts" planning skills.

The area planners interviewed did not openly discuss their role as stage director but their consciousness about this aspect of their position was expressed in several of the statements presented and becomes more evident in the following:

I also see myself as a manipulator of the committee.
I feel that the committee cannot just go on by
itself, I feel they need some direction.

It is almost an impossible task, you are really
orchestrating so much.

The planner has to be able to mobilize people whether
it is their own staff, citizens, other departments,
the city manager or his superiors, he must convince other
people to carry on with people.

There is also a time dimension that must be orchestrated,
since the program must operate at a pace acceptable to
the politicians, the Director of Planning and the
community, all of whose expectations and comprehensions
differ. Area planners respond to these conflicting
pressures by wearing a lot of different hats and doing
a lot of shuffling, and end up being slightly suspect
from all points of view; their success could be measured
by the unanimity of suspicion towards their work that
prevails.

Most of the planners seem to react to the uneasiness of this situation by assuming a bureaucratic role, sheltering themselves behind the institutional structure. They try to protect themselves on one side from the more conservative, property owning interests that see the planner as a subversive element, using their influence in the bureaucracy to highlight or even forment community activism. On the other side, citizen activists accuse the planner of playing at citizen power, or at worst manipulating or defusing dissatisfaction in the community. In this environment:

It is sometimes difficult for area planners to judge whether they are maintaining an objective stance or indeed whether they should even attempt to do so. It is particularly frustrating for planners who have a strong personal position on some of the issues that our city is facing not to be able to honestly express their own opinion on these issues for fear of being labelled politically and losing the confidence of part of their community.

The NIP program has helped the planners to solve this dilemma by taking the role of administrators of federal programs.

I'm an area planner administrating an NIP program in this community.

With NIP I'm not performing a planning function, it is primarily a co-ordinating function and the skills that are required are not planning skills.

What I'm doing now is basically administrating the NIP program.

Other departments perceive the NIP program in a similar way.

NIP is mainly administration of spending money and the planning function is lost after the first six months, that is a very hurried six months, and I see that as being one of the main disadvantages; they planner becomes after the first six months simply an administrator.

By defining themselves as administrators, planners play down another important role that many of them have mentioned in the interview - co-ordinators of community development. This was, for the planners

interviewed, probably their major function. The educational aspect of community development is part of the advocate role of the planner according to the Davidoff definition:

Not all the work of an advocate planner would be of an adversary nature. Much of it would be educational. The advocate would have the job of informing other groups, including public agencies, of the conditions, problems, and outlook of the group he represented.

(Davidoff, 1965; 333)

For Davidoff, the advocate role can exist only in a pluralistic planning context and education of the public by the planner contributes to make planning the pluralistic process that he calls for.

The area planners interviewed seemed to ignore the educational aspect of the advocate role and did not speak about themselves as advocates for their community. The degree of awareness about their role as an advocate for the community varies among planners but there is a trend in the Area Planning Division clearly expressed in the following statement:

At one time I thought I would not have been suited for an Area Planning job when a couple of years ago most of the people in Area Planning were part of the counter-culture and tending towards leftwing politics; I'm very middle of the road politically and otherwise, I think the general political and planning climate is becoming more middle of the road and I can fit in quite well. I think I fit well in this community ... I see myself as a generalist planner that just happens to be doing an Area Planning job in a site office situation.

The character of the Area Planning Division is changing and the price paid for this change is the loss of those local area planners that have been with the division for a long period of time.

There has been a change in the Area Planning process in the city. The Area Planning group at city hall has changed over time starting as a small group in which everybody was quite idealistic, enthusiastic, and shared a sense of outrage about what was going on in the city to a situation now where the group is quite

large and there are so many people in the division that we do not know one another well enough to understand where each other stands on the fundamental value issues we are dealing with. We don't share necessarily the same kinds of concerns and values, and we may have completely different aspirations. Some are there because they are still outraged about what is going on in the city, but some are there because, I believe, there is a nice fat salary, security, and they have the mortgage to pay. This detracts from what I consider one of the basic elements of Area Planning and that is group support from people you work with. The absence of that support has limited my ability to cope with the conflicting pressures that I mentioned just now. You are able to bear that pressure more easily if you have the idea that there are people around you who support you, believe in what you are doing, are concerned and understand what you are doing and how well you are bearing up under those pressures. But if everybody is out to do their own thing, in some ways competing with one another in their program rather than co-operating, that atmosphere is lost.

Among the in-house planners in particular the atmosphere has changed and with it the sense of purpose for what they are doing. Area Planning loses its original character and becomes for some planners just a job.

I'm not married to the job; when I go home I really try to walk away from the job.

When the in-house planner moves to a site office he carries with him the same attitude toward the job.

I'm continuing to try to work a four day week and continue to stick to those hours. I feel by making a good use of my time and being very careful about work commitments I can do it. I'm going to try.

In general the planners in the site office work several hours a week overtime. In the extreme position, one planner answered the overtime question in the following way:

I generally work an extra day a week and usually one or two extra evenings, at least an extra hour a day and about half a weekend a month.

It is an impressive amount of time dedicated to the job, from 52 to 56 hours per week compared to the basic 35 hours week, but as the same

planner noted a little later in the interview:

I feel satisfied in terms of the amount of work I put into it. Remember that much of that is self-imposed. Theoretically I don't need to work all those extra hours, but in order to do the job in the way I think it needs to be done, I do.

Satisfaction with the present job seems to be generally widespread among the planners; when asked about what other job they would choose, none of them had a clear alternative in mind. In general they could not see themselves doing something different and when trying to think of some possible alternatives continued to move around the field of planning.

All the planners interviewed seem to agree that there is multiple accountability, to the citizens (the committee in particular), to the city bureaucracy, and to City Council. For the NIP program they also feel accountable to the other levels of government, in particular the federal government that originated the program and monitors it through CMHC. A few planners had some difficulty in defining their accountability. Some saw themselves accountable, mainly in an administrative way, to their superiors on City Council. Only a few planners feel a strong accountability to themselves; "we are accountable to ourselves for the way we are acting in the neighbourhood, for the personal point of view that we are bringing to the program." For others personal accountability is expressed in sentences like, "I've always been able to keep my principles" and "I'm not going to change my mind about things," or "I have independent judgement about the planning process."

Accountability to themselves can be directly associated to the "independent" role that the planner is supposed to play. An "independent" role is called for in the Local Area Planning report (1973) and reiterated in a 1974 memo from the Planning Director Ray Spaxman to the then Mayor

Art Phillips. When asked during the interview to define "independent"

Ray Spaxman replied:

I think that any individual involved in any project, any purpose, any work, any team operation, any community, has the responsibility to identify what he thinks. This is important because out of the discussion among people that are thinking for themselves, comes the ability to do something. If everybody is representing everybody else, nobody knows where they individually come from. I had situations in area planning offices where the planner has said: I do not want to represent myself, I work for this community, I represent the community, my concerns don't matter, the community matters. But when they come to argue the case for the Area Planning Committee and they stand up to the buffeting, that happens inevitably in a situation like that, from Council, from their superiors, from other departments from the opposition to the plan, they will break down if they don't really feel the argument. They must retain the ability to say "this is what I think" and also the ability, which is very important for planning, to say "I don't know, I can't represent your point of view, because I don't know, I don't feel it".

So we have independence in the terms of reference because it is important. We don't stress that independence but make sure it is there. The planner's job is to find out what the community needs and try and help them and help himself to present it in the program.

The same concept was expressed with different words by another planner occupying a senior Area Planning position:

Area planners are accountable to themselves. They must take advantage of their training and experience. They must be aware of their value system. They are human beings and cannot submerge their own values and biases. They've got to make sure to get those out and make sure they get their training and experience out so that people can take advantage of that.

When asked to define the qualities that make a good area planner, planning directors and supervisors gave descriptions that were very consistent with a common ideal of an area planner. Communication was the most important item in the list of qualities. It included verbal and written ability to communicate, associated with the willingness to listen to people and be enthusiastic about it all. High levels of energy and

ability to cope with frustration were also considered essential. The planner has to be an analytical person to be able to define the various components in terms of his/her planning process. This quality had to be associated with the communication skills for the planner to be able to present his/her analysis to the planning committee and to Council in a way that they could understand and react to.

Education and experience were considered important but were not generally used as discriminating factors in the hiring process. All the planners in senior positions emphasized the human aspect of the Area Planning process to explain why the many personal qualities were required and only those with suitable personalities could be a good area planner.

A planner working in another department expressed this concept quite clearly.

I don't think this job is for everybody. I've seen a number of planners in the city functioning well not just as academics, at some point you are required to translate all the academic knowledge and experience into practice and a process that the community can understand. If you cannot do that you are dead, you should be doing something removed from the public.

The qualities needed to make a good area planner are many and difficult to define. There is no given formula to help the planner perform an Area Planning job and many of the skills required are not planning skills and are not part of the planner's training. Any Area Planning situation differs from the others because of the type of issues and people involved. The area planners can only use their judgement in deciding about the most appropriate approach. If the planner fails, the Area Planning program fails because it is centred on the planner and the surrounding bureaucracy is not prepared to intervene. Supervisors are not close enough to the planners to help them to prevent errors or to fully understand the process.

This fact emphasizes the importance of the position of the planners but at the same time emphasizes the weaknesses of Area Planning for its almost complete dependence on the planners' interpretation of their own role and of the Area Planning Division's objectives.

OBJECTIVES

The goals and objectives of Area Planning in Vancouver are not very clear for two main reasons. The Area Planning Division includes the in-house and the site office planners performing a range of activities that vary to a great extent. The site office activities include both NIP and LAP. Often the two programs are implemented together, making the distinction difficult. Furthermore, in most cases NIP is used as a means to implement other Area Planning activities.

Why the Division is presently lacking direction can be partially explained by its historical development. Area Planning was born in a climate of economic expansion and political renewal in the city. At the time, as one planner pointed out, "we all were optimistic about the future and nothing seemed to be impossible for Area Planning." The planners did not see the need at the time for a firm commitment from Council to Area Planning nor did they worry too much about financial arrangements and the operating costs associated with the community facilities they are proposing. All this has resulted in a limited financial commitment by City Council leaving Area Planning to function mainly as the administrator of federal programs. The immediate consequence of this development, as an area planner pointed out, was that:

The division has not been able to articulate with any degree of clarity or unanimity such basic concepts as the purpose of Area Planning programs and the reasons for involving citizens in the planning process.

To find a clear definition of goals for Area Planning we must go back to the "Local Area Planning" report produced by the Vancouver Planning Department in 1973. The report justified local area planning on the belief that planning and certain service delivery can be accomplished more effectively at the local level than at the city scale. The purpose of local area planning was to examine a specific geographic area in a comprehensive manner.

The reasons for local area planning were outlined in that report.

Planning becomes more effective by co-ordinating a strong centralized planning effort with local area planning. This effort will produce a broad conceptual overview of the city indicating problems, aspirations, proper relationship of land uses, zoning regulations, etc.

Brings the planning process closed to the people by:

- instilling a feeling of confidence in residents that they will be able to have an effect on the future of their communities,
- establishing a two-way flow of communication between residents and city hall,
- humanizing bureaucracy,
- correcting imbalances between neighbourhoods.

Develop a co-operative basis for planning instead of confrontation responses to plans and development proposals.

The Local Area Planning report was never formally endorsed by Council. City Council simply instructed the Planning Department to come back with some recommendations on which areas were to be considered an Area Planning priority. The Planning Department presented a list of local areas where it was felt the need for Area Planning was highest and Council decided to begin with Kitsilano. After a few months when the Neighbourhood Improvement

Program (NIP) was launched by the federal government, Kitsilano became the easy choice for that program together with part of Cedar Cottage. There is some criticism of the Planning Department for selecting Kitsilano (Gutstein, 1976). The author of the article suggested that if the purpose of NIP was to preserve stable areas then Kitsilano should have never been chosen as it was not stable. The area was under strong pressure for redevelopment and by 1974 large parts of it were lost to bulldozers.

From the beginning NIP and LAP were generally combined together in a way that made difficult for the public to distinguish between the two programs. The major reason for having the two programs combined was, according to the Associate Director for Area Planning, that "NIP has made LAP possible."¹ Another federal program associated with NIP, the Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program (RRAP), further contributed to making the distinction between programs unclear. The success or non-success of the Area Planning activities was not associated by the public with one of the programs or the other.

The "Local Area Planning Review" (1977) report presently under discussion indicates what the NIP programs are without specifying that the area planner is out in the community not simply to help people to decide how to spend the funds but also to deal with planning issues in the area and provide a plan that is more comprehensive than is required for the NIP program. The review also defines LAP neighbourhood programs that were managed from city hall rather than a site office. If we add to this the activities of the in-house group trying to serve the remainder of the city and getting involved in specific issues, the picture becomes even more

¹ Ron Youngberg at the NIP and LAP committees conference, October 23, 1977.

confusing.

A definition of what NIP is in Vancouver is presented in this excerpt from one of the site office planner's interviews:

The scope of NIP is very clear in the National Housing Act. There are certain things that NIP can deal with and others it cannot. In other neighbourhoods which only have NIP the planning staff are dealing with a number of other issues that do not really relate to NIP. They are planning issues and the planning department has used NIP as an opportunity to deal with issues that may be in the community. They find out from the NIP committee how they feel about these other issues, and perhaps allow the city to deal with issues that otherwise they would not have dealt with. NIP is dealing with things that are in the terms of reference of the National Housing Act.

Limitations of NIP are the rigidity of the guidelines establishing the ways in which funds must be used and defining eligible areas. These limits are recognized by the Director of the Planning Department

Under NIP your objectives tend to be confined by the nature of the program so it is only in the things outside of NIP that you get a lot of flexibility.

Another planner added:

There is only a limited band in the spectrum of planning activities that can be done with NIP.

Since NIP is oriented towards stable neighbourhoods:

Area Planning activities have been initiated in Vancouver, in areas that otherwise would not have been selected for LAP.

With NIP, people are inclined to take advantage of the funds available and can do so if they follow the guidelines established for the NIP program, that must be met to ensure the release of funds. These constraints are frustrating for the planner working to produce a comprehensive plan for the community when the committee feels the pressure and wants to decide quickly on items funded by NIP.

LAP becomes in these circumstances the poor relative of NIP and

loses credibility by being introduced through the back door. There is no firm commitment to it on the part of Council, and the Planning Department prefers to live with NIP scraps rather than openly fight for the implementation of more LAP programs.

Area Planning in Vancouver is funded by NIP as if we did not have the confidence to go to Council and say we want LAP.

LAP becomes:

A program whose objectives are kind of ideals after which you run.

There is a strong feeling shared by many planners working in site offices that the underlying reason for doing Area Planning in the area is that in the past neighbourhoods have been neglected and they are now getting their historical payoff:

... we say that the city has not been treated fairly, historically, so we should now take better care of neighbourhoods that have been neglected in the past.

My feeling is that the reason for Area Planning is that there are a lot of local areas that have been neglected in the past and for these areas to get a fair share of improvement in the city, it is important to have Area Planning operating.

My personal motivation is, where possible in a pluralistic kind of society, to achieve a compromise consensus so that everyone gets a bit of payoff and, having said that, the people that have not historically got that payoff, get a bit more so that there is some kind of equity.

The payoff may come in the form of education to the political process. Residents of many areas may have been ignored in the past for not being vocal enough or not knowing the appropriate channels to reach the political levers of power. The planners working with them can translate their discontent into manageable problems and in the process educate the participants.

When the planner is sent out in a community to implement LAP he/she is expected to produce a comprehensive plan for the local area. When implementing NIP the planner tries to produce a plan that includes more than just a list of things to do with NIP funds.

"Community development" is probably one of the most important aspects of Area Planning as it is done in Vancouver. One planner admitted to using the administrative phase of NIP to educate the planning committee to deal with city bureaucracy and other agencies. Even the design of a park becomes an exercise in which the committee builds up its own strength and expertise so that when the planner is gone there will be a structure in the community able to carry on the activities initiated. Many of the area planners expressed their concern for what is going to happen when the planning staff leave the area and indicated the different steps they were taking to make that transition smooth and allow the program to continue.

My role in this type of community is to get people to feel that they can actually participate, encouraging people to get together and educating them, fostering groups to work on projects, also making the other bureaucrats and City Council aware of their responsibilities to their neighbourhoods.

We have this communication going on between the Committee and Council through the liaison alderman. Hopefully, what you are trying to do is to pull yourself out so that they can work with one another.

One of the things I have tried to do is to bring out some of the concerns that are further off into the future to the Committee's attention. I felt the urgency to do that because after the program is over, citizens will be left alone for a while in the future.

The objectives for the in-house planner are defined in the Department's work program and little room is left to the initiative of the planner that must also deal with the urgency of other issues as they come up.

Basically we try to finish what we are doing but we cannot always do that. If we don't have that pressure we go into those areas that we have previously defined as needing some planning or policies developed.

The planners that have operated in the site office suffer the most for this lack of freedom to develop their own program. The general objective of the in-house planner is to offer some form of service to the other communities in the city not covered by specific NIP and/or LAP programs. An important aspect of this service is the monitoring of those areas to be able to understand planning issues as they arise or to anticipate them. All the planners interviewed recognized that the monitoring aspect of the division's activity was largely neglected for lack of time and resources.

Monitoring has been reduced to being aware of major rezoning and development permits in the area, answering to the occasional inquiry and going to the occasional meeting.

We don't do enough monitoring to know what is happening and to anticipate things as a result of that. We don't do enough monitoring of programs that we have completed; take Kitsilano for instance, the monitoring of that is very casual indeed.

At this point the presentation of the objectives of the Area Planning Division may seem a little confused but the situation is such that it becomes very difficult to present clear cut divisions between different activities without losing the character and substance of the reality. Another possible explanation for this lack of clarity is the one offered with declared cynicism by a planner from outside the department:

To me, LAP seems to be a program searching for a purpose.

DURATION OF AN AREA PLANNING PROGRAM

The length of the Area Planning involvement in the neighbourhood has important consequences for the perception of the program by planners and

public alike. As one area planner pointed out:

The implication that the planning process has a point at which it starts and a point at which it's over is something that I do not think is appropriate. The city should not give the people the idea that when the planning program in the area is over there will be no more problems and things will flow smoothly. I perceive planning as a cyclical process and I think that the city should stress that fact. The Planning Department may have to come back to a neighbourhood after a few years to do more planning work because more problems may have arisen.

There are several factors contributing to making Area Planning a short-term commitment to the area. City Council wants to increase its visibility by rotating the little resources available, moving from one area to another as quickly as possible. This attitude was shown by Council right from the beginning of Area Planning. In 1974 during the implementation of the West End program, Mayor Art Phillips recommended that "Council impose a six month to one year limit on such programs in the future."¹ This was the same council whose TEAM majority was elected on a political platform including Area Planning.

By limiting the duration of the planning program to a defined period of time the city creates the false impression in the community that planning can be done once and for all and the concept plan becomes a rigid work program rather than a flexible tool to help the community to develop in the right direction. A planner clearly expressed his feelings about how the citizens should relate to their plan.

The citizens should have confidence in themselves and almost lack of respect for the plan and say: we can change it. I think that is healthy. The planners themselves can get attached to the plan. Part of my job as supervisor is to remind the planner and the citizens that they have created the plan; it is a

¹ Harvey Oberfield, "Council 'backing down' on area planning promises," Vancouver Sun, July 19, 1974.

piece of paper. If you don't like it, know that it is not going to work and you have all this new information, then change it.

The planners interviewed tried to rationalize remaining in the community only for a limited period of time by pointing out that the committee members would not welcome the prospect of meeting once a week for the rest of their lives. The planners also recognize that there is a need for keeping the program alive after they leave; some of them suggested that the planner should come back in a very cyclical way and see what happened, do an evaluation, and deal with new problems that have emerged. This would help the continuity of the program and it would become logical for the citizens to "hold the fort" until the planner comes back.

At the present time there is no policy on what to do after the program ends. This is a problem recognized by the Planning Department and the Local Area Planning Review tries to deal with it. Other departments also see the present phasing out of the program as a problem since they are left to deal with any lingering consequences of the program. For the NIP programs in particular, until recently there was little consideration given to the operating and maintenance costs of the facilities built. Once NIP is completed, the Park Board must absorb operating costs of community centre additions and increased maintenance of park improvements, the School Board becomes responsible for new facilities such as gymnasiums built on their grounds, etc. Thus other civic departments are becoming more concerned about the implications of NIP projects and their concern is transferred to Council.

The final result of this process is that Council becomes suspicious of NIP proposals and refuses its approval if operating costs appear too high. The area planners find themselves with a considerable amount of money

in their hands and the frustration of not being able to do what is felt appropriate. There is a positive aspect to this situation. NIP is forced to become more than just a list of things the community would like to see, planner and committee must give more thought to the projects they want to implement and involve more people in the process.

For NIP there are specific deadlines, one year to prepare the plan and three more to implement it. This sounds like a reasonable amount of time, but for different reasons the year of planning is in many cases reduced, in a recent instance to 4-5 months. Under these conditions the concept plan produced will have obvious limitations. During the implementation period "there is a constant pressure for bureaucracy to get things done early and the planner and team also want to complete projects early so that there is less money spent in administration and more money spent on projects. We are also running to beat inflation." NIP deadlines also can be used by the planner to be waived with the carrot represented by the NIP funds as a planner commented:

I think it encourages us to get on with the job. It makes the committee to have a positive attitude if they don't want to see the money slip through their fingers. I occasionally remind them, after having spent all meeting arguing, 'folks, if we don't make a decision now ...' "

The stick represented by the guidelines is only used as a threat because as a planner pointed out:

If there is something important in your program that you cannot get done within the deadline, you still can do something about it. So far, we have never lost NIP funds because of the deadlines.

Objectives and guidelines play a relevant part in determining the conduct of the planner. In Area Planning there are no clear guidelines, the planner must be able to interpret different situations and apply it

to an Area Planning approach. In the Vancouver situation where there is little or no discussion on the basic reasons for doing Area Planning, planners are left to their own to make a judgement.

It becomes easy in this situation for the planner implementing NIP to fall back on the guidelines established by the federal government and in this way become merely an administrator of federal programs. For the few planners implementing LAP programs or for the other area planners going beyond the NIP limitations, there is constantly a question of what to do and why.

The Area Planning Division seems to lack a clear direction. The variety of situations in which the planners are operating, in particular the dichotomy between in-house and site office, contributes to frustrate individual efforts to establish a communication within the division. The lack of communication within the division and the lack of discussion about Area Planning and what it should be creates a vacuum which the planners fill with a traditional and bureaucratic interpretation of their own role. By assuming an institutional role the planner can more easily control the impact public participation has on the program, but by limiting the community input in this way the planner refuses to recognize one of the basic principles of Area Planning.

COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

Area Planning is almost a synonym for public participation in planning. By focussing the planning activity in a local area, planning issues assume a more human dimension and local residents getting involved in the process are able to feel and understand the planning issues. It is part of the local planner's job to bridge the gap between the residents' immediate

needs and the translation of those needs into a plan or proposal.

The people participating in this process are given the opportunity to intervene and to express their feelings and opinions:

This process allows anyone, even the inarticulate, to make themselves heard.¹

Planners must establish a dialogue with the residents of the area to obtain from them much of the information that enables them to develop a plan that reflects the needs and aspirations of the community. At the same time the planners act as resources for their communities and promote an educative process.

Citizen participation in Area Planning is obtained in several ways - public meetings, questionnaires, committee meetings and advertising through the media and other channels. The general pattern for site office activities is to have public meetings from time to time to present the results of the committee's work to the public for feedback. The planning committee meets regularly and contributes to the preparation of the plan. The terms of reference for the committee are unique for each local area but based on the previous experience of other committees. The trend now is to abandon the practice of electing committee members from community groups. The danger in this practice is that it makes committee members believe that since they have been elected they have the power to represent the community. This belief leads them directly into conflict with City Council, which has been elected to represent the city and expects the committee to act in an advisory capacity.

¹ Comment to the LAP review report 1977 from Egil Lyngen, chairman of Champlain Heights Planning Advisory Committee.

People in the program have to be continually reminded that they are set up in an advisory capacity, they do not have any direct authority in the neighbourhood and I think it is important that that point be kept in mind so that they don't get their expectations built up about changing things.

But ultimately it is Council that decides those objectives, the citizens and the planning staff work as an advisory group to Council.

The eligibility criteria for membership in the committee for the most recent programs are established at the beginning of the program and participants can become part of the committee at any point in time if they meet those requirements. In brief, anyone who attends meetings regularly is a member.

The main concern of the planner is to ensure that the committee is representative of the community. If the planner feels that certain geographical areas or groups in the community are not represented in the committee he/she tries to include them in the process. Sometimes the circumstances are such that the planner must sacrifice the ideal of maximum citizen involvement for the efficiency of the process. The following comments obtained by the planners interviewed illustrate how they are frequently facing this dilemma.

There is going to be a problem. We did not get many people from the apartment area, and now the question is: do we want an even larger committee than we already have or do we need more representation from the apartment area? I don't know yet how we are going to do it. We may be advertising again to try to get these people.

Because we feel constrained by time we do not go out to look for other participants. We work with our committee, we are not putting any effort into expanding the committee or doing a questionnaire to get people's responses or having a lot of public meetings. I think if we had another couple of years and assurance of funding, we would do more things, get more people.

One of the major problems for the area planner is represented by the existing community groups and associations. The planner must be able to obtain their participation without being manipulated by them. It is important for the committee to be representative but it also has to be independent from other community groups. The planner is present in the area to give everyone a chance to participate and if the committee appears to be an extension of some existing group this would discourage other people from participating. To be able to walk this tightrope, the planner must be a skillful diplomat in maintaining good contacts with existing community groups from an independent position. This becomes difficult especially in LAP where there is not a common goal (spending the funds) to be pursued as in NIP.

I thought that we would have had problems with the area council because they are the established group here. We discussed early the respective roles; initially they expected the planning program to work under their wing. We both came to the conclusion that would not have been a good idea.

The failure to maintain the necessary balance with local associations exposes the planning department to accusations such as the following:

The decision by the planning department not to directly utilize the area council in the planning process after having supported almost all of the initial work led to the dissolution and withdrawal of its more active members. A policy of strict non-intervention by the area council resulted from the apparent snub.¹

Even though some of the in-house planners are working with a planning committee the in-house group has little contact with the public. The meetings of those committees are not as frequent as they are in the site offices, and the remaining activities do not include extensive citizen

¹ Comment to the LAP review report, 1977, from Roy H. Blunden, member of Grandview Woodland Planning Committee.

involvement. The contact with the public is generally limited to a telephone enquiry or public meetings for which they have limited funds allocated. The following comments illustrate the situation:

I don't have much to do with community groups right now.

There is actually no continuing process for keeping things on stream. I meet with the LAP committee once a month but there is not much continuity of involvement on their part. There is a small, stable core and other residents showing up from time to time.

Usually I don't do anything to encourage participation, it brings itself. Citizens are well organized and vocal.

The in-house group see themselves more as experts working for City Council to advise them on planning matters.

Council expect to get out of you expert advice. They want some back-up information to justify their actions. You are there to support Council as everyone else, helping them to make decisions. Your role is of supportive advisor, an expert trying to a degree to direct rather than just support political decisions.

I think Council depends on staff to do analyses for them, to lay out options.

We are providing a form of feedback to Council that is not terribly expensive.

In their dealings with the public the in-house planner acts as an intermediary for Council and sees the citizens as a selfish group pushing for their own wants and needs:

I can certainly sympathize with people in the neighbourhood although I see hypocrisy in their part; they say: I'm in favour of public housing ... but not in my backyard.

The in-house planners expressed their awareness about the power that citizen groups have and may exercise in the decision-making process. This power is measured by

the degree of activity of the organization and the efficiency and speed with which they can respond to the issue.

This awareness of public power can be explained by the fact that in-house planners have little or no time to monitor their area in order to prevent or deal with issues as they arise. In many cases they get involved at a late stage when the dialogue becomes more difficult. At this stage the official approach to public participation has been the public meeting, and the planner can exercise little control on the process; public meetings usually mean public confrontation since if there was no conflict, the meeting would have not been warranted in the first place. At the meeting the people that have a position antagonistic to City Council are usually the more vocal and in many cases, Council has to give in to the public pressure.

The area planner is out in the community to prevent conflicts from happening, avoiding confrontation by using the committee in an advisory capacity. Several factors contribute to the success of a planner's action: by being out in the community the planner can orchestrate the various elements in the process and thereby facilitate dialogue and avoid misunderstandings. The planner can obtain this by offering him/herself as an expert and mediator to the community and any other party involved. City Council can use the planner's knowledge about the issue to make decisions that are more appropriate to the circumstances. Through this process the planner in the site office can use citizen participation in a more constructive way than the in-house planner can.

The other departments generally find public participation uncomfortable. As area planners put it:

... they tend to be rather confused about the conflict that is uncovered in the community by LAP. When we ask the co-operation of other departments they tend to be taken off guard by the existence of this conflict and controversy within the community.

Other civic departments are neither prepared nor have the resources to respond to the demands created by public participation. They feel that the planner can manipulate the community by encouraging unrealistic expectations.

It is like plugging citizens in a machine, to say yes I want it. But it is not the citizens' fault, they don't know, they have not done studies, they have not managed a library, a program in the community centre ... they only say I want it.

Citizens participating in the Area Planning process expressed strong feelings about the committees' isolation from city government. Several comments suggest "better communications between planning committees and city government".¹ It was suggested that "City Council, School Board and Park Board elected members should attend more citizen committee meetings"² to hear, directly from the residents, their point of view. The general feeling is that other city departments, including boards do not take citizens seriously:

The estimates we were given on certain items on our plan were simply wrong. This has caused a great deal of problem and makes us feel that we are not taken seriously by that public agency. It is a frustrating experience.

In this context the planner is seen as being on the side of the citizens. This may create a certain degree of solidarity between the two but has a negative effect on the credibility of the planner and the program.

¹ Report of the Chairman on the Conference of LAP and NIP Committees, November 28, 1977.

² Ibid.

If that department had their way, they would like the people in the area to decide how much money they want to allocate for the works of that department and then give them the money to do what they want with it.

The involvement would contribute to establish a mutually educative process where the citizens can get a better understanding of the intricacies of city bureaucracy while city departments can obtain a direct feedback from the public. The civic education of the public is undoubtedly one of the goals of LAP and NIP.

I think that the committees do see the planner as an educator of people in the area. Prior to the planning program there was really no one to explain to them how to go about getting things, what is the rationale for that, what does rezoning mean ... so that you have that role as educator, to tell them how planning works and how to get involved in it.

In a sense most of the planners have to reinvent the wheel. People learn through mistakes so they have to learn, through a tedious process, to trust city staff, to go through petty things to decide that they are petty before being able to focus on the things that are important and create their own objectives.

A couple of planners described this process as community development.

It is probably as important as anything you do there. One of your roles should be community development, to organize that neighbourhood so that the community can carry on when you and your program are not there.

Other planners perceive us as intimately related to the community. Our role is in defining what the community needs and feelings are, to help people to participate in a constructive way in the decision-making process. Some of the other planners see the work that we do as community development.

The simple presence of the planner in the site office and the exposure given to the program contribute to a more general awareness in the community. The community can use the planner as a resource and use the skills he/she is making available to the community. This process should contribute to change the community's general awareness of the program into

a more active involvement in civic matters. This involvement would allow the community to continue the planning program after the planner leaves the area.

With one significant exception, committee members see the planner positively. This attitude is partially explained by the kind of close working relationship the planner has with the committee. In some instances people interviewed referred to planners in other communities as not being good, but they generally support the one with whom they are working. The close working relationship the planner maintains with the community makes the city commitment more evident and facilitates communication between city bureaucracy and the local community.

OTHER CITY DEPARTMENTS AND THE BUREAUCRATIC ROLE

The planners in the community are the liaison between the local residents and city government: they represent other city departments and the type of relationship they establish with other departments has strong effect on the planning process.

Of all the different civic departments there are some with which the planner has more frequent contact. This research has been limited to four of the more important ones; the Engineering Department, the Social Planning Department, the School Board and the Park Board. The results of the interviews will be presented collectively for the various departments unless the issue that is being presented affects only, or in a specific way, a single department.

All the area planners interviewed were asked questions regarding the types of relationships they established with other city departments and the problems arising from them. It was relatively easy to obtain from the four

departments statements relevant to the same issues covered by area planners. Each department has one person that operates as liaison with the Area Planning Division. With the exception of the Engineering Department, this person is also a planner. This greatly facilitated the approach to the department and the work of the interviewer by making it easy to focus on specific planning issues.

Not all the departments' spokesmen expressed the expected antagonism towards Area Planning. In fact some expressed strong support for the Area Planning concept.

I get enthusiastic about Area Planning, and what the planner can do in that context.

I would like to see on our part a deeper level of involvement with programs, using each other's resources for the mutual benefit; developing programs together.

This expression of support was immediately followed by the qualification that their department does not have the resources to supply the support needed.

But I don't think that we will be able to put enough staff time in the development of those programs for them to become a reality.

The area planners were more explicit about the problems they encounter in their dealings with other departments. But their interview statements were never as explicit as what was said by one of them during a committee meeting. He was referring to another department with which the committee had been arguing for more than a year to obtain something that was not among the priorities of that department. The department was called "the enemy with which we have just won a battle". City Council had in fact just decided the issue in favour of the community. The level at which this battle was fought is clearly illustrated by the other department's reaction.

They announced that it would be six months before the work could be done and that by that time the item would have come up in their priority list, anyway. The part of the statement suggesting that this work would have been done in any case is inconsistent with the arguments that department had put forth first to the planner and the citizens and then to Council. They had argued against the work proposed on the grounds that it would not be desirable in that location, and the argument based on city-wide priorities for that kind of improvement was quite secondary. Thus it appears that having lost the battle at the City Council level they wanted to deny the planning committee and the planner the sweet satisfaction of victory. The spokesman for a civic department clearly expressed this belligerent attitude in an interview.

I can only see problems where there is conflict with our requirements. It is an area of conflict. As far as we are concerned it is not practical, they see it otherwise. So far in these win-lose situations we won, we convinced Council that what the community contended wasn't practical.

The major problems in dealings between area planners and the other departments are associated with their different approaches to planning. The Area Planning philosophy is at times radically different from that of other departments.

Engineering has a different perception of equity than we have, so we know we have a disagreement in very general terms. For Engineering, equity means to treat every area the same, while for us (area planners), areas that have been neglected in the past must be getting more now.

For the NIP programs, the availability of funds makes the relationship more difficult because the planners see the other departments as an obstacle to their spending money and the other departments cannot accept this outsider telling them what to do. During the interviews area planners pointed out several reasons why conflict develops with other departments.

The most relevant source of conflict is the different attitude towards planning. Other civic departments see Area Planning programs "as a bit of a bother because they have their own techniques to solve problems". They see the area planner "in part infringing on their territory because we are specialized and you (area planner) are the generalist," and "they think they are the professionals and you should not interfere with them". The feeling the area planner gets is that "they are afraid to lose viability if they give you too much information".

Spokesmen for the other departments justify their lack of involvement with Area Planning by the lack of resources their department can dedicate to Area Planning. Several comments emphasized how their department is understaffed and has little resources to deal with Area Planning.

I'm the only planner in this department involved with area planning, and I'm doing this in addition to what all other planners in this department do. I don't have an assistant, a secretary, like all of them (area planners in site offices) have.

The scarcity of resources in other departments causes frustration for the planner and the Area Planning Committee. At the same time it causes open competition among the various area planning programs as Stephen Cripps (Parks Development Manager) points out:

He believes that the Park Board and the NIP committees and planners are 'heading for a donneybrook' because parks construction cannot progress quickly enough to satisfy people in NIP areas. At the moment there is no one person who co-ordinates the requests for Park Board building in NIP areas; each planner comes to the Park Board with separate requests. As more NIP programs move into the implementation stage, decisions will have to be made about which parks and which areas to work on first. At the same time, other capital projects like False Creek, Jericho and perhaps Harbour Park will be competing for work crews and machinery.¹

¹"Riley Park: N.I.P. in Action," Urban Reader, 5:2 (1977).

The lack of staff and resources limits the action of civic departments and the communities that have in the past suffered the most for this lack of intervention are the ones in which Area Planning programs are initiated. The nature of the conflict between the planner now working in the area and the city bureaucracy is clearly expressed in this answer offered by a planner working in a site office:

They perceive us collectively as a pain in ... because we are trying to do things that for all sorts of different reasons they have not done. Presumably we are correcting deficiencies in the neighbourhood which in many cases are the result of neglect by other city departments ... they become defensive and take an implication that they have not been doing their job properly during these years.

The most immediate results of the conflict between the planner and other departments, as suggested by planners, are that:

They do not look forward to get involved in Area Planning activities.

Most of the departments don't put a priority on the NIP or LAP areas.

One planner in another department explained his position:

Sometimes I find it difficult to have some degree of open, honest dialogue with area planners. All I can do is assist and advise them the best I can with the limited resources I have, but I get the impression that they don't appreciate my intervention in their program. Often I think they'd rather not hear my advice. We get little acknowledgement that the advice was given. It is a frustrating sort of thing.

City departments find it difficult to deal with community participation for different reasons. They expressly stated in the interview that they prefer to interact with the planner rather than with the committee. The main justification is efficiency.

If I had to go out there I would feel like I was spending too much time, wasting my time.

It may be useful when you have different groups to have a lot of meetings and try to satisfy everybody but there is

a lot of time and work before any production. It is much easier to go out and do it.

Public participation extends the process in time unless well disciplined and laid out in terms of a time schedule.

An area planner explains:

They are concerned with expertise, not with opinions.

The incident reported next illustrates better than any official statement the attitude that some civic departments have toward citizens involvement in planning. The incident started with a statement made by a representative of the Engineering Department at an NIP planning committee meeting and summarized in the minutes as follows:

The engineer concluded his presentation by saying that the Engineering Department will not as vigorously oppose the closure of the street if local residents are clearly and overwhelmingly in favour of it.¹

The City Engineer did not like the statement and wrote a letter to the NIP office requesting that the minutes be changed to read:

The engineer ended his case with that assurance that even though the Engineering Department was opposed to the closure, the Engineering Department would endeavour to work diligently at closing the street if City Council votes to have it closed.²

The second statement indicates the disregard the department has for the residents in the community, and also indicates that they consider themselves as experts acting only on Council directives. The same type of attitude can be found in other departments, even though some of their spokesmen recognized in interviews the value of citizen participation in planning.

¹ From Riley Park Citizens N.I.P. Planning Committee Minutes of November 22, 1977.

² From Riley Park Citizens N.I.P. Planning Committee Minutes of February 21, 1978

Community by community Area Planning has given us a good understanding of these communities. The planners out there and the committees are doing that for us, so we are getting a better understanding than we historically have had. One of the things we understand is that communities are different and something that makes sense in one community does not necessarily make sense in another part of Vancouver.

This expression of enthusiasm is not clearly reflected in the actions of the department this planner is representing, although some of the area planners admit an improvement in that department's attitude towards their programs. City departments generally get involved in Area Planning activities when NIP funds are spent on a project that is under the direct responsibility of that department. Because of this they perceive the planner as an administrator and the Area Planning aspect of the NIP program is somehow lost. The Marpole area program is presently the only one where the planner is in the site office to do LAP exclusively. This has generated some interest in other departments anxious to see how the program is going to function. Some of the planners in other departments perceive NIP as an obstacle to good Area Planning for various reasons:

It is like a program searching for a purpose. It is in existence because there is money available. ... A good example is the concept plan in ... There is no documentation or even discussion of problems in the community. The "plan" is just a grocery list of things that people have come up with in a few weeks. This is not to say there is not any need for the items proposed in the plan, but they do not provide the rationale for it and so it is not possible to comment on it. They don't provide any organized plan showing how these new facilities would relate to existing facilities, or the long term implications for operating costs.

NIP is mainly administration of spending money and the planning function is lost after the first six months. That is a very hurried six months and I see that as being one of the main disadvantages of the program.

A lack of co-ordination between the area planner and other departments emerged during the interviews.

I think one of the things they should do in the future is to have concept plans discussed by the interdepartmental NIP Assistance Committee, so that other departments will be aware of what each of them is doing. NIP involves some sort of co-operation among those bodies. I know from our point of view it would be useful to know what the other agencies are thinking about, and what kind of commitments have been made in terms of funding of the program. It seems to me that the NIP Assistance Committee is presently convened only at the discretion of the Planning Department.

A common opinion expressed by other departments is that the planner although raising expectations in the community, is more an educator of the community than an advocate.

The planner is teaching people how to work in groups, to work with the system, to be political activists, to know how the system works. In general Area Planning has been going on in areas where people are less aware of the process and that is a good thing. It has certainly redistributive aims which are over and above spending money.

... it is a good way of extending city hall into the community. It is an educational kind of thing for a community to realize that people at city hall are just an extension of itself rather than something that has little to do with the community.

It is a good publicity, maybe we do not do that enough.

The conclusion one reaches from the comments obtained from other departments is that Area Planning does not seem to fit well in the bureaucratic structure of city hall, and is perceived by some departments as a threatening alternative. Whether Area Planning infringes on someone's territory or not, it is given little direct support by other departments. As a result the planners and their staff tend to operate on their own, getting involved with other departments only when their concurrence is needed or their participation in a project is required.

Acting independently, Area Planning is little understood by other departments. The planners are generally associated with the community they are working with but their position in a community is not well understood.

With time and experience, area planners have managed to improve their relations with other departments. To achieve that they have eliminated points of friction. The area planner is learning the rules and is playing by them in order to progress with the program. Controversial items are avoided whenever possible, to eliminate any basis for conflict that would cause frustration in the committee and alienate other participants in the program.

In the case of NIP, the area planner and planning committee are given the money but have little power to act on their own. Other departments use their power to make the Area Planning experience frustrating for the participants. In the words of an area planner interviewed:

They are not supporting Area Planning programs and this makes the implementation of the programs difficult, but that is what other civic departments want. They look forward to the day when Council will give them NIP funds rather than lose them because of delays.

POLITICIANS

The importance City Council assumes in the Area Planning process lies in its final authority in the civic context.

This presentation will focus on City Council and its relation with area planners, rather than on other political levels. CMHC and the federal government in fact step back after issuing certificates of implementation for the NIP programs, delegating to Council the responsibility for approving projects.

Even though they know that they do not have direct control over the planning process, federal politicians try to make political mileage out of NIP programs by promising residents what they cannot deliver and then trying to impose their pet projects on the planner and the committee. The planners are aware of the political desires at the various levels of government and must weigh every decision made by the committee against its political feasibility or appropriateness.

Many of the comments presented here were obtained in interviews with the planners, only a few aldermen were interviewed and although some of the answers obtained from them offer interesting insights to the position of the area planner they cannot represent the wide range of opinions that individual members of Council may have about Area Planning.

In the context of this thesis it wasn't possible to try to interview all members of City Council, for several reasons:

- The aldermen's answers are primarily "political" and a further analysis of the political position of the individual alderman thus would be required to place their comments in correct political perspective.
- Area Planning is associated by many with the ward system. At the present time in Vancouver there is an on-going discussion about the appropriateness of the ward system for the city. This fact would probably have shifted the focus of the interviews and altered answers, especially those of aldermen that strongly support or oppose the ward system.
- Finally, given the limits of this research, it was felt inappropriate to expand in this area.

It is important to make clear at the outset that there is a substantial difference in the way Council perceives site office and in-house planners. Site office planners are associated with the local area in which they work

and held directly responsible for anything happening there. The Director of Planning is not directly involved and can offer little direct support to the area planner. The in-house planners deal with various issues, cannot be associated with one specific area, and their reports carry the signature of the Director of Planning and in many cases the Director presents them to Council. Thus the in-house area planner appears to Council as no more than a small part in the mechanism of city hall bureaucracy. There are in-house planners dealing with NIP or LAP but for various reasons their association with a local area is less evident.

Until recently when various aldermen were assigned specific local area programs to act as a liaison between a program and Council, there was little or no involvement of individual aldermen in Area Planning. As a result of this situation Council had little understanding of the particular situation in which the local area planner was operating. Council perceived and, to the degree that several aldermen still are not directly involved in Area Planning, still perceive the local community as a unit and expects the planner to present them with the community point of view. As one alderman put it,

There is an implicit assumption that there is a consensus point of view in the neighbourhood. Council expects the Planning Department to discover what that point of view is and bring it to them.

I think Council relies on the LAP planner to be sensitive to what the needs of the community are, to be aware of what people want, to know what the preferences and attitudes of the community are.

The direct implication is that the planner must solve differences of opinion in the community and present Council with a set of alternatives that are not controversial if possible. At the same time the planner is supposed to be "politically astute" and avoid presenting Council with alternatives

that are not politically feasible and would therefore make Council unpopular. Several planners pointed out this fact during the interviews:

There is a demand from the political level that you be politically astute, that you have regard for the political implications of the things you are suggesting. If they are going to be given recommendations that they cannot go along with politically. They would rather you had not bothered to present them because it makes visible their position against a certain area of interest in the city. They would like you to reject that alternative at the outset because it is not politically feasible.

An alderman interviewed implied the need for the planner to be politically astute with these words:

When the planner has identified the needs in the area, he must separate the possible from the impossible, the desirable from the undesirable ... as he sees it as a planner.

The planner becomes in fact more than an expert reporting to Council on the various technical solutions to the problem, he/she must be a political actor in what becomes a political process. Planner and Council are influencing each other using expertise on one side and political power on the other.

Only a few of the planners stated in interviews that political pressure and the desires of Council affect their views. These planners readily admitted that in making proposals to Council they are always counting votes and trying to figure out which way individual aldermen are going to vote.

The large majority of the planners did not recognize or admit to this process. During the interviews they made statements regarding their influence on the political decision makers but failed to point out the opposite process by which they are influenced by Council:

I think I can affect political decisions. Planners can with reports, and also you can help citizens to affect political decisions.

In a funny way I think we are influencing Council decisions because we bring before City Council for a decision a lot

of things that otherwise would have never been brought in front of them.

I think I can influence Council quite a bit. They look to planners for direction.

This game is made more complicated for the planner by the fact that Council has probably as many opinions about Area Planning as there are aldermen. Several planners point out this fact during the interviews:

City Council is not monolithical in its view of the Area Planning program. There are different factions in Council, or just clusters of opinions; some very supportive, some quite critical ...

Council do not have a collective opinion about anything, much less about LAP, and to understand Council you have to understand the opinions of the individual members.

This can explain the many different ways aldermen view the area planners: Some see the planner as an "unnecessary luxury," others as a "channel to maintain a direct contact with the community," also as a "servant and ask you to take care of complaints made to them," by the public. But more than anything else, the planner is seen as "preventing those delegations to Council, so that when people come to City Council they would have had the benefit of discussions with city staff and the process will be more organized".

A site office planner feels, as do most of the in-house planners, that his role is that of an expert supporting Council.

They expect the program to give them a good handle on how to deal with rezoning applications. In the mind of Council that is, I think, the highest priority.

Whether the planner is in a site office doing "community development," or in-house as an "expert advisor," he/she must remember that the power to make decisions remains with Council. When the planner is out in the community Council may lose its grip on the program and this concerns some

aldermen.

I'm a little concerned about this group's feeling that they should make the decision, and I strongly feel that the decision should be made by the elected people with the input from the people in the Area Planning committee. Generally City Council, at least this City Council, seem to go along with the committee, but Council must reserve the right of final decision.

This statement expresses the attitude of Council; whether the individual alderman is in favour of Area Planning programs or not, their main concern is to retain that power they were elected to exercise.

Planner and citizens are slowly learning this important lesson. As a result, citizen participation is losing its original character of opposition to the government to become, under the guide of the planner, a consultative body that gives politicians the public blessing for their actions.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSIONS

The analysis of the planner's position in Area Planning inevitably leads to some conclusions about the present situation of the Area Planning division in Vancouver. The position an area planner takes in the planning process is largely influenced by the kind of direction and support the division offers to its planners, and at the same time the personal choices of the planners among the conflicting roles they are asked to play affect the direction of the Area Planning Division.

The most striking finding of this research is the declared satisfaction of the area planners, with few exceptions, about the job they are doing. The importance of this finding lies in the fact that according to the conceptual model used in the thesis the planner is the centre of conflicting expectations and the struggle to find a position that allows the planner to deal with this conflict eventually brings the planner to a critical situation. The past history of Area Planning in Vancouver totally supports this theory. None of the planners that started a planning program in a site office has so far remained in this position for the length of the program; with only one exception, these area planners have also left the Planning Department.

The interpretation of the present planners' satisfaction offers some interesting indications about the present development of Area Planning in Vancouver. The planners' satisfaction seems to be directly associated with the bureaucratic approach to Area Planning the planners seem to prefer. By using a bureaucratic approach the planners deny the conflict associated with their position in the Area Planning process. The area planners simply see themselves as city employees working from a decentralized base and their actions reflect the desires of City Council and the city bureaucracy. The

planner justifies a disregard for other roles expectations by using the independent position the terms of reference allow the planner to take. By making their position coincide with that of the Planning Department area planners protect themselves and make their job "just a job".

This trend in the Area Planning Division has encouraged planners from other divisions, who previously considered Area Planning too radical, to move in with the intent of expanding their experience so as to qualify for future promotions to managerial positions. Their presence accelerates the change in direction of the Area Planning Division. As more city planners using a bureaucratic approach entered the division the young, idealistic and radical planners that characterized Area Planning at its origins leave because they find the atmosphere impossible.

A closer look at the history of Area Planning in Vancouver reveals the details of its development, from a proposed innovative approach to planning, to planning within the bureaucratic structure from a decentralized basis. Area Planning was introduced in Vancouver by TEAM, a party advocating political renewal in the city. Only a few years later the same party seem to be much less concerned about changing things and thus non-supportive of the original approach proposed for Area Planning. The political events in Vancouver must be seen in the Canadian perspective considering the general change in the country towards a more conservative society.

Although TEAM swept to power with Area Planning as part of its political platform, the newly elected Council with a TEAM majority never endorsed the Local Area Planning report introducing Area Planning in Vancouver. Following the West End experience it was decided that the Planning Department should have sole responsibility for management of Area Planning programs. This allowed the program to be more efficient, but the

conflict among civic departments was merely transferred from the site office, where representatives of different departments had been working together, to the interdepartmental level. The introduction of the federal NIP program allowed the Area Planning Division to gain the strength of numbers but has changed the division into a large body that needs to be run bureaucratically. This has led the division further away from its original ideals. The in-house group has grown from one planner and two assistants in 1975 to a senior planner in a supervisory capacity, four planners and three assistants at the present time. In addition the Area Planning Division includes and is responsible for the staff administering the RRAP program, presently 17 persons. In this situation the site office planners have become a minority. They feel isolated, and it becomes more difficult for them to identify with the division from which they receive little support. As the number of the in-house planners increases, the Area Planning Division becomes more directly accountable to Council, reacting to Council requests rather than imposing itself as an alternative planning approach.

As the number of NIP programs accumulates in front of the senior area planner, he has less time left for considering policies for Area Planning and becomes more of an administrator making sure that no money is lost. After the initial planning stage in NIP the administrative function of the planner is also emphasized.

There are other factors contributing to isolate the planners in site offices from one another as well as from the rest of the Division; NIP programs are directly competing with each other to get whatever resources and attention the other departments can give them.

The takeover by NIP of the Vancouver Area Planning Division has also meant that areas more in need of concentrated planning effort have been

largely ignored since NIP programs are directed almost entirely toward stable residential neighbourhoods. This has also meant that the planners implementing NIP have emphasized the role of community worker with which they are not necessarily familiar. While performing this activity for which they have generally received no training they enter into conflict with the Social Planning Department and all other civic departments they are trying to represent at the local level. To get the maximum co-operation from the other reluctant departments, the area planner learns to carefully avoid controversial issues, trying to adapt the Area Planning program to the structure of the bureaucratic system in which he/she operates. The job of the planner at this point consists of "educating the committee" to the civic process. This educative process in the present circumstances means teaching the community to work within the present system. If the committee chooses to ask for something more or different, the planners can fall back on the independent role established in the terms of reference leaving the local planning committee to take a different position on its own. As a result the planning committee learns to work with the bureaucratic system by asking only for what is acceptable to the civic organization.

Although several planners expressed the opinion that their function in the community is to make the system more equitable by redistributing civic resources, all they are actually doing is convincing people to work harder to get what is already due to them.

As the planners that realize that Area Planning is not pursuing its original objectives leave the division, fewer are left to remind the other planners what Area Planning was intended to be. The planners that remain find the bureaucratic structure more comfortable because it denies many of the planner's conflicts among roles. The price paid for successfully

overcoming the planner's conflict among different role expectations is the demise of the Area Planning concept and substitution of a more traditional bureaucratic approach to planning from a decentralized basis.

This analysis illustrated the mechanism through which the objectives of Area Planning have been diluted. The failure by Council to endorse the 1973 Local Area Planning report was a significant step in this direction. The report itself clearly spelled out the need for a strong commitment from Council as a prerequisite for the successful implementation of local area planning. The lack of this commitment must be taken as an indication of the general attitude used by city hall in dealing with Area Planning. Although accepted as part of city government, Area Planning was never given the chance to develop on its own merits, and slowly the complex bureaucratic machinery has managed to reduce this new approach to planning to a mere extension of itself.

The present situation of Area Planning in Vancouver seems to satisfy all sides; general approval for Area Planning was expressed at the conference of LAP and NIP committees held in Vancouver in November 1977. The reasons why the Planning Department is satisfied with the Area Planning situation have been already discussed. The citizens are not much interested in Area Planning and public participation in general at the present time. Most of the representatives of the public participating in the conference mentioned above were members of planning committees and as such were not about to look in the mouth of the gift horse; they in fact considered themselves privileged just for getting the Area Planning programs. There are few complaints from the rest of the public because little civic money is spent in these programs whose purpose is to improve the physical conditions in the city. For the same reason city aldermen do not object to the programs

even if they do not support the principle of Area Planning.

If all parties involved support the way Area Planning is presently operating, there would seem to be no need for change in the present direction of Area Planning. In spite of this, some factors that will affect the future of Area Planning must be considered. The federal government has recently announced that the NIP program will be replaced with direct allocation of federal funds to the city on a per capita basis. Given the present trend in city hall policies it is easy to predict that these funds will be evenly distributed throughout the city and the Area Planning Division will probably administer this distribution. By spreading funds and resources evenly throughout the city Area Planning will move further away from its original principles to the point of effectively denying them through its activities.

It is easy to forecast for the near future a renewed interest in public participation in planning. At some point citizens will realize that their involvement has been more tokenism than effective participation in the decision-making process. They will see Area Planning as the instrument with which they have been deceived and fight against the Area Planning Division and the existing civic approach. At that point city politicians and their civil servants will again, a decade later, be facing the problem of people wanting to participate and accusing them of having already missed a good chance.

The present renewed interest in the organization of the city of Vancouver into electoral wards may be seen as an indication of rising support for decentralized government of the city. One can quickly dismiss the on-going discussion on the ward system by identifying the strong supporters of the proposed reorganization of the city with those politicians or would-be politicians that see a different organization of the electoral

body working to their advantage, and by the same reasoning politicians strongly opposed to it would be the ones that see the present system working to their advantage. Even if this interpretation is correct, the ward system debate could be the issue that would stir up the stagnant atmosphere presently affecting city politics. Area Planning has contributed to make the ward system a possibility by showing Council some of the positive aspects of decentralized government and translating into practice some aspects of this alternative organization of the city.

Area Planning should continue to advocate a decentralized form of government by approaching planning issues on both city-wide and local levels, and should encourage City Council to make decisions on this basis. The Planning Department should also use all means available to encourage the other city departments to use the same approach, offering the services of the planner in the local area to bring up the position of the local community on that issue. This form of city management would reinforce the pluralistic approach to planning suggested by Davidoff by extending it to other civic departments, thus making the contribution of the local community more effective. In this context the planner will contribute to a pluralistic decision-making process by advocating the position of the community on the various issues by which it is affected.

To be able to take this leading role, the Area Planning Division and the Planning Department must be able to define their goals and objectives more clearly than they are doing now, commit themselves to those objectives and obtain the support from Council for the policies needed to achieve those objectives. In order to define its position the Area Planning Division must initiate a discussion about its function inside the Planning Department and outside. Only from such self-criticism will the area planners

be able to advocate this renovated Area Planning approach.

One possible way to encourage the discussion on Area Planning is the creation of an informal structure that would allow members of other civic departments to participate. This participation could be obtained by either getting other departments involved or by "reaching out" to obtain their support and co-operation.

Area Planning will survive if it will be able to come out in the open and ask for the funds needed to develop new LAP programs instead of simply accepting the role of administrator of city-wide programs. The present situation in Vancouver offers to the Area Planning Division the ideal footing for a fresh new start. As NIP programs are completed and phased out the Area Planning Division must come out with an alternative to present to City Council. This alternative should be represented by more LAP programs, based on the original Area Planning objectives adapted to the present situation in Vancouver and the experience of the past years of Area Planning.

Hastings-Sunrise is a local area of Vancouver in desperate need of civic attention. For years this need has been recognized but, although at the top of the list of priority areas, Hastings-Sunrise has for various reasons not been granted an Area Planning program. In 1977, when selecting another local area for the last NIP program, Council promised yet another time that Hastings-Sunrise will be the next target for Area Planning. It is a promise Council should find very difficult to ignore and the Area Planning Division should take advantage of the situation by asking for funds for the implementation of an LAP program.

The approval of this program should be used as a precedent for more LAP programs in areas of the city more in need of planning and it should represent the first step in the renewed Area Planning activity in Vancouver.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ackoff, R.L. Redesigning the Future: A System Approach to Societal Problems. Wiley, New York, 1974.
- Adam, W. Herbert. "Management under Conditions of Decentralization and Citizens Participation," Public Administration Review, October 1972.
- Aleshire, A. Robert. "Planning and Citizen Participation," Urban Affairs Quarterly, 5 (June 1970): 369-393.
- Alterman, Rachel and J.E. Page. "The Obiquity of Values and the Planning Process," Plan Canada, 13 (July 1973).
- Anderson, Grant. The Local Area Planner in Canada: 1976. M.A. Thesis, University of Waterloo, Faculty of Environmental Studies, School of Urban and Regional Planning, June 1976.
- Anderson, Grant. "Local Area Planning: The Dream and the Reality," City Magazine, 11:7 (March 1977): 35-43.
- Arnstein, Sherry. "A Ladder of Citizen Participation," J.A.I.P., July 1969, pp. 216-224.
- Arnstein, Sherry. "Maximum Feasible Manipulation," Public Administration Review, 32 (September): 377-402.
- Barnard, Peter Associates. Introduction to the Rehabilitation Process. November 1973. A report prepared for C.M.H.C.
- Barr, Donald A. "The Professional Urban Planner," J.A.I.P., 38:3 (May 1973): 155-159.
- Bates, Frederick L. "Position, Role and Status: A Reformulation of Concepts," Social Forces, 34:4 (May 1956). North Carolina State College.
- Beckman, Norman. "The Planner as a Bureaucrat," J.A.I.P., November 1964.
- Berger, Earl, et al. Local Orientation and Identification Study. Haldiman Norfolk Study, Volume 1, 1971. Ontario Department of Municipal Affairs, Toronto, Queen's Printer.
- Biddle, Bruce J. and E.J. Thomas. Role Theory: Concepts and Research. Wiley, New York, 1966.
- Bolan, S. Richard. "Community Decision Behavior: The Culture of Planning," J.A.I.P., September 1969, pp. 301-310.
- Bolan, S. Richard. "The Social Relations of the Planner," J.A.I.P., November 1971, pp. 386-389.

- Brooks, Michael P. Social Planning and City Planning. Planning Advisory Service Report No. 261. (American Society of Planning Officials, Chicago, September 1970, p. 42.
- Burke, Edmond M. "Citizen Participation Strategies," J.A.I.P., 34 (Sept. 1978): 287-294.
- Campbell, Aileen. "West End Planning Co-ordinator Quits," Vancouver Province, July 19, 1974.
- Clark, Ron. "Planners as a Profession," The City Book: The Planning and Policies of Canada's Cities, James Lorimer and Evelyn Ross (eds), 1976.
- Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation. Information: Community Services Grant Program, May 1978.
- Cole, Richard L. Citizen Participation and the Urban Policy Process. Lexington Books, Lexington, Mass., 1974.
- Collier, Robert W. "Charting Community Goals: The Role of Citizen Participation," Community Planning Review, 18:3 (Fall 1968): 20-22.
- Connor, D.M. "From Partisans to Partners," Community Planning Review, 22:1 (1972): 15-16.
- Cooperstock, Aryeh. "The New Religion of Citizen Participation," Habitat, 14:3 (1971).
- Corey, Kenneth E. "Structures in the Planning of Community Change: A Personal Construct," in W.G. Bennis, et al., Planning of Change, 1976, pp. 265-275.
- Craig, Pamela. "Planner Profile '76," in Canadian Institute of Planners Forum, August. Presented at the Annual Conference, Toronto, June 1977.
- Daland, Robert T. and John A. Parker. Urban Growth Dynamics in a Regional Cluster of Cities. Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina, 1960.
- Davidoff, Paul. "Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning," J.A.I.P. (1965), pp. 331-338.
- Davidoff, Paul and Thomas Reiner. "A Choice Theory of Planning," J.A.I.P. 28 (1962): 108-115.
- Desmond, M. Connor. "Constructive Citizen Participation," Community Planning Review, 22:1 (1972): 19-20.
- Draper, A. James (ed). Citizen Participation in Canada. Toronto, 1971.
- Egan, Maurice. "Social Planning in Vancouver," Plan Canada, Spring 1977.

- Eversley, David. The Planner in Society (The Changing Role of a Profession). Faber and Faber, London, 1973.
- Finkler, Earl. Dissent and Independent Initiative in Planning Offices. Report No. 269, ASPO Planning Advisory Service, May 1971.
- Firmalino, Tito Castro. Citizen Participation in Selected Planning Programs: A Case Study of New Westminster. M.A. in Community and Regional Planning, University of B.C., Vancouver, 1968.
- Flakstad, Nordahl. "Storefront Scheme Puts Planners on the Street," Vancouver Sun, May 24, 1973.
- Fraser, Graham. Fighting Back: Urban Renewal in Trefan Court. A.M. Hakkert, Toronto, 1972.
- Frederickson, G. Neighbourhood Control in the Seventies. Chandler, 1973.
- Friedmann, J. "Notes on Societal Action," J.A.I.P., 35:5 (September 1969): 311-319.
- Friedmann, J. "The Future of Comprehensive Planning: A Critique," Public Administration Review, May/June 1971.
- Gale, Stephen and Eric G. Moore. The Manipulated. Maaroufa Press, Chicago, 1975.
- Gardner, John W. Self-Renewal, The Individual and the Innovative Society. Harper & Row, Publishers, New York, Evanston and London.
- Gardner, Lindsey and Elliot Aronson. The Handbook of Social Psychology. Second Edition, 1968, v. 3, University of Texas.
- Gerecke, J.K. The Practice of Urban Planning in Canada. M.A. Thesis in Community and Regional Planning, University of B.C., Vancouver, 1971.
- Getzels, J.W. and E.G. Guba. "Role, Role Conflict, and Effectiveness: An Empirical Study," American Sociological Review, 19:2 (April 1954).
- Gutstein, Donald. Vancouver Ltd. James Lorimer, Toronto, 1975.
- Gutstein, Donald. "Neighbourhood Improvement: What it means to Calgary, Vancouver and Toronto," The City Book: The Planning and Policies of Canada's Cities, James Lorimer and Evelyn Ross (eds), 1976.
- Hart, David K. "Theories of Government Related to Decentralization and Citizen Participation," Public Administration Review, October 1972.
- Hearn, Christine. "Store Open for Business of Getting Opinions," Vancouver Sun, June 1974.
- Hicks, Helga Maria. Citizen Participation in Neighbourhood Rehabilitation. A pilot study of a sample area (Lower Mount Pleasant).

- Hirten, E. John. "The Planner as a Professional," J.A.I.P., December 1977.
- Johnson, Eve. "Riley Park: N.I.P. in Action; How does a community decide what to buy with 1.9 million dollars?" Vancouver Urban Reader, 5:2 (1977).
- Keies, L.C. and E. Teitcher. "Limitations of Advocacy Planning," J.A.I.P., 36:4 (July 1970): 225-226.
- Kasperson, E. Roger and Myrna Breitbart. Participation, Decentralization, and Advocacy Planning. Resource Paper No. 25, Association of American Geographers. Washington, D.C., 1974.
- Kasperson, E. Roger. "Participating in Public Affairs: Theories and Issues," in R.E. Kasperson and M. Breitbart, Participation, Decentralization and Advocacy Planning, pp. 1-10.
- Lang, Reg and John Page. "Educational Background of Canadian Planners," Canadian Institute of Planners Forum, June 1977.
- Lindsey, A.D. The Modern Democratic State. Oxford University Press, London, 1943.
- Lorimer, James A. The Real World of City Politics. Lewis and Samuel, Toronto, 1970.
- Marcuse, Peter. "Professional Ethics and Beyond: Values in Planning," J.A.I.P., 42:3 (July 1976): 264-274.
- Martin, Bo R. Citizen Participation: Its Structure and Distribution Among Various Socio-economic Groups. M.A. Thesis in Community and Regional Planning, University of B.C., Vancouver, 1973.
- Merton, Robert K. Social Theory and Social Structure. New York Free Press, 1968.
- Mosher, Frederick C. "The Public Service in the Temporary Society," Public Administration Review, January-February 1971.
- Nader, Ralph. "The Professional Responsibilities of a Professional Society," keynote speech at the Annual Conference of the AIP, Minneapolis, Minnesota, October 18, 1970.
- Nader, Ralph. "A Code for Professional Integrity," New York Times, January 15, 1971, p. 43.
- Needleman, M.L. Planning Against Itself: The Community Planning Experiment in the United States. Ph.D. dissertation at the State University of New York at Buffalo, 1972.
- Needleman, Martin L. and Emerson Carolin Needleman. Guerillas in the Bureaucracy. John Wiley, 1974.
- NIP Operator's Handbook. CMHC and the Province of B.C. June 1975.

Oberfeld, Harvey. "Council 'backs down' on Area Planning Promises," Vancouver Sun, July 19, 1974.

Peattie, Lisa. "Drama and Advocacy Planning," J.A.I.P., 36:6 (November 1970): 405-410.

Perry, Ross Oliver. The Conditioning of the Municipal Planning Team for Administrative Decentralization: In Anticipation of Local Area Planning in the City of Vancouver. M.A. Thesis, Community and Regional Planning, University of B.C., Vancouver, 1974.

Perryman, Gavin Nicholas. The Functions of Evaluation Research in Citizen Participation Programs. M.A. Thesis, Community and Regional Planning, University of B.C., Vancouver, 1975.

Pickergill, I.W. "Bureaucrats and Politicians," Canadian Public Administration, Vol. 15, 1972.

Ptarmigan Planning Associates. Strathcona Rehabilitation Project, Stage II - Evaluation.

Rein, Martin. "Decentralization and Citizen Participation in Social Services," Public Administration Review, October 1972, pp. 687-7000.

Ruddy, Jon and Alan Edmonds. "We Can Save our Cities," Maclean's, January 1971.

Singer, Ronald. "The Planner as Value Neutral: A Useless Myth?" Plan Canada, 11:2 (September 1971).

Smith, David. Monitoring Report on the Public Participation Program of the GVRD.

Solnit, Albert. The Job of the Planning Commissioner. A Guide to Citizen Participation in Local Planning, University of California, 1974.

Spaxman, J. Ray (Director of Planning). Memo to Mayor A. Phillips, Vancouver City Hall, July 25, 1974.

Spiegel, Hans B.C. Citizen Participation in Urban Development. Center for Community Affairs, NTL Institute for Applied Behavioral Sciences, 1968.

Spiegel, H. and S. Mitterenthal. Neighbourhood Power and Control - Implications for Urban Planning. Columbia School of Architecture, New York, 1968.

Stone, Robert Little. Local Area Planning: A Process of Conflict Resolution in Provincial/Municipal Land Use Disputes. M.A. Thesis, Community and Regional Planning, University of B.C., Vancouver, 1976.

- Vancouver City Planning Department. Minutes of Vancouver City Local Area Planning and Neighbourhood Improvement Planning Committee Conference. October 23, 1977.
- Vancouver City Planning Department. Local Area Planning, June 1973.
- Vancouver City Planning Department. Internal Memo, Pickstone, May 1973.
- Vancouver City Planning Department. Evaluation of the Planning Department, October 1973.
- Vancouver City Planning Department. Shaping the Future, Annual Review, February 1974.
- Vancouver City Planning Department. Annual Review, 1977/78, January 1978.
- Vancouver City Planning Department. Local Area Planning: A Review, January 1977.
- Vancouver City Planning Department. A Review of Local Area Planning, report for discussion, September 1977.
- Vancouver City Planning Department. Review of Local Area Planning (draft), April 1978. Report Back on Consultation with Public, to City Manager (for Standing Committee on Planning and Development).
- Vancouver Sun. "West End Planning Team Lost Touch with Citizens," July 22, 1974.
- Vancouver Sun. "Asking for Trouble," July 25, 1974.
- Vancouver Sun. "Grandview Area Gets Planning Body," January 14, 1976.
- Vancouver Sun. "Local Area Planner Quits After City Hall Hassling," December 18, 1975.
- Van Loon, Richard J. and Michael S. Whittington. The Canadian Political System: Environment, Structure and Process. McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1971.
- Van Till, J. and S. Van Till. "Citizen Participation in Social Policy: The End of the Cycle," Cities in Change, Allyn and Bacon, Boston, 1973.
- Wronski, W. "The Public Servant and Protest Groups," Canadian Public Administration, Vol. 14, 1971.
- Ylvisaker, Paul. "Utter Chaos or Simple Complexity," American Society of Planning Officials, Chicago, Illinois, 1970, pp. 6-16.
- Yates, Douglas T. Neighbourhood Democracy: The Politics and Impact of Decentralization. Lexbooks, Lexington, Mass., 1973.

APPENDIX I

PLANNER'S INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

JOB DESCRIPTION

How would you describe your job?

Can you group your activities under one of the following headings?

NIP LAP Issue Monitor

Who are you accountable to?

Does your accountability change for each group of activities?

What rules, regulations, are you supposed to follow?

Do they differ for each group of activities?

SCOPE, OBJECTIVES

What are the objectives of your job?

Do they differ for each group of activities?

Are they clearly defined?

How successful is the program in achieving them?

Who defines the objectives and how?

What are the objectives of the Area Planning division?

GUIDELINES

What guidelines do you have to follow?

Who imposes the guidelines?

How rigid are the guidelines?

How do they affect the planning process?

How does your job relate to city planning?

Do you perceive any problem between the two?

DURATION OF PROGRAM

What is the duration of the program(s)?

Do you feel comfortable with the amount of time assigned to the program(s)?

Do you have deadlines to meet?

What is the impact of deadlines on the program?

What problems are associated with deadlines?

What are the advantages, disadvantages, limitations of the deadlines?

FINANCING

How is the program(s) financed?

Who controls the funds?

How are the funds allocated?

How does the funding affect the planning process (participation, effectiveness)?

ROLE DEFINERS

Which groups, individuals, agencies, departments do you deal with?
(Specify for each group of activities.)

What type of work relation do you develop with them? (If changing, why and how.)

How do they see you?
 What do they expect from you?
 How do you react to them?
 Do they have conflicting expectations?
 How do you deal with conflicts?
 Are you satisfied with the way conflicts are solved?
 How is your activity affected by other participants?
 Does political pressure modify your views?
 What other pressures modify your views?

RESIDENTS INPUT

How do you encourage residents to participate?
 Who are the residents that do participate?
 Are they representative of the community?
 What is the input of residents in the final plan (report)?
 Do residents plan ahead for themselves or simply react to external proposals?
 How do you find out about community position on specific issues?
 Should residents have veto power?

LOCATION

How does the location of your office affect your performance?
 What is the impact of the site office on the program?
 What are the advantages/disadvantages of your working location?

PERSONAL

Date of birth.
 Where raised?
 Marital status.
 Education (specify what bachelor degree)
 Position in the Planning Department.
 Work experience (total, years with the city, Planning Department, this job)
 How many hours do you work every week?
 How is your time allocated?
 What are your job expectations?
 Is this job meeting your expectations? To what extent? Why not?
 What would you like to see changed in order to meet your expectations?
 What other profession would you choose?
 Are you satisfied with your performance?
 Do you feel that results compensate the amount of work you put into it?
 What factors are limiting your performance?
 What is the biggest problem with your job?
 How much do you feel you can influence city officials?
 How do you see yourself as a planner?
 Do you think planners should concern themselves only with physical aspects of city development?
 What are the qualities of a good area planner?
 What do you think is the planner's proper role in the city's decision making process?
 Is there anything else you would like to talk about?

APPENDIX II

DIRECTOR'S INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Briefly describe Area Planning activities.

How do you define Area Planning problems, priorities, objectives?

Can you define the boundaries between Area Planning and other planning issues?

Do you see the Area Planning division as a unit? Relation between various components.

Do you think the Area Planning activities can be classified under the following categories: LAP, NIP, Issue, Monitor? Differences?

What are the objectives for each group of Area Planning activities?

What guidelines must the planner follow?

How is the planning process affected by the guidelines?

What is the timeframe for the different programs?

What are the effects of deadlines, advantages and disadvantages?

What is the effect of different financial arrangements (formulas) on Area Planning (different programs)?

"The planner has to establish a fairly independent role ..."

How should the word independent be interpreted?

What are the characteristics that make a good area planner?

What characteristics are you looking for in the new planner for Grandview Woodland.

Who are the actors in the Area Planning process?

Are they different for each group of activities?

What do you see as the major problem in their interaction process?

Do they have conflicting expectations?

How are their expectations reconciled?

Is the solution to the conflict satisfactory?

Is the planner acting on his own?

What support does he get from the division (department)?

Are you satisfied with the quality of citizen input in Area Planning?

If not, what should be done to improve citizen participation?

To what extent are the community views represented by people involved?

How is the Area Planning process affected by location of the planner?

Is there anything unique to the Area Planning approach?

APPENDIX III

CIVIC DEPARTMENTS INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

How do you see Area Planning in the context of city planning?
Which Area Planning activities are you involved in?
How is your department involved in the Area Planning process?
What kind of relation do you develop with area planners?
What is your relation with Area Planning committees?
From your position, what do you see as positive aspects of Area Planning and what as negative?
What do you see as major problems in your interaction with Area Planning programs?
What would you like to see the area planner and program do?
What do you think are the objectives of Area Planning?
What do you think they should be?
What do you think is the impact of the site office on the program?

APPENDIX IV

ALDERMEN'S INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

What is the rationale for Area Planning?

When and how did you become involved in Area Planning?

Were you familiar with the Area Planning concept before?

How do you presently see Area Planning in the more general planning context?

Have your views changed about Area Planning?

Who is part of the Area Planning process?

What do you see as the positive/negative aspects of Area Planning?

What is the function of the planner in the community?

What kind of working relationship have you developed with the planner?

What do you see as the proper role of the area planner?

Who is the planner accountable to?

How do you think the site office is affecting the planner and the program?

What should the ideal length of the Area Planning program be?

APPENDIX V

COMMITTEE MEMBER'S INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

When and how did you get involved in Area Planning?
Who is part of the Area Planning process?
What is the function of City Council in Area Planning?
What do you see as the objectives for Area Planning?
What do you think they should be?
What kind of guidelines do you have in Area Planning?
How they affect the process?
How do length of the program and deadlines, affect the planning process?
How are the present financing arrangements influencing the program?
What do you think of the site office location?
What is the residents' input in the planning process?
How do you relate to the planner?
What is the planner's role in Area Planning?
How independent is the planner in developing the program?
What do you see as the major problems of the planner?
Who is the planner accountable to?
How do you see Area Planning in the more general planning context?

APPENDIX VI

LIST OF BRIEFS AND SUBMISSIONS BY CITIZENS, CITIZEN GROUPS, AND OTHER PUBLIC AGENCIES IN RESPONSE TO THE "LOCAL AREA PLANNING REVIEW":

1. Champlain Heights Planning Advisory Committee
2. Charles Christopherson, Resident, Mt. Pleasant
3. Kitsilano Citizens Planning Committee
4. Roy Blunden, Resident, Grandview-Woodland Area
5. Pt. Grey Road (North Side) and Cameron Avenue Ratepayers Association
6. Kiwassa N.I.P. Committee
7. Jericho Area Citizens Association
8. Fairview Resident Owners Association
9. Mt. Pleasant N.I.P. Committee
10. Riley Park N.I.P. Committee
11. Cedar Cottage N.I.P. Committee
12. Vancouver Heritage Advisory Committee
13. Howard Cohen, Chief Planner, Toronto Planning Board
14. B.C. Department of Municipal Affairs and Housing
15. Vancouver School Board
16. Vancouver City Planning Commission
17. U.B.C. School of Social Work - Class 543