

CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN SELECTED PLANNING PROGRAMS:
A CASE STUDY OF NEW WESTMINSTER

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates citizen participation in the planning process in a Canadian city. The city selected for this research is New Westminster. It was chosen principally because of its relatively small size, its accessibility to the researcher, and the researcher's familiarity with the conditions therein.

The study is focussed on two aspects of citizen participation. The first aspect deals with the factors that motivate citizens to participate actively in government affairs. It is hypothesized that possession of wealth and high social status and the intense feeling of need for a project or service are motivational forces that can influence the citizen toward greater or more active participation. The second aspect concerns the style and scope of participation which are analyzed along the three levels of choice in the planning process, described by Paul Davidoff and Thomas A. Reiner in their article which appeared in the Journal of the American Institute of Planners in May, 1962. These three levels of choice are: (1) determination of goals or ends, (2) selection of alternatives to achieve the desired ends, and (3) effectuation.

The method used in this study is a combination of the case study approach and a survey of selected leaders and citizens on welfare. The period reviewed covered about a decade, from 1957 to 1967. The background of two of the case studies started as early as 1952. The three case studies involved the

following problems: (1) the downtown parking ramp, (2) the Queensborough drainage and sewage disposal problem, and (3) the redevelopment of Area 4.

The findings show that the citizens most active in contacting City officials for the support or implementation of projects were generally the property owners, businessmen, and leaders of private organizations. The intense feeling of need for the project was indicated by the sustained effort and persistent demand of the leaders of certain associations for the implementation of such project over a long period of time.

The pattern of citizen participation in the affairs of the City was mostly through groups and organizations. These organizations aggregated the demands of like-minded citizens who discussed problems in meetings and arrived at a common understanding as to what course to take. The case studies show that the citizens actively participated in all stages of the planning process of the programs in which they were involved.

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I am indebted to J. Barry Chaster, Don Barcham, and to the other members of the planning staff of New Westminster for the use of their facilities and for the reports on urban renewal and other pertinent records which they made available. The City Clerk, Peter Larkin, also allowed me the use of important reports and documents in his file. The staff of the New Westminster Library led me to their own collection of newspaper clippings, microfilms, and historical writings about New Westminster. The administrator of the Social Welfare Department, G. Alex Jones, assisted me in selecting my sample from the welfare group.

Thanks are due to Harold Wilcox and to his wife for allowing me to take home their vast file of the minutes of the Queensborough Ratepayers Association; to John (Jack) Buliung for offering me his own collection of the minutes of the Downtown Business and Property Owners' Association; to Max Shiles for giving me additional information about the downtown parking ramp and for reserving a space for me in his office where I did some research work; and to Morven Ewan, chief sanitary inspector of the Health Department, for his material on the health problems of Queensborough.

I am equally grateful to the City officials, to the leaders of private organizations, to persons on welfare, and to all who, in one way or another, furnished the much needed facts and information about their own activities concerning City programs and projects. Some of the informants guided me to the primary sources of the data.

Finally, I must acknowledge my gratitude to the External Aid Office of Ottawa and to the University of the Philippines for providing me an opportunity to pursue a graduate program in Community and Regional Planning at the University of British Columbia.

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Chapter I

THE STUDY AND THE METHODOLOGY

Introduction¹

Early studies on citizen participation in the affairs of government in the United States generally laid emphasis on the electoral arena. Through public opinion polls, the voter's preferences, his perception of issues, and his party loyalties were determined. Typical of these studies are those done by Paul Lazarsfeld, et al.,² Bernard Berelson, et al.,³ and Angus Campbell, et al..⁴ Elmo Roper and Associates also interviewed in the 1940's a large national sample of 8,000 adults to determine the nature of the political activities of American citizens. Their findings revealed that 75 percent of the sample claimed to have voted only once in four years preceding the interview and 21 percent discussed public issues with others.⁵

¹Discussion under this topic deals with government in general. However, the focus of this research will be on citizen participation at the city level.

²Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard R. Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet, The People's Choice (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948).

³Bernard R. Berelson, Paul F. Lazarsfeld and William N. McPhee, Voting (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954).

⁴Angus Campbell, Gerald Gurin, and Warren E. Miller, The Voter Decides (Evanston, Ill; Row Peterson, 1954).

⁵Fred I. Greenstein, The American Party System and the American People (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963), p. 11.

Election statistics have likewise been analyzed to understand voting behavior. Turnouts in the elections have shown a considerable number of American citizens who are non-voters, confirming the earlier reports of Roper and Associates. Donald Foley notes that in "most American municipal elections only about 30 to 40 percent of the electorate actually vote."⁶ Joseph D. Lohman, speaking of public apathy, deplores the fact that one witnesses in each election the "recurrent campaigns to bring out the vote and the deadening spectacle of voters who seem not to care."⁷

With respect to city governments, Foley ascribes the general disinterest in voting to the citizens' "pervasive feeling" that the government at this level is mainly engaged in "civic housekeeping functions," which is largely non-partisan.⁸ This explanation of Foley seems to echo the observation of Elihu Root who, over half a century ago, said:

A large part of mankind still regard government as something quite apart from the main business of life...something which is undoubtedly necessary to enable them to attend to their business, but only incidental or accessory to it. They plough and sow

⁶Donald Foley, "Citizen Participation in American City Planning," Community Development, No. 9 (Rome, 1962), p. 37.

⁷Joseph D. Lohman, "Political Apathy--Functions of Urban Transition," Warren Dunham, ed., The City in Mid-Century (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1957), p. 198.

⁸Foley, loc. cit.

and harvest; they manufacture and buy and sell; they practice the professions and the arts; they write and preach; they work and they play, under a subconscious impression that government is something outside all this real business....a function to be performed by someone else with whom they have little or no concern, as the janitor of any apartment house, whom somebody or other has hired to keep out thieves and keep the furnace running.⁹

However, voting is only one aspect of citizen participation in the governmental process. A higher percentage of turnout in elections is certainly not a valid assurance that a responsive and efficient administration will follow. In a government like that of Canada and the United States, the citizens are afforded a wide range of opportunities to express their wishes and to hold those in power accountable for their official performance. Meetings of the city council and of the planning commission in most, if not all, cities of these two countries are generally open to the public.

Later investigations on public participation have underlined the importance of enlarging the role of citizens in the decision-making process as well as in planning and in urban renewal. Organizations of citizens have been consulted by city officials in major programs and city projects. For instance, the San Francisco Planning and Urban Renewal Association (SPUR) with some 800 members has tried "to support imaginative urban planning" and even "to undertake planning

⁹Elihu Root, The Citizen's Part in Government (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1907), p. 5.

studies" in San Francisco.¹⁰ Although the Community Conference in Chicago played a somewhat "passive" role, it was able to obtain a "mass base of support which facilitated the planning process and the acceptance of the Final Plan" in the neighborhood of Hyde Park-Kenwood.¹¹ In Philadelphia, the citizen committees made an "independent citizen analysis" of the municipal improvement program costing about one billion dollars.¹² Continuing and concerted citizen involvement in planning "has permitted the city council" in Philadelphia "to approve the passage of every major planning proposal brought before it during the past seventeen years."¹³ These are but a few examples of how citizens' efforts and resources have been harnessed to enhance public acceptance of plans and programs.

From the experiences cited, it is clear that citizen participation can play a very vital role in the planning

¹⁰John I. Hirten, "The Citizen--Client and Consultant," American Society of Planning Officials, Planning 1965 (Chicago: American Society of Planning Officials, 1965), p. 158.

¹¹Peter H. Rossi and Robert A. Dentler, The Politics of Urban Renewal (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961), p. 286.

¹²Aaron Levine, "People and the Plan," American Society of Planning Officials, Planning 1965 (Chicago: American Society of Planning Officials, 1965), p. 123.

¹³Aaron Levine, "Citizen Participaton," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, XXVI, No. 3 (August, 1960), p. 196.

process. A number of planners have in fact advocated the idea of citizen involvement and have presented convincing arguments to support their stand. First, there is the need for information about public preferences and behavior "to ensure that the planners' recommendations...are consonant with public needs and wants."¹⁴ Second, plans almost always require the expenditure of public funds.¹⁵ They may require the passing of money bylaws or the exercise of the power of eminent domain to acquire private property for public use. Third, possible objections must be overcome, for resistance to government programs, especially urban renewal, can be very costly.¹⁶ Finally, planners as public servants have to communicate with the different publics--key groups, association leaders and the citizenry at large.¹⁷ Certainly there are other cogent reasons such as the legal requirement of conducting public hearings before urban renewal programs can be

¹⁴William B. Shore "Regional Planning and Public Consultation," American Society of Planning Officials, Planning, 1965 (Chicago: American Society of Planning Officials, 1965), p. 157.

¹⁵Bert E. Swanson, "Planners, Community Power, and Political Regime," American Institute of Planners, Proceedings of the 1964 Annual Conference (Newark: August, 1964), p. 234.

¹⁶Peter H. Rossi and Robert A. Dentler, The Politics of Urban Renewal (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961), p. 1.

¹⁷Morris Janowitz, Deil Wright, and William Delany, Public Administration and the Public Perspective Toward Government in a Metropolitan Community (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1958), p. 85.

initiated and also the political necessity of broadening the base of support, if a program is to survive.¹⁸ Above all is the feeling that "best communities will develop where interested and enlightened citizens share in the planning decisions."¹⁹

The Problem

Almost all of the cases discussed are in the United States. Very little is known about citizen activities in Canadian cities, except what is published in the daily newspapers and in non-professional periodicals. Are there active citizen groups similar to SPUR in San Francisco or the Community Conference in Chicago? How interested are the citizens in the affairs of their city government?

This study investigates citizen participation in the planning process in a Canadian city. In this particular case the City of New Westminster has been chosen for a number of reasons. First, the City is accessible by bus transportation from Vancouver (where the researcher is based) and it is relatively small in area. Second, the researcher is personally acquainted with many of the City officials. This was

¹⁸J. Clarence Davies III, Neighborhood Groups and Urban Renewal (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966), p. 206.

¹⁹Community Planning Associations of Canada, The Citizens' Role in Community Planning (Ottawa: Community Planning Associations of Canada, 1967), p. 3.

made possible by his on-the-job training with the Planning Department in the summer of 1967. Knowing the officials is an important asset in this research which is largely dependent on interviews. Third, the researcher has gained some access to certain pertinent material in the City Clerk's office and in other service departments.

In this survey of New Westminster, citizen participation will be traced along the three levels of choice in the planning process as defined by Paul Davidoff and Thomas A. Reiner. These are: (1) the selection of ends or goals, (2) the identification of a set of alternatives or means to achieve the stated ends, and (3) guidance of action or effectuation, that is, directing programs toward intended goals.²⁰

Information about goals for certain services or functions will be sought--how these goals were defined, articulated, and pursued. What alternatives were considered, accepted and rejected? In what stages of the decision-making process did the citizens actively participate? In what style and to what extent?

One significant aspect of citizen activities in relation to government programs or decisions that will be looked

²⁰Paul Davidoff and Thomas A. Reiner, "A Choice Theory of Planning," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, XXVIII, No. 2 (May, 1962), p. 103.

into will be on the question of motivation. What factors make citizens more active participants in deciding City projects and why?

Assumption and Hypothesis

It is assumed in this study that citizen participation is an essential element of the planning process. This assumption derives its support from the various arguments enumerated earlier in favor of citizen involvement in government planning.

The expression "citizen participation" implies the existence of other kinds of participation. Bert E. Swanson recognizes three types of participants in the planning process, namely, the technicians (including planners), the elected public officials, and the community.²¹ Each of the actors "may become active according to the problem or issue and the extent to which their interests are affected by the proposal for changing some aspect of the community."²²

If the assumption is true, then the planners must be interested in knowing what conditions or factors will encourage the citizens to communicate their needs and to suggest alternative approaches to meet them. In short, what motivates people to participate in the planning process? The hypothesis that will be examined is:

²¹Bert E. Swanson, "Planners, Community Power, and Political Regimes," American Institute of Planners, Proceedings of the 1964 Annual Conference (Newark: American Institute of Planners, 1964), p. 237.

²²Ibid.

Participation in the planning process or government programs is motivated by the individual's possession of wealth (property or business) and high status (leadership or social position) and his intense feeling of need for the service or project (as evidenced by persistent demand for the said project).

There are conditions in New Westminster that are likely to maintain this hypothesis. For example, there is the practice of allowing only property owners to vote on the question of money bylaws. The tenants and the non-owners are automatically excluded from this important aspect of public decision. Businessmen and property owners are most directly affected by city development projects such as the widening of the streets, installation of parking facilities and the execution of the urban renewal programs. Individuals occupying high-status positions are often the leaders of associations and business organizations and they may be designated to act as spokesmen of groups, in communicating needs to City officials.

If a person is deprived of some vital necessities in life he usually is motivated to act toward the satisfaction of his needs. Basic human needs are generally physiological in nature. However, studies have shown that some needs can be psychological and the existing deficiencies can be corrected in the environment.²³ Abraham H. Maslow believes that

²³Abraham H. Maslow, Toward a Psychology of Being (Princeton: N.J.: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1962), p. 144.

a man who is deprived of these needs or values would persistently yearn for their gratification.²⁴ The persistent group demand on the local government for the installation of certain service utilities like a water system, sewerage system and street lighting can be a manifestation of Maslow's findings.

Objectives of the Study

Three underlying objectives will guide this research. They are: (1) to determine the extent and style of citizen participation in government programs of New Westminster, (2) to know what major projects were undertaken and at what cost and with how much citizen involvement, and (3) from selected projects or problems, to build up case studies to illustrate activities of the citizens and their decisions. The time period to be investigated will cover about a decade, from 1957, or earlier, to 1967.

These objectives are complementary to the stated hypothesis and they will circumscribe the areas for data collection and interpretation.

Importance of the Study

Although there exists a widespread recognition of citizen participation as a tool in planning, "actual involve-

²⁴Ibid.

ment and genuine participation" has seldom been achieved.²⁵ It is hoped that this study of New Westminster can provide the planner with the much needed insights into this problem.

The case study approach focussing on major decisions concerning projects can highlight the prevailing forces that influence such decisions. Findings of this research can also enrich the teaching process.

Review of Related Literature

A number of books on the subject of citizen participation in the government decision-making process have been published in recent years. This area for behavioral research has attracted sociologists and political scientists who have sought to define the power structure in various types of communities. They aimed at identifying the influential people and looked for the factors that made it possible for the power holders to exercise power.

One notable study of this kind is that by Robert A. Dahl, who made a comprehensive investigation of the political activities in New Haven.²⁶ He was obsessed by one perplexing question: Who governs in the American political system which is characterized by great inequalities in "knowledge, wealth,

²⁵Aaron Levine, "Citizen Participation," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, XXVI, No. 3 (August, 1960), p. 195.

²⁶Robert A. Dahl, Who Governs? (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961).

social position, access to officials, and other resources?"²⁷ Aside from delving into the historical accounts of the changes in the pattern of leadership, he selected some issues to examine the overt participation of the actors involved in the different decisions in New Haven. The issue areas were urban redevelopment, public education and political nominations.

The findings indicated that the mass of citizens were not involved in most of the decisions. Only the top leaders of the major political parties would nominate their mayoralty candidates.²⁸ In the redevelopment program, the mayor and his redevelopment team principally assumed the initiating and the coordinating functions.²⁹ The central figures that would initiate or veto policies on public schools were the mayor, the Board of Education and the superintendent.³⁰

Through a series of case studies about government and private decisions centering on the metropolitan area of Syracuse, Roscoe C. Martin and associates attempted "to identify the forces that encourage cooperative action to solve metropolitan problems."³¹ These cases revolve around issues

²⁷Ibid. p. 1.

²⁸Ibid. p. 108.

²⁹Ibid. p. 137.

³⁰Ibid. p. 150.

³¹Roscoe C. Martin, et al., Decisions in Syracuse (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1961), p. 16.

which revealed the actors and the decisions made to remedy certain problems in the area. The conclusion that can be derived from this book concurs with Dahl's findings concerning the "low level of participation in the decision-making process."³²

Small City Government (New York: Random House, 1962) by Warner C. Mills and Harry R. Davis is another book of cases on policy decisions. The focus is on the government policy-making process in a small City of Beloit in Wisconsin. The cases illustrate how various citizens and groups can influence the Council to decide on conflicts and problems affecting the residents of Beloit.

Peter H. Rossi's and Robert A. Dentler's The Politics of Urban Renewal (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961) deals substantially with citizen activities regarding the urban renewal plan for Hyde Park-Kenwood, Chicago. Their objective was to gain an understanding of the part actually played by the citizens in planning the renewal of a deteriorating sector of Chicago.

Rossi and Dentler concluded that the members of the

³²Ibid. p. 310.

Conference,³³ a community organization, were largely responsible for the successful implementation of the renewal program for Hyde Park-Kenwood. They informed the neighborhood on the meaning and the possibilities of conservation or renewal; kept alive issues on housing for the low-and middle-income groups; and proposed certain procedures in relocating displaced residents.³⁴

One article on citizen participation deserving mention is: "Citizen Participation in American City Planning," (Community Development and Planning, No. 9, Rome, 1962) by Donald Foley. It describes the ways whereby citizens may get involved in planning. These may be in: (1) voting, (2) meetings of the planning commission, (3) citizen associations, and (4) sponsorship of conferences. Aaron Levine's "Citizen Participation," (Journal of American Institute of Planners, XXVI, No. 3, August, 1960), reports the author's observations in Philadelphia where citizen committees and the Council maintained a co-operative relationship. John M. Ducey's "Citizen Participation in the Planning Process," (American Institute of Planners, Proceedings of the 1964 Annual Conference, Newark, August, 1964)

³³The members of the Conference were recruited primarily from the professionals and the managerial strata--architects, lawyers, professors, doctors, ministers, labor relations and personnel experts, business managers, and contractors. In 1958, one out of every five Hyde Park-Kenwood households was a member. See Peter H. Rossi and Robert A. Dentler, The Politics of Urban Renewal (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961), pp. 118-119.

³⁴Ibid., p. 155.

distinguishes three types of citizen involvement in planning. He labelled them as the "puppet show," the "dialogue," and the "grass-roots" approach. In the first category, the planner invites the citizens to comment on a finished plan. The "dialogue" method allows a minimum citizen participation among the most influential groups and individuals. The third type is characterized by a wider range of citizen involvement.

The present study will differ from the enumerated works in two ways: (1) the setting is in a Canadian city and (2) the focus will be on the factors that encourage citizens to take an active part in city projects or programs. The case method as used by some authors cited previously will be tried in New Westminster.

The Methodology

The approach that will be used in this study will be a combination of the following: (1) analysis of documents, reports, surveys, and newspaper accounts about City projects undertaken in the last ten years; (2) interview of City officials, leaders of the different organizations, persons who have intimate knowledge of important City projects, and low-income group citizens; and (3) selection of major City projects or problems in health, traffic and parking, and urban renewal. The case studies are to be drawn from problems affecting these services and the solutions initiated and exe-

cuted. The choice of these services is based on two factors: (1) the City Council of New Westminster assumes important responsibility in financing and administering these services, and (2) the researcher is familiar with the nature of each function.

A list of all types of organization in the City was furnished by the New Westminster public library. Out of the 69 organizations, 14 were selected for interviews of their presidents. These associations or groups may be categorized as follows:

<u>Type of Organization</u>	<u>Number</u>
Civic - - - - -	5
Business - - - - -	3
Neighborhood Group - -	2
Political - - - - -	1
Labor - - - - -	1
Professional - - - - -	1
Religious - - - - -	1
<hr/>	
Total	14

Since the leaders of these organizations may represent only the middle-and high-income groups, a sample of persons receiving welfare assistance was obtained from the Social Welfare Office to get the views of citizens in the low-income bracket. Only 16 or about five percent of the 300 persons on welfare were interviewed. The objective here is merely to get insights into the activities and views of people with low income in relation to local problems.

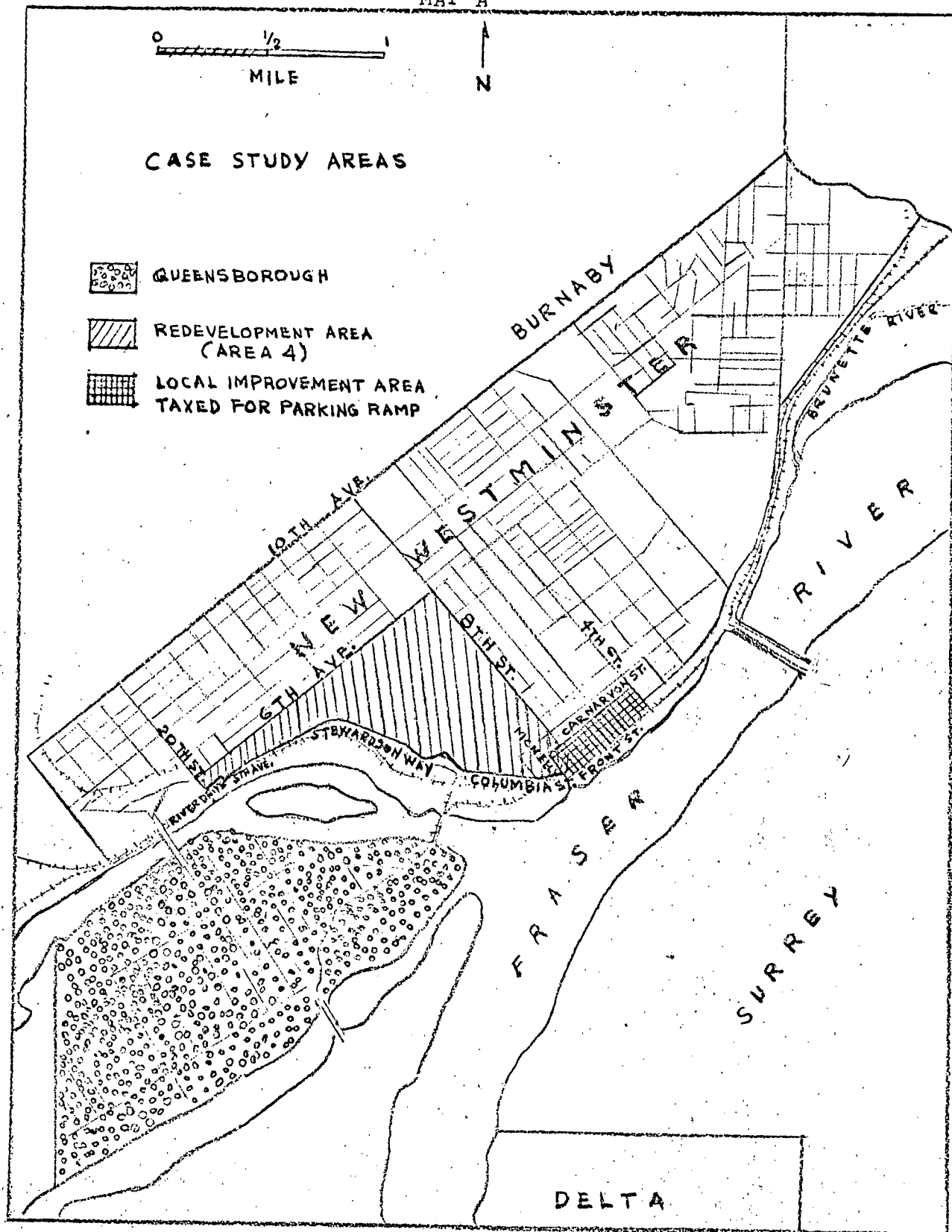
The subjects finally selected for the case studies are: (1) the downtown parking ramp, (2) the Queensborough's drainage and sewage disposal problem, and (3) the redevelopment proposal for Area 4. (See Map A). These are major issue areas in terms of (1) the length of time they were discussed and considered, (2) the geographical areas affected, and (3) financial cost.

Limitations of the Study

This study suffers from some limitations. One which may also apply to all other studies using the case method is that the cases selected may not be representative of the citizen participation in the locality. This difficulty is corrected for by interviewing the different organizational leaders and those in the welfare group to get a true picture of the style and scope of citizen activities that have something to do with community problems and government.

Another difficulty arises from the informants' reaction to some questions asked during the interview. The tendency is for the informant to decline answering questions which may reflect badly on his colleagues. Coupled with this is the problem of recalling past events, dates and participants in the decisions. These were remedied by obtaining all available written materials before making the interviews. The interview then may turn out to be a verification of facts, and to supply the missing links in the chronological development of the cases.

MAP A



Chapter 2

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ROYAL CITY

Geography, Area, and Topography

New Westminster is often referred to as the "gateway to the Lower Fraser Valley," a very fertile farming area on the Lower Mainland of British Columbia.¹ It lies on the north side of the Fraser River, about 11 air miles from the downtown core of Vancouver. On its northern and western boundaries is the sprawling Municipality of Burnaby, on the east is Coquitlam and just across the Fraser River on the south and south-east is Surrey. A flat area called Queensborough constituting the eastern portion of Lulu Island is within the City's boundaries. As of 1966, the City's total area is 4,656 acres.²

The greater part of the area sits on a hill which descends gradually to the Fraser River. The slopes at certain places are quite steep, causing a sharp rise on the road gradients. It is partly due to its topography that business establishments tend to concentrate in the vicinity of the waterfront. Except in the low-lying areas like Queensborough,

¹Harland Bartholomew and Associates, Preliminary Report upon the Economic Background and Past and Probable Future Population Growth, a study submitted to the City of New Westminster in 1945, p. 5.

²New Westminster, British Columbia, Financial and Annual Report 1966, p. 5.

the soil condition generally is capable of supporting heavy building foundations, as evidenced by the mushrooming of the multiple and high-rise apartments.

Historical Perspective

New Westminster, dubbed as the Royal City, has a very colorful historical background. Its present name was given by Queen Victoria of England in 1859;³ in 1866, it became the first capital of British Columbia, following the union of British Columbia and Vancouver Island.⁴ The first session of the Legislative Council was opened formally by Governor Frederick Seymour on January 4, 1867.⁵ But two years after the capital was transferred to Victoria.⁶

³Barry Mather and Margaret McDonald, New Westminster (Vancouver: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1958), p. xii.

⁴Colonel Richard Clement Moody was dispatched from England in 1858 with a detachment of Royal Engineers to select the site for the capital of British Columbia. Moody chose the present site of New Westminster because of its proximity to the Fraser River and for its being strategically defensible against enemy attacks. See Margaret A. Ormsby, British Columbia: A History (Canada: The MacMillan of Canada, 1958), pp. 172-175.

⁵Lieutenant Governor George R. Pearkes opened the 1967 session of the provincial legislature in New Westminster to commemorate the centennial anniversary of the first Legislative Council of British Columbia, The Columbian, New Westminster, January 24, 1967.

⁶New Westminster, British Columbia, Planning Department, Urban Renewal Study Part One, December, 1965, p. 14.

The first civic election in New Westminster was held on August 6, 1860, three weeks after the City was incorporated.⁷ The chairman of the Council was then known as the president and he was chosen by the Council members.⁸ To qualify as an elector, the inhabitant had to be: (1) 21 years of age, (2) a British subject, (3) a resident of the place for at least three months prior to the election and (4) an owner of a real property (land) worth fifty pounds.⁹

The first election caused considerable excitement among the populace, business activities having been somewhat suspended. However, the best men were reluctant to serve on the Council.¹⁰ The activities of the first Council consisted of clearing the land, grading the streets, and setting aside lots for public buildings such as schools, a town hall, and quarters for the fire department.¹¹ Further reports of the activities of the Council indicated general satisfaction on the part of the colonists, although the development of an influential clique had been noticed.¹²

⁷Barry Mather and Margaret McDonald, New Westminster (Vancouver: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1958), p. 36.

⁸Ibid. p. 35.

⁹Ibid. p. 35.

¹⁰Ibid. pp. xvii-xviii.

¹¹Ibid. p. 36.

¹²Ibid. p. xix.

Community facilities were soon established either by the Government of New Westminster or by some enterprising individuals. The Public Library, stuffed with donations by the Royal Engineers, officially opened on August 15, 1865.¹³ The Royal Columbian hospital was established in 1862 and this was followed on July 6, 1887 by the St. Mary's hospital under the management of the Sisters of Charity of Providence. Telephone lines were set up in 1882, while electric lights first illuminated the City streets on January 2, 1891. The first ferry crossing on the Fraser River was inaugurated on March 17, 1884. The Canadian Pacific Railway reached New Westminster in December of 1887, and by October 28, 1892, a regular tram service provided an improved means of transportation between New Westminster and Vancouver. By 1893, the first waterworks system which drew its supply from Coquitlam River, was completed.¹⁴

As time went on, these services and facilities were expanded and improved and new ones were added. Bridges were constructed to facilitate crossing of the Fraser River. Sewerage facilities were installed in 1911.¹⁵ Then in 1912, a

¹³Amy M. Hutcheson, New Westminster Public Library 1865-1965, a reprint by permission of the editor of the British Columbia Library Quarterly, Vancouver, 1965, p. 4.

¹⁴Barry Mather and Margaret McDonald, op. cit. p. 178.

¹⁵A. M. Rawn, Charles G. Hyde and John Oliver, Sewerage and Drainage of the Greater Vancouver Area British Columbia, A report to the Chairman and members of Vancouver and Districts Joint Sewerage and Drainage Board, September 16, 1953, p. 278.

half million dollar bylaw was passed by the citizens to finance the development of the port by extending the water frontage, reclaiming off-shore areas and dredging the River.¹⁶ Schools were likewise built and roads paved. As of 1966, there were 10 elementary schools and one high school having an average annual enrollment of 6,293; 134.2 miles of roads in operation; 103.1 miles of sewer lines laid; and 100 miles of water mains serving 8,000 consumers.¹⁷ The City has been keeping "abreast with the times," Mayor J. Stuart Gifford declared, "moving ahead in every facet of everyday life."¹⁸

Demographic Characteristics

The population of New Westminster in 1966 was 38,013.¹⁹ This figure is 12 percent higher than that of 1961 and nearly double that of 1941 which was then 21,967. Both migration and natural increase have contributed to the growth of population, although the former has declined in importance in the recent years. The average rate of increase due to migration was 380 persons per year during the period from 1941 to 1951; it went

¹⁶Barry Mather and Margaret McDonald, op. cit. p. 109.

¹⁷New Westminster, British Columbia, Financial and Annual Report 1966, p. 5.

¹⁸Mayor Gifford's statement published in The Columbian, August 30, 1967.

¹⁹Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1966 Census of Canada, June, 1967, p. 9--61.

down to 190 persons per year during the subsequent decade (1951-1961). On the other hand, the yearly average natural increase gained over the same periods from 287 to 311.²⁰

It was stated in 1911 that immigrants from the United States, Great Britain, Manitoba, Alberta, and Saskatchewan were attracted by the "splendid climate...excellent water, the most up-to-date sanitation, and a central market for everything produced by the agriculturists" and, in addition, by the superior transportation system.²¹ In that year alone, more than 1,500 people settled in the New Westminster area coming mainly from the areas noted. A government official at that time optimistically described them as "a magnificent class of settlers...bound to become good and prosperous citizens."²² The same official reported that manufacturers, exporters, and agriculturists found in New Westminster a central location and "unequalled opportunities" and that "commercial progress" was evident everywhere.²³

About one third (or 12,704) of the population in 1961 comprised the labour force. The majority were wage earners, generally in business and personal services, manufacturing,

²⁰New Westminster, British Columbia, Planning Department, Urban Renewal Study Part One, December, 1965, p. 18.

²¹New Westminster, British Columbia, Financial Statement and Annual Report 1911 (New Westminster: Jackson Printing, 1912), p. 48.

²²Ibid., p. 47.

²³Ibid., p. 49.

retail trade, and transportation. The yearly average earnings of the male worker was \$4,041.²⁴

Economic Base

An estimated total of 23,000 were employed in all industries within New Westminster and Annacis Island in 1965.²⁵ Based on the labor distribution in various industries, one can infer that the essential components of the City's economy are service industries, manufacturing, and retail trade. Manufacturing operations are dominated by plants engaged in the wood products industries. In 1961, over 3,200 persons were working in sawmills, shingle mills, and plants manufacturing paper products.²⁶

The City ranks third in retail sales among the cities of British Columbia. The total retail sales in 1961 was \$70,859,800 which is 67 percent higher than that of 1951. In that year, 221 working proprietors and 2,806 employees were employed in retail trade.²⁷

²⁴Bureau of Economics and Statistics, British Columbia, Regional Index of British Columbia, January, 1966, p. 217.

²⁵Vancouver, British Columbia, Planning Department, Metropolitan Vancouver 1955, 1965, and 1985, selected data from the Vancouver Transportation Study, March, 1967, p. 28.

²⁶Bureau of Economics and Statistics, op. cit., p. 216.

²⁷Ibid.

Commercial fishing is no longer as significant as it was in the last century. From 1870 to 1882, for instance, 13 canneries were in operation. No cannery is in operation at present but the City serves as a base for "a large part of the Fraser River salmon fleet."²⁸

One vital factor that contributes immensely to the economic growth of the City is the fresh-water port. The Fraser River provides an excellent water route for sea-going vessels from the Georgia Strait to the harbor. A total of 1,208,238 tons of cargo were exported from the New Westminster port in 1966. Major deep sea exports are lumber, wheat, plywood, zinc, lead and concentrates.²⁹

Government Structure and Activities

The City Government derives its powers as well as its responsibilities from the Provincial Government of British Columbia. These powers are enumerated in the Municipal Act (a compilation of laws governing the cities, municipalities, districts, and other local authorities) and they are exercised by the City Council. The Council is composed of six aldermen and the mayor. All are elected for a two-year term. An election is held each year to fill the vacancies created by three outgoing aldermen.

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹Fraser River Harbour Commission, 53rd Annual Report, 1966, no paging.

The mayor has all the rights and privileges of an alderman and, in addition, it is his duty to: (1) enforce laws for the improvement and good government of the locality, (2) communicate to the Council information or recommend measures to preserve peace and order and to promote good government, (3) establish committees to achieve certain purposes, and (4) supervise the conduct of all officers and employees of the City.³⁰ The mayor also presides over Council meetings and assumes the chairmanship of a few committees.

It was claimed from the interviews that the Council has no plans, that activities and projects are undertaken piecemeal and without consideration of the whole picture of the City's development. This charge may be true of the past, but an examination of the records of the Council in the last few years shows that the mayor usually outlines his programs and projects to be accomplished at the beginning of every fiscal year. The Council committees also discuss projects for the next five years.³¹

Proposed Programs of Mayor Wood

In her inaugural address to the Council during its first meeting in January, 1962, Mayor Beth Wood proposed

³⁰British Columbia, Municipal Act, consolidated for convenience, July 1, 1967 (British Columbia: A. Sutton, 1967), Part IV, Section 179.

³¹From an interview with Alderman Ken Wright, January 29, 1968.

that: (1) the Traffic and Transportation Committee should give early attention to the completion of a traffic survey, preparation of a plan to divert heavy trucks from the business section on Columbia Street, and review of the need for additional parking facilities; (2) efforts should be exerted to complete projects such as the straightening of Brunette River, planning of a sports and recreation center, and construction of a road to connect Fourth Avenue to Richmond Street through Queens Park; (3) light industry should be considered for the development of Queensborough; and (4) a new formula should be studied to equalize assessment and to maintain as low a tax rate as possible.³² (See Map B for the location of the proposed projects).

In 1963, Mayor Wood opened the first session of Council by announcing that a planner would be appointed at an early date to assist the Engineering Department. She said, attention should be given to the redevelopment of the area bounded by Queens Avenue, Columbia Street, Eighth Street, and Twelfth Street.³³ She reiterated the need for a study of

³²From the minutes of the New Westminster Council, January 8, 1962.

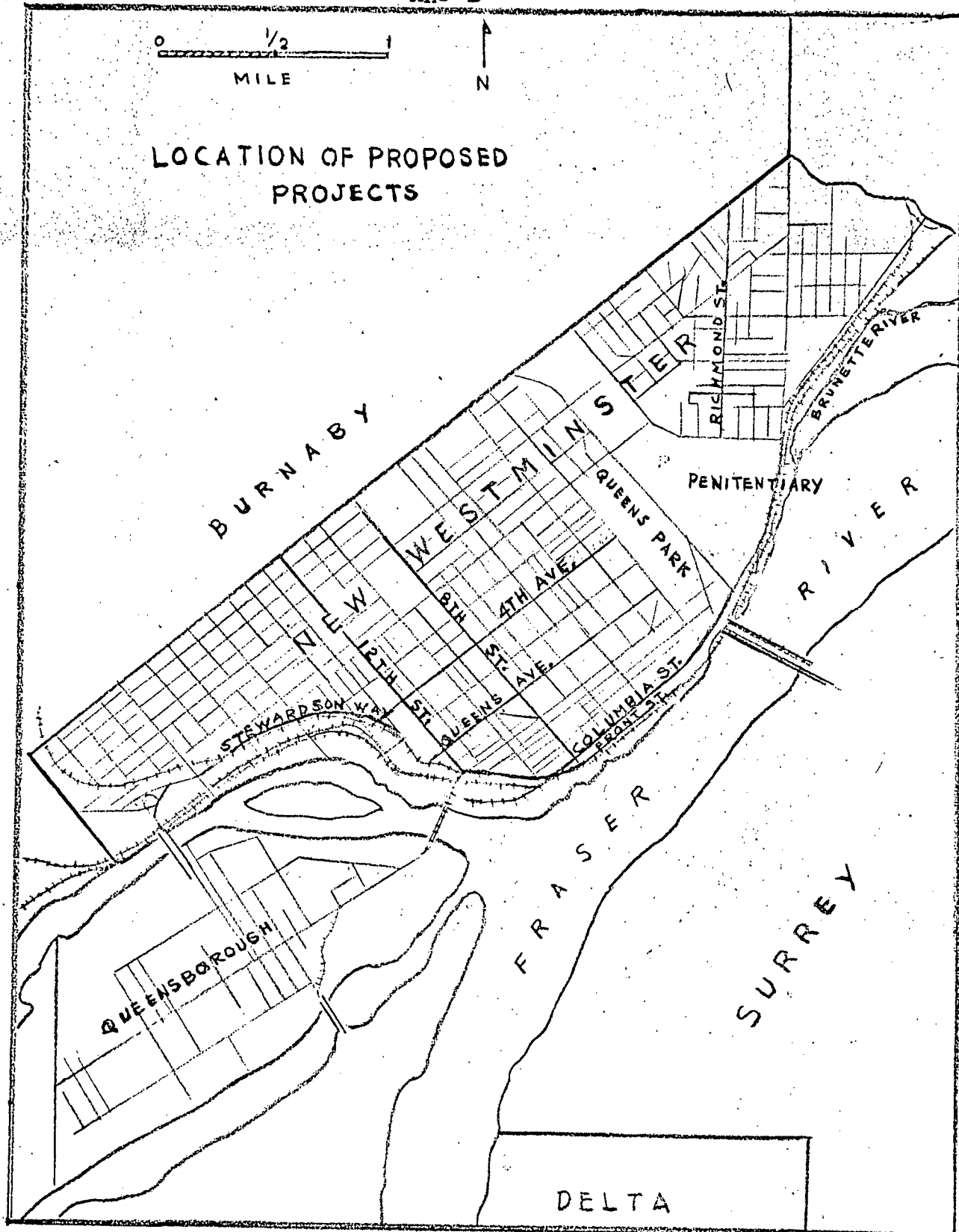
³³The redevelopment of Area 4, the first renewal project of the City, includes a large portion of the mentioned section. (See Chapter 5).

MAP B

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LOCATION OF PROPOSED
PROJECTS



traffic and transportation problems and for the construction of a civic center.³⁴

In 1964, she mentioned the purchase of two parcels of the Penitentiary property, one to allow the extension of Fourth Avenue to connect with Richmond Street and another to be used as site for the proposed arena and recreational facilities.³⁵

Proposed Programs of Mayor Gifford

Mayor J. Stuart Gifford succeeded Mayor Wood in May, 1964, after the latter resigned. Mayor Gifford was an alderman at the time Wood was mayor. Gifford ran for mayor in December, 1964 and won.

In his inaugural speech to the Council on January 4, 1965, Mayor Gifford expressed strongly his determination that "planning must play a much more important role in all aspects of our community life, including recreational and cultural."³⁶ He referred to the Committee created to study urban redevelopment. He enumerated the projects which were so overwhelmingly approved by the citizens, namely, the planning and extension of hospitals, new school additions, and the cons-

³⁴From the minutes of the Council, January 7, 1963.

³⁵Ibid., January 6, 1964.

³⁶Ibid., January 4, 1965.

truction of the parking facilities in the downtown area.³⁷

The redevelopment of Columbia Street and the extension of Stewardson Way, he said were expected to be completed early that year.³⁸

In his address to the Council on January 3, 1966, Mayor Gifford expressed grave concern over the average citizen who was drifting "further away from the seat of government."³⁹ The citizen "has needs and opinions to express but he does not know to whom or where to go."⁴⁰ Mayor Gifford desired everyone to know that the doors of the City Hall, especially his own, "are open to any person with suggestion and criticism."⁴¹ Again he mentioned projects that were due for completion: the Front Street Parking Ramp Extension and the elimination of the level crossing at Front Street and East Columbia Street. He recognized the need for continuous planning but more important, he said, was that "our plans are not just dreams but must become a reality."⁴²

³⁷The hospital debenture bylaw was voted upon on December 12, 1964, with 5,029 electors in favor and 315 against. The school loan bylaw referendum was also approved in the same election by 3,825 citizens while 1,555 voted against it. The parking deck extension bylaw was endorsed by 72 ratepayers of the downtown section; only one voted against it. (See minutes of the Council, January 4, 1965).

³⁸New Westminster Council, loc. cit.

³⁹Ibid., January 3, 1966.

⁴⁰Ibid.

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴²Ibid.

Approval and Execution of Projects

The aldermen generally study project proposals and solutions to problems in committees.⁴³ Each alderman heads one committee and he is a member of a few other committees. The mayor himself during this study was assigned as chairman of three committees: Finance and Administration, Harbour, and Market and Pound. The technical specialists of the different City departments provide the necessary technical advice on the feasibility of projects and their costs. Proposals for Council action will have been screened previously by the corresponding committee.⁴⁴

Aside from being the chairman or a member of the standing committees of the Council, the aldermen are often saddled by additional duties and responsibilities because of their appointment to so many other governmental or semi-governmental committees and boards. There are the Advisory Planning Commission, the Urban Redevelopment Committee, the Police Traffic Committee, the Parks and Recreation Committee, the Library Board, the Greater Vancouver Water District Board, the Family Court Committee, the Union Board of Health, and the Royal Columbian Hospital Board, to mention only a few. Some of these bodies give advice to Council; others act as governing boards or committees of certain service agencies.

⁴³From an interview with Mayor Gifford, January 12, 1968.

⁴⁴Ibid.

Some projects approved by Council are executed by means of contracts with private contractors. Those that do not require the use of costly equipment and the hiring of additional workers are undertaken by the civic departments. The City departments generally provide essential public services and take charge of the maintenance of the City-owned facilities and utilities. They enforce laws and regulations that Council or the Provincial Government may assign to them for enforcement. The department heads give advice to Council on matters in which they are considered competent, and they carry out the routine administrative duties related to their respective departments.⁴⁵

Early Planning Activities

Anyone who will investigate the history of New Westminster will discover that the City was originally laid out according to a plan by Colonel Moody.⁴⁶ Some of the existing streets and the location of public buildings and the public square can be traced to this plan. Whether the plan adequately serves the present needs of the people is not debated here.

⁴⁵Verified from Mr. P. J. Larkin, the City Clerk of New Westminster, February 19, 1968.

⁴⁶Colonel Moody was thinking of reproducing some fine architecture and public squares of European cities in his frontier town. See Margaret A. Ormsby, British Columbia: A History (Canada: The MacMillan Company of Canada, 1958), P. 172.

It appears that from the time of Colonel Moody until 1938, no subsequent overall plan was made to guide the action or decisions of public officials. On February 28, 1938, the Town Planning Commission was created through the enactment of the City Bylaw 1618, as authorized under the British Columbia Town Planning Act of 1925.⁴⁷ The Town Planning Commission was composed of six members, three from the private sector and three as ex-officio members consisting of an alderman, a representative from the Board of School Trustees, and another from the Board of Parks. The Commission was assigned the duty to assist the Council in an advisory capacity on matters specified in the enabling act, and to make recommendations on other matters that Council might refer to it. The enabling act empowered the Council to prepare a town plan, to prepare maps showing boundaries of zoning districts, and to consider all other matters concerned with the physical development of the City.⁴⁸

Mr. J. Alexander Walker, a planner from Vancouver addressed the first Commission meeting on March 31, 1938, giving the members some hints on how to prepare the town plan.⁴⁹

⁴⁷Harland Bartholomew and Associates, A Preliminary Report upon Planning and Administration, a study submitted to the City of New Westminster, January, 1947.

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹J. Alexander Walker, Two Planning Experience in Vancouver, a typewritten copy of the author's address before the New Westminster Town Planning Commission, March 31, 1938.

Among the points he stressed were: (1) the type of plan to be prepared varies with the type of city being planned; (2) the plan must be based on facts; (3) the elements of the plan include streets and transit, harbor and transportation, zoning, and recreation and civic art; (4) the artistic phase of the plan considers the conservation of the city's natural beauties and control of the disfiguring features; and (5) the plan should get the public support.

The Commission prepared a zoning bylaw which was adopted by Council in 1940. The City was divided into three zoning districts classified into residential, commercial and industrial. An amendment to this bylaw in May, 1942 subdivided the residential district into: one-family, two-family, and multiple-family districts. Then in 1945 the preparation of a comprehensive City plan was undertaken.⁵⁰

Harland Bartholomew and Associates, consultants from St. Louis, Missouri, conducted the survey and submitted reports in 1946 and 1947. They studied some aspects of the economy and the growth of population. They recommended the development of major roads based on their survey of the existing street system and land uses. They laid down the principles and standards in designing the transit system. Unfortunately, the Bartholomew reports as the local newspaper puts it "were

⁵⁰Harland Bartholomew and Associates, loc. cit.

tossed in the ash can."⁵¹ Improvements in the City were made not on the basis of these reports but on "a catch or catch-can basis."⁵²

The time of the Commission in later years seemed to have been devoted largely to the study of every application, filed at City Hall, for the issuance of a building permit or for the rezoning of an area to a different zone. In 1957, Bylaw 3514 reconstituted the Town Planning Commission and renamed it the Advisory Planning Commission. The functions remained basically the same. As Mr. James C. Insley said:

The Commission was working without the assistance of a professional planner. Its activities consisted of: (1) reviewing plans or layouts for buildings submitted by applicants for building permits, (2) laying out the various zones of the City, and (3) making recommendations to Council for changes in zoning or in zoning bylaws and building regulations.⁵³

Then in 1960, the Council hired Miss Mary Rawson as a part-time planner. She aroused the members of the Commission to preserve the natural beauty of the sites in New Westminster, the river, the hills, and the trees. She suggested that the size of the lot should be considered in approving rezoning applications.⁵⁴ Mr. George Fountain followed Miss Rawson in

⁵¹From the Editorial of The Columbian, New Westminster, January 4, 1958.

⁵²Ibid.

⁵³From an interview with Mr. James C. Insley, a former member of the Advisory Planning Commission, February 19, 1968.

⁵⁴From the minutes of the Advisory Planning Commission, May 12, 1960.

1962 as the City's part-time planner. Like his predecessor, Mr. Fountain brought in new ideas he gathered from his own experience as planner.

As zoning problems became more complex, the members of the Commission increasingly felt the need for advice from a professional planner. Applications for the construction of high-rise apartments ushered in more complicated problems of determining parking needs, installation of facilities and location of the buildings. Deteriorating areas and obsolete buildings also cried for renewal. The need for a full-time planner was felt by the members of the Chamber of Commerce who sent a delegation to the Council meeting on March 12, 1962 to present a brief describing the City's problems. The brief asked the Council: "What is the plan for the physical development of the City?"⁵⁵ And certainly the answer was the appointment of a full-time planner. After years of vacillation, the Council finally created the position of city planner and appointed J. Barry Chaster to this position on April 1, 1965.

⁵⁵The Columbian, New Westminster, March 15, 1962.

Chapter 3

QUEENSBOROUGH'S DRAINAGE AND SEWAGE DISPOSAL PROBLEM

The Growth of Queensborough

Queensborough is the old name of New Westminster, given by Colonel Moody back in the pioneering era.¹ Now, Queensborough is the name of the flat land of some 820 acres at the "eastern-most triangle" of Lulu Island, extending about two miles long and a mile wide at the widest portion. It is only a few feet above sea level.² The land surface consists "mainly of peat and organic silts."³ It is surrounded on three sides by the Fraser River and on the western boundary is the fast developing Municipality of Richmond.

The fishermen and the farmers were probably the earliest groups to settle in the area. The Fraser River is noted for its rich salmon fishing ground and Queensborough's soil is fertile.⁴ However, the development of the sawmill industry

¹Barry Mather and Margaret McDonald, New Westminster (Vancouver: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1958), p. xi.

²Maria Shewchuk, "Queensborough Epic," The Columbian New Westminster, January 23, 1964, p. 1.

³Martin J. J. Dayton, Queensborough Drainage Survey, a study submitted to the New Westminster's Council, July, 1965, p. 2.

⁴The soil is so fertile that it has been exploited by soil dealers. See Maria Shewchuk, loc. cit.

provided the impetus for growth.⁵

The post war years saw a noticeable shift in the population of Queensborough. A good number of the old residents left and in their place came a wave of immigrants, mostly young families, lured by cheap land close to places of employment.⁶ These "newcomers" account for the great diversity in ethnic groups. The population, in 1961, by racial origin, was 66 percent European, 25 percent British and eight percent Asian.⁷ The Italians which composed 17 percent of the population far outnumbered the other European nationalities.

The increasing number of residents in Queensborough has put pressure on the City Government to extend public utilities and services. The elementary school was opened on February 1, 1910. The Fire Hall was built in 1962. Street lighting and roads have been improved considerably. The new Queensborough Bridge was constructed and opened to traffic in 1960.⁸ The only facilities that seem to have lagged behind are the drainage and the sewerage systems.

⁵A Geographical Study of New Westminster, A typewritten manuscript kept in the New Westminster Public Library, author unknown, p. 5.

⁶Maria Shewchuk, loc. cit.

⁷From the Census data of 1961.

⁸The president of the Queensborough Ratepayers Association claimed that the people in the area have maintained good relations with the Council and have obtained most of the services asked for. Andy Smith, the president of the Association, was interviewed on December 18, 1967.

The Queensborough Ratepayers Association

One organization that has frequently made contacts with the Council to communicate local problems and to demand the extension or the maintenance of government services is the Queensborough Ratepayers Association. The Association has long been in existence. It was organized in 1910, but it was relatively inactive for sometime. Activated in 1952, it has since then resolutely pursued its objectives. The interest and enthusiasm of the members, all of whom are property owners, are being maintained and kept alive by regular monthly meetings, the annual election of officers, the organization of working committees, and the sponsorship of social activities.⁹

The Association has about 70 to 80 members who pay the annual membership dues. However, attendance at meetings often fluctuates, depending on the gravity of the problems or issues on the agenda. The presence of important guest speakers may bolster the attendance. Among the guests in the past were a member of the Parliament, a member of the Provincial Legislative Assembly, Alderman Harry Rankin of Vancouver, Mayor Beth Wood and all the aldermen of New Westminster's Council.

⁹Most of the data about the Ratepayers Association were obtained from interviews with Mr. Andy Smith and with Mr. Harold Wilcox, from January to February, 1968. Additional information was collected from the minutes of the Association.

Leadership revolves around a few individuals. As a matter of fact, the incumbent president, Andy Smith, has been reelected every year since 1962. He claims that the various ethnic groups want him to remain as their spokesman. William Racanello has been vice president from the same year that Andy Smith became president, except in 1963 when Mervin Beagle replaced him for a year.

The leaders are themselves busy men at their work. Andy Smith, 57, a steam engineer, is safety regional director of the International Woodworkers of America, for Western Canada. William Racanello, 45, is a building contractor. The other leaders, who also acted as president and have joined a number of delegations sent by the Association to meet with the Council, are Harold Wilcox, 52, organizer of the Fishermen's Union; Harry Spagnol, 65, a merchant; Mel Olsen, 53, a real estate man; and John Furiak, 52, an accountant in the Provincial Department of Highways.

The Drainage and Sewage Disposal Problem

Lulu Island was originally dyked in 1903.¹⁰ Over the years, a drainage system consisting of dykes, ditches, and pumps has evolved. Due to the nature of the soil and also because of the high water table, the system has never been

¹⁰A Geographical Study of New Westminster, A typewritten manuscript kept in the New Westminster Public Library, author unknown, p. 5.

adequate. Much of the land remains "water-lagged during the rainy and winter seasons."¹¹ The sewerage system is still a dream. Many of the septic tanks provided by the individual homes discharge effluent into the open ditches.¹²

Aware of their problem, the members of the Queensborough Ratepayers Association have dispatched delegation after delegation to ask Council to authorize the digging of ditches, the increasing of the capacity of the pumps and the cleaning of the whole area. The aldermen listened to their complaints, and on many occasions, made pledges to do something for them. But for many years these pledges often remained unfulfilled. To illustrate, the Queensborough citizens asked for the installation of a new pump in 1952; the pump came 14 years after, in 1966. The three other pumps were there earlier, two during the first world war and the third in 1945. A request was made, in 1956, to have a consultant engineer study the drainage system of Queensborough; the consultant engineer was hired in 1965, at the cost of \$2,500. "It took them (City Council) fifteen years to lower the sump of one of the pumping stations," one of the Queensborough leaders remarked.

¹¹ Maria Shewchuk, "Queensborough Epic," The Columbian, New Westminster, January 23, 1964, p. 1.

¹² From an interview with Dr. James Munro and Mr. Morven Ewan, medical health officer and chief sanitary inspector, respectively, of the New Westminster's Health Department, January 26, 1968.

The survey by Martin J. J. Dayton, in 1965, revealed the inadequacy of the existing outlets and pumping stations. The recommendations embodied in that report were as follows: (1) to construct a 12-foot wide perimeter drainage channel to form a continuous loop in the interior of Queensborough, (2) to improve the existing pumping stations and outfalls, and (3) to construct a new pumping station and outfall at Carter Street and Annacis Channel, together with an approach channel for the perimeter channel. The total estimated cost, excluding the amount needed to purchase the property, was \$504,000.¹³ The system would service some 500 homes. Thus far, only the recommendation about the pumping station at Carter Street was implemented. According to the City engineer, the perimeter channel is difficult to implement because it would pass through the industrial area and the City Government is not in a position to spend such large sums.¹⁴

The Health Department Steps In

At the start, most of the complaints from Queensborough were directed to the Council. The Council in turn would refer the cases complained about to the committees or to the Engi-

¹³Martin J. J. Dayton, Queensborough Drainage Survey, A study submitted to the New Westminster's Council, July, 1965, pp. 16-18.

¹⁴From an interview with the City engineer, A. Stewardson, February 23, 1968.

neering Department. The problems, therefore, were generally treated in terms of engineering feasibility and financial capacity of the property owners, who ultimately would shoulder the costs.

But on April 17, 1963, Harold Wilcox, the secretary of the Queensborough Ratepayers Association wrote a letter to the medical health officer reporting the "unsanitary condition" of the ditches. He informed the health officer that the City engineer disclosed to the Association that the problem of draining the water from the ditches could be done with very little cost. The reason why this was not done was due to the septic tanks emptying into the ditches. Wilcox requested the health officer to take action, that the ditches should be drained, dried up and cleaned regularly. The health officer, Dr. E. Wylde, replied stating that the sanitary conditions, domestic sewage, and land usage of Queensborough were being reviewed and a report would be presented to the Council. Apparently, no progress was made by the health officer in this regard.

Back in 1962, the City Health Department was already seriously concerned over the sewage disposal problem of Queensborough. Dr. Wylde inquired from the Provincial Department of Health in Victoria for definite information on the size or density of population that would make a sewerage system necessary. In his reply to Dr. Wylde, the deputy minister of health, Dr. J. A. Taylor, quoted the former provin-

cial sanitary engineer, Mr. Bowering, by saying that in a community with a population of 1,000 and with a density of four persons per acre, "there is almost certain to be a sewage disposal problem."¹⁵ And, he added, if the population reaches 2,000, and the density is three persons per taxable acre, the community is bound to have a sewage problem.¹⁶

Equipped with this information, the chief sanitary inspector, Morven Ewan, studied the population density of Queensborough's residential district. He found the population density averaged 20 persons per acre. The total population of Queensborough in 1961 was 2,327. Based on these data, he prepared a sketch of a land use plan for Queensborough. He proposed in his plan the reallocation of land to the different uses, creating an L-shaped residential core at the central area along major streets. At the peripheries were industrial zones. Adjacent to the residential area were agricultural gardens, parks and schools. The plan called for a 15-to 20-year long-range program of implementation. The main objective of the Health Department in preparing the plan was to project an idea on how to economically sewer the area and how to achieve a more efficient ditching system. The plan was presented to the

¹⁵Letter of Dr. Taylor to Dr. Wylde, January 4, 1962.

¹⁶Ibid.

chairmen of the Committees on Health and Board of Works and also to Mayor Gifford in November, 1965. It was received and filed but it was never discussed again.¹⁷

This action of the aldermen did not dampen the spirit of the health officials who, on February 7, 1966, appeared before the Finance and Administration Committee to "illustrate by way of coloured slides the difficulties of land drainage and sewage disposal" in Queensborough. Dr. James Munro, the medical health officer, and Ewan recommended among other matters the cleaning and patrolling of the ditches, the prohibition of the discharging of effluent into the ditches, the inspection of faulty disposal systems, and the tightening of control over the issuance of building permits.¹⁸

Upon seeing the slides, Mayor Gifford said he was ashamed of the conditions in Queensborough, "I think every member of the Council feels the same way," he added. He immediately named a five-man committee to implement the recommendations of the health officials.¹⁹

The chief sanitary inspector was instructed to draft a bylaw regulating the use and the construction of septic

¹⁷From an interview with Dr. James Munro and Mr. Morven Ewan, medical health officer and chief sanitary inspector of New Westminster, respectively, January 26, 1968.

¹⁸From the minutes of the New Westminster Council, February 14, 1966.

¹⁹The Columbian, New Westminster, February 8, 1966.

tanks. This bylaw was approved by Council on February 28, 1966. It required all houses to be connected to a public sewerage or a private system drained into a septic tank. No septic tank can be constructed without a permit from the City health inspector and the installation has to be in accord with certain specifications. The regular cleaning of septic tanks is required. Violation of any provision of the bylaw is punishable and subject to a fine of \$250 or imprisonment of not more than 30 days.²⁰

Amendment to the Provincial Health Act

On August 24, 1967, an amendment to the Provincial Health Act was approved by Order in Council No. 2744. Important provisions governing sewage disposal seriously affect the development of Queensborough. The medical health officer has been designated as the authority having jurisdiction over the construction of septic tanks or disposal system. But henceforth, no disposal system "can be located where the ground water table or high water mark is less than 4 feet below ground surface at any time."²¹

When contacted for comment by The Columbian, the City aldermen said they "were not fully aware of the Queensborough problem," but were anxious to hear more from Dr. Munro.

²⁰New Westminster, Bylaw No. 4129, February 28, 1966.

²¹British Columbia, Order in Council No. 2744, Division 7.01, August 24, 1967.

"This is a very serious thing," a candidate for re-election, Alderman A. J. Allison, said. "I think they (property owners) should be told the whole story as quickly as possible."²²

Another candidate for alderman, Alex Seigo, declared, "This shocking news comes as a real blow to all land owners in the area at a time of an acute housing shortage."²³ The City engineer cited an alternate proposal which may allow the construction of septic tanks, that is, filling the property with sand.¹ But this, he said, would be the responsibility of the land owner.²⁴ The Council on November 27, 1967, asked the New Westminster Solicitor Peter Hutton to investigate the possibility of appealing the Health Act.²⁵

Mayor Gifford was asked if the people should vacate Queensborough to pave the way for industrial or other type of development of the area. "Where will they go?" he replied. "So much money have already been invested in Queensborough--the bridge, streets, school, pumps, and ditches," he explained. He proposed to raise the level of the land with sand dredged from the Fraser River.²⁶ This was exactly the suggestion of

²²The Columbian, New Westminster, November 16, 1967.

²³Ibid.

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵The Columbian, New Westminster, November 28, 1967.

²⁶From an interview with Mayor Gifford, January 12, 1968.

Mayor F. J. Hume before the war.²⁷

Engineer A. Stewardson believes the City Government should not spend millions of the people's money to sewer the area. In his estimate, a sewerage system for Queensborough will cost four and a half million dollars, including the treatment plant. The property owners alone cannot afford this much, unless the Federal Government or the Provincial Government should give assistance.²⁸

In the last election campaign, a representative from The Columbian noticed that the citizens of Queensborough did not appear so concerned about the legislation on future septic tanks. They asked the candidates questions outside the problem of sewage disposal. However, they showed interest when Fred West, candidate for alderman, expressed his idea of "clearing all homes of Queensborough and creating an industrial estate." Fred West said, "I don't believe this is residential property. I think Queensborough's future is as a modern industrial estate. The City should buy out all the land for the good prices you can get for your homes." Every-

²⁷From an interview with Alderman Wright, January 29, 1968.

²⁸From the City engineer, interviewed on February 23, 1968.

body laughed at the suggestion.²⁹

The Unsettled Issue

The sewage disposal and drainage problem in Queensborough has developed into a bigger issue which the policy-makers and the citizens must face. The present issue demands a redefinition of the goals for Queensborough. Should the people be allowed to continue to reside in the area under the present substandard condition? Should the City Government purchase the land from the property owners and convert it into an industrial estate, with the help of private developers? Must the City authorities allocate substantial amount of City funds for the sewerage system, or beg from the senior governments for aid? What if the City politicians decide to do nothing but wait for another ten or twenty years and let the future politicians make the painful decision? To do nothing is also to make a decision. These questions will haunt the City officials until a decision is made or a miracle happens.

²⁹The Columbian, December 6, 1967. This idea of Fred West is similar to that proposed by former Alderman Doug Stout. He said, "Surely the only solution is to zone the island entirely for industrial use, buy up the houses, decant the population to the Mainland, fill the land with silt and turn Queensborough over to private developers for industry." See Wayne Harding's column, The Columbian, New Westminster, April 10, 1966.

The citizens are definite in their stand. The leaders of the Queensborough Ratepayers Association want the City to employ an engineering consultant to make an independent and unbiased feasibility study of a sewerage system that will service the area, and then prepare a more accurate estimate of the cost. They believe that a sewerage system at cost they can amortize in twenty years is possible. They agree with the plan of the Health Department to establish a residential core, and to resettle scattered homes within the core. The industrial sector should continue to develop outside the residential district.³⁰

Summary

The case study describes how the property owners of Queensborough sought remedies to their local problems. Organized as the Queensborough Ratepayers Association, the property owners hold meetings regularly to discuss the problems of the area and to decide on what action to take. Invited to some of the meetings of the Association were public officials, including the members of Council. Here, the City officials gathered firsthand information about Queensborough's needs. However, the leaders of the Association, in most cases, found it necessary to exert continuous pressure on City Hall to obtain what they wanted. They sent letters to Council and appeared in Council meetings to express their desires and to name the pro-

³⁰From an interview with Mr. Harold Wilcox, February 25, 1968.

jects which they felt should be accomplished.

The citizens most active in the affairs of Queensborough are invariably the leaders of the Association. Although these individuals may earn income not much higher than that of the average workingman in Queensborough, they have been regarded as persons possessing a higher social status because of their leadership qualities and because of their position in the Association.

Among the needs keenly felt by the citizens of Queensborough are the improvement of the drainage network and the installation of a sewerage system. For years, the leaders of the Association have urged Council to provide a more permanent solution to their drainage problem. However, Council has adopted a lackadaisical attitude toward this particular need of the area. Projects, such as the installation of a pump, the survey of the drainage system, and the lowering of the sump of one of the pumps, were undertaken after many years of persistent clamor by the citizens.

The question with Queensborough is that it has been built up without the benefit of a coherent program. The City allowed the population to increase by indiscriminately issuing permits for the construction of residential houses, despite the poor condition of the soil and the inadequacy of certain service facilities.

Various ideas and proposals were suggested as to how Queensborough should be developed. The Health Department had

its own physical plan, locating the residential zone at an L-shaped core. Some City officials hoped to fill the area with sand, dredged from the Fraser River, while the others secretly wished the people were not there so that Queensborough could be converted into an industrial estate.

The case is still in progress. The officials and the citizens of Queensborough have yet to arrive at some kind of a decision acceptable to both groups. The alternatives are being debated. Nevertheless, the citizens have shown their avowed interest in the affairs of their own neighborhood and have kept alive the issue concerning the future of Queensborough.

Chapter 4

THE DOWNTOWN PARKING RAMP

General Background

One of the main shopping centers of New Westminster is the downtown business district near the waterfront. It is located "right in the geographical center of a trading area with a population nearly 250,000," excluding Vancouver.¹ The principal shopping street is Columbia Street where one finds the big department stores, banks, groceries, theaters, hotels, and restaurants. As in most downtowns, this shopping area has experienced some problems created by the dispersion of commercial facilities to many suburban centers. How the businessmen of the area with the cooperation of the City Government won back many of the shoppers can be illustrated in the story of the downtown parking ramp.

In 1954, the downtown merchants were disturbed by the surging growth of nearby municipalities, particularly Burnaby, where the Simpson-Sears store opened that year on Kingsway Street. The uptown section of the City was likewise threatening the life of the downtown what with Woodward's store at the corner of Sixth Street and Sixth Avenue offering free parking

¹The New Westminster Downtown Business and Property Owners' Association, The Story of Downtown New Westminster 1952 to 1957, New Westminster, September, 1967, p. 2.

to customers within its premises.² The downtown merchants feared that business along Columbia Street and in the neighborhood would die unless off-street parking space was made available.³ "We don't have enough streets to put meters on and to keep the parking area within the shoppers' range," Max Shiles said.⁴ Doug H. Collister warned that if anything was to be done about parking in the downtown it had to be done quickly.⁵

Initial Action

In 1954, the downtown businessmen were already organized as a downtown section of the retail bureau of the New Westminster Board of Trade (now Chamber of Commerce). Knowing what they wanted, the merchants sought information on how off-street parking facilities were operated. Tempest de Wolf, manager of the Vancouver Downtown Parking Corporation, was invited to enlighten them on the experience of Vancouver merchants. De Wolf appeared at the meeting of the retail bureau on January 14, 1954 and explained how the City of Vancouver cooperated in financing the facilities by enacting a one mil-

²The Columbian, New Westminster, February 28, 1957.

³The Columbian, New Westminster, February 28, 1957.

⁴From Max Shiles, manager of the Front Street parking ramp, interviewed on February 15, 1968.

⁵From the minutes of the downtown section of the retail bureau, New Westminster Board of Trade, January 14, 1954.

lion dollar local improvement bylaw to be repaid by the benefiting property owners. The earnings, he said, brought in more revenue than what the law required.⁶

De Wolf advised that a local improvement area must be designated and a good proportion of the property owners should be in favor. In Vancouver, he continued, 76 percent expressed willingness to enter into the scheme.

Studies by the transportation bureau of the Board of Trade in 1952 identified three possible ways of providing downtown parking facilities. One was to build a parking ramp over Front Street, from Sixth Street to McKenzie Street, on the same level as Columbia Street. The estimated cost of this parking structure was \$1,000 per car and it could be amortized in twenty years by using parking meters. Another suggestion was to develop a parking area between the Canadian National Railway and the Canadian Pacific Railway tracks, from the foot of Tenth Street to Twelfth Street. The difficulty of getting the approval of the two railways led to the abandonment of this idea. The third scheme was to construct a multi-level parking garage at Clarkson Street ravine between Church Street and Fourth Street.⁷

A number of parking plans were drawn up and presented to the businessmen. One of them was prepared by John Reid,

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid. October 2, 1954.

engineer, who had two alternative schemes for a parking ramp over Front Street. One was estimated to cost \$300,000 with a capacity of 338 cars and another at \$400,000 (excluding cost of acquisition of property) with 552 cars. Reid wanted to take his plans to the City engineer for discussion but was cautioned not to take any action until permission was obtained from the Council.⁸

On May 3, 1954, a committee composed of J. R. (Jack) Buliung, manager of Zellers Limited, D. H. Collister, proprietor of Collister Limited, and Herman Phillips, a member of the management staff of Phillips Radio and Furniture Limited, met with the Council. Collister, acting as spokesman, told Council that it was not their intention to discuss any specific plan, but they wanted to discuss off-street parking plans in general with the City solicitor, the engineer, and the comptroller. Collister was asked what plans they had and he described Reid's scheme. Mayor Fred (Toby) Jackson expressed his apprehension over the construction of a ramp type on Front Street because of the possible problem that might arise like the restriction of access to buildings in case of fire. Alderman Allison suggested the development of Clarkson Street ravine and Jackson concurred with the Alderman's suggestion.⁹

⁸Ibid. April 30, 1954.

⁹Ibid.

The Barratt Plans

On June 11, 1954, Bert Barratt of Phillips, Barratt and Partners, an engineering and architectural firm, presented his plan for a large parking ramp project in the Clarkson Street ravine area. He did it on his own initiative, without any obligation on the part of the businessmen. He applied the following criteria to his plan: (1) geography of the City and the need for access from Columbia Street, (2) self-parking to minimize cost and assistance to motorists, (3) costs of property, (4) future extension of the facilities, and (5) multi-level feature to conserve space. It was estimated to cost \$1,100 per car and it could accommodate 260 cars.

Buliung stated that this parking structure, if realized, would involve considerable amount of walking for patrons from the ramp to Columbia Street. He preferred the parking project on Front Street because it would house more vehicles at a much lower cost. Buliung advised the others to consider the development of the Front Street parking project. The City engineer, who was at the meeting of the downtown businessmen, said that the most important thing to consider in off-street parking was the ease of access. He suggested that the cost of developing the parking ramp at Front Street should be studied by Barratt. At that very moment Barratt was requested to prepare estimates for the parking facilities over Front Street, and in the process, to consult the City engineer.¹⁰

¹⁰Ibid., June 11, 1954.

At the meeting of the downtown section of the Board of Trade, on July 12, Barratt appeared with his plan for the parking ramp which extended over the railway tracks. This structure would have two decks, having a total capacity of 389 cars at a cost of \$412,300. After some discussion, it was agreed that the ramp should not extend over the railway trackage because of the anticipated difficulty in obtaining permission from the railway companies. Reduced in length, the ramp would accommodate 194 cars at a cost of \$200,000. Access would be from Columbia Street via Sixth Street and egress would be toward the western end, near the intersection of Begbie Street and Front Street. This plan differed from that of Reid's which would extend only to McKenzie Street, but would have four decks. This group decided to present the Barratt plan to Mayor Jackson.¹¹

Again, the committee formed to see Jackson consisted of Buliung, Collister, Phillips, and a fourth, Frank Wilson, manager of the Board of Trade. The Mayor did not like to commit himself to the plan because he felt the ramp might obstruct certain premises on Front Street. He promised to have the project assigned to a committee of the Council for further study and also to the City solicitor for comment.¹²

¹¹Ibid., July 13, 1954.

¹²Ibid.

The Downtown Business and Property Owners' Association Is Born

The downtown businessmen soon realized the necessity of separating from the Board of Trade. The reasons were (1) the Board of Trade could not support projects benefiting only one sector of the City, (2) the businessmen needed the cooperation of the property owners who were not at that time affiliated with the Board of Trade, and (3) they had to organize into an incorporated society which could effectively negotiate an agreement with the City Government.¹³

On September 14, 1954, a group from the downtown section of the Board of Trade, headed by Collister, unanimously decided to form a new organization for the downtown area with membership open to all proprietors, property owners, and professionals. Notices about the first meeting were circulated to prospective members. The election of the members of the board of directors was held at the inaugural meeting of the Association on October 12, 1954. The elected directors were then instructed to request the Council to submit a money bylaw to the property owners in the downtown area. The tenants in the meeting were told to persuade their landlord to vote in favor of the bylaw. The proposed area for the local improvement bylaw was bounded by the following streets: Carnarvon, McNeely, Fourth and Front.

¹³Information about the activities of the Downtown Business and Property Owners' Association was furnished by Mr. J. Buliung, manager of the Association, and by Mr. Max Shiles, manager of the parking ramp. Mr. Buliung offered the file of the minutes of the Association.

The first president was Tom Trapp of the Trapp Motors Limited the vice president was Buliung. Trapp said that priority should be given to the raising of funds for the project. However, because of certain legal restrictions, the committee of Council studying the project could not prepare a money by-law that year.

Opposition and Support

Some members of the Association felt that in order to convince both Council and the property owners to support the project, a reliable survey of the parking requirements of the downtown should be made. So, a representative of Larry Smith and Company, consultant firm on traffic needs, with office in Seattle, came to speak about surveys at the January 28, 1955 meeting of the Association. The consultants offered to conduct the survey at a cost of \$2,500. Another research group, Ward and Associates, also offered its services at \$3,700. However, because of the problem of financing, the Association did not proceed with the survey.

Very little progress was made in 1955. The leaders spent their time in finding ways of overcoming opposition, especially from the Front Street property owners who were at first not satisfied with the ramp proposal. A petition for signatures of the tenants and the property owners in the area showed that 15 tenants on Front Street refused to sign. However, the property owners in this section later assured the Association of their support.

Council was again contacted by a committee of the downtown Association on November 28, 1955. As usual, the Council appointed a committee to study the bylaw. Later, the merchants were advised by the City solicitor, Norman Lidster, that the City had no power to lease the streets and the area above them. The necessary amendment to the Municipal Act further delayed the voting on the money bylaw.

Then on February 21, 1956, the local paper (The Columbian) carried an item about Mayor Jackson announcing his stand against the parking ramp project which he called an "abortion," "It would hinder our waterfront development by providing a bottleneck for the only piece of waterfront we have," he said. "I don't know how trucks are going to get into the Front Street stores with supporting pillars in the way, and I am afraid of what it is going to do to the value of the property on Front Street," he added.¹⁴

An emergency meeting of the Association was immediately called to answer the charges of Mayor Jackson. The downtown businessmen reiterated their stand in favor of the ramp. Buliung pointed out in this meeting that Council had already indicated its approval and in fact a special committee was

¹⁴The Columbian, New Westminster, February 21, 1956. From an interview, Mr. Fred Jackson claimed he was against using the City's power to undertake projects that would benefit only a small group. He was suggesting to the businessmen to develop privately owned sites, like the location of the Windsor Hotel.

instructed to study and make a report on the project. The editorial of The Columbian criticized Jackson on his statements. The project had been approved in principle by the aldermen and it was only awaiting clearance on some legal aspects, the editorial said.¹⁵

The Association had its strong supporters on Council, such as Alderman Beth Wood (later mayor) and Alderman R. W. Ballantyne. Alderman Wood expressed her concern over the delay of the report by the study committee. "This is a regrettable situation--a situation which has existed since this committee was appointed last November," Wood said.¹⁶ Alderman Ballantyne asserted, parking was a matter of "life and death" to the downtown shopping district.¹⁷ Alderman J. Stuart Gifford later also pledged his full support for the ramp project.¹⁸ Although the other aldermen were not vocal, it was claimed, they were all behind the project.

In the meantime, the Association was approached by certain private financiers to try financing the project with private funds. One of them was Barker Construction Limited which attempted to promote the ramp venture through borrowing. But C. E. Barker, president of the firm, later reported it was impossible to borrow money from the banks for capital projects.

¹⁵Ibid., February 22, 1956.

¹⁶Ibid., April 17, 1956.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Ibid., December 6, 1956.

Buliung then declared they should go ahead with the local improvement scheme of financing.¹⁹

The Parking Ramp at Last

While the members of the downtown Association were waiting for the Council to present a local improvement bylaw, they undertook an organized campaign program to get the support of the owner electors. A committee was formed for this purpose and brochures were prepared to explain to the electors the aims of the bylaw and why they should vote for it.

Through the representation of Colin McQuarrie, the Association's lawyer, and the City solicitor, Norman Lidster, the Provincial Government finally amended the Municipal Act to give the City authority to build a structure over a public street, and the power to assess the property owners to finance off-street parking. A City bylaw was consequently submitted to the voters in December, 1957. In this bylaw, the City Government sought the downtown property owners' consent "to guarantee, through an additional tax levy, any deficit between the net revenue from the 'Ramp' and the annual debenture payments."²⁰ The payments would retire the debenture totalling \$450,000 for a period of twenty years.²¹

¹⁹Ibid., July 10, 1956.

²⁰Downtown Business and Property Owners' Association, The Story of Downtown New Westminster 1952 to 1967, New Westminster, September, 1967, p. 7.

²¹Ibid.

The bylaw was passed with a majority of 86 percent, much above the required 60 percent. The carefully planned selling campaign paid off. The Front Street parking ramp was constructed and opened to the public on February 26, 1959.²²

The parking ramp consisting of two decks, covers three City blocks in length and is 60 feet wide. It has a clearance of twenty feet over Front Street. There are 166 parking spaces on the top deck and 163 on the bottom, making a total of 329 car spaces. For the first three years of operation, the total number of cars parked were as follows: 1959, 183,372; 1960, 233,702 cars; and 1961, 221,959 cars. The revenues earned over the same period were: \$43,576 in 1959, \$58,769 in 1960, and \$58,710 in 1961. The operating expenses were \$21,295 in 1959, \$25,813 in 1960, and \$22,543 in 1961. The debenture payment is \$36,000 annually.²³

The Extension Parking Ramp

In 1960, the businessmen started to investigate new locations for additional off-street parking facilities. They identified three possible sites, namely, the easterly extension of the Front Street ramp, the southerly extension of the same ramp, and the Clarkson Street ravine. J. Ballentine,

²²From Max Shiles, manager of the downtown parking ramp, February 9, 1968.

²³Max Shiles, "The History of the New Westminster Parking Ramp," from Fifth Annual Convention Proceedings of Western Canada Traffic and Parking Association, Kamloops, October 25 and 26, 1962, p. 5.

manager of Woolworth store, spoke in favor of the site on Clarkson Street ravine because it would provide parking service to areas least served by the ramp at Front Street. Besides, its development was not hampered by the problem confronting the other sites, namely, the relocation of the railway tracks. Everyone seemed to agree with Ballentine.

However, after months of discussion, at the Association's annual general meeting, McQuarrie suggested the resumption of their effort to have the trackage relocated to pave the way for the construction of an extension to the parking ramp. John Manson, manager of the Eatons store, the following year, also advocated the eastward extension of the parking ramp. Manson averred that shoppers would not walk even one block up the hill.²⁴

The Clarkson Street ravine parking alternative was indefinitely shelved. The leaders of the Association began their trek to City Hall. They requested the Council to negotiate with the railway companies for the relocation of their tracks. The aldermen replied this was the very thing they tried to do for many years without success. Nevertheless, they promised to try again.

On April 18, 1963, the representatives of the different railway companies met with City officials to submit their plans regarding the tracks. The plans were found to be identical in

²⁴Clarkson Street is located uphill next to Columbia Street.

many respects. It was agreed by the group that the Canadian Pacific Railway Company should work out a plan suitable to all companies.²⁵

At this time, Mayor Beth Wood and the Council became interested in the rejuvenation of the whole downtown. For this purpose, the Downtown Development Steering Committee composed of two aldermen and two businessmen representatives was formed. It was under this Committee that the details of the extension parking ramp was discussed and the problems attendant to it threshed out.²⁶

By October 26, 1964, Alderman J. Doug Stout, chairman of the Steering Committee recommended to Council the preparation of the bylaw to authorize the borrowing of \$850,000 to provide for "public off-street parking facilities as an extension of the existing Front Street parking ramp to be constructed under the special provisions contained in the Municipal Act" setting aside a particular area to vote on its construction and financing.²⁷ This bylaw was presented to the voters during the December election of 1964.

²⁵From the minutes of the New Westminster Council, April 29, 1963.

²⁶The Steering Committee studied various project proposals for the improvement of the downtown area. One of the projects approved by the Committee was the reconstruction of a portion of Columbia Street at the cost of \$310,000 which was shared by both the City Government and the ratepayers along Columbia Street.

²⁷Ibid., October 26, 1964.

Campaign materials for a favorable vote were distributed by the Association leaders to all qualified owner electors. Copies of the proposed bylaw were included among the materials. The result of the December 12, 1964 election showed an overwhelming majority in favor of the bylaw. The combined ramp would now require an annual debenture payment of \$126,000.

The extension ramp was opened in June, 1966. It has a capacity of 582 cars on its three decks. The old and the new parking ramps combined parked 477,313 cars in 1966 and 603,842 cars in 1967.²⁸ The upward trend in the number of cars parked is indicative of the success of the downtown businessmen and property owners in regaining for the downtown district its role as a vital central shopping center for surrounding municipalities.

Summary

Like the citizens in Queensborough, the businessmen and the property owners in the downtown section of New Westminster formed a society to accomplish certain objectives. The Downtown Business and Property Owners' Association was organized originally to secure the City Government's assistance in the construction of an off-street parking facility. The businessmen perceived this project as a major solution to their problem of survival.

²⁸From Max Shiles, February 9, 1968.

The leaders of the Association studied all possible means of acquiring the needed off-street parking structure and ultimately agreed to seek Council's authorization to construct a parking ramp over Front Street. After overcoming certain opposition, the businessmen finally had the parking ramp built through the enactment of a bylaw which created a local improvement area. The property owners in this area assured the City Government that they shall pay in the form of additional tax levy any deficit between the net income from the ramp and the annual debenture payments over a period of twenty years. An extension to the ramp was later constructed under the same condition. Through a mutual agreement between the Council and the downtown group, both ramps are managed by the Association.

Again, as in the previous case study, the most active participants here are the top leaders of the Association. These are the business proprietors and the managers of large department stores. The managers are generally men who started their career from the bottom rung of the business community.

Later, in 1962, the City Government under the leadership of Mayor Beth Wood (formerly alderman) undertook a program of improving the downtown area. A Steering Committee consisting of two aldermen and two representatives from the downtown group was established to carry out this program. The Committee discussed various projects which included the construction of

an extension to the parking ramp. Another major project was the reconstruction of a portion of Columbia Street at the cost of \$310,000. Both the City Government and the property owners along Columbia Street shared in the burden.

Chapter 5

THE REDEVELOPMENT PROPOSAL FOR AREA 4

General Background

The idea of redeveloping or rehabilitating the deteriorated areas of New Westminster began to take shape in the minds of the Council members in 1959 when Wilfred Greene, comptroller, informed Council of the availability of federal assistance for urban renewal programs. But a redevelopment study must first be made before such assistance could be authorized. The Council therefore saw the necessity of appointing a planner to make a preliminary investigation of the conditions in the City. For this reason, Mary Rawson was hired as a part-time planner at \$400 a month in December, 1959.¹

Rawson proved to be a capable planner and a hard worker.² In a short time, in February, 1960, she presented a report to Council on several aspects of planning and zoning regulations. She sought Council's approval of a \$15,000 urban redevelopment study to be shared by the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC), a federal agency. The City's contribution was set at \$4,000. This study would define the re-

¹The Columbian, New Westminster, December 4, 1959. Alderman Ken Wright furnished the additional information about Miss Rawson and the interest of the Council in planning, March 9, 1968.

²From Alderman Wright, March 9, 1968.

sidential, commercial, and industrial areas which were deteriorated. A plan for action for redevelopment or rehabilitation of "blighted" areas would then be laid out.³

Unfortunately, Council did not take action on Rawson's proposal, in spite of Mayor Beth Wood's statement that the \$4,000 expenditure would be one of the soundest investments the City could make.⁴ Alderman Jack Allison was claimed to have stalled action on the application for a redevelopment survey. He wanted Rawson to conduct the survey herself, for which Rawson replied she would do the survey in addition to her current job, provided she received additional remuneration for the study. Allison termed the proposal a duplication of cost and service.⁵

Council did not renew Rawson's appointment the following year. It seemed that she incurred the ire of some department heads. However, at this time, the Chamber of Commerce started to agitate for the hiring of a full-time planner. The representatives of this organization met with Council on March 12, 1962 to press their demand. The Chamber president, John Watson, presented a brief asking for overall planning program for traffic and parking improvements, long-range parks require-

³The Columbian, New Westminster, February 6, 1960.

⁴The Columbian, New Westminster, March 3, 1960.

⁵Ibid., August 25, 1960.

ments and other aspects of the physical development of the City. Ironically, Mayor Wood, the same mayor who saw fit to spend \$4,000 for an urban renewal study, was now opposed to the spending of \$12,000 for a planner. The money could be better put into roads, she reasoned and stated, "Suppose you come in to see us as a committee once in a while to talk over one problem at a time."⁶

On March 8, 1963, George Fountain agreed to work for the City as a part-time planner. Fountain worked closely with the Advisory Planning Commission, giving the latter his views on the problems of zoning. It was through him that Alderman Maud Corrigan knew Barry Chaster who was soon to take over the job as full-time planner. Alderman Corrigan submitted a resolution to Council to have a new full-time post created. "We have come to the point in our City's development where there is too much work for a part-time planner," Corrigan said.⁷ Council acted on Corrigan's proposal and Barry Chaster was named as the first full-time planner on April 1, 1965.

Among the tasks awaiting the new planner was that of "top aide" to the Urban Redevelopment Committee created earlier in January, 1965. He was expected to explore the possibility of an urban renewal program for New Westminster. Prior

⁶Ibid., March 13, 1962.

⁷Ibid., February 9, 1965.

to his appointment, Chaster had ten years of planning experience in Vancouver.⁸

The Urban Redevelopment Committee

At the inaugural meeting of the Council on January 4, 1965, Mayor J. Stuart Gifford announced the appointment of a redevelopment committee to study how the City should be rebuilt through an urban renewal program, "to offer New Westminster a second life."⁹ He set the goals of the renewal program by saying, "First let us realize the fact that there is serious deterioration of many buildings in the City. I believe that under a full scale renewal program, we will be able to weed out these dilapidated and decaying buildings from areas where sound buildings stand."¹⁰ The old buildings, he said, produced "spotty areas" and if these would go unchecked, assessments would go down as property depreciates. He promised to do what he could to keep private homes because it is the private home which gives people a sense of belonging. Finally, he foresaw the value of redevelopment in maintaining the City's identity.¹¹

The Urban Redevelopment Committee was initially constituted with three prominent citizens of the City: W. C. Lee,

⁸Ibid., April 1, 1965.

⁹Ibid., January 18, 1965.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Ibid.

chairman, R. W. Ballantyne and K. O. MacGowan, members. Lee is the mortgage investment manager for Mutual Life of Canada; MacGowan is vice president of W. H. Mercer Insurance Company; and Ballantyne is a former alderman, now Columbian advertising manager.¹² According to information received, they are all members of the Chamber of Commerce. They are citizens who volunteered and were recommended by Mayor Gifford to Council on the basis of their personal qualifications, namely, "good citizens, intelligent, outstanding, and dedicated to public service."¹³

The main functions of the Committee are to provide Council with guidance on urban renewal policy and to supply those who are affected within the urban renewal area with information about plans and the proposed program of implementation.¹⁴ The members went out into the area, answering questions raised by the citizens. The leaders within the project area praised the members of the Redevelopment Committee and the planning staff for their genuine interest in seeking the people's views, saying that such an approach was not done in Vancouver's first renewal project.

An alderman was added to the membership of the Committee in 1967. Alderman Joe Francis, elected in December, 1966,

¹²Ibid.

¹³From an interview with Mayor Gifford, January 12, 1968.

¹⁴From an interview with Mr. W. C. Lee, March 13, 1968.

was given this post by virtue of his being chairman of the Industrial Development and Planning Committee of Council. In addition, he sits in at meetings of the Advisory Planning Commission. Francis sees the advantage of being a member of both bodies because he is convinced that urban renewal is closely related to the planning of the whole City. He represents Council's views in the deliberations of the Redevelopment Committee and then in turn transmits to Council matters that require legislative action. He renders a bi-monthly report to his fellow aldermen on the progress of the renewal project.¹⁵

Urban Renewal Survey

Upon assumption of office, Chaster stated that his approach to planning would be twofold. "There are two functions to planning," he said. "On the one hand, we are concerned with the situation of the community within the region as a whole...But there is a second part, focussing attention on the individual community."¹⁶ The region he had in mind was the Lower Mainland. Urban renewal, he said, should be integrated into a comprehensive approach of City planning. However, he warned: "But you need remember that any project like this is going to take quite a long time and a lot of money."¹⁷

¹⁵From Alderman Joe Francis, March 11, 1968.

¹⁶The Columbian, New Westminster, April 1, 1965.

¹⁷Ibid.

On June 15, 1965, Lee addressed a letter to the Council endorsing the application (prepared by the City planner) for federal assistance to an urban renewal study. The application was to be submitted by Council to the provincial housing commissioner, British Columbia, and then to the CMHC. Attached to the application was the following information: (1) purpose and scope of the study; (2) preliminary material available; (3) organization, staff requirements, and work schedule; (4) survey schedules; and (5) estimated costs.¹⁸ The estimated cost of the study was \$40,000 and \$30,000 of this amount would be borne by the CMHC, while the City would contribute \$10,000.¹⁹

Consequently, Council passed a resolution to request the assistance of CMHC in carrying out its renewal study. The provincial housing commissioner and the CMHC approved the request and an agreement between the City and the CMHC was drawn up on November 1, 1965. Under this agreement, the City undertook the study to identify areas which are blighted or sub-standard and then formulated recommendations upon which a renewal program could be based and also suggested measures to prevent deterioration of areas not presently blighted. The study was carried out under the direction of the City

¹⁸New Westminster, British Columbia, Planning Department, Application and Agreement to Conduct an Urban Renewal Study. 1965, pp. 1-6.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 6.

planner and additional personnel were employed. The City submitted a periodic progress report and statement of accounts to the CMHC.²⁰

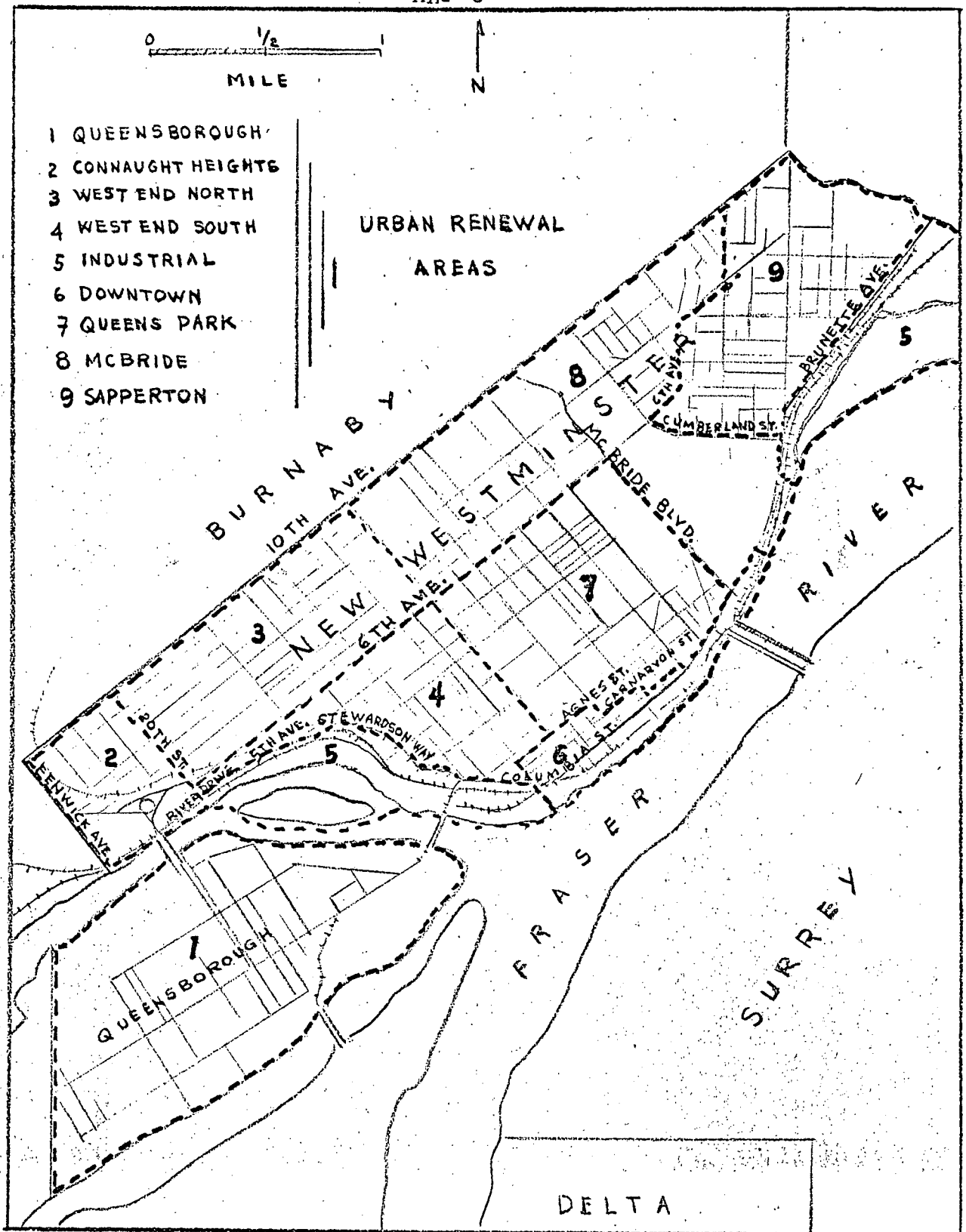
The urban renewal study consisting of three parts was completed after a one year City-wide survey. The first report describes the general conditions in New Westminster such as population characteristics, services, government procedures and regulations controlling the City's development, resources, and problems. Blight was found to be scattered throughout the City. A number of problems were identified, like sub-standard municipal services in some sectors, poor arrangement of land uses, air pollution, poor quality of housing, and inadequate parking space. Above all, the report says, the City has no plan "to give direction to both public and private development."²¹

Part Two of the study examines the problems in each of the nine urban renewal areas into which the whole City was arbitrarily divided. (See Map C). Those areas with relatively fewer problems and also those with problems so complex that they could not be remedied solely by urban renewal were segregated. The balance were evaluated according to certain cri-

²⁰Ibid., A duplicate copy of the Agreement, pp. 1-4.

²¹New Westminster, British Columbia, Planning Department, Urban Renewal Study, Part One, December, 1965, pp. vi-viii.

MAP C



teria and a pilot scheme area was selected.²²

The third portion of the study enumerates the recommendations of the planner and the Urban Redevelopment Committee to Council. It explains the different provisions under the National Housing Act governing the program of urban renewal. The general conditions in the urban renewal scheme area which is Area 4 are analyzed and a broad outline of the renewal program is presented. Citizen participation is mentioned as one of the significant steps to be observed in the implementation of the program. "If planning and urban renewal are to be successful," the report states, "individual citizens must participate in the planning process."²³

Selection of the Scheme Area

The Planning Department, in consultation with the Urban Redevelopment Committee, determined the first area for urban renewal, based on a set of criteria. These criteria arranged according to the order of priority are: (1) need as indicated by the nature and number of problems; (2) manageability of the problems, one with less complicated engineering and other related difficulties; (3) functional impact on the area selected, like improved facilities; (4) visual impact;

²²New Westminster, British Columbia, Planning Department, Urban Renewal--New Westminster, Progress Report to December, 1967, mimeographed, p. 2.

²³New Westminster, British Columbia, Planning Department, Urban Renewal Study, Part Three, November, 1966, p. 46.

(5) higher market demand for the re-use of sites; (6) financial benefit, especially in the form of taxes; (7) area with the least relocation or rehousing problems; (8) a relatively smaller area to minimize public expenditure; (9) area with very little private renewal activity; and (10) the area most acceptable to the political leaders and to the citizens.²⁴

Four areas contended for selection: Area 1 (Queensborough), Area 2 (Connaught Heights), Area 7 (Queens Park), and Area 4 (West End, South). The first two were eliminated earlier because of the absence of essential municipal services, such as a sewerage system, and therefore, they could not be classified as renewal districts. Queens Park likewise lacks the depth of social and economic problems which characterize Area 4. Older buildings and welfare problems are highly concentrated in Area 4. This area, which was the final choice of the planning staff and the Redevelopment Committee, "has many good homes and it would be less expensive to develop. It is susceptible to quick improvement," Lee said.²⁵ The area is bounded on the north by Sixth Avenue; on the east by Eighth Street; on the south by Columbia Street, Stewardson Way, Fifth

²⁴New Westminster, British Columbia, Planning Department, Urban Renewal Study, Part Two, May, 1966, pp. 32-33.

²⁵From Mr. W. C. Lee, March 13, 1968.

Avenue, and River Drive; and on the west by Twentieth Street.²⁶

In June, 1966, Lee and Ballantyne proposed to the Finance and Administration Committee of Council that urban renewal activities be commenced in Area 4. This proposal was subsequently approved and the Redevelopment Committee was asked to involve interested citizens in the area in the pursuance of its objectives.²⁷

Program of Citizen Participation

An active citizen participation program has been undertaken by the Planning Department and the Urban Redevelopment Committee. The program started with an attitude survey, in July, 1966, using a 10 percent sample of the residents living in Area 4. A series of questions were asked to understand the general feeling of the interviewees about their neighborhood. The respondents identified several problems like dilapidated buildings, unsightly surroundings, lack of parking space, narrow streets, and rowdyism. Many blamed the City Hall for the substandard conditions in the area, although others accused

²⁶New Westminster, British Columbia, Planning Department, Urban Renewal Scheme For Area 4, December 1967, p. 1.

²⁷From the minutes of the New Westminster Council, June 20, 1966.

their neighbors of apathy and disinterest in improving their own premises.²⁸

The technique utilized by the Planning Department in encouraging citizen participation in every phase of the renewal program is best described by the following paragraph:

Following completion of the three-part Urban Renewal Study, the program of citizen participation was accelerated in order to assist residents of Area 4 to organize themselves to work with the City throughout the preparation of the Pilot scheme. Area 4 was divided into eleven sub-areas and meetings were held with the residents of each sub-area to explain the Urban Renewal Study and the City's proposed program for urban renewal. Each sub-area appointed two or three representatives, who together form the citizens' Area Council. Planning staff and Committee members consulted frequently with the Area Council as Stage One of the Scheme was being prepared.²⁹

A newsletter is distributed to every household in Area 4. This publication keeps the people informed on the evolving scheme and warns them of the inevitable spread of rumors.

One of the best attended meetings was that of November 2, 1967, when the planning staff and the Committee presented three alternative schemes for Area 4. Some 325 residents out of the possible 500 came to discuss the alternatives and to

²⁸See the brochure, Beyond Your Frontyard, sent out by the Urban Redevelopment Committee to Area 4 residents, September, 1966.

²⁹New Westminster, British Columbia, Planning Department, Urban Renewal Scheme for Area 4, December, 1967, p. 21.

vote on them. Perhaps the only discordant aspect of the meeting was the conspicuous absence of about one-half of the Area Council members.³⁰

The alternative scheme chosen by the majority was Scheme III. This scheme would link Stewardson Way near Sharpe Street to Royal Avenue, at Eighth Street. It would involve the closure of Stewardson Way between Sharpe Street and Thirteenth Street. If the scheme is accomplished, Stewardson Way will provide an east-west route and will serve as a collector for traffic from the residential area. It can act as a buffer between the commercial and the residential land uses.³¹

Citizens' reaction to the urban renewal program can probably be reflected by comments from sub-area chairmen whose views were sought to obtain an understanding of the prevailing sentiments in Area 4. The comments can be summarized as follows:

--We go to meetings and see what's going on. The planners and the members of the Redevelopment Committee bring to us their proposals to improve the area. We can ask questions and vote on the proposals. We are confident these plans will make our district better. For those who will be adversely affected, I like them to be relocated in the area. Some have lived in this place for many years. The home-owners hate to lose their pro-

³⁰Don Barcham, assistant planner called in this meeting the names of Area Council members.

³¹New Westminster, British Columbia, Planning Department, op. cit., p. 16.

perty. But they will be compensated, maybe five times of the price they paid twenty years ago.

--Nothing has been done yet but talks and pictures. I live in the area which might not be disrupted. I'm not on the middle of the proposed route. I have no idea about the people living there. Everyone has a personal angle to the renewal project. Those who cannot see the City in a broader perspective will ask: How does it affect me? Will my property be taken at a higher price? The principle I cannot dispute is that the program will raise the standard of the environment in the area. It is the best way to keep the property from falling into a junkyard. Some people who have lived here for 20 or 40 years don't like the change. In a democracy, the majority should rule. Only a small minority will be hurt financially or psychologically. The planning scheme on Stewardson Way was done by professional people.

--The people here are apathetic and unconcerned. They look at urban renewal in a different way, how it will affect them, not how it will affect the City. Anywhere in the Lower Mainland, the growing communities must admit more people. What will happen to the family unit? Some families will have to move to apartments. The trend is toward apartment living. Apartment development by some real estate developers creates locked-in lots. The City should expropriate the whole block to eliminate this type of development. The planners put forward their ideas. Whatever we say, they will go ahead with their plans. They do listen to people but generally their analysis is sound. You cannot charge the planners of being biased. They don't even live in the City.

--Urban renewal is a good idea and discussions in meetings have been successful. Let me explain. Our residential district was good at the time when we acquired our house. Then the Scott Paper Limited moved in and this was followed by the sawdust dump which devaluated the property in the area. I don't like others calling our place a slum. There are beautiful gardens here. The senior citizens invested money in homes. Then the urban renewal program forces them to move out.

These are their homes and yet they have to leave. That is unfair. It is true that they will be assisted in securing homes but these will be elsewhere, not in the area. Most older people don't mind moving to a home where they can have a little garden. The apartments will not provide them this opportunity.

--There is too much delay in this program. Everybody thought at the start that our homes would be remodelled and we would have better streets. Then a proposed road will take away some property. When they are going to begin, they don't tell us. We know nothing more than what we knew two years ago, except that we know where the road will pass through. As far as I'm concerned, they will go ahead with their plans whether we agree or not. They can expropriate property if they wish to. People agreed there is blight, some eye-sores and they must be cleared out. As to when this will be done we don't know. There's the bakery, an ideal spot to start the project with. Almost everyone guaranteed that it would go. It is an eye-sore, a fire hazard. But they can't take it out. I spoke to an alderman and he said he could do nothing about it.³²

The Next Step

The scheme for Area 4 consists of two parts. The first part, a general concept or framework, was endorsed by the citizens present at the meeting in Lord Kelvin Elementary School on November 2, 1967. The second part is still under preparation and will be completed by April, 1968. This report will describe in detail the targets, costs, and staging.

³²From an interview with the sub-area chairmen, March 9, and 10, 1968.

The current problem faced by the Planning Department and the Council is the lack of funds to purchase the property for the proposed road and for housing. The City does not have adequate funds for this purpose and it has to await financial aid from the senior governments. This assistance is held in abeyance until the entire schemes are submitted and approved.³³

Summary

Obviously, the citizens involved in this case study are the leaders of the Chamber of Commerce, the citizen members of the Urban Redevelopment Committee, and the residents of Area 4. The citizens appointed to the Committee are said to be affiliated with the Chamber of Commerce.

The Committee has been working closely with the Planning Department. The redevelopment of Area 4 as the first urban renewal project was a joint decision of the Planning Department and the Committee. An alderman who is a member of the Committee represents the views of Council. One of the tasks assigned to the Committee is the dissemination of information about City policies and plans regarding the urban renewal program.

The Area leaders, who constitute the Area Council in Area 4, assist the Committee in communicating important City decisions concerning the renewal program to the citizens. At the same time they transmit to the City officials and to the

³³From Mr. Barry Chaster, City planner, March 9, 1968.

members of the Committee certain ideas as well as the feelings of the citizens affected by the program.

All the residents in Area 4 were afforded the opportunity to participate in the selection of the scheme for redevelopment. This was achieved through a meeting where the City planner presented three different alternative schemes from which the citizens could choose the one most acceptable. The citizens, present in the meeting, adopted one of the schemes through a majority vote.

From the statements of some of the leaders in Area 4, it seems that the role of the planner as a technical planning specialist, whose analyses and conclusions are believed to be valid and sound, have been generally accepted by the citizens. This is significant because the citizens who suspect the planner of having some ulterior motives in the preparation of the schemes may not cooperate and may even fight against the implementation of the redevelopment project.

Chapter 6

OTHER ASPECTS OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

Thus far, the style of citizen participation depicted in the case studies is one that involves established associations. These have been organized to look after the special needs of special areas, and through formally elected leaders, to secure or solicit government support for projects. However, individuals may also participate in another way, that is, through informal channels of participation. The fact that the case studies do not reveal individual contacts with City officials by persons acting outside group pressures prompted the researcher to conduct interviews with a limited sample of organizational leaders and citizens on welfare assistance.

The leaders interviewed consisted of current presidents of 14 community organizations believed to be actively engaged in initiating projects that may require some kind of government assistance. (See APPENDIX A for the names of the organizations and their corresponding presidents). These leaders were presumed to possess high social status in the City. Another group, consisting of 16 individuals or five percent of the total families on welfare, was randomly selected to represent those with lower status in the community. The concept of "status" as used here is similar to what Kurt B. Mayer describes as the "differentiation of prestige and differences among individuals and

groups in a society."¹ Prestige usually depends on local evaluation of a person's behavior, while differences are measured in terms of income, property, education, and occupation.

Based on what the respondents claimed in the interview, the leaders possessed most of the attributes that would rank them in a high social status. Most of them 13 or 93 percent, owned their homes; 12 or 86 percent had college education; and nine or 64 percent held managerial or executive positions. The two leaders without college education, had some secondary schooling and occupied responsible positions in private firms, one at the managerial level and the other as a shop foreman. Only three or 19 percent of those on welfare had college attainment; three or 19 percent owned their homes; and, of course, they were all unemployed. (See TABLE I, APPENDIX C).

Melvin M. Tumin cited in his book on social stratification the findings of Charles Wright and Herbert Hyman, about the latter's studies in 1958 on the adult population of the United States, using a sample of 5,000, that "an appreciably higher percentage of persons in higher status positions belongs to voluntary associations than do persons of lower status."² This was corroborated by the Tumin and Feldman's study of voluntary association participation in Puerto Rico, claim-

¹Kurt B. Mayer, Class and Society, revised edition (New York: Random House, Inc., 1955), p. 24.

²Melvin M. Tumin, Social Stratification (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967), p. 70.

ing that "every advance in educational level brings an increase in the percentage of persons who are members of an organization."³ The data obtained from New Westminster seem to parallel these findings. All the leaders were members of two or more organizations while 12 or 75 percent of the welfare group claimed they did not belong to any organization.

Attitudes Toward Living in the City

One of the questions asked during the interview concerned the respondents' attitude toward living in the City. What did they like about living in New Westminster? The reason in asking this question was to capture the informants' feeling of identification. Perhaps the individual who has a strong sense of belonging to the City would be more inclined to participate in government activities to improve conditions of living or to demand services and improvement in community facilities.

The responses showed that the five most important factors for liking the City mentioned by both groups are: (1) adequate community facilities and services, like sewerage system, water system, shopping centers, and recreational facilities; (2) the size of New Westminster, being small and compact, with homes close to recreational and shopping facilities; (3) congenial and friendly people; (4) comparatively low taxes; and

³Ibid.

(5) less crowded, quiet, and out of the mainstream of traffic. (See TABLE II, APPENDIX C).

Very slight differences exist between the responses of the two groups. While most of the welfare citizens gave "adequate facilities" as their reason for liking New Westminster, most of the leaders cited the "size" of the City as an important factor. As regards the low taxes, only one of the welfare group seemed to care about it.

The two groups differed markedly in their answers to the question why they did not like the City. While one-fourth of the welfare citizens stated the "lack of recreational facilities for grown-up children," as a factor for disliking New Westminster, most of the leaders appeared to be more concerned with the way the City Government was run. Eight or 57 percent of the leaders mentioned this reason. (See TABLE III, APPENDIX C). The leaders criticized the public officials, especially the members of the Council, for being too "parochial" in outlook, very "slow to act," and "content with the status quo." This behavior on the part of the officials strikes at the root of the problem of decision-making. The "new" leaders with new ideas may be excluded from participating in important public policy decisions by public officials who desire to maintain or preserve traditional values. A few of the leaders hinted at the existence of a tradition-oriented "clique" at City Hall. "If you are a native son, you will go somewhere," one of the leader informants said.

Awareness of City Problems and Projects

A feeling of the need for community facilities or services is one factor that can stimulate the citizens to clamor for public action. In this regard, the interviewees were asked what they considered as the most urgent problems of the City. There seemed to be a similarity in the observations of the two groups, both identifying the following four problems: low-cost housing, air and water pollution, expansion of hospital facilities, and improvement of traffic and parking facilities. (See TABLE IV, APPENDIX C).

However, when the interviewees were queried on what major projects the City officials undertook during the last two years (1965-1967), 50 percent of the welfare citizens could not name any project. The projects mentioned by a few informants from the welfare group included the sports center, the urban renewal project, the rerouting of traffic, new traffic signs, hospital improvement, rezoning of certain sectors, parks, and the Japanese garden at Tipperary Park. (See TABLE V, APPENDIX C). A columnist from The Columbian asked ten voters one week before the election of December 9, 1967 what they knew about urban renewal in the City. Only two of the ten questioned had any idea of the existence of the program and "none knew how it operated nor what it planned to accomplish."⁴ The columnist did not disclose the social status of

⁴The Columbian, New Westminster, December 4, 1967.

the voters he interviewed; presumably they were of the lower class.

On the side of the leaders, eight placed urban renewal as the principal project, while six named the sports center. The other projects the leaders enumerated were hospital expansion, traffic signs, schools, parking facilities, senior citizen housing, parks, docks, and the creation of the Planning Department.

Contacts With City Officials

Involvement of the citizens in the determination of projects may be traced through their contacts with public officials. Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba said that "if an individual believes he has influence, he is more likely to attempt to use it."⁵ And between the active and the passive citizens, the government officials are more likely to respond to the former than to the latter, who generally make no demands. "If the ordinary citizen," Almond and Verba continued, "perceives that government policy is far outside his sphere of influence, he is unlikely to attempt to influence that policy."⁶

Apparently, the leaders in the New Westminster sample perceived their power or influence since they tried on many occasions to persuade City officials to accept their proposals.

⁵Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, Civic Culture (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1965), p. 139.

⁶Ibid.

It was gathered from the interviews that 13 or 93 percent of the leaders approached civic officials personally, 11 or 79 percent phoned them, and nine or 64 percent wrote letters to them. The subjects discussed were invariably about projects or existing problems that needed attention. It was admitted by the leaders that they made these contacts primarily because they were the head of certain organizations. Some of the issues were the housing shortage, improvement to the harbor, downtown improvement, traffic signals, urban renewal at Sapperton, Queensborough drainage, and hospital facilities.

Only four or 25 percent of the welfare group approached City officials personally, three or 19 percent phoned them, and one or six percent communicated by means of a letter. (See TABLE VI, APPENDIX C). They sought welfare assistance from the officials or aired complaints about certain inefficiencies in City services.

Recorded in the minutes of Council are the names of individuals, associations, and groups that addressed petitions or letters to Council, including those who came personally to voice complaints or requests in Council meetings. It is significant to note that most of the projects requested were purely local, signifying the particularistic nature of their demands. For example, the Downtown Business and Property Owners' Association, in 1966 and 1967, asked the Council to perform the following: (1) pave the surface of the road under

the Front Street parking ramp extension; (2) illuminate Columbia Street with decorative street lighting on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, throughout the year; (3) develop a parking area to accommodate some 45 to 50 vehicles north of Front Street at the east end of the parking ramp; (4) amend the zoning bylaw to exempt the downtown area from off-street parking requirements; (5) allocate \$5,000 to produce design plans for buildings and other physical structures on Columbia Street; and (6) set aside the revenues from street parking meters to be applied to debt retirement of the parking ramp.

Similarly, the other associations like the Connaught Heights Ratepayers Association and the Queensborough Ratepayers Association were concerned with purely local matters as were a few individuals who petitioned for various improvements such as the completion of a lane, installation of traffic lights, construction of a sidewalk, and installation of crosswalks. Others brought up complaints about smoke, litter, flooded streets, and similar nuisances.

Citizens' Views on Participation

One important factor that can affect the degree of citizen involvement in public policy decisions is the individual attitude toward citizen participation itself. Do they consider their participation in project decisions necessary? Should the officials consult them before any major City project or plan is approved? The majority of both groups agreed that the

citizens should have a say in the determination of important projects. (See TABLE VII, APPENDIX C).

One reason given in favor of active participation was that some projects require additional taxes. Another significant reason was that the public officials must communicate their plans in order "to know the public pulse." Still others said "the officials are not infallible; they are liable to commit mistakes." Therefore they should get the facts from the citizens. (See TABLE VIII, APPENDIX C). A very small minority who entertained a different opinion stated that the Council being elected must stand or fall on the success of its own program.

On the question of whether they were given ample opportunity to participate in important government decisions, most of the respondents answered in the affirmative, claiming that the meetings of the Council are always open to the public. (See TABLE IX, APPENDIX C). They said, however, that it is often the citizen who is to blame for not taking advantage of this opportunity. Besides, there is also the practice of submitting all important money bylaws to the voters for approval. The two leaders who replied to this question in the negative averred that crucial public decisions in the City were made by a well-entrenched clique.

Summary

Insofar as the data from the interviews are concerned, it can be stated that the leaders are generally active participants in local government programs, while the welfare citizens are passive. The leaders made more contacts with the City officials and they effectively communicated their demands and wishes. It is possible that they could have influenced some of the City decisions. They are highly critical about the performance and behavior of elected officials. Whether they had a hand in the defeat of the three aldermen running for reelection in December, 1967, is difficult to say.

One significant aspect brought out in the interviews is the feeling of the citizens that they have adequate access to affect the course of government action. They can attend Council meetings to express their individual views. The property owners can vote on money bylaws.

Chapter 7

CONCLUSION

This study aimed at the investigation of two aspects of citizen participation in the planning process. One is to examine the factors that motivate citizens to become active in government affairs, and another to explore the style and scope of citizen participation in government decisions. However, only one hypothesis has been presented in this study. The hypothesis, being related to the first aspect, intends to explain why some individuals are more active than others in government programs or in planning.

The Hypothesis Reviewed

The hypothesis of this study states:

Participation in the planning process or government programs is motivated by the individual's possession of wealth and high social or leadership status and by his intense feeling of need for the service or project.

The term "wealth" as used here refers principally to the ownership of real property or business. The concept of "status" has already been defined in the preceding chapter. It is the differentiation of prestige and differences among individuals in society as determined by income, occupation, education, and position in certain voluntary organizations. The intensity of the feeling of need for the service or project is manifested by the individual's persistent demand for the implementation of such project over a long period of time.

The findings of the study seem to indicate some correlation between the individual's possession of wealth and high social or leadership status and the degree of his participation in government programs. The case studies, for example, have identified the individuals who were active in seeking government approval of certain projects as those occupying positions of higher social status. Generally, they were property owners as in the case of the Queensborough Ratepayers Association, and businessmen and managers of big department stores as shown by the two other case studies. The most active ones occupied top positions of the organization to which they belonged.

The main reason, perhaps, why the property owners of Queensborough became active in demanding from the City Government the implementation of certain projects is that they felt such projects would enhance the value of their property. It might also be argued that they demanded from the City officials what they believed was their rightful share of the City services supported by taxes on real property.

On the other hand, the business proprietors and the managers of department stores in the downtown area of New Westminster were forced to ask the City officials to undertake the parking ramp project because of their fear of losing in their business. Their enthusiastic support of the City's program to improve the downtown, after the completion of the original ramp, could have been motivated by their desire to expand their

business. The same argument may apply to the leaders of the Chamber of Commerce, who showed keen interest in the creation of the Planning Department and in the launching of the urban renewal program.

Edward C. Banfield and James Q. Wilson offered the following explanation why businessmen are active in city affairs:

The businessmen who are most active in city affairs are those whose companies are most directly affected by what the city government does. These include especially the department stores, utilities, real estate operators, banks, and...newspapers.

Typically department stores (specially those without suburban branches) want to increase the volume of trade coming into the central business district. This means that they want to encourage good customers to come there and to discourage "undesirable" ones, that is, people with little money to spend, whose presence would make the shopping district less attractive to the good customers. Therefore, they are enthusiastic promoters of urban renewal projects that will displace low-income people...from close-in districts and replace them with higher-income...customers.¹

The results of the interviews with the leaders and the citizens on welfare also tend to substantiate the hypothesis. While the leaders claimed to have proposed some projects to be undertaken by the City officials, those on welfare seldom contacted the City Hall, and if they did, it was generally on personal matters like welfare assistance or complaints about the inefficiency in certain facilities.

¹Edward C. Banfield and James Q. Wilson, City Politics (New York: Alfred A. Knoff, Inc., 1963), pp. 261-262.

However, the sample of respondents from the welfare group appear too small to reflect accurately the pattern of participation in government affairs by the low-income group. Moreover, the case studies have not established clearly the direct relationship between the degree of participation and the possession of wealth or high social status. Were all the active participants in the case studies in fact motivated by these purportedly motivating forces? Or, did wealth and high social status merely facilitate the fulfillment of other individual needs? These questions cannot be answered by the present study. These aspects of the hypothesis requires further research using other techniques.

As regards the third factor, the case studies provide clues to show that the active citizens felt strongly the need for the facility or project sought. For instance, the need for the downtown parking ramp was first perceived by the businessmen in 1952. The officers of the Downtown Business and Property Owners' Association, without letup, put pressure on City Hall to enact a money bylaw to finance the construction of the ramp. They tried other means like private financing, but they found this unworkable. They finally had the project executed in 1957. An extension to this ramp was added nine years later, in 1966. The leaders encountered serious obstacles but they never stopped working for the parking facilities.

In like manner, the improvement of a drainage system was a felt need of the citizens of Queensborough. Almost every year, since 1953, the leaders discussed the various deficiencies of the system and they reported such defects to Council either by correspondence or by personal representation. It might be due to this existing problem that the Queensborough Ratepayers Association has remained active for many years.

Style of Citizen Participation

It has been shown in the previous chapters that the City Council has been the object of pressures by groups and individuals who desired the implementation of projects and the correction of defects in facilities or services either for a specific area or for the City in general. This action on the part of the citizens is understandable because Council exercises tremendous powers and authority over matters affecting City services. It authorizes the appropriation of funds for specific undertakings; it raises taxes on real property or borrows money to meet additional requirements for capital expenditures; it creates new administrative organizations to handle certain programs or functions; and it regulates City activities through the enactment of bylaws. Furthermore, the elected officials are sometimes called upon to represent the interests of the citizens and the City in obtaining assistance from higher levels of government.

As Edward C. Banfield and James Q. Wilson observed, "most participation in the affairs of the city is by groups and organizations rather than by individuals."² This pattern of participation holds true for New Westminster. Associations and groups assumed an important role in the initiation and even in the implementation of projects as exemplified by the Queensborough Ratepayers Association's fight for the installation of a sewerage system and for the improvement of the drainage network in Queensborough, by the Downtown Business and Property Owners' Association's success in the construction of the parking ramp over Front Street, and by the Chamber of Commerce's influence on City officials to adopt the urban renewal program.

Formal organizations are generally effective in aggregating the demands of like-minded citizens and in communicating them to government officials. Through its meetings, the Downtown Business and Property Owners' Association discussed various suggestions regarding the needed off-street parking facilities. Then a group decision was reached and efforts were directed toward the attainment of their objectives. Likewise, the association of ratepayers in Queensborough assessed the problems of the area and decided what steps should be taken to remedy them. The Chamber of Commerce being concerned with the revitalization of the deteriorating areas of the City

²Ibid., p. 24.

worked for the creation of the Planning Department as a preliminary step leading to the Council's adoption of the urban renewal program.

Why these organizations have become convenient and effective vehicles for the communication of community or neighborhood needs and problems can partly be explained by these statements of Almond and Verba:

Voluntary associations are the prime means by which the function of mediating between the individual and the state is performed. Through them the individual is able to relate himself effectively and meaningfully to the political system. These associations help him avoid the dilemma of being either a parochial, cut off from political influence, or an isolated and powerless individual, manipulated and mobilized by the mass institutions of politics and government...Membership in voluntary associations gives him a more structured set of political resources, growing out of his varied interests.³

Added to this explanation by Almond and Verba is the fact that in New Westminster, and in other Canadian cities, local improvement projects require the sharing of the costs between the City Government and the benefiting property owners. It is not surprising, therefore, to find ratepayers organized to secure improvements within a given district. The success of the parking ramp project in the downtown depended largely on the cooperation of the effected ratepayers.

³Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, Civic Culture (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1965), p. 245.

A counterpart of the downtown association in another portion of New Westminster is the Uptown Businessmen's Association. This organization experienced great difficulty in obtaining government assistance for its proposed projects because it lacked the support of the property owners in the area. The association president, Fred West, underlines this difficulty in his 1967 Fall Report:

Our membership by and large represents businessmen conducting their affairs as tenants in rented premises, in the "Uptown" area. As a consequence, it is very difficult to motivate civic action on our major problems that require City Hall commitment when the property owners themselves are not adequately represented within the association."⁴

He recommended the redrafting of the constitution and the by-laws of the Uptown Businessmen's Association to enlist the membership and support of the property owners in the immediate vicinity. If his suggestion is followed, Fred West assured that they could present a "unified voice to the powers that be."⁵

The system of allocating projects based on the demands and support of the citizens in local improvement areas is similar to the "caretaker" type of government described by Banfield and Wilson in City Politics. In this type, the citizens are expected to solve their own problems and "to pay on a fee-

⁴From the typewritten Fall Report, 1967 of the president of the Uptown Businessmen's Association.

⁵Ibid.

for-service basis for what they get."⁶ The primary concern of the officials becomes that of holding down the cost of government. One of the elective officials of New Westminster said, "The Council acts like the board of directors of a corporation with the people as shareholders. Our policy is to keep expenditures within the budget or funds available, although we don't sacrifice progress in doing so."⁷

Scope of Participation

One of the underlying objectives of this study is to analyze the participation of the citizens in government programs along the three levels of choice in the planning process as stated by Paul Davidoff and Thomas A. Reiner. (See Chapter 1). These are the determination of goals or ends, the selection of alternatives, and effectuation. Two of the case studies, the downtown parking ramp and the redevelopment of Area 4, clearly portray the scope of citizen involvement in the three stages of the planning process. The City's program of improving the downtown area arose out of the initial effort of the businessmen to provide off-street parking facilities. The urban renewal program was urged by the Chamber of Commerce which first pressed for the establishment of the Planning Department.

⁶Edward C. Banfield and James Q. Wilson, City Politics (New York: Alfred A. Knoff, Inc., 1963), p. 55.

⁷The name of the official is withheld for obvious reason.

The implicit goal for the downtown area is for it to survive as a central shopping center for a trading area which includes people from nearby municipalities. This was in the mind of the merchants when they began working for the construction of the parking ramp. This goal was later accepted by the City officials who collaborated with the downtown businessmen and property owners in improving the area. The Council formed the Downtown Development Steering Committee composed of two aldermen and two representatives from the downtown group.

The Steering Committee worked out the details of the implementation of the extension to the downtown parking ramp. In addition, the members of the Committee combined their thinking and effort in planning the reconstruction of a portion of Columbia Street to make it more attractive to the shoppers. The cost of this project was \$310,000 and both the City and the property owners shared in the burden.

As to the urban renewal program, its goal was stated by Mayor Gifford when he appointed the members of the Urban Redevelopment Committee in 1965. The goal is, of course, the redevelopment of "blighted" areas in New Westminster. This particular goal is in consonance with the principal objective of the Chamber of Commerce, namely, the promotion of favorable conditions in the City "to ensure the success of merchants and all other commercial enterprises, the industrialist and (the)

professional person."⁸ It might be of interest to add that the slogan of the Chamber of Commerce in New Westminster is: "Help to build a better community."⁹

Again the choice of the first area for a renewal project was a joint decision of the Planning Department and the Urban Redevelopment Committee. It must be understood that, except for one alderman, the members of the Committee are private citizens who volunteered their services. The Committee has been actively engaged in the dissemination of information regarding the renewal program to the residents of Area 4. The scheme for redevelopment, although drafted by the planners, was voted upon by the citizens in a meeting.

No definite program has been adopted for Queensborough, but the leaders in this part of the City have frequently sought audience with the Council to present their problems. The aldermen have yet to declare their intention about Queensborough's future. Whatever it is, the citizens of the area may assume a major role in the decision.

In all of these cases, however, very few individuals were really very active in all stages of the decision-making process. The top leaders of the organizations appear to have assumed the role of spokesmen for the other members in the

⁸From a propaganda literature (undated) of the New Westminster Chamber of Commerce.

⁹Ibid.

process of obtaining support from the City Government. This would indicate, that as far as the case studies are concerned, the pattern of citizen involvement in the affairs of government in New Westminster has been structured along the hierarchical system of formal organizations and also through the specialization of functions.

Practical Application of the Findings

The findings of this study need not be construed as applicable to all cities in Canada. It is possible that many of them will be found true in cities having similar characteristics as those of New Westminster. The results of this investigation should therefore be most valuable to the planner and to the other government officials of New Westminster. However, the planners from the other Canadian cities can gain insights into the dynamic aspect of the planning process--how the different actors do participate in the evolving government decisions.

Perhaps, it is unnecessary to review or outline how the planner of New Westminster should take advantage of the results of this study. Many of the facts are too obvious to be over-emphasized. It will be sufficient to mention here only a few points.

First, the case studies revealed some "bottlenecks" in the decision-making process. The long delay in the approval and in the implementation of projects appear to have arisen

from two conditions: (1) the inconsistent City policies caused probably by the absence of a comprehensive City plan, and (2) the lack of coordination among the departments and some of the Council committees. It is the planner's task to assist the policy-makers to arrive at some coherent and consistent policies involving City services and functions and to establish the criteria in determining the priority of projects based on a plan.

Second, the case studies showed the existence of well-established organizations through which the participation of the citizens in City affairs has been effectively channeled. The planner can utilize these organizations in obtaining a wider base of support to his plan or proposal. However, he must recognize that a good number of citizens (generally belonging to the low-income group) are not affiliated with any association. If he desires to seek the views of these individuals, he may devise other methods of reaching them. Maybe a City-wide committee of citizens where all segments of the population are adequately represented should be formed.

Finally, the case studies indicated that the citizens can be aroused to action if they strongly feel the need for the projects. The planner can easily draw support to his plan if he can make the citizens feel the need of the projects included in his plan. Or, it should be better if the citizens can be made to feel that the plan is initiated by them.

Review of the Methodology

The case study approach is useful in discovering the style and scope of citizen participation in project decisions or in the planning process. The active participants to important planning decisions are identified. Their statements may reveal what facts they know about issues or problems at the time they make the decisions. The pattern of communication between the public officials and the citizens is revealed. Above all, the series of decisions, private or public, can be traced from the time the plan or program is initiated to the time it is implemented.

One difficulty that might be encountered in this type of research is that some government issues or plans may not be adaptable to the writing of a case study. This is especially true in instances where the government officials make most of the decisions. Then, there is also the problem of reconstructing cases when written material is not available, and when the active participants are unwilling to be interviewed. The best technique of collecting data in such a case would be through participant observation.

Making investigations on issues or programs for the purpose of writing a case study requires a tremendous amount of time. Often, the researcher's effort is thwarted by uncooperative informants, who may refuse to be interviewed. The researcher experienced contacting four former City officials

who refused to arrange any interview for the simple reason that they were no longer in office. "Why not interview the incumbent officials?" they asked.

This methodology can be improved in a number of ways. One is to increase the number of case studies to have a wide array of situations showing citizen involvement in planning. If it is possible, the active as well as the passive participants must be identified earlier so that a more intensive interview can be conducted to understand more about their activities and attitudes.

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APPENDIX A

LIST OF INTERVIEWED LEADERS AND THE NAME OF THE ORGANIZATION WHICH EACH HEADED

<u>President</u>	<u>Organization</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Membership</u> (Approximate only)
Ernest Pederson	Safety Council	Civic	35
Bruce McCurrach	Rotary Club	"	100
Ronald Hartney	Citizenship Council	"	12
H. Craig	Cancer Society	"	12
William Cochrane	Lord Kelvin PTA	"	50
D. Martin	Chamber of Commerce	Business- Civic	480
Robert Cronk	Downtown Business and Property Owners' Asso- ciation	Business	160
Fred West	Uptown Business- men's Associa- tion	"	55
Vic Bradley	Connaught Heights Ratepayers Association	Neighborhood Group	50
Andy Smith	Queensborough Ratepayers As- sociation	"	70
Thomas Trineer	District Labour Council	Labour	4,000
George Stevens	Royal City Voters Association	Political	60
D. Johnston	Ministerial Association	Religious	22
John Hutchins	Medical Asso- ciation	Professional	120

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE USED DURING THE
SURVEY OF LEADERS AND CITIZENS ON WELFARE

Date Completed: _____

Interviewee No. _____

1. Some people like the City of New Westminster as a place to live; some people don't. What things do you think are good about living in this City?

2. What things do you think are not good about living in New Westminster?

3. Please state if you have done any of the following in the last two years: (Especially in the field of traffic, health and urban renewal).

Yes No

___ ___ a. Written letter(s) to the Mayor, Aldermen, or Heads of City Departments. (If yes, specify the official and the reason for writing.)
Official Reason

___ ___ b. Approached personally the Mayor, Aldermen, or Heads of City Departments. (If yes, specify the official and the purpose of seeing him.)
Official Purpose

___ ___ c. Phoned the Mayor, Aldermen, or City Department Heads regarding City problems or needs or services that required immediate attention. (If yes, specify the subject of the call and the official contacted.)
Subject of Call Official Contacted

4. May I know what major projects or plans your City Government has initiated or undertaken within the last two years?
- | | |
|------------------------|------------------------------|
| <u>Project or Plan</u> | <u>Source of Information</u> |
|------------------------|------------------------------|

5. Do you know of urgent City problems which you feel the City Government should remedy at once? (If yes, will you please name these problems?)

6. In your opinion, should the City officials consult with the citizens before they decide on major City projects or plans? Why or Why Not?

Reasons: ☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Don't Know

7. If the answer for number 6 is yes: Do you think the average citizen is afforded adequate opportunity to participate in deciding what plans or projects the City should undertake? (Please explain your answer.)

Reasons: ☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Don't Know

Personal Data

1. Sex: ☐ Male ☐ Female

2. Age: _____

3. Education: ☐ College Graduate
 ☐ College level
 ☐ Secondary
 ☐ Elementary

4. Length of residence in New Westminster: _____

In the present house: _____ Owned? _____ Rented? _____

5. Birth Place: _____

6. Occupation or Profession: _____

7. Place of work: _____

8. Organizations: _____

APPENDIX C

TABLES FOR CHAPTER SIX

TABLE I

DIFFERENCES IN STATUS ATTRIBUTES BETWEEN LEADERS AND CITIZENS ON WELFARE

	<u>Status Attribute</u>	<u>Leaders</u>		<u>Welfare Group</u>	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1.	Homeowner - - - - -	13	93	3	19
2.	With College Education -	12	86	3	19
3.	Occupying Managerial or Executive Position - -	9	64	0	0

TABLE II

REASONS FOR LIKING NEW WESTMINSTER AS A PLACE TO LIVE

	<u>Reason</u>	<u>Leaders</u>		<u>Welfare Group</u>	
		Number*	Percent	Number*	Percent
1.	Adequate Facilities - - -	8	57	11	69
2.	Small and Compact City -	10	70	5	30
3.	Congenial and Friendly People - - - - -	4	29	3	19
4.	Comparatively Low Taxes -	4	29	1	6
5.	Less Crowded, Quiet, Out of the Mainstream of Traffic - - - - -	2	14	3	19

*Some respondents gave more than one reason.

TABLE III
REASONS FOR NOT LIKING NEW WESTMINSTER
AS A PLACE TO LIVE

Reason	<u>Leaders</u>		<u>Welfare Group</u>	
	Number*	Percent	Number*	Percent
1. Dislike the City Officials - - - - -	8	57	0	0
2. Air and Water Pollution -	3	21	0	0
3. Lack of Recreational Facilities for Grown-Up Children - - -	1	7	4	25
4. Very Little Space for Expansion (for business or for the increasing population) - - - - -	2	14	2	12
5. Dislike the Weather - - -	0	0	2	12
6. Others** - - - - -	2	14	6	38
7. Don't Know or No Reason - - - - -	2	14	4	25

*Some respondents gave more than one reason.

**Under this category are reasons each given by only one respondent. Examples of these reasons are: "Inadequate Parking Facilities," "Costly Housing," "Lack of Employment Opportunities," "Cannot Keep Pets," and "Lack of Civic Consciousness among Citizens."

TABLE IV
RESPONDENT'S PERCEPTION OF
MOST URGENT CITY PROBLEMS

<u>Problem</u>	<u>Leaders</u>		<u>Welfare Group</u>	
	Number*	Percent	Number*	Percent
1. Low-Cost Housing - - - - -	6	43	8	50
2. Air and Water Pollution -	5	36	2	12
3. Expansion of Hospital Facilities - - - - -	4	29	1	6
4. Traffic and Parking Facilities - - - - -	2	14	4	25
5. Others** - - - - -	5	36	3	19

*Some respondents gave more than one problem.

**Under this category are problems each given by only one respondent. Examples of other problems are: "Redevelopment of the City," "Acquisition of the Penitentiary Site," "High Cost of Property," "Improvement of the Port," "More Welfare Assistance," "Recreational Facilities," "Promotion of Industries," "Beautification of the City," and "Unemployment."

TABLE V
RESPONDENTS' KNOWLEDGE OF MAJOR CITY PROJECTS
(1965-1967)

	<u>Project</u>	<u>Leaders</u>		<u>Welfare Group</u>	
		Number*	Percent	Number*	Percent
1.	Urban Renewal - - - - -	8	57	2	12
2.	Sports Center - - - - -	6	43	3	19
3.	Improvements in Traffic - - - - -	5	36	3	19
4.	Additional Hospital Facilities - - - - -	3	21	1	6
5.	Parks - - - - -	2	14	2	12
6.	School Projects - - - - -	2	14	0	0
7.	Creation of the Planning Department - -	2	14	0	0
8.	Don't Know - - - - -	0	0	8	50
9.	Others** - - - - -	5	36	3	19

*Some respondents named more than one project.

**Under this category are projects each mentioned by only one respondent. Examples of these projects are: "Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency," "Beautification of the City," "Development of a Shopping Area," "May Festival Celebration," "Annexation of Connaught Heights," and "Housing for the Senior Citizens."

TABLE VI
CONTACTS WITH CITY OFFICIALS

<u>Manner of Contact</u>	<u>Leaders</u>		<u>Welfare Group</u>	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1. Approached Personally City Officials - - - -	13	93	4	25
2. Phoned City Officials - -	11	79	3	19
3. Wrote Letters - - - - -	9	64	1	6

TABLE VII
RESPONDENTS' VIEWS ON CITIZEN PARTICIPATION
IN PROJECT AND PLANNING DECISIONS

<u>Answer</u>	<u>Leaders</u>		<u>Welfare Group</u>	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1. Favor - - - - -	12	86	13	82
2. Against - - - - -	1	7	2	12
3. Don't Know - - - - -	1	7	1	6
Total	14	100	16	100

TABLE VIII

REASONS IN FAVOR OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION
IN PROJECT AND PLANNING DECISIONS*

<u>Reason</u>	<u>Leaders</u>		<u>Welfare Group</u>	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1. Citizens Pay Taxes to Support Projects - - - -	5	36	5	31
2. Public Officials Should Get Views of Citizens -	5	36	4	25
3. Responsibility of Officials to Communi- cate Plans - - - - -	2	14	4	25

*Given by the respondents in favor of citizen participation in project and planning decisions.

TABLE IX

RESPONDENTS' PERCEPTION OF OPPORTUNITY
TO PARTICIPATE IN CITY DECISIONS*

<u>Answer</u>	<u>Leaders</u>		<u>Welfare Group</u>	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1. Given Adequate Oppor- tunity - - - - -	10	71	10	62
2. Very Little or No Opportunity - - - - -	2	14	3	19

*Given by the respondents in favor of participation in City project or planning decisions.