



NOTICE

The quality of this microfiche is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us a poor photocopy.

Previously copyrighted materials (journal articles, published tests, etc.) are not filmed.

Reproduction in full or in part of this film is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30. Please read the authorization forms which accompany this thesis.

**THIS DISSERTATION
HAS BEEN MICROFILMED
EXACTLY AS RECEIVED**

AVIS

La qualité de cette microfiche dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de mauvaise qualité.

Les documents qui font déjà l'objet d'un droit d'auteur (articles de revue, examens publiés, etc.) ne sont pas microfilmés.

La reproduction, même partielle, de ce microfilm est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30. Veuillez prendre connaissance des formules d'autorisation qui accompagnent cette thèse.

**LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ
MICROFILMÉE TELLE-QUE
NOUS L'AVONS REÇUE**

ORGANIZING URBAN SPACE:

A FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYZING
THE NEIGHBOURHOOD STUDIES
PROGRAM IN OTTAWA

by

THOMAS PATRICK FLYNN

B.A., Brock University, St. Catharines,
Canada, 1973

THESIS

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Master of Arts
in Geography in the Graduate School of the
University of Ottawa
April, 1979

Approved _____

Date _____

© T.P. Flynn, Ottawa, Canada, 1979

ABSTRACT

The City of Ottawa since 1971 has been doing a series of planning studies in its neighbourhoods. The purpose of the studies is to prepare a strategy for the provision of collective goods and services to the neighbourhoods. These planning studies are but a part of a larger effort geared towards the preparation of a new Comprehensive Plan for Ottawa.

The neighbourhood studies program is of research interest because it has held a central place in Ottawa's municipal planning effort during the 1970's. It is of geographical interest because the neighbourhood scale, as opposed to another geographical scale, can be expected to have a particular influence on the provision of municipal collective goods and services to Ottawa's neighbourhoods. The influence includes the quantity, quality and location of such goods in the neighbourhoods.

The thrust of the research in this thesis is to analyze some aspects of Ottawa's neighbourhood studies program. Three aspects of the program are of particular concern. Firstly, are the goals and objectives of the neighbourhood studies program based on an attempt to meet the preferences of neighbourhood citizens for collective goods and services. Secondly, do the collective goods examined by the studies vary spatially across the neighbourhoods. Thirdly, are the studies able to

consolidate individual citizen's preferences into a single neighbourhood group preference for collective goods and services.

The analysis of Ottawa's neighbourhood studies program takes as its theoretical orientation the public choice approach, a body of literature developed by political economists. The basic argument of the public choice approach is that some of the concepts of market economics can be used to analyze the provision of collective goods and services by government. In Ottawa's case, the planning for such goods is affected by the inclusion of citizens in the neighbourhood studies program. For a fuller appreciation of the effects of geographical space on the neighbourhood studies, the review of literature includes both the public choice and citizens' participation literature.

The empirical analysis of Ottawa's neighbourhood studies program has found that the goals and objectives were never clearly stated. Despite the inclusion of citizens in the planning process, the purpose of the program appears to have been designed to develop a few comprehensive plans for Ottawa, rather than to prepare neighbourhood plans which reflect the aspirations of local citizens. The evidence for this is that there is little spatial variation in the collective goods and services examined by the neighbourhood studies. They tend to focus on land use planning (zoning), transportation, and open

space, parks and recreation. The neighbourhood studies have also had difficulty consolidating individual citizen's preferences into a single neighbourhood group preference for collective goods. The illustration for this is that conflict has arisen over the proposed location of certain goods. The conflict, described as spatial conflict, has been both within and between neighbourhoods.

RESUME

Depuis 1971 la ville d'Ottawa a effectué plusieurs études de planification dans ses quartiers résidentiels. L'objectif de ces études est de préparer une stratégie pour l'approvisionnement local des biens et services collectifs. Ces études sont une des composantes d'un nouveau plan directeur pour la ville d'Ottawa.

Le but de cette thèse est d'analyser certains aspects de ces études de quartier. L'intérêt est centré plus particulièrement sur les buts et les objectifs du programme. Les biens et services considérés dans les études et les moyens utilisés afin de tenir compte de l'intérêt des citoyens locaux.

L'auteur constate que l'espace géographique a de très grands effets sur le déroulement des études de quartier et sur leurs recommandations. L'analyse se concentre plutôt sur ces effets géographiques.

La base théorique de la thèse utilise l'approche "public choice" développée par des économistes politiques. Selon cette approche, les concepts du fonctionnement du système de marché s'appliquent, avec une série d'adaptations, à l'analyse du secteur public. Dans le cas d'Ottawa, l'inclusion des citoyens dans le processus d'étude utilisé par la ville a modifié le processus de planification. C'est pourquoi la thèse fait également appel à la littérature de "public choice" et de "la participation des citoyens".

PREFACE

The inspiration for the research contained in this thesis came from Dr. Peter Harrison's introduction of the public choice approach to me. Through his thoughtful presentation of public choice during a course in political geography, it occurred to me that a geographical analysis of the City of Ottawa's neighbourhood studies program could be approached from a public choice point of view. A further spur to the research has been the apparent lack in the public choice literature of an appreciation of the effects of geographical space on the provision of collective goods by government.

I want to thank Peter for his guidance as my thesis advisor. His encouragement and critical comments have been of great help in pushing my research through to its completion.

My appreciation is extended to the following organizations without whose cooperation the undertaking of the research would not have been possible: the Planning Branch of the City of Ottawa, the Ottawa Municipal Archives, and the two English language newspapers in Ottawa for the use of their libraries.

To the University of Ottawa I express my thanks for its assistance which greatly eased the financial burden of my studies.

There are a number of other persons to whom I wish to express my gratitude: Dr. Guy Steed for his comments on my work and his insights into the discipline of geography, and other faculty members of the Department of Geography with whom I have come in contact. I also want to thank Lynne Warner for her technical assistance. A special thank you is reserved for John and Max for their friendship during my three years at the University of Ottawa.

Finally, I want to thank my wonderful wife, Karen, for her lending of so much support. This thesis is dedicated to her.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Abstract.....	i
Resumé.....	iiia
Preface.....	iv
Table of Contents.....	vi
List of Tables.....	ix
List of Figures.....	ix
Chapter 1: INTRODUCTION.....	1
Chapter 2: A FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYZING THE NEIGHBOURHOOD STUDIES PROGRAM.....	7
1. Introduction.....	7
2. Development of the Public Choice Approach.....	8
3. Public Choice and Government Response to Citizens' Preferences.....	10
4. Examples of the Use of the Public Choice Approach.....	17
5. Geography and Public Choice.....	20
6. Conclusion.....	22
Chapter 3: CITIZENS' PARTICIPATION AND MUNICIPAL PLANNING.....	23
1. Introduction.....	23
2. Citizens' Participation and the Governmental Process.....	24
3. Citizens' Participation in Municipal Planning..	32
4. Neighbourhood Planning: One Approach to Citizens' Participation.....	37
5. Recent Municipal Examples of Citizens' Participation.....	41
6. Legal Requirements for Citizens' Participa- tion in Ontario Municipalities.....	44

	Page
7. Conclusion.....	44
Chapter 4: NEIGHBOURHOOD STUDIES PROGRAM IN OTTAWA: A CASE STUDY.....	49
1. Introduction.....	49
2. Approaches to Data Collection.....	50
3. Structure of the Neighbourhood Studies.....	52
i. Historical Background.....	52
ii. A Comprehensive Planning Program.....	56
iii. Geographical Priorities for the District (Neighbourhood) Plans.....	58
iv. Planning Branch Reaction to the Neighbour- hood Studies.....	60
v. Geographical Organization of the Neighbour- hood Studies.....	61
4. Functioning of the Neighbourhood Studies.....	68
i. Initiation of a Neighbourhood Study.....	68
ii. Geographical Representativeness of Citizens.....	69
iii. Neighbourhood Development Plan Approval Process.....	72
5. Conclusion.....	75
Chapter 5: EVALUATION OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD STUDIES PROGRAM.....	77
1. Introduction.....	77
2. Limitations on the Municipal Provision of Collective Goods in Ontario and the City of Ottawa.....	77
3. Goals and Objectives of Neighbourhood Planning...	80
4. Collective Goods and Services Examined by the Neighbourhood Studies.....	81
5. Neighbourhood Planning: A Generator of Spatial Conflict.....	94
6. Conclusion.....	107

	Page
Chapter 6: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION.....	109
1. Introduction.....	109
Part I - Summary.....	109
1. The Utility of the Public Choice Approach.....	109
2. The Role of Citizens' Participation.....	111
Part II - Conclusion.....	113
1. Goals and Objectives of the Neighbourhood Studies Program.....	113
2. Spatial Variability in the Collective Goods and Services Studied.....	115
3. Consolidation of Citizens' Preferences.....	116
4. Neighbourhood Planning: Its Future in Ottawa....	118
5. Adequacy of the Empirical Approach.....	120
Bibliography.....	123
Appendix A: Special Footnotes.....	130
Appendix B: Definitions of Categories Used in Table 1.....	133
Appendix C: Methodology for the Content Analysis of the Neighbourhood Development Plans.....	135

LIST OF TABLES

Table

	Page
1 Summary of Collective Goods and Services by Neighbourhood.....	86-87

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure

1 Map of Neighbourhood Study Areas in Ottawa.....	53
2 Map of Planning Districts in Ottawa.....	62
3 Generalized Neighbourhood Development Plan Approval Process.....	73
4 Time Analysis to Gain City Council Approval of the Neighbourhood Development Plans.....	95

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

The geographical focus for much of the City of Ottawa's municipal planning effort during the 1970's has been on its neighbourhoods. Ottawa has been preparing neighbourhood development plans, the purpose of which has been to devise a series of strategies for the provision of municipal goods and services. It is expected that each development plan will greatly influence the provision of municipal goods to Ottawa's neighbourhoods in the years to come. The influence will include the quantity, quality and location of such goods in the neighbourhoods. Because of the central place that the neighbourhood studies program holds, it is appropriate that it be critically reviewed and evaluated.

Since the neighbourhood studies program focuses on the planning for the provision of collective goods, the theoretical orientation for the research comes from that body of literature known as public choice. The ideas of public choice have been developed by political economists who argue that the theories of market economics could be applied to an examination of government. The assumption is that the operations of government can be equated with

those of the private firm. The hope is that a better understanding of government operations can be gained so that changes can be recommended if deemed necessary.

The outputs of government are the provision of collective goods which hopefully satisfy the public's preferences for those goods. The interest of the public choice approach is to study the processes of government which lead to the public's satisfaction for collective goods. Public choice applies many of the concepts of the marketplace to study the processes. But the simple provision of collective goods does not mean that citizens' preferences are met. An individual's or group's preference schedule may be entirely different from the level of service actually provided by government.

The orientation of the research in this thesis is not to examine so much the operations (processes) of the neighbourhood studies but more so to look at the outcomes. The outcomes in this case are the recommendations regarding the provision of municipal goods to Ottawa's neighbourhoods. The outcomes of most interest are the geographical ones, such as the spatial variability of the municipal goods examined by the neighbourhood studies.

An important aspect of the neighbourhood studies program is the active involvement of neighbourhood citizens. The participation of local residents in the planning of collective goods provision is a distinguishing feature of

the studies from other previously tried approaches to planning in Ottawa. Municipal planners and politicians feel that the result will be the gaining of a better idea of what residents want for their neighbourhoods.

It is expected that the empirical research will find that the participation of citizens will have important repercussions on the neighbourhood studies program. An assumption is that the recommendations arising out of the studies will be influenced by those citizens who have become actively involved. By this is meant that the recommendations will not necessarily reflect the preferences of all residents. This is because it is unlikely that all citizens will have participated equally. Therefore, those citizens with the greatest influence will be able to "dictate" the provision and location of certain collective goods. A situation of unequal influence has some potentially important consequences. In order to better appreciate the role of citizens' participation in municipal planning, a chapter is set aside to review the literature on the subject.

The empirical research is based on an interplay between the public choice approach and the influence of citizens' participation on collective goods provision. It follows then that the three questions to which the research is directed reflects the theoretical orientation of the thesis. The questions are:

1. Are the goals and objectives of Ottawa's neighbourhood studies program based on an attempt to meet the preferences of neighbourhood citizens for collective goods and services?
2. Is there a spatial variability in the collective goods and services examined by the neighbourhood studies?
3. Are the neighbourhood studies able to consolidate individual citizen's preferences into a single neighbourhood group preference for collective goods and services?

All three questions are directed towards the central issue of the research, an examination of the outcomes for the planning of the provision of collective goods by the City of Ottawa. But each question deals with a separate sub-issue. The first question is fundamental to any research employing the public choice approach. It is important to understand on what basis Ottawa embarked on the neighbourhood studies program. A knowledge of the goals and objectives of the program will help to answer the second and third questions.

The latter two questions focus on the geographical implications of the neighbourhood studies program. The second question is analogous to the spatial distribution questions which geographers commonly ask. In this case, the interest is in the spatial distribution of the collective

goods examined by the neighbourhood studies. Question three, on the other hand is not so obvious in its geographical orientation. Its purpose is to determine if conflict arises out of the neighbourhood studies, and if so, what are some of the geographical aspects of that conflict. If conflict does exist then this has implications for how well citizens' participation can aid municipal governments in the planning for the provision of collective goods. The existence of conflict would suggest that not all neighbourhood residents' preference schedules for collective goods are satisfied.

The organization for the remainder of the thesis will consist of first setting out the theoretical orientation for the research. This will be followed by an empirical analysis of Ottawa's neighbourhood studies program. Chapter 2 will be a review of the public choice approach literature and its relevance for geographical research. Chapter 3 will review the citizens' participation literature, especially as to its relationship with municipal planning. Chapter 4, besides setting out the history of the neighbourhood studies program in Ottawa and how it functions, will also consider the first question of interest, that is, the goals and objectives of the program. Chapter 5 will be an evaluation of the neighbourhood studies program. Particular attention will be paid to the questions dealing with the spatial variability of collective goods, and the consolidation of citizens' preferences. Chapter 6 will constitute the summary

and conclusion to the thesis. In addition, the thesis has three appendices: Appendix A consists of footnotes which are too long to be inserted into the body of the text; Appendix B is a summary of definitions of the categories used in a content analysis; and Appendix C is a review of the methodology used in the application of content analysis to the neighbourhood development plans.

CHAPTER 2
A FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYZING
THE NEIGHBOURHOOD STUDIES PROGRAM

1. Introduction

This chapter will provide the basic framework for analyzing the neighbourhood studies program in Ottawa. Chapter 3 will examine the nature of citizens' participation. Such a review is necessary because citizens' participation is an important feature of neighbourhood planning in Ottawa, and consequently affects the functioning of the neighbourhood studies. It is from the base established in Chapters 2 and 3 that Ottawa's neighbourhood studies planning program will be evaluated.

The focus of this chapter, which will provide the framework for analyzing the neighbourhood studies, will be the public choice approach. The discussion will begin with a brief mention as to why the public choice approach method was developed. This will be followed by an elaboration on what public choice is, including several examples as to how it can be employed. Finally, the link between geographical analysis and the public choice approach will be made, with special reference to the neighbourhood studies program in Ottawa.

2. Development of the Public Choice Approach

The public choice approach has been developed by both economists and political scientists, and therefore, falls within the area of study generally referred to as political economy (Mueller, p. 395). Though the entire body of public choice literature is unlikely to be of interest to geographers, some of its concepts can be an aid in expanding geography's horizons.

The public choice approach has proven to be a valuable tool in examining the processes at work within government that lead to the satisfaction of public preferences for collective goods and services. It was found that traditional public administration theory was unsatisfactory in dealing with such a question (Ostrom and Ostrom, pp. 203-204).

The traditional public administration theory, first advanced by Woodrow Wilson in 1887, had at its core the efficiency criterion. For a number of decades large, single jurisdiction governments, as opposed to multi-jurisdiction government systems, were seen as the best providers of service because of their supposedly more efficient methods of operation. Government efficiency can be measured by the least possible cost of either money or of energy (Ostrom and Ostrom, pp. 203-204). The Wilson approach has been dubbed the "old reform tradition" which was in vogue from the early twentieth century until the late 1960's. For example, efficiency in metropolitan government would be achieved by consolidating all local governments into

one large structure; the less administrative overlap the better (Bish and Ostrom, pp. 7-10). It should be noted however that the centralization approach, of all or most functions into a single jurisdiction of regional scope, has tended to be rejected by voters in the United States (Warren, pp. 193-194).

During the 1960's there arose in the United States, a new reform movement which called for smaller units of government, that is, neighbourhood or community councils which would allow for community control. Such a system of local government was seen to be more responsive to the citizen's needs rather than the monolithic structures of the old reform tradition (Bish and Ostrom, pp. 11-12).

A compromise between single-tier and community based government has been the creation of federated cities, or a system of two-tier governments in metropolitan areas. The upper tier is responsible for area-wide collective goods, but there is less agreement as to which services should be under the control of the lower tier or local municipality (Bish and Ostrom, pp. 12-14). The two-tier solution has perhaps been most widely used in the Province of Ontario (Price).

A fourth alternative to government, in this case metropolitan government, is the public choice approach. Public choice starts from the premise that a metropolitan area is composed of diverse communities of interest which are terri-

torially distinct. Each municipality, therefore, has different preferences for collective goods. The preferences vary in the type of goods, quantity and quality demanded. The situation is complicated by the fact that the political unit which will provide the most satisfactory level of a collective good depends in large part on the nature of the good in question. The diverse nature of collective goods suggests that the size of the most appropriate territorial unit is highly variable, even in a single metropolitan area (Bish, p. 408).

The public choice approach, therefore, refuses to accept that one form of government is adequate in all instances. Variety in government administration is probably preferable; especially if the goal is to meet the demands of the public for collective goods and services.

3. Public Choice and Government Response to Citizens' Preferences

The essential purpose of government is to provide collective goods and services. They can be defined as goods which "... must be available to everyone if they are available to anyone." (Olson, p. 14). For a collective good the condition of non-exclusion holds, even though, an individual has not paid for his share of it (Olson, p. 15; Ostrom and Ostrom, p. 206). The example used most often to illustrate the characteristics of a pure collective good is national defence. Its provision within a country applies to each individual, whether he has paid for it or not. Private goods

in contrast to collective goods are highly divisible, and because they are provided under competitive market conditions, individuals can be excluded from savouring the benefits unless they are willing to pay the purchase price (Ostrom and Ostrom, p. 206).

The question which then arises is which collective goods are to be provided? This is a question which lends itself well to public choice analysis. At its most basic level, the provision of collective goods can be obtained by either individual or group action. Whatever course of action people take, Downs argues that they act out of self-interest and that their behaviour is "rational", that is, directed primarily towards selfish ends. Downs does admit that people do act "irrationally", and that they do take into account the needs of others (Downs, pp. 27-28).

As alluded to above, the public choice analysis of the processes which lead to the satisfaction of public preferences for collective goods may use two alternative approaches. The first approach uses the individual as the basic unit of study. Traditional "economic man" is replaced by "man: the decision-maker" (Ostrom and Ostrom, p. 205). Four basic assumptions about individual behaviour are normally made. Firstly, each individual has his own preferences which affect the decisions he makes. Secondly, the individual is rational, that is, he chooses the preferred alternative from amongst a set of choices. Thirdly, an individual assumes a maximizing

strategy whereby he obtains the highest net benefit. Fourthly, an individual possesses varying levels of information which affect his choice of preferred preferences (Ostrom and Ostrom, pp. 205-206).

The second approach examines the process of consolidating individual preferences into group preferences for collective goods, and which of those preferences are most favoured by the public (Cox and Dear, p. 4; Mueller, p. 395; Warren, pp. 196-197). For the purposes of this thesis, Ottawa's neighbourhood studies program will be seen as essentially concerning itself with this second approach. The City is confronted with the problem of determining what the goals and objectives are of the residents in each neighbourhood under study. One way for the City to answer the problem is to promote cooperation amongst individuals in their neighbourhood. How this is accomplished will be the subject of a more detailed discussion in a subsequent chapter. Cooperation does occur because the properties of a collective good (in this case municipal planning), especially jointness of supply (non-exclusion principle), make it more efficient if people do cooperate, rather than provide the good on an individual basis (Mueller, p. 398).

The essential purpose of group action is to further the interests of the members of the organization (Olson, p. 5). Olson elaborates on this theme with the statement that:

... when a number of individuals have a common or collective interest - when they share a single purpose or objective - individual, unorganized action ... will either not be able to advance that common interest at all, or will not be able to advance that interest adequately. Organizations can therefore perform a function when there are common or group interests, and though organizations often also serve purely personal, individual interests, their characteristic and primary function is to advance the common interests of groups of individuals. (Olson, p. 7).

A group may either supply the collective good itself, or it may choose to exert pressure on government to provide the desired good. Organized citizens' groups depend on the second tactic in the case of neighbourhood planning in Ottawa. Through cooperation with the City of Ottawa's planners and pressure on their municipal politicians, citizens attempt to guide the planning of their neighbourhoods in the direction which they deem best.

Public choice analysis, be it of individual or group action, recognizes that diverse strategies can be used to satisfy preferences for collective goods. The diverse strategies include migration (voting-with-the-feet), membership in a club or group, voting, protest, and revolution (Mueller, pp. 410-415; Sproule-Jones and Hart, pp. 177-178; Buchanan and Tullock, pp. 119-262). In other words, depending upon the situation, individuals and groups will resort to one or more strategies in order to obtain their objectives.

A difficult problem confronting public choice is the

question of moving from a set of individual preferences to a single group preference. This problem has come to be known as Arrow's Paradox. Stated simply, preferences of individuals in a group are not additive so that a single group preference for a particular collective good or service is achieved. Everyone in the group will not be satisfied; some will want more, others less, or some individuals will want nothing at all of the collective good (Arrow, pp. 22-33). The paradox highlights the problem confronting political economists (Mueller, p. 395) who have attempted to find "... the elusive social welfare function of a given community," (Sproule-Jones and Hart, p. 178). With regard to the question of the preferences of a population, Cox and Dear say that, "The murkiness of knowledge in this area, moreover, provides substantial opportunity for political controversy when legislation with egalitarian goals is at issue." (Cox and Dear, p. 14). Given Arrow's Paradox, the neighbourhood studies are fraught with difficulties in deciding what the public will is on a particular issue. For this reason, everyone in a group is rarely satisfied.

Because the neighbourhood planning program is heavily involved with group participation, a brief review of the theory of groups is appropriate. If an attempt is made through group action, such as a trade union or citizens' group, to provide a public good, the degree to which the group interests are achieved will vary depending on the size and

the type of group in question. Group size has three effects:

1. the larger the group, the smaller is the share of the total benefits going to any one individual, and hence the less the incentive for any one person to undertake the task of providing even a small amount of the collective good;
2. the larger the group, the smaller the reward to any person acting in the group's interests;
3. the larger the group, the greater the organizational costs, and hence the higher the hurdle that needs to be jumped before any of the collective good can be obtained.

Therefore, with increasing size a group will fall short of providing an optimal amount of a collective good. Very large groups, unless there is coercion or incentives, will unlikely provide themselves with even small amounts of the good in question (Olson, p. 48).

Not only does the size of a group influence the success of an organization in achieving a collective good, but the nature of the group is also very important. Olson identifies three types of groups and they are:

1. Privileged or elite group: requires that only one or a few members need act to ensure that the collective good is obtained. It is assumed that the good will be gained with or without any group coordination.
2. Intermediate group: requires that there be some

group coordination and action if the collective good is to be obtained. However, despite group action, the provision of the good is not guaranteed;

3. Latent group: which is analagous to a very large group. So large is the group that no person is penalized for not contributing, nor will the actions of any one individual make a contribution to the group in obtaining its objective. Given the lack of individual rewards, the latent group has no incentive to act in order to achieve the particular good, even though the good is very valuable to the group as a whole (Olson, pp. 49-51).

Olson concludes that group size influences the degree to which individuals will pursue their interests through group action, and that small groups will be more successful in furthering their common interests than will large groups (Olson, p. 52).

Consequently, an important part of the empirical investigations will involve an examination of citizens' groups in the neighbourhood studies program. Such matters as what types of groups exist, what socio-economic levels the groups are drawn from, and what effects they have on Ottawa's neighbourhood studies will be considered.

4. Examples of the Use of the Public Choice Approach

One of the most common applications of public choice theory has been with regard to the evaluation of public agencies. The evaluations have been directed towards discerning the success of public agencies in providing collective goods and services. For example, Elinor Ostrom in her evaluation of the Federal Bureau of Investigation's crime statistics, says that the statistics simply report the number of serious crimes which have occurred in the United States for a given year. The methods of reporting the statistics do not allow local police forces to determine if they are actually effective in preventing crime. What is needed are new indicators for evaluating police performance, such as the average response time it takes for police to arrive at the location of a call (Ostrom, E., pp. 457-467).

An important question confronting government is to find a balance between producer efficiency and consumer equity. An increase in agency size may increase its efficiency but reduce its responsiveness to the citizen-consumer's needs and desires. Increased agency size may not even result in greater efficiency. An alternative is for the agency to increase its contacts with the citizen-consumer, perhaps by making smaller the areal units for which it is responsible (Ostrom, E., pp. 470-472). An example of this approach is the City of Ottawa which has undertaken to do much of its planning on a neighbourhood basis.

An example where collective goods and services are provided both efficiently and with a high degree of responsiveness to local needs is in Los Angeles County. Analyses have shown that the Lakewood Plan, named after the initiating city, is responsive to citizens' preferences, while at the same time providing collective goods quite efficiently. Under the plan, cities in Los Angeles County contract with the county or other appropriate agencies for the provision of municipal services. Each city is able to obtain those collective goods and services which it most prefers at the best available price. The contracting system permits a number of cities to obtain goods which they would not otherwise have because they could not efficiently produce them on their own (Ostrom, Tiebout and Warren, pp. 837-842, Warren, pp. 202-203).

The performance of a public agency can also be evaluated from the point of view of supply and demand. There is the danger that government supply of a good fails to meet people's preferences or recognize the diversity of interests in a community. If there is no recognition of consumers' preferences, then government will be taking actions without regard to consumer utility (Ostrom and Ostrom, p. 210). A similar situation can exist with regard to demand. If demand for a public good changes, such as ever-increasing traffic on a highway, then what was once seen as "good" may become a

negative facility (Ostrom and Ostrom, p. 210). Ostrom and Ostrom conclude:

If producers fail to adopt to changing demands or fail to modify conditions of supply to meet changing demands, then the availability of alternative administrative, political, judicial, and constitutional remedies may be necessary for the maintenance of an efficient and responsive system of public administration (Ostrom and Ostrom, p. 211).

The examples cited so far have focused on the satisfaction of preferences for collective goods. The public choice approach also allows examination of the processes at work in the location of collective goods known as public facilities. Location in itself can influence the degree to which preferences are satisfied. In this regard, Wolpert has made the observation that the location of public facilities, supposedly a response to public demand, is not solely based on a logical consideration of alternatives, that is, a normative response. More and more it is being realized that location decisions are the result of responses to public pressures which are powerful enough to force a particular location to be chosen, or alternatively, the location may be an area where the forces are least powerful in the community, or too inarticulate to present persuasive arguments to the political decision-makers (Wolpert, pp. 220-224). Wolpert presents the example of a university which intended to expand, but in order to do so, it would have had to demolish adjacent housing in a residential area. Local residents were up in arms, some even threatened violence, and

the situation was not settled until the university agreed to take the residents' views into account before deciding the location of its new facilities (Wolpert, pp. 224-226).

5. Geography and Public Choice

It is now necessary to make the link between geography and public administration theory, and in particular, the public choice approach. Indeed, several indirect references to geography have already been made, but the issue requires further clarification.

The analysis of the organization of government has traditionally been the domain of political science. However, its concern has been focused on power and the formal institutions of the state. The contribution that geographers can make to government is with regard to its spatial organization. Geographers are interested in the territorial aspect of government; what territory, how is it organized, why is it so organized, and what are the effects of territorial organization on the functioning of government. Unfortunately, political geographers have tended to focus on the territorial organization of the state. But there is no reason why geographers should not examine the spatial implications of other levels of government (Jackson and Bergman, pp. 1-2). An expanded role for geography is appropriate because:

All too often, human activity and behaviour are examined as if they took place in a "spaceless" environment devoid of terrestrial

location, distance and directional relationships, and other characteristics associated with a localized geographic context which significantly affect the generation and results of this activity or behaviour (Soja, p. 3).

Whatever political system is under consideration, it should be thought of as existing in two dimensions. The vertical dimension refers to the type of political structure being employed. For example, a federated country consists of a hierarchy of jurisdictions; city, region, province and federal governments. The horizontal dimension relates to the specific territory over which a particular polity has jurisdiction (Jackson and Bergman, pp. 8-11). However, the public choice literature is essentially aspatial with the concentration on a political system's vertical dimension. The one major concession in the public choice literature has been the advancement of the concept of polycentricity (Ostrom, Tiebout and Warren, pp. 831-832; Ostrom, V., p. 1). A polycentric political system can be defined " ... as one which has many centres of decision making which are formally independent of each other. This definition implies that fragmentation of authority will be accompanied by overlapping jurisdictions." (Ostrom Tiebout and Warren, p: 831; Ostrom, V., p. 1). The classic example of a polycentric political system is Los Angeles County and the Lakewood Plan.

To fully appreciate the processes which lead to the satisfaction of preferences for collective goods, an analysis

should take into account both the structural and spatial dimensions of the political system. It may very well be found that space in addition to the structural organization of municipal planning in Ottawa affects the City's ability to respond to individual and group preferences. The neighbourhood scale may not always be the most appropriate scale at which to deal with local area issues.

6. Conclusion

Geography can bring a spatial dimension to the public choice approach. Though public choice has traditionally been the domain of political economists, it does provide geography with the possibility to expand its own horizons. The ideas of both geographers and political economists can be seen in some respects to be complementary.

Public choice recognizes that there is no one satisfactory approach to public administration, as originally espoused by Woodrow Wilson. The reason for this change in attitude is because the nature of collective goods influences the type of administration which is most appropriate. It is also because the purpose of government is viewed as satisfying individual and group preferences for collective goods and services. Rather than simply emphasizing the structure of government, public choice focuses on the processes of government decision making. This includes the roles played by politicians, bureaucrats, groups, and individuals.

CHAPTER 3
CITIZENS' PARTICIPATION AND
MUNICIPAL PLANNING

1. Introduction

This chapter will complete the discussion of the conceptual framework for the thesis. Chapter 2 examined the public choice approach, while citizens' participation will be reviewed in this chapter. The basic premise of the chapter is that citizens' participation is essentially a mechanism which people can use in order to try and satisfy their preferences for public goods and services.

The chapter is organized in such a manner that the general theory of citizens' participation is discussed; what it is, why it has arisen, and what people hope to achieve with it. This will be followed by an examination of citizens' participation in municipal planning, especially as it relates to planning at the neighbourhood scale. Municipal planning, particularly at a neighbourhood level is being examined because the thesis is, of course, concerned with Ottawa's neighbourhood studies program.

The chapter will begin with a brief history of early and more recent attempts at citizens' participation in Canada. The concluding remarks in the chapter will look at the success of several attempts at neighbourhood planning in Canada, and the legal requirements for citizens' participation in the

Province of Ontario.

2. Citizens' Participation and the Governmental Process

In recent years, the demand for increased citizens' participation in the political process has become a familiar phrase. However, the movement for citizens' participation is not a recent phenomenon, though perhaps the form is different. In the case of Canada, the citizens' reform movement goes back a century-and-a-half in the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec. At that time, there were attempts to oust the "Family Compact" in Upper Canada and the "Chateau Clique" in Lower Canada, and in their place establish freely elected governments. But the campaign for the voting franchise continued until the first part of the twentieth century when women were finally granted the vote. The underlying philosophy behind these early movements, and indeed it still holds, is that citizens have the right to be consulted and to take part in the business of government (Bregha, p. 1).

The citizens' movement in Canada expanded beyond a simple interest in representative democracy to a focus on more specific issues, and in particular the problems of the city. Rutherford, in a series of essays relates the concerns of the first urban reformers in Canada during the period 1880 to 1920. Canadian cities faced a multitude of difficulties, including the state of public utilities, immigrant housing, slums, social welfare, and physical planning (Rutherford). It was felt that

without public pressure politicians were unlikely to take remedial action. These feelings can perhaps be best summed up with the following statement:

We are ready to shift responsibility on the mayor and aldermen. But we cannot expect the mayor and aldermen to act without a mandate from the people. They will not act in advance of public opinion. This is not an excuse. We all know the condition for ourselves and we all are to blame. If we know that civic improvement ought to be made and don't give the mandate to the council then we must blame ourselves ..."
(Walker, p. 223).

During the 1950's in Ontario, citizens' concerns were confined more or less to individual development issues. It was not until the late 1960's that people broadened their interests to encompass entire local areas. An emphasis on planning issues over large spatial areas put new demands on the political system, especially at the municipal government level (Appendix A, No. 1). The major issue in the 1960's which sparked greater public concern for the welfare of neighbourhoods was the high-rise apartment building. The high-rise apartment raised many questions, including the regulation of traffic, the need for day-care centres, and the adequacy of existing parks. The high-rise threat to neighbourhoods forced ratepayers to organize (Ontario Economic Council, pp. 45-46). Citizens became so well organized that many politicians and bureaucrats eventually came to see citizens' rights as paramount in the development of neighbourhoods. For example, from 1966 on the then Ontario Municipal Board

Chairman J.A. Kennedy became the first major public official " ... to adopt as policy the primacy of 'citizen' interests (as opposed to 'official' or 'development' interests) in the planning issues which came before him." (Appendix A, No. 2). In the 1970's, citizen participation achieved several notable successes. June 1971 saw the Ontario Cabinet stop Toronto's Spadina Expressway, and in 1972 David Crombie was elected as Toronto's reformist-minded mayor. This most recent of Canada's reform movements came as a shock to many planners because almost everything they held sacred was bitterly opposed by citizens. Indeed, "citizen participation" and "anti-development" became virtually synonymous (Appendix A, No. 3).

Given the diverse forms that citizens' participation has taken, as shown by the examples of Canada, the question then arises as to what citizens' participation is. This is a question which has no satisfactory answer. At its most basic level participation can range from simple voting to running for political office. Intermediate level activities can include membership in a political party to active campaigning on a political candidate's behalf (Mueller, pp. 408-415); Sproule-Jones and Hart, pp. 177-178; Kasperson, and Breitbart, pp. 3-10). Though the above definition is very broad, it will suffice for the purposes of this thesis. Participation will be taken to be any involvement in the process of government. The definition recognizes that the levels of participation by individuals is highly variable. Indeed, the degree of partici-

participation by people is more crucial than the actual definition of what citizens' participation is. A useful approach is the center-periphery model. On the periphery are the "apathetics", those persons who are basically uninvolved in politics. At the center are the small group of "gladiators" who join political parties, actively campaign, and run for political office. Somewhere in between is the large mass of the population, the "spectators", who are minimally involved by such means as voting and proselytizing (Kasperson and Breitbart, pp. 7-8).

If participation is to occur, people must believe that there are benefits to be gained. The benefits or incentives must allow for some type of personal gain, such as a material or spiritual reward (Bregha, p. 8). Sproule-Jones and Hart have said much the same thing, but have put it into an economic model of citizens' participation. Citizens will participate in politics if they believe that their expected benefits will exceed their expected costs. An individual will change the degree of his participation if he feels that the change would produce a positive adjustment in the service levels of collective goods and services (Sproule-Jones and Hart, pp. 179-182).

The demand for citizens' participation, especially in the activities of the policy setting branches of governments, is a result of the inadequacies of traditional mechanisms such as voting, to satisfy people's preferences (Heberlein, p. 198). In this regard Riedel would add:

Concern for participation arises almost entirely in the context of real or imagined failure of government to respond appropriately to the most competitive needs and demands of citizens, some of whom feel that the response would have been more satisfactory had their values been given and assured their fair hearing. In short, the real issue connotes criticism of the existing system of representation (Riedel, p. 212).

In addition, the demand for participation has grown as the political system has become more bureaucratized. It is really a call for a transfer of power from government insiders (bureaucrats) to outsiders (citizens) (Davis, pp. 62-63). Citizens, by and large, had become an unrepresented interest group in the daily affairs of government. Other special interests like industry and labour have had the resources to make known their viewpoints to government (Kasperson and Breitbart, pp. 2-3; Head, pp. 14-18). The status quo is no longer acceptable to many citizens. Suttles concludes that there exists an alienation of the public from public agencies. The causes of the alienation are: 1) agencies are specialized, making it difficult for learned citizen input; 2) agencies lack public accountability; and 3) the agencies' jurisdiction tends to be beyond the boundaries of the local community, or neighbourhood (Suttles, pp. 274-275). Despite the alienation, it can be added that "the simultaneous surge in this demand for participation and the apparent avoidance of most of the opportunities that this demand creates is a modern paradox" (Kasperson and Breitbart, pp. 1-2).

Up to this juncture the purposes of citizens' participation has been spoken of in general terms, that is, overcoming the alienation between the public and government. But the forms and purposes which participation can take to bridge the gap between people and government is quite variable. The forms in this instance do not include the traditional voting mechanism. Wengert (1976) has identified five approaches which governments can take to citizens' participation. The five approaches are:

- i) Participation as policy. Participation is a normative goal to be sought in which people have a right to be involved in the decision-making process. What is unclear, and seldom discussed by the authorities, is what the nature of the involvement should be, and how it relates to the decision-making process.
- ii) Participation as a strategy. As a strategy for those working within the existing system, participation may be used to gain support and approval either from the public, politicians or bureaucrats for an idea or policy.
- iii) Participation as communication. This approach is used to improve information inputs into administrative decisions. An attempt is made to determine people's preferences, in order to prevent a "bad" decision.
- iv) Participation as conflict resolution. The intention is to find ways to reduce tension and resolve conflict

over an issue. The underlying assumption is that the sharing of points of view between interest groups, politicians and bureaucrats makes for better understanding and a reduction in mistrust. But in a heterogeneous community, the danger is that participation may increase conflict and induce polarization.

- v) Participation as therapy. Participation of the affected citizens is seen as a means of social therapy. For example, a key tenet of the United States' "War on Poverty" program was the involvement of citizens in the program. People are better off if they can help themselves.

Bregha (pp. 18-28) has advanced a similar typology to Wengert's. Participation can be of four types. Firstly, as two way communication between government and citizens. Secondly, government consults with the affected citizens to present alternative plans, but citizens are not given the opportunity to discuss the alternatives. Thirdly, the joint planning approach which assumes that bureaucrats and citizens assume equal roles. This makes government decisions more acceptable and effective. Fourthly, the delegated authority approach which transfers some government authority to a group of citizens. The result would perhaps be a better delivery of collective goods and services.

Much of the discussion concerning citizens' participation in government decision-making centers around the question of

deconcentration and/or decentralization of government.

Deconcentration occurs if there is a dispersal of facilities or functions from a central government to area sub-units in order to improve the effectiveness and/or efficiency of government operations. Decentralization on the other hand, involves the actual transfer of decision-making powers from a central government to other areal units of government. More commonly deconcentration rather than decentralization occurs (Kasperson and Breitbart, p. 28).

At the municipal government level, the rationale for decentralization or deconcentration from the municipal bureaucracy to local communities or neighbourhoods can be categorized into four reasons: 1) Administrative: large bureaucracies are unresponsive and rarely do they try to meet local preferences; 2) Psychological: people are psychologically overwhelmed by big government and decentralization (deconcentration) will help people to overcome their alienation; 3) Sociological: neighbourhoods exhibit different socio-economic characteristics, and hence have different priorities for collective goods; and 4) Political: deprived groups such as the poor and certain racial groups are presently without influence which would help to change their situation (Schmandt, pp. 573-577). The problem is trying to find which is the best territorial unit and which powers or activities should be decentralized or deconcentrated to neighbourhoods (Schmandt, pp. 580-582). However, against this background Schmandt

cautions:

What is important to understand ... is that the major social problems plaguing American cities (could perhaps add Canadian) cannot be solved primarily from a neighbourhood base, whether the solution is offered through control over the delivery of services or through political organization. The forces that maintain deprivation and alienation - among them institutional racism, low income, inavailability of jobs, and underemployment - are largely beyond the pole of neighbourhood action. Disaggregating certain powers to municipal subunits in the large cities can give urbanites some control over the day-to-day administration of public functions and programs that are locally oriented. To expect more of municipal decentralization in a society of increasing scale and complexity would be unrealistic (Schmandt, p. 584).

3. Citizens' Participation in Municipal Planning

Perhaps no area of governmental activity has experienced greater demands for citizens' participation than has municipal planning. It is probably because many of the most basic decisions which affect people's daily lives are made at the municipal level.

Municipal planning can be composed of a very diverse set of collective goods. Traditionally, municipal planning has been thought of concerning itself with "physical" or "hard" collective goods, such as land use zoning, parks, recreation, roads, sewers and water. However, the range of municipal interests is much broader. For example, a conference held in Ottawa in 1970 discussed a wide variety of local issues which would be of interest to citizens. Not only were the traditional,

hard collective goods looked at, but other topics deemed appropriate for citizen involvement included day care services, family life, tenants' problems, and the situation facing migrants and immigrants in the city (Social Planning Council of Ottawa and District, 1970). In this context, municipal planning should be viewed as an attempt at community development. But there is no agreement as to what constitutes community development. Compton (pp. 383-384), for example, provides three definitions, including his own.

Canadian Welfare Council (1970):

A process aimed at promoting citizen participation in social affairs, developing people's awareness of problems, enabling them to define their needs in relation to the total environment, making possible their enlightened choice among various options and channelling the results into effective action for social change.

United Nations (1955):

A process of social action in which the people of a community organize themselves for planning and action; define their common and individual needs and solve their problems; execute their plans with a maximum reliance upon community resources; and supplement these resources when necessary with services and materials from governmental and non-governmental agencies outside of the community.

Compton:

Reduced to its essence, community development is not much more than people participating in the improvement of their lot.

A real hindrance, however, to the community development process is that more often than not, physical planning and

social planning activities are carried on by different municipal departments. Each department has its own vested interests. Recommendations arising out of citizens' participation in municipal planning may conflict with a department's traditional way of doing things. Departmental resistance to change is not uncommon (Hitchcock and Bellamy, pp. 103-105).

The citizens' participation movement of the 1970's has in some municipalities become "institutionalized". The Ontario Planning Act Review Committee found, in its evaluation of municipal planning in a number of Ontario municipalities, that "public participation was an objective to be sought after ... It was the number one priority in all municipal plan-making exercises" (Appendix A, No. 4). But the Committee also found that:

... first, a failure on the part of planners and politicians to consider what participation was meant to achieve and to design programs accordingly; secondly, a lack of experience on the part of planners, politicians and the public in participation in any plan-making exercises (Appendix A, No. 5).

Part of the answer to the difficulties which have plagued citizens' participation in Ontario and elsewhere is that the traditional planning literature has failed to recognize that planning is a political activity, and that the resulting policies are the outcome of intergroup conflict. Policy-making is pluralistic and not rational, that is, non-political as naively assumed by planners. If "objective rationality" is assumed, would the plans developed by one set of planners be

the same as those developed by another set given the same level of information? And can the public interest actually be determined objectively by a select few planners? An affirmative answer to both is highly improbable (Rondinelli, pp. 45-56).

Compton believes that if community development is to be successful then the process must contain four aspects: 1) people involvement; 2) be geared to solving problems; 3) be a learning process for those involved; and 4) it must identify and satisfy people's needs, and not those of the agencies involved (Compton, pp. 388-389). What is perhaps puzzling to many planners is trying to determine what their role is, given the increased amount of citizens' participation in municipal planning. They can no longer expect to be looked upon as rational decision-makers with their proposals being given unquestioned positive sanction by politicians. Perhaps their role, or at least a future one, is best summed up by the following:

If we get participatory democracy functioning, planners may not be necessary. Planners would then become oil-can men whose job it would be to get things going and to get people operating together smoothly so that they can as a group solve their community needs (Ministry of Housing, p. 11).

Finally, municipal planning, like all governmental functions, is confronted with the problem of determining community preferences. The solution, but as Arrow has shown there can be no ideal one, is very much a function of which

community residents actively involve themselves in the planning process. It has been found that citizens' participation is a function of socio-economic characteristics. Participation tends to be greater amongst the middle and upper class members of society. They tend to be more articulate and more able to use the political system to their advantage (Hoinville, p. 33; Hitchcock and Bellamy, p. 103). The Ontario Planning Act Review Committee found that only a small percentage of citizens are actively involved in municipal planning. In addition, the Committee determined that many citizens are only concerned with specific issues in a municipal plan, and that only a small percentage of the public believe the plan will be effective and that their participation is valuable in plan-making (Appendix A, No. 6). When people do participate in the planning process, it has been found that they are willing to be highly involved, but few people are able to sustain high levels of participation for long periods. However, plan-making exercises have a tendency to drag on (Hitchcock and Bellamy, p. 103). This problem is compounded by the fact that though citizens' interest is high, many lack the time to be as involved as they wish (Duckworth, pp. 25-28). One other problem which hinders the determination of preferences is the identification of all the interest groups in a community. For discussion purposes, the interest groups have been identified as generally falling into five groups: 1) elected and appointed representatives; 2) public agencies and institutions; 3) private businesses and institutions;

4) local community and special interest groups; and 5) unorganized individuals (Appendix A, No. 7).

4. Neighbourhood Planning: One Approach to Citizens' Participation

A popular approach to marshalling citizens' participation is to undertake municipal planning on a neighbourhood basis, as has been done in Ottawa. In the literature, neighbourhoods because they are spatially small, have been seen to be a useful way of encouraging citizens' participation. It will be shown, however, that for all planning activities neighbourhoods are not the most appropriate spatial unit to use.

It has been argued that neighbourhoods should be saved or rehabilitated because it is only at that scale that people can develop interpersonal relationships, and to overcome the anonymity of the city. In response, Wellman found in a study of individuals in East York, a borough of Metropolitan Toronto, that the majority of people with whom an individual has personal relationships live outside their own neighbourhood. Surveyed respondents said that only 13 percent of their intimates resided in their neighbourhood, while 63 percent and 24 percent respectively, lived in other areas of Metropolitan Toronto or outside Metro. Mass communication has lessened the need for people's intimates to be in close proximity. People can transcend the confinements of their local area (Wellman, pp. 283-285).

On the other hand Wellman does not dismiss the concept

of neighbourhood out of hand. Neighbourhoods do give people a geographic area to which they can relate. It can help newcomers of different languages and cultures to assimilate. It can promote collective action. For example, people band together to fight a high-rise apartment or pressure for a new park (Wellman pp. 285-286). But, "... not all interests are neighbourhood issues, and it would be folly to force all conflicts into a spatially determined mode" (Wellman, p. 286).

A study of municipal planning in Ontario by the Ontario Economic Council stated that the neighbourhood was the ideal scale at which to deal with problems. The Council said:

The municipal planning problems which capture the attention of the most people, and in the most direct way, are those which are of impact in a single neighbourhood. This is fortunate. In such circumstances, organizing public involvement is manageable, a wide and representative canvass of opinion is readily obtainable, meetings to discuss issues or projects can usually be accommodated conveniently and comfortably in school auditoriums, and the citizen can contribute his local knowledge (often his greatest asset) to plan-making and problem solving (Ontario Economic Council, p. 139).

It is dubious that a representative cross-section of opinion is possible, especially in light of Arrow's paradox and the empirical evidence discussed in the previous section.

The experience of neighbourhood planning in the City of Toronto suggests that perhaps the satisfaction of local preferences is not the inevitable outcome of the various studies undertaken. It has been found that over time new initiatives

come from City Hall rather than from the neighbourhoods. With successive studies, the approach to neighbourhood plans becomes more routine with increased experience. There is an attempt to make the various plans and policies contained therein more consistent. The reason for this seems to be that if the City's overall priorities are to be met, then solutions to many local concerns will need to be molded in such a way that they do not interfere with city-wide goals and objectives (Hitchcock and Bellamy, p. 99).

A serious problem confronting neighbourhood planning is the concept of neighbourhood itself. The lack of a precise definition probably frustrates many planners who are responsible for local area studies. They have little idea of the "animal" they are working with, and hence, may not always be sure why conflict arises and why it is so difficult to resolve. Three viewpoints as to what constitutes a neighbourhood are considered here; the sociological, geographical and political.

The sociological perspective of neighbourhood usually has four components (Hesslink, pp. 449-450). Briefly these are:

- i) Area. A neighbourhood must obviously have an area, but it is not so clear what are its exact boundaries;
- ii) Identity and sentiment. Given that people perform some functions in their neighbourhood, they eventually gain part of their identity from the area; an attachment, loyalty, and sentiment for it;
- iii) Social relationships. People perform some of their

interpersonal relations in a neighbourhood. For example, membership on a local planning committee.

- iv) Institutional activity. Certain institutions, such as churches, schools and playgrounds are located in a neighbourhood.

But the degree to which people carry on components i), ii) or iii) varies depending on the individual or family, and what stage people are at in their life cycle.

Smailes, as a geographer, dismisses much of the sociological views on neighbourhood. Because people are so mobile today, neighbourhoods are not the location in which people carry out their main social activities (Smailes, p. 127). He says neighbourhoods rarely exist:

... except in the minds of town-planners. With the notable rigid cleavages in the structure of society, whether of colour, language, or religion, determine the geographical segregation of distinct communities, living apart from each other, neighbourhoods scarcely exist in towns in any sense other than as urban regions with distinctive physical and functional characteristics (Smailes, p. 127).

Suzanne Keller, a sociologist, puts strong emphasis on both the sociological and geographical components of a neighbourhood. On the social side, she believes people share activities, experiences, values and common loyalties and perspectives. On the geographical side, a neighbourhood is an area within a larger urban entity. The boundaries are physical or symbolic and usually both. The physical devices can consist of such things as streets, rail lines, or parks. Symbolic ones

can include historical and social traditions which may cause residents to view an area as a distinctive unit (Keller, pp. 88-91).

Perhaps the most interesting approach to the concept of neighbourhood is the political one advanced by Hester. Physical planners and designers have emphasized the physical aspects without much thought for the social components. Physical planners often state simply that neighbourhoods require so many schools per thousand population, shopping centers, churches etc. On the other hand, sociologists have practically ignored the physical aspects while emphasizing the social ones. Hester says what is needed is a definition that includes social, spatial and political considerations. Because of shared problems and concerns, people develop local loyalties and common values for their local area. The development of a sense of "collective responsibility" for their neighbourhood leads people to undertake political action to preserve or enhance their area. People define the spatial limits of a neighbourhood, but on this point the author is hazy, other than to say that a neighbourhood is territorially small (Hester, pp. 9-13).

5. Recent Municipal Examples of Citizens' Participation

As stated in Section 2, citizens' participation has had a long history in Canada. However, it is appropriate to review some recent municipal examples of participation, especially the neighbourhood planning experience.

Toronto is one Canadian city which has been at the forefront of the citizens' participation movement. Quigley found that in Toronto what is most crucial is the need for an issue, and the issue must be a threat to the stability and viability of the neighbourhood. She also discovered that over time, because of political involvement, lower income groups are becoming increasingly more sophisticated politically, a domain previously thought to be a monopoly of the middle class. In addition, she learned that the expertise of the professional planner is no longer going unchallenged by local residents. Another interesting finding is that tenants have begun to organize themselves, a group which has traditionally been unrepresented, even within the citizens' movement. Finally, the role of the politician has changed. He can no longer make decisions based solely on his own will, but rather, must become cognizant of the people's wishes (Quigley, pp. 85-100).

Two other studies of citizens' participation in Toronto concluded that several significant structural changes need to be made to the City's official plan. Firstly, the City's official plan should state when and how the neighbourhood planning process will be done. In essence, it would be a "bill of rights" for citizens so that they would know where they stand vis-à-vis their city government. Secondly, the official plan should not state what a city's policies are regarding a particular subject. Rather, the plan should say that the city is willing to provide resources to solve a particular problem

which comes up. Official plans have traditionally lacked flexibility over time, thereby reducing their effectiveness (Hitchcock, pp. 99-100).

Finally, a review of neighbourhood planning in Toronto, Hamilton, Winnipeg and Vancouver by Anderson has found that the problems are similar in each city. Firstly, it was learned that neighbourhood planners are always given more work than what they can handle, so that they often "burn out" before the studies are completed. The result is that many planners leave before seeing a study through to its completion. Secondly, citizens' participation is only advisory with no legal sanctions to back it up. The enforcement of change is in the political arena, and the policies of politicians are subject to numerous changes. Thirdly, the senior planning staff will have a tendency to veto recommendations which appear radical or which are contrary to the traditional ways of doing things. Fourthly, some neighbourhood planners have attitudes which are the anti-thesis to citizen input. The idea of the "amateur" citizen giving direction to the "expert" planner does not sit well with many professionals. Such planners do not subscribe to the goals of decentralization and community-based planning. Fifthly, operating departments which would implement many of the ideas of citizens and planners are often reluctant to change. Lastly, rather than connecting residents to city hall, the planner is cast in the role of a go-between. They play a dual role of buffer between councillors and noisy citizens, and as a one-way

information pipeline between the community and city hall. It seems that a neighbourhood planner's job is not to change the status quo but rather to maintain it (Anderson, pp. 35-40).

6. Legal Requirements for Citizens' Participation in Ontario Municipalities

The legal requirements in the Province of Ontario for citizens' participation in municipal planning are minimal. The only legal stipulation is Section 12(1)(b) of the Planning Act, the legislation which governs municipal planning in the province. Section, 12(1)(b) states that local boards must:

hold public meetings and publish information for the purpose of obtaining the participation and cooperation of the inhabitants of the planning area in determining the solution of problems or matters affecting the development of the planning area (Government of Ontario, p. 7).

Because the Planning Act makes no requirements for municipal councils to undertake or ensure significant citizens' participation, public involvement has been a result of citizen pressure on local councils (Appendix A, No. 8). The Review Committee found that citizens' participation ranges from heavy involvement, such as the definition of planning problems, to almost no involvement, except for the solicitation of views on specific proposals. Thus, in some municipalities, citizens' views carry great weight, in others almost none (Appendix A, No. 9).

The Review Committee made four key recommendations regarding citizens' participation. Firstly, it is an individual's

right to participate in planning, but the actual procedures should be left to each municipality. Secondly, people have a basic right to be notified of a planning proposal which affects them, be able to express their views regarding it, and object to it if they so choose. Thirdly, all planning reports to City Councils should be available prior to a meeting for public inspection, and the meetings should be held in the open. Finally, unincorporated ratepayer groups and other informal resident groups must be assured the right to participate in the planning process. Such groups are now dependent on the good will of municipal councils and the Ontario Municipal Board (Appendix A, No. 10).

The final arbiter for most planning activities in the Province is the Ontario Municipal Board (OMB). However, its regulations for citizens' participation have been found to be somewhat suspect. In the case of a zoning by-law, if a municipality is applying to the OMB for the approval of the by-law, the municipality must either notify all property owners within a 400 foot radius of the subject property, or if personal notice is too onerous, the notice must be advertised in the local newspaper serving the subject area. The notice must either contain a copy of the by-law or a summary of it, plus a statement of the by-law's purposes and effects. People have 14 days to either support or object in writing to the by-law. If there is an objection, the OMB will usually hold a public hearing

before it approves or rejects the zoning by-law. The problems with the notification procedures are two-fold. Firstly, the 400 foot radius is not always adequate. It may be sufficient for a residential change, but what if a regional shopping center is proposed which will have spillovers over a very large spatial area? Secondly, the notice, because of its legal jargon, is often incomprehensible, and a newspaper notice is often not read by many of the affected residents (Adler, pp. 205-208).

7. Conclusion

The citizens' participation movement is not a new phenomenon in Canada; but its concerns have changed. The earliest attempts were directed towards achieving representative democracy. Today, the participation movement directs its interests to obtaining more citizen input into the decision-making apparatuses of democratic governments. In many ways, the spatial scale of the participation movement has also changed. No longer is there a concern for democracy at the nation-state level, but rather, the most vocal calls for increased participation come at the city and sub-city (e.g. neighbourhood) levels.

Defining citizens' participation is not a simple matter. In this thesis, a wide definition is used. Essentially, citizens participate as long as they play even a minimal role in the decision-making process. This definition is in opposition to a more narrow one used by Kasperson and Breitbart. They say

that real participation requires that a citizen be a creative contributor in the decision-making process, and that his participation adds to the individual's personal development (Kasperson and Breitbart, pp. 4-5). Therefore, unless an individual takes an active role, he has not participated. However, the majority of the population is undoubtedly content to participate on a minimal basis. It also denies that people reveal their preferences for collective goods in different ways. Simple voting is probably a satisfactory method for most persons.

The demand for citizens' participation, especially from those persons who want to be actively involved, is a result of the political system inadequately responding to people's preferences. But no matter what types of participation are employed by governments, there will be real difficulty in determining preferences of individuals and of sets of individuals. Arrow's paradox has illustrated that there is no satisfactory solution.

Even when increased citizens' participation is recognized as desirable, what it is supposed to achieve is highly variable. It can range from a real citizens' voice in decision-making to simple consultation with citizens on decisions previously taken by government. In other words, there may or may not be a real attempt at determining preferences.

One of the most visible forms of citizens' participation is in municipal planning. Citizens are seen to have a role to play in the development of their communities. One common

approach is to promote participation at the scale of the neighbourhood. The neighbourhood scale allows a municipality to get at the spatial variations in preferences for collective goods which exist across a city. But, it is foolish to think that a municipality can adequately respond to citizens needs at only one scale, such as a neighbourhood.

CHAPTER 4
NEIGHBOURHOOD STUDIES PROGRAM IN OTTAWA:
A CASE STUDY

1. Introduction

The previous two chapters set out the theoretical foundation for the analysis of the City of Ottawa's neighbourhood studies program. The public choice approach provides the basic framework for the empirical analysis to follow. However, because citizens' participation is an important feature of the neighbourhood studies it was necessary to review some of the major aspects of citizens' participation. The basic purpose of this chapter is to set out the structure and functioning of the neighbourhood studies. In order to accomplish this it is necessary to consider such matters as the historical background to the program, the purposes of the program, the geographical organization of the neighbourhood studies, how a study is initiated, the representation of neighbourhood citizens, and the steps to be followed in having a neighbourhood development plan approved.

The setting out of the above noted material will permit an examination of the three major questions which are of interest in this thesis. The three questions are:

1. Are the goals and objectives of Ottawa's neighbourhood studies program based on an attempt to meet the preferences of neighbourhood citizens for collective

goods and services?

2. Is there a spatial variability in the collective goods and services examined by the neighbourhood studies?
3. Are the neighbourhood studies able to consolidate individual citizen's preferences into a single neighbourhood group preference for collective goods and services?

All of the questions are formulated within a public choice point of view. Public choice is concerned with the processes that lead to the satisfaction of individual and group preferences for collective goods and services.

For the most part the actual evaluation of the neighbourhood studies program will be left to the next chapter, Chapter 5. Where appropriate, criticisms of some aspects of the program will be made in this chapter. This will be particularly the case with regard to the first question, that is, are the goals and objectives of Ottawa's neighbourhood studies program based on an attempt to meet the preferences of neighbourhood citizens?

2. Approaches to Data Collection

Before proceeding further with the case study, it is appropriate to discuss the methods used in the collection of data. The actual data sources are communication material, such as the various development plans prepared for Ottawa's

neighbourhoods, Ottawa City Council minutes, local newspaper articles, and personal interviews with Ottawa's Planning Branch staff.

The approach to the first question of interest is handled by an examination of municipal documents in order to determine the goals and objectives of the neighbourhood studies program. The second question is dealt with through a content analysis of the development plans for each neighbourhood. From the plans a table has been prepared showing the spatial distribution of the collective goods considered by the individual neighbourhood studies. The third and final question is approached by determining if any conflicts exist between residents of particular neighbourhoods with regard to any of the recommendations in the development plans. The existence of conflict will be illustrated by way of examples.

A basic difference exists in the approach taken to answer questions one and three as opposed to question two. Questions one and three are dependent on the subjective judgement of the author while the answering of question two is accomplished by the more rigorous technique of content analysis. Because content analysis is employed only for question two, it was deemed appropriate that a discussion of its use be put in an appendix. A review of the technique of content analysis, its application to geographical research, and its specific application to this thesis can be found in Appendix C.

3. Structure of the Neighbourhood Studies

i) Historical Background

Until the rise of the citizens' movement, municipal planning had traditionally been the domain of professional bureaucrats and politicians or other appointed bodies. There was little or no consultation with citizens, let alone involvement in the planning process. In the Province of Ontario, for example, citizens' participation had been limited traditionally to the circulation of affected property owners of an application to amend a municipal land use zoning by-law. Residents were put in the position of reacting to various development proposals, rather than actually helping to guide how development would occur in their neighbourhood?

The neighbourhood study program in Ottawa was, at least in part, the result of local residents reacting to development pressures over which they had little influence. Residents of Sandy Hill (see Figure 1, p. 53), an inner city neighbourhood, were concerned with the possible consequences on their area if a number of applications to amend Ottawa's Comprehensive Zoning By-law, AZ-64 (Ottawa, 1968) were granted. These applications acted as a catalyst whereby a group of local citizens established in 1968 an organization known as Action Sandy Hill. The organization's first purpose was to oppose the zoning amendments which if allowed would have increased the density and height of several new buildings. The members of Action Sandy Hill viewed such developments as incompatible

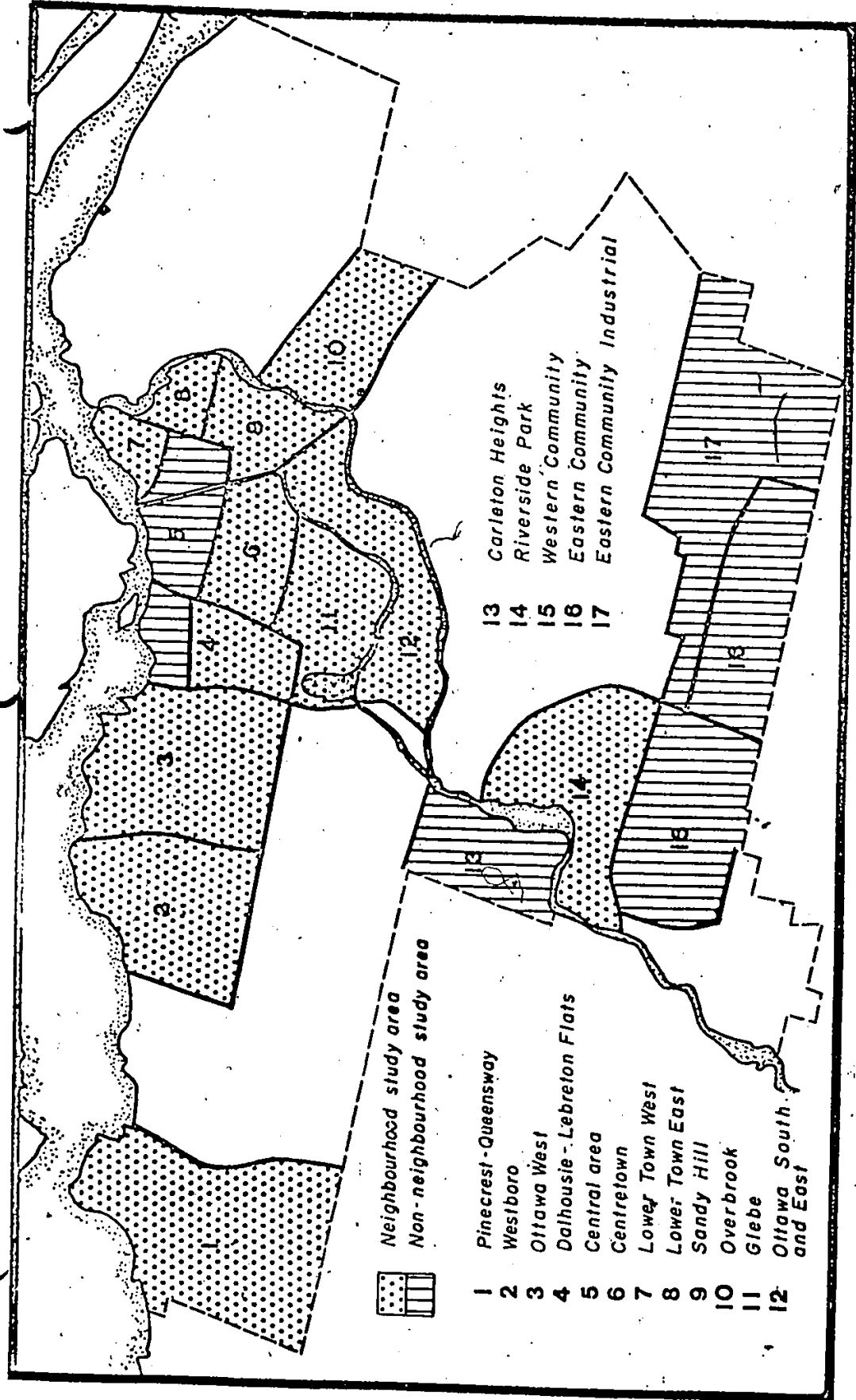


FIGURE 1

Neighbourhood Study Areas,
Ottawa

Source: Ottawa City Council
Minutes, July 19, 1978.

with the area's existing fabric (Rubin, pp. 8-9).

Despite the opposition by Action Sandy Hill, the success of local residents was not immediate. For example, Ottawa City Council on May 9, 1969 approved, but not without dissent, a higher density zoning to permit a 15 storey high-rise apartment building beside the Belgian Embassy located on Laurier Avenue East in Sandy Hill. Several reasons for the approval were apparent. Firstly, with an eye on the City's coffers, the new building would generate approximately \$70,000 per year in taxes while without the higher zoning the tax revenue would be \$35,000 per annum (Appendix A, No. 11). Secondly, though the high-rise proposal had been rejected by the Ottawa Planning Board earlier, the attitude of the then Planning Board chairman, and probably of many city councillors, was that the "... antiquated, quaint look has got to go in a modern city" (Appendix A, No. 12). Such a positive attitude towards high-rise apartment buildings has diminished with the growing strength of the citizens' movement. The present ward alderman for Sandy Hill would later say, when speaking for the need to preserve heritage areas in the city, that the above-noted high-rise apartment building was a mistake, since it is situated between two of Ottawa's most historic homes. The Belgian Embassy was the former residence of Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald, while the other home was Laurier House which had been the residence of Prime Ministers Sir Wilfred Laurier and MacKenzie King (Appendix A, No. 13).

Besides zoning amendments, Action Sandy Hill also concerned itself with the general deterioration of the neighbourhood. This was caused by such things as traffic, the possible construction of major new roads, and the expansion of the University of Ottawa. The overriding problem was the loss of the area's residential character (Levesque, p. 19; LeCavalier, pp. 46-51). To combat these problems, members of Action Sandy Hill decided that a comprehensive neighbourhood plan was required (Rubin, pp. 8-9). Eventually, after many briefs to various government bodies, including the Mayor of Ottawa (Appendix A, No. 14) the Ottawa Planning Board agreed in July, 1971 to conduct a neighbourhood study in Sandy Hill, plus an additional one in Pinecrest-Queensway (see Figure 1, p. 53). The latter is an area at the extreme west end of Ottawa which was experiencing severe development pressures, especially from new high-rise apartment buildings.

The neighbourhood studies were a new direction for the City of Ottawa. Citizens were to be actively encouraged to participate in the study of their local areas. The public would help to set goals, devise ways of achieving them, gather and analyze information, and get the local community to respond to the planning process. The neighbourhood studies were to look at revisions in zoning, modifications to municipal services, and the planning of special projects which would be of local interest (Appendix A, No. 15).

The Sandy Hill and Pinecrest-Queensway studies were

not the first time that the City had undertaken local area planning. In 1965, the City undertook to do 57 local area studies because without them funds would not be available from other levels of government for urban renewal projects. The first study was the Preston Street Area in 1965 (Appendix A, No. 16) followed shortly thereafter by the well known Lower-town East urban renewal study (Appendix A, No. 17). Though they were local in nature, they lacked the degree of citizens' involvement marked by the current neighbourhood studies program.

ii) A Comprehensive Planning Program

Despite the approval of the Sandy Hill and Pinecrest-Queensway studies in 1971, a city-wide neighbourhood studies program was not approved by Ottawa City Council until May, 1973. The neighbourhood studies program was to be but a part of a much larger five year planning program. The Planning Branch had been engaged in a series of studies since the fall of 1971 which were designed to lead to the progressive completion of a new Comprehensive Plan for Ottawa. This new plan would replace the City's existing, but rather weak Official Plan (Ottawa Planning Board). However, the City's Board of Control observed that the total program was progressing too slowly, and therefore requested the Planning Branch to draw up a time schedule whereby the planning process could be accelerated (Appendix A, No. 18). It was decided for several reasons that a five year schedule would be most appropriate. The

first reason given was that it is good practice to review a comprehensive plan every five years, and completing the City's first Comprehensive Plan in that time period would allow the review process to begin. Secondly, the costs of developing the Plan would be less than if a longer time frame were chosen (Appendix A, No. 19).

The Comprehensive Planning program consisted of a two-part strategy. Firstly, the City would develop a number of detailed comprehensive plans for districts in the City, as was being done in Sandy Hill and Pinecrest-Queenway. Secondly, the program recognized that the new Plan would need to contain city-wide policies which would provide guidelines for the provision of community services and facilities. Policies would be developed for such matters as housing, industrial and commercial development, transportation, recreation and open space, and heritage. It was foreseen that the ideal strategy would be to prepare city-wide policies prior to the commencement of any of the detailed district studies. But because certain sections of the City were experiencing severe development pressures, the decision was to do both types of studies concurrently (Appendix A, No. 20). The initial name for the local area plans was district study but neighbourhood study became the more familiar name. To simplify the discussion from here on, the term neighbourhood will be seen as being synonymous with a district study.

The Mayor of Ottawa in April, 1973 understood the

importance of developing city-wide policies. He called for the setting of city-wide goals which would allow the City to guide growth rather than react to it. If effective goals were to be established then closer cooperation was needed between the City and the National Capital Commission, the Federal Government's planning agency (Appendix A, No. 21). The decision to do both city wide and neighbourhood planning at the same time has had some effects on the neighbourhood studies. These effects will be discussed in the next chapter on the evaluation of the neighbourhood studies program.

iii) Geographical Priority for the District (Neighbourhood) Plans

The Comprehensive Plan program recognized that the district or neighbourhood plans should have a geographical priority. The most severe development pressures (including pressures for redevelopment) were being experienced in the center of Ottawa, followed by intense development pressures on the outer edges of the City, especially in the south and west where there exist the largest tracts of vacant lands. The middle belt in the City was relatively stable, having been largely built up since the end of the Second World War. Thus, the district plans would first concentrate on the central and outer areas of Ottawa. The middle belt areas would be left to the last (Appendix A, No. 22).

The five year program set out a priority listing as to which district and city wide policy studies should be begun in

each of the five years (Appendix A, No. 23). It was expected that a neighbourhood plan would take a planning team approximately two years to complete. Upon completion of one study, a team would then move on to another neighbourhood. If the program was to be completed on time, it was important that the start-up date of each activity be strictly adhered to. It was recognized that the completion time of the entire program within the five year time frame would be affected by the availability of staff and other resources. Finally, it was foreseen that after all the studies had been done, a maintenance program would be needed to review and update the new Comprehensive Plan on a continuous basis (Appendix A, No. 24).

The total projected cost in 1973 of the entire program was \$6,407,000 (Appendix A, No. 25). Unfortunately, a breakdown as to the projected cost of the neighbourhood studies was unavailable.

It was thought that a total of 21 neighbourhood plans would be required to cover the entire City of Ottawa. But several of these plans are not being considered in this thesis. Firstly, plans which have or are being developed for three vacant or partially vacant tracts of land, namely, the Eastern Community, the Western Community, and LeBreton Flats are omitted. Secondly, the Central Area, Ottawa's central business district, and Carleton Heights for which plans have been developed, but with virtually no citizens' participation are also omitted from the empirical analysis. Planning of these

two areas began before citizens' participation became a standard City of Ottawa procedure. The concern in this thesis is to evaluate the neighbourhood plans which have involved extensive citizens' participation, and which were or are presently being prepared for already developed areas of the City. The location of those studies which are not of interest in this thesis can be seen in Figure 1 (see p. 53).

iv) Planning Branch Reaction to the Neighbourhood Studies

According to staff in Ottawa's Planning Branch, the five year program was seen as the best way of updating Ottawa's Official Plan. There was no concern in 1973 as to how the neighbourhood plans were to be implemented. If a new park site was shown on the amended Official Plan of Parks as a result of a study, there was no real concern as to when it would be built. In other words, the neighbourhood planning process was viewed by the City's planning officials as a mechanism to revise the basic legal planning document in Ottawa.

At the time of the approval of the five year program in 1973, there was no mention of citizens' participation in the neighbourhood planning process. It is probably safe to assume that citizen input would be sought given the Ottawa Planning Board's earlier directive in 1971 on the need for participation in the Sandy Hill and Pinecrest-Queensway studies. It could also mean that there was little enthusiasm for citizens' participation amongst Planning Branch staff. One current

opinion in the Branch is that there is not a strong commitment to citizens' participation other than through the neighbourhood studies, and that is only because of historical precedent. However, in 1974 the then Commissioner of Community Development, the senior official for planning in Ottawa, wrote:

Citizen participation in planning has two main advantages: 1) it is a source of information about the area being planned; 2) involvement in planning creates commitment to the plan that ensures the plan will be implemented. Thus full participation in the planning process should be encouraged and where necessary abetted. However, citizen participation is not only important to land use planning, but also to the total range of services delivered by local government (Appendix A, No. 26).

The goals and objectives of the five year planning program, including those of the district plans, were not clearly stated in 1973 when the program was approved by Ottawa City Council. The primary goal seems to have been to achieve a new Comprehensive Plan for Ottawa. There was no real discussion as to how citizens' participation would help in the planning process. Despite this lack, citizens' participation did become an important aspect of the neighbourhood studies program.

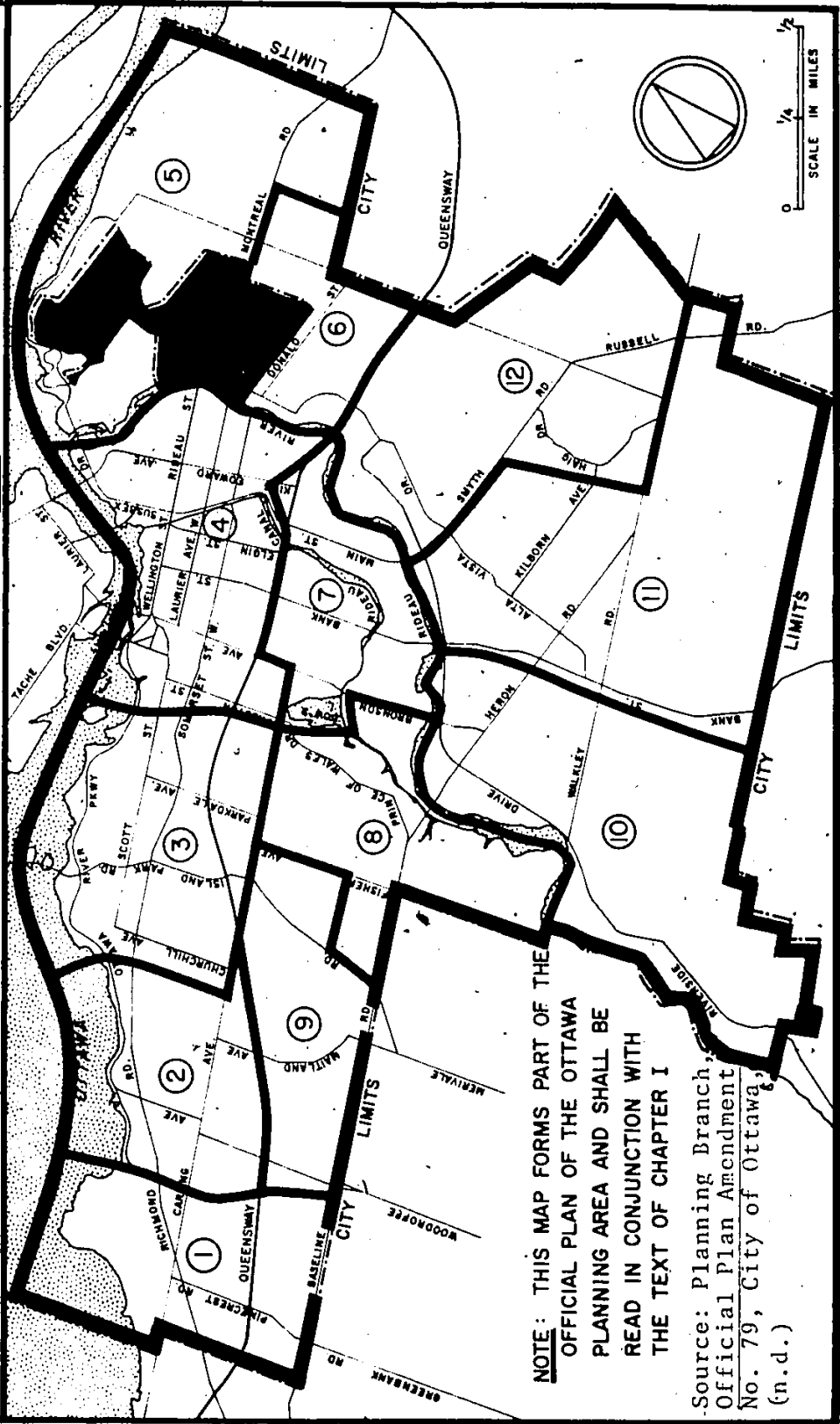
iv) Geographical Organization of the Neighbourhood Studies

As previously noted, the basic geographical strategy for the neighbourhood studies has been to do the inner and outer sections of the City first, which is then to be followed by the middle section. Detailed area studies would be for either an entire planning district or for a sub-area within

FIGURE 2
PLANNING DISTRICTS IN OTTAWA

LEGEND

- PLANNING DISTRICT BOUNDARY
- PLANNING DISTRICT NUMBER
- VILLAGE OF ROCKCLIFFE & CITY OF VANIER



NOTE: THIS MAP FORMS PART OF THE OFFICIAL PLAN OF THE OTTAWA PLANNING AREA AND SHALL BE READ IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE TEXT OF CHAPTER I

Source: Planning Branch, Official Plan Amendment No. 79, City of Ottawa, (n.d.)

a district known as a neighbourhood.

For planning purposes Ottawa has been divided into 12 Planning Districts (see Figure 2). The current Planning Districts were developed using several criteria. In order of importance the criteria were:

- a) Functional and community services: existing significant land uses, proximity to major public facilities, and the effect of transportation networks on the general social and economic pattern.
- b) Homogeneity: physical characteristics of existing developments, similarity in general socio-economic levels, and the location of cultural and ethnic groups.
- c) Statistics and jurisdiction: conformity wherever possible to the 1971 Statistics Canada Census Tracts and confinement by the City's corporate limits.
- d) Physical features: permanent, visible and identifiable roads, highways, rivers, canals, railway lines, landscape contours, etc.
- e) Others: consideration of ward boundaries and community association areas.

It should be added that all six criteria were not used in the establishment of each individual district's boundaries (Appendix A, No. 27).

An example of a detailed plan being done for an entire planning district is in Planning District 1, better known as the Pinecrest-Queensway Neighbourhood Study. But more often

than not, the detailed plans have been done for smaller geographical units called neighbourhoods. A number of neighbourhoods when combined form a planning district. For example, in Planning District 4 neighbourhood studies have been undertaken for Centretown, Dalhousie, Lowertown East, Lowertown West, and Sandy Hill. The remaining portion of the district is comprised of the Central Area.

A problem with the approach used to develop the planning districts is that the criteria if combined to arrive at the boundaries of a planning district may very well be contradictory. Official Plan Amendment No. 79 which delineates the planning districts does so by combining the five criteria. If the criteria were employed separately, rather than combined, one would expect that the boundaries of the planning districts would be quite different from those developed by the City of Ottawa. Indeed it is difficult to envision how the five criteria could be combined since they are so different. Official Plan Amendment No. 79 provides little explanation as to how the criteria have been operationalized and combined. It only states which criteria have been used and their order of importance in arriving at the boundaries of the individual districts.

If the criteria were used separately the geographical organization of planning in Ottawa would have been made much more complicated, but more in tune with the public choice approach. By this is meant that each criterion, by its nature, is different from the other criteria, and therefore, has its

own geographical organization which is most appropriate. This is analagous to the nature of collective goods whereby each one has a particular spatial organization which is most appropriate for its provision. In addition, the planning district boundaries were subject to the vagaries of human decision-making. The planning districts appear to have been developed in a rational manner, but one would not expect individual planners working independently to develop the districts with exactly the same boundaries. This is assuming that every planner possessed the same levels of information. Individual planners would be expected to place different priorities on the criteria.

To illustrate the foregoing criticism, Planning District 4 will be examined. Planning District 4 was arrived at by using the following criteria: statistics and jurisdiction, functional and community services, homogeneity, and physical features. But District 4 exhibits little homogeneity because of the diverse nature of the resident population. People show great variation by ethnicity, language, and socio-economic status. The City of Ottawa has tried to circumvent the problem of homogeneity by sub-dividing Planning District 4 into a number of smaller geographical areas. These smaller areas are Centretown, Dalhousie, Lowertown East, Lowertown West, Sandy Hill, and the Central Area. Despite this, these areas, particularly Centretown, Dalhousie, and Sandy Hill, contain diverse populations. For example, an Ottawa staff member is of the view that some of the problems at getting community acceptance of the Sandy Hill development

plan stemmed from the fact that the area is spatially split into higher, middle, and lower class sections. The concerns of one class were not necessarily the same as for another.

Unlike the planning districts where the boundaries are legally fixed, the boundaries of the neighbourhoods are not always so clear. The boundaries are subject to negotiations between local citizens, planners and the Ottawa Planning Board. Real problems have been experienced in defining boundaries for some neighbourhood studies. In Sandy Hill, the local residents (those actively involved) and the City have never agreed on what the boundaries should be. The citizens wanted a small section on the north-west included while the City's planners felt that it was more appropriate to plan that section as part of the Central Area (Appendix A, No. 28). In the case of Westboro, the boundary problem was complicated by the fact that all neighbourhood facilities used by residents, such as schools and parks were not within the area preferred by the Planning Branch. Nor did the Branch's boundaries coincide with those of the Westboro Community Association and the Highland Park Ratepayers Association (Appendix A, No. 29). As a final example, the Overbrook study was originally designed to include the community of Forbes. After discussions between the community associations in Overbrook and Forbes, it became obvious that the concerns of the two areas were too different. Forbes was dropped from the study and is to be included in a future study (Appendix A, No. 30).

Though the City of Ottawa has a set of criteria, but perhaps contradictory, for the establishment of the 12 planning districts, a set of written criteria does not exist for the determination of neighbourhood boundaries. However, an examination of several neighbourhood studies leads one to suggest that Ottawa's neighbourhoods perhaps best approach Hester's political concept of neighbourhood (see Hester, Chapter 3). Not only does Ottawa consider physical features and sociological aspects of an area, but it also leaves open the boundary question to discussion with local residents. Hester sees people, because of shared problems and concerns, developing local loyalties and common values for their area. Out of this arises a sense of collective responsibility which leads people to undertake political action to preserve or enhance their area. For example, in the case of the Overbrook neighbourhood, people in the Forbes community saw their area as having different needs, and hence the decision was made to exclude their community from the neighbourhood study.

Even though Ottawa has tried to respond to the boundary preferences of local residents, the degree of responsiveness is limited because the planning districts' boundaries are fixed by an official plan amendment and in the Province of Ontario such amendments are difficult to change. This inflexibility of boundaries is a traditional problem when it comes to delineating space (Isard, p. 12; McDonald, pp. 526-528). Despite the criticisms, the use of sub-areas is a useful way of administering

planning programs and policies (Friedman, p. 497), and is a convenient way of organizing space (McDonald, p. 524) for the solving of certain local area problems (Isard, p. 1) in Ottawa.

The question of neighbourhood boundaries is important because it determines the spatial area over which local citizens can expect to plan for the future of their neighbourhood. The area of spatial control answers the question of where public institutions can try to enforce their jurisdictions over collective and private goods. The boundaries of a neighbourhood study may or may not be adequate to control the externalities (Mishan) arising from collective and private goods in a neighbourhood. Externalities or spillovers can have either a positive or negative effect on a neighbourhood. The effects on a neighbourhood can be physical, monetary or psychological. For example, a new public park may not only enhance the physical environment of a neighbourhood but it may also result in higher property values for adjacent residential housing units. To the residents of Sandy Hill, the exclusion of one section from their neighbourhood study lessened the influence that they would have in determining the future of the section in question. The determination of the area of spatial control in itself can result in conflict between citizens and planners.

4. Functioning of the Neighbourhood Studies

i) Initiation of a Neighbourhood Study

As has already been pointed out, the origins of the

neighbourhood studies can be traced to a group of concerned citizens in Sandy Hill. It was approximately three years before the members of Action Sandy Hill were successful in convincing the Ottawa Planning Board to conduct a study in their area. However, with the approval in 1973 of the five year planning program, the start-up date of the neighbourhood studies became fixed by City Hall. Despite this, pressure would sometimes be exerted to begin a study ahead of schedule, such as occurred in the Glebe. The Glebe residents wanted their study to begin in 1973 (Appendix A, No. 31). The projected starting date was not until 1975, but in reality, the study did not commence until September, 1977.

The situation after 1973 became such that the initiative for a neighbourhood study came from the City rather than local citizens. Ottawa City Hall would request local citizens to become involved in the planning of their area. Indeed, the neighbourhood studies program became so important to the City that a separate "Neighbourhood Studies Division" was eventually formed within the Planning Branch.

ii) Geographical Representativeness of Citizens

A dilemma confronting every neighbourhood study is how to achieve a geographically representative set of citizens. At the initiation of a study, the City calls a general public meeting at which time local citizens are requested to volunteer their participation. Participation in this case means that

citizens will sit on one or more planning committees involved in the neighbourhood study. The ideal is to have committees which reflect the socio-economic differences in a community, including the split between homeowners and tenants. But such balance has been difficult to achieve.

In dealing with the problem of geographical representation, a number of different approaches have been used. The Ottawa West study divided the study area into a number of sub-areas, and for each sub-area there were a series of citizens' committees dealing with particular issues. Though the citizens may have been geographically representative, it was necessary to create a multitude of committees. For example, each sub-area had a land use committee. When the development plan was prepared, recommendations were made on each issue for the individual sub-areas. Consequently, the Ottawa West Development Plan (Appendix A, No. 32) lacks a sense of unity. Essentially it comes down to the question, how can you deal with an area-wide problem when it is broken up into a number of smaller geographical components? Similar approaches have been used in Dalhousie, where it was considered to be a success, while in the Glebe the workload was viewed as being too onerous because of the multiplicity of committees. The latter two studies differ from Ottawa West in that the development plans were not drafted on a sub-area basis. Another approach is the one used in Westboro where it was originally thought that the various citizens' planning committees should be by issue only. It was

found, however, that the citizens had trouble relating to a large geographical area. The decision was made to subdivide Westboro into six areas for the purpose of drawing one citizen from each area to be on an issue committee. The sole role of the sub-areas is so that participation is geographically dispersed, and so that people have a local area to relate to. All planning is still done on a neighbourhood-wide basis. The Overbrook study has employed a simplified form of the Westboro approach. In Overbrook, citizens are drawn from the east or west of a major road in the community.

Despite attempts at achieving a representative sample of citizens to partake in the studies, the Planning Branch has never really been able to solve the problem satisfactorily. One Ottawa planner was of the opinion that in Sandy Hill there was not a great ground swell of popular demand for a neighbourhood study, and that its initiation was the result of pressure from a group of concerned citizens. It was only natural then that the most interested citizens volunteered to sit on the various planning committees. The committees were composed of middle class persons, while there was little or no lower class involvement. Surprisingly though, the high involvement of tenants was about equal to their percentage in Sandy Hill. The big problem today is that the Sandy Hill Development Plan's proposals have not been fully accepted by the community, and this is in part due to the lack of citizen representativeness.

In Overbrook, despite attempts at achieving a repre-

sentative cross-section of citizens things did not go well. Though 40 percent of the housing units are non-profit, people in the units went unrepresented on the planning committees. A similar situation occurred in Westboro where not one tenant became deeply involved in the planning process. The Westboro citizens have been drawn from high income, single family, owner occupied residences. Reasons and the implications for the lack of citizen representativeness will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.

iii) Neighbourhood Development Plan Approval Process

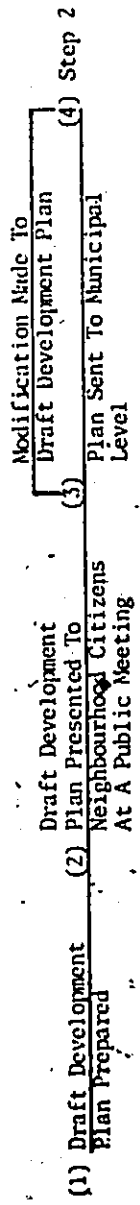
The approval process for a neighbourhood development plan is a lengthy one. The steps involved are illustrated by Figure 3. Basically, there are three steps: 1) approval by neighbourhood residents; 2) approval by the various municipal political bodies; and 3) approval by the appropriate Province of Ontario agencies.

The initial step is the preparation of a draft development plan prepared by the local citizens' planning committee and the responsible city planner. The preliminary plan is presented to a general meeting of neighbourhood residents for their comments and approval. Depending upon the citizens' reactions, modifications may be made before the plan is submitted to the second step; approval by the municipal politicians.

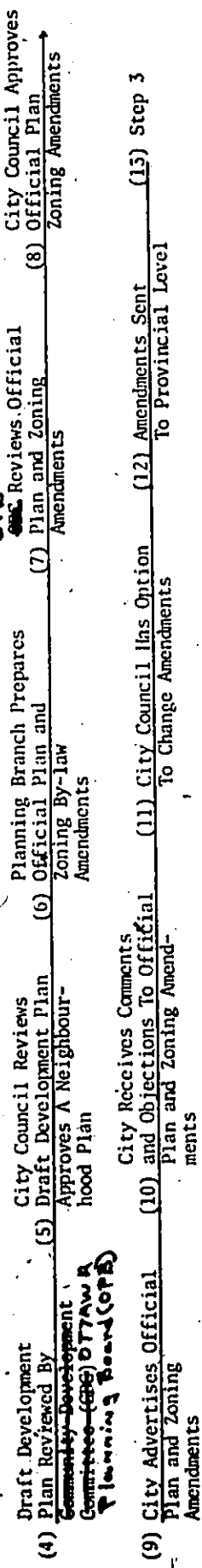
The approval process at the second stage, the municipal level, has changed somewhat over time. Thus, only the most

FIGURE 3
GENERALIZED NEIGHBOURHOOD DEVELOPMENT
PLAN APPROVAL PROCESS

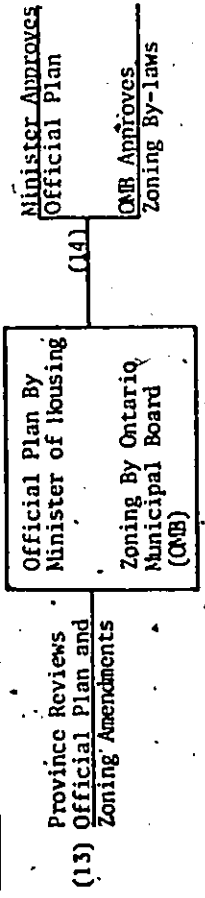
Step 1: Neighbourhood Level



Step 2: Municipal Level



Step 3: Provincial Level



1 of 1

FIGURE 3

GENERALIZED NEIGHBOURHOOD DEVELOPMENT PLAN APPROVAL PROCESS

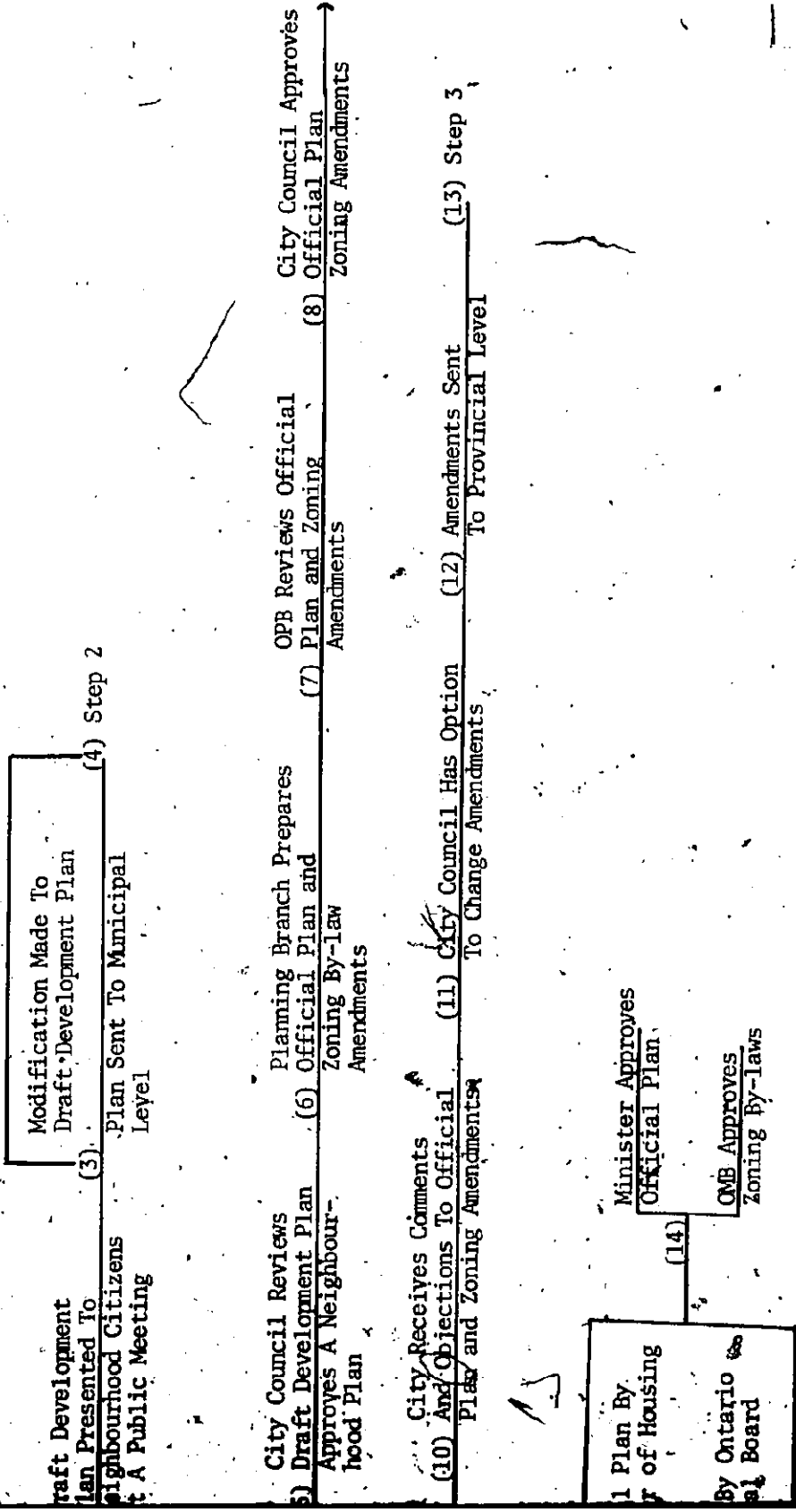
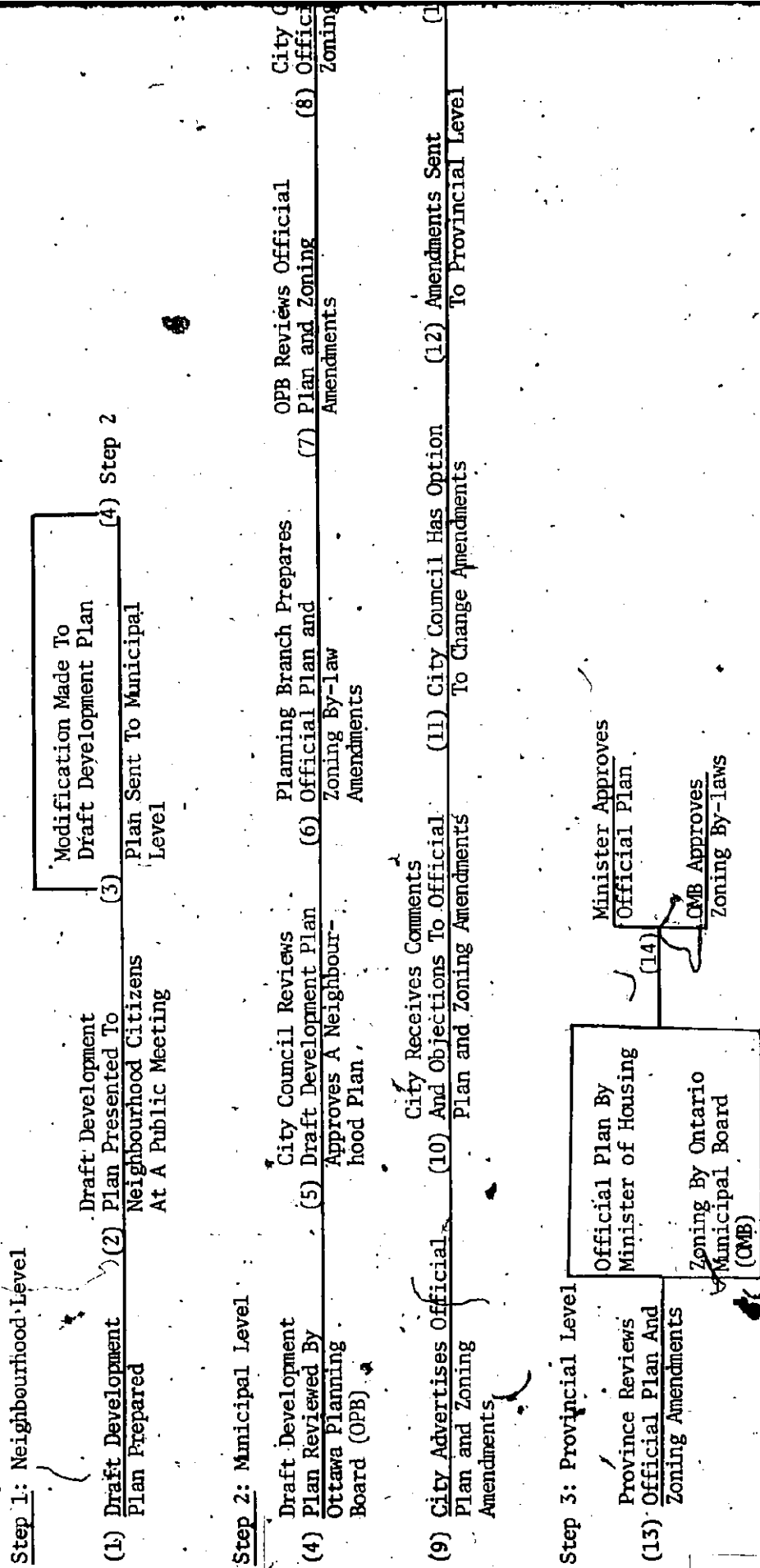


FIGURE 3

GENERALIZED NEIGHBOURHOOD DEVELOPMENT
PLAN APPROVAL PROCESS



2682

recent procedures are discussed. A development plan is first considered by the Ottawa Planning Board (OPB), a committee composed of the mayor, two Board of Control members and four ward aldermen. The OPB reviews the plan and sends it on, including recommended amendments, to Ottawa City Council. At this point, Council has a number of options. It can either approve the original draft development plan, approve one with the OPB's recommended changes, or it can approve a plan with changes not previously recommended by other bodies (Appendix A, No. 33). At the OPB stage citizens, businessmen and any other interested parties may appear as delegates to either support or object to a development plan, official plan amendments, or zoning changes.

The third and final step in the approval process is to obtain the necessary approvals at the Province of Ontario level. The approvals at this stage can be of two types. Firstly, if Ottawa's Official Plan requires an amendment as a result of a neighbourhood study, then the amendment must be approved by the Ontario Minister of Housing. The Minister of Housing is responsible for planning in Ontario. Secondly, any amendments to Ottawa's Comprehensive Zoning By-law, By-law AZ-64, needs the approval of the Ontario Municipal Board (OMB). If there are any objections to the zoning amendments, the Municipal Board will hold a public hearing to consider the objections prior to any final decisions on its part. Any objections to official plan amendments may be referred to the OMB by the Minister of,

Housing if he wishes. Approval by the OMB of those parts of an official plan amendment referred to it have the same authority as if approved by the Minister.

Though the three steps in the neighbourhood plan approval process appear straightforward, such is not the case in reality. Each of the three steps can take many months, especially the latter two steps. For example, the Ontario Municipal Board may deliberate privately for many months after a public hearing before handing down a written decision.

5. Conclusion

The planning of neighbourhoods in Ottawa, with the active involvement of local residents, was the result of citizen dissatisfaction with the traditional planning methods employed by the City. Those citizens in Sandy Hill, who were the main driving force behind Ottawa changing its approach, found that the political system did not allow them sufficient input into the decision-making process of municipal planning. Essentially, the citizens of Sandy Hill, and elsewhere in Ottawa, were forced to react to development pressures rather than helping to influence the development of their neighbourhoods. With the inclusion of citizens in municipal planning, especially at the neighbourhood level, residents have been afforded the opportunity to shape their city.

Several issues have arisen in this chapter which will

be explored in greater detail in the next. The issues are:

1. Neighbourhood planning because it is confined to a specific geographical area limits the influence of citizens;
2. The difficulty of obtaining a spatially representative sample of residents;
3. The need to reconcile city-wide policy planning with planning at the neighbourhood scale.

Each one of these issues influences the responsiveness of the City of Ottawa to citizens' preferences for collective goods.

CHAPTER 5
EVALUATION OF THE
NEIGHBOURHOOD STUDIES PROGRAM

1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to evaluate certain aspects of the neighbourhood studies program in Ottawa. Of particular concern will be the addressing of the three questions which are of interest: 1) the goals and objectives of the program; 2) the spatial variability of the collective goods and services examined by the neighbourhood studies; and 3) the consolidation of individual citizen's preferences into neighbourhood citizens' group preferences. The first question regarding the goals and objectives of the neighbourhood studies program has already been considered in the previous chapter. It is appropriate, however, to examine the question further in this chapter.

2. Limitations on the Municipal Provision of Collective Goods in Ontario and the City of Ottawa

Before the evaluation process continues any further it is appropriate that the provision of collective goods and services be put into the context of the situation in the Province of Ontario and the City of Ottawa. An understanding of the legal situation facing municipal planning will aid in the evaluation of Ottawa's neighbourhood studies program. In

Canada, municipalities have limited powers when it comes to the provision of collective goods. Under Canada's British North America Act, municipalities are the "creatures" of the provinces. The Robarts Commission, which examined the structure of municipal government in Metropolitan Toronto, stated that the results of such municipal subservience in the Province of Ontario are twofold:

First, municipalities today have very little authority to initiate policies independently of the province. In the past few years, for example, municipalities in Metro (Toronto) have been forced to ask the legislature (of Ontario) for amendments to sanction simple initiatives such as providing free shovelling of snow for elderly persons, creating bus lanes on major roads, and funding information centres. Second, the scope of municipal decision-making is severely circumscribed by statutes which not only state what the precise role of the municipality shall be, but also prescribes in very specific terms the ways in which the municipality must carry out its responsibilities. Historically the prescription of such a level of detail may have been useful - even necessary. However that may be, the result is that today municipalities are more like administrative agencies of the province than representative bodies exercising the responsibility for self-government (Robarts, p. 95).

The provision of municipal planning by Ontario municipalities faces the problems posed by the Robarts Commission. The basic document for municipal planning is the Ontario Planning Act. The Act permits a municipality to prepare an official plan which is the framework upon which a municipality exercises its planning functions. These functions include land use zoning, subdivision control, development control, and other land use

regulation by-laws permitted under the Planning Act (Robarts, p. 207). The emphasis of the regulations in the Planning Act is on land use development.

Another constraint facing the City of Ottawa is the structure of municipal government in the Ottawa area. Municipal government operates under a two-tier system, and thus, Ottawa is not responsible for the provision of all municipal services. The upper-tier government is known as the Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton and it has jurisdiction for the provision of certain collective goods to citizens of both urban and rural municipalities. The Province of Ontario has assigned such services as social services, public transportation, and water provision to the Regional Municipality. There are other collective goods like municipal planning and roads which are split between the Regional Municipality and the local governments. Finally, there are those collective goods over which neither the Regional Municipality nor the local municipalities have any significant influence. Such goods are often provided by special purpose bodies. Two of the more notable services which are independent of the municipalities are education and certain health services such as hospitals. Education is under the control of independently elected boards of education while health services are for the most part controlled by the Province of Ontario. Advice on the planning of health services in the region is provided by a provincially appointed Ottawa-Carleton District Health Council (Mayo, pp. 179-181).

The limitations pose a problem for Ottawa's neighbourhood studies program. The problem is that the structure of municipal government in the Ottawa area inhibits the planning of local neighbourhoods. There will be instances where citizens will not have the influence that they would wish because the collective goods are provided by an organization other than the City of Ottawa.

3. Goals and Objectives of Neighbourhood Planning

It was pointed out in the previous chapter that the goals and objectives of the neighbourhood planning program in Ottawa were never clear. A precise, clear statement as to what citizens' participation in municipal planning was to achieve, was never produced. Because of this lack, many of the individual studies fail to make clear at the outset what the goals and objectives are of the particular study. When it comes to dealing with goals and objectives, four approaches have been used by the various neighbourhood studies. The first approach has been to provide a clear statement as to what the goals and objectives of the study were. The second approach has been to combine the goals and objectives, thereby creating a muddled situation. The third approach has been to state only goals but no objectives. The final approach has been not to state any goals or objectives for a particular study.

A similar situation also exists with regard to what were seen as the major problems in the individual neighbourhoods.

Some studies detailed a series of problems, while on the other hand, there were studies which failed to delineate what problems existed in the neighbourhood under scrutiny. It is inconceivable that a major planning study costing tens of thousands of dollars would be done without initially trying to come to grips with what were the local issues. Advancing solutions without first knowing the problems is a dangerous course to pursue.

A possible reason as to why the neighbourhood studies have not always been clear in their statement of goals, objectives and local problems is that the studies have become highly institutionalized. One suspects that old methods and experiences have dictated the problems which one would expect to find in any given neighbourhood. It is almost as if certain problems were taken to exist a priori without any analysis of the actual situation in a neighbourhood.

4. Collective Goods and Services Examined by the Neighbourhood Studies

It is now appropriate to consider the second major question of interest in this thesis: is there a spatial variability in the collective goods and services examined by the neighbourhood studies? When considering this question it should be kept in mind that planning itself is a collective good from which other goods and services emanate. If collective goods are to meet citizens' preferences then prior planning is

required. This is reflected in the goal for planning as approved by Ottawa City Council in 1971. The goal was:

To ensure that the physical development and redevelopment of the City is carried out in an orderly fashion in accordance with the needs and wishes of its citizens and in a manner designed to maximize their social, economic and physical well being^a (Appendix A, No. 34).

An analysis of the goal for planning in Ottawa indicates that it is fraught with shortcomings. Firstly, the goal emphasizes that planning is to be physical in nature. This is a rather narrow perspective given that planning may concern itself as well with a municipality's social development, though it does recognize that social and economic benefits can be derived from the physical development of a city. However, the emphasis on the physical is not surprising since the Planning Act of Ontario tends to view municipal planning as a physically oriented activity. Secondly, the goal does not define what is meant by the development of Ottawa in an orderly fashion. Given that planning is highly political, the best laid plans of planners can easily go astray. Thirdly, the goal assumes that it is possible to define the needs and wishes of Ottawa's citizens. At what level of needs and wishes is the goal talking about? It suggests that they are possible to define, but if we are talking about needs and wishes at the city-wide or neighbourhood scale we know from Arrow's paradox that it is impossible to consolidate individual preferences into a single group preference. Perhaps needs and wishes can only be fully

determined at the level of the individual. But collective goods cannot be provided to suit everyone's wishes. This is why it is difficult to imagine that physical planning must be designed to maximize citizens' social, economic and physical well being. What is a maximum to one individual or group may not be to another. Also who is to determine when people's well being is being maximized. Is it Ottawa's planners and politicians, or should it be left up to the individuals themselves to determine what the maximum is.

The criticism of the goal for planning in Ottawa illustrates the difficulties confronting the neighbourhood studies. Though the studies, as will be shown, deal with a number of collective goods, the City of Ottawa cannot be totally certain that the preferences of its citizens are being addressed. Who is to say that the collective goods which have been reviewed by the studies are really the ones which are most crucial for meeting people's social, economic and physical well being.

The analysis of which collective goods and services have been examined by the neighbourhood studies has been accomplished through the application of content analysis. The content analysis has been done on those neighbourhood development plans prepared up to August, 1978. A fuller explanation of the way the content analysis has been done can be found in Appendix C.

An examination of Table 1 (pp. 86-87) which summarizes the contents of the neighbourhood development plans indicates two

things. Firstly, that the neighbourhood studies have considered a variety of collective goods and services (see Appendix B for a definition of the categories in Table 1). Secondly, that certain collective goods have been of standard interest to all of the neighbourhood studies. However, before discussing what these two findings may mean, it is appropriate to consider in greater detail the results of the content analysis. The results are discussed at length below.

i) Land Use (Zoning) Planning

An analysis of the land use (zoning) planning category of Table 1 indicates that residential and commercial land uses have been of concern in every neighbourhood with the exception of Riverside Park where there is little commercial zoning. An almost universal concern for both types of land use comes as no surprise. By definition neighbourhood planning is at the local scale and therefore, one would expect that a primary concern of citizens would be the preservation of their residential areas. Commercial land use, like residential, can be found in virtually every city neighbourhood. Because of the widespread presence of commercial development it often interfaces with residential development. Unless mechanisms are found to control commercial development it can pose threats to adjacent residential uses. The threats can include visual blight, increased traffic and noise.

Heritage and industrial land uses have been much more

neighbourhood specific than residential and commercial land use concerns. Heritage land use has been of interest only in the inner city neighbourhoods of Sandy Hill, Centretown, Lowertown East and West, the Glebe, Ottawa South and Ottawa East. By definition, with several exceptions in Ottawa, heritage buildings and areas are found in a city's oldest sections. On the other hand, industrial land uses have been addressed in both the inner and outer city neighbourhoods. The concern in the inner city has tended to focus on what to do with old industrial areas which impinge on residential areas. In the suburban areas the development plans have attempted to develop controls over future industrial development so that they will not be detrimental to adjoining residential areas.

Finally, in all neighbourhoods the future use of land for federal government and other public uses has been an issue. Since parks and open space have been considered by all of the studies, it follows that public land use (zoning) planning has been at issue also. But with regard to the disposition of federal government and indeed Province of Ontario lands, the City of Ottawa has no legal jurisdiction. The reason for this is that a lower level of government cannot legislate over a senior level. It is questionable then how influential the neighbourhood studies can be when it comes to such property.

ii) Transportation

All of the neighbourhood studies to date have considered

Table 1 - Summary of Collective Goods and Services by Neighbourhood
 (See Appendix B for an Explanation of the Categories)

Land Use (Zoning)

Neighbourhood Studies	Residential	Commercial	Heritage	Industrial	Gov't/ Public	Other* Residential	Other** Commercial	Transportation
Sandy Hill	x	x	x		x			x
Pinecrest-Queensway	x	x		x	x			x
Centretown	x	x	x		x	x		x
Ottawa West	x	x			x		x	x
Lowertown East	x	x	x	x	x	x		x
Lowertown West	x	x	x		x			x
Riverside Park	x				x			x
Dalhousie	x	x		x	x	x		x
Overbrook	x	x		x	x	x		x
Glebe	x	x	x		x		x	x
Ottawa South	x	x	x		x		x	x
Ottawa East	x	x	x	x	x			x
TOTAL:	12	11	7	5	12	4	3	12

Table 1 - Continued

Neighbourhood	Open Space/Parks/ Recreation	Social Services	Utilities	Physical Environment
Sandy Hill	x	x		
Pinecrest- Queensway	x			
Centretown	x	x	x	
Ottawa West	x			
Lowertown East	x			
Lowertown West	x	x		
Riverside Park	x			
Dalhousie	x			x
Overbrook	x	x		x
Glebe	x	x		x
Ottawa South	x	x		x
Ottawa East	x	x		
TOTAL:	12	7	1	3

* Other Residential: includes designation of areas for Neighbourhood Improvement Program rehabilitation funds, Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Programme, and the conversion of non-profit housing to other forms such as co-operative housing:

** Other Commercial: includes a proposal for a Central Focus (commercial office/retail space, community facilities, residential component), and the designation of Bank Street as a Business Improvement Area.

transportation to be a major issue. Usually the basic concern is one of controlling the flow of traffic through a neighbourhood. This involves ways to limit vehicular traffic which has neither its origin nor its destination in the respective neighbourhood. Mechanisms are developed by the Transportation Department of the Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton in consultation with the citizens' planning committee. The traffic control proposals of a development plan may include street closures, the designation of streets as one way, and the installation of new stop signs and traffic lights. Other items which may be found in a transportation plan are proposals for new sidewalks, bikeways and footpaths.

iii) Open Space, Parks, and Recreation

The last collective goods which have been of universal interest to citizens in Ottawa's neighbourhoods have been open space, parks, and recreation. Because they are interrelated they have been grouped under a single heading. The neighbourhood development plans suggest locations for passive open space, active parks for recreation, and other proposals such as the construction of a community centre building which would provide a focus for community activities.

iv) Social Services

Seven of the neighbourhood studies, actually eight if Westboro is included, have been concerned with the provision of social services. Four of the studies, Sandy Hill, Centretown,

Lowertown West and Overbrook, examined social services from a narrow perspective. These studies expressed the need for multi-purpose community centres which would house such things as a medical clinic, nursery, gym and meeting rooms. The latter studies in the Glebe, Ottawa South, and Ottawa East have focused on social services in much greater detail. These studies have compiled a long list of recommendations on such diverse topics as senior citizens, youth, childcare, and the need for professional development people to work in a neighbourhood on a long-term basis.

The Westboro neighbourhood study, which had yet to publish a development plan as of August, 1978, has taken the examination of social services a step further. The City has engaged the Social Planning Council of Ottawa-Carleton to develop a plan for social services in Westboro. The plan is to identify those needs which should be given the greatest priority. The next step is to involve a review of options, and then to be followed by the provision of an implementation strategy. The total cost of the study is projected at \$13,200 (Appendix A, No. 35). The expanded emphasis on social services, especially as illustrated by Westboro, was deemed necessary because of the inadequate treatment which they had been receiving. One City of Ottawa politician was quoted as saying:

We have been concentrating on the physical characteristics of the neighbourhoods -- sidewalks, roads and property. We haven't neglected the social aspects but I think we could do a bit more work in that direction. (Appendix A, No. 36).

v) Physical Environment

The next area which has been of recent interest is the physical environment, a very diverse category of collective goods. This category includes such items as the need for street lighting, street landscaping, flood control, and dog control. Many of the items in this category have not received the support of the City's Planning Branch because their resolution requires the adoption of city-wide policies. Indeed, an item like dog control is of little planning interest.

vi) Utilities and Other Neighbourhood Concerns

The only study to include specific recommendations on utilities development was in Centretown. The plan indicated where hydro electric and telephone lines should be buried.

Besides the general land use concerns discussed above, which are normally handled by zoning measures, several neighbourhoods have had other local residential and commercial concerns. The methods of trying to provide them were unique to the neighbourhoods. For example, the Centretown development plan set out a program of neighbourhood redevelopment under the Neighbourhood Improvement Program. This program is designed to lead to the physical revitalization of an area. On the commercial side, the Ottawa West plan designated a specific location for the community's "central focus". Measures would be put forward to encourage the development of offices, retail space, community facilities and residential units in one section of the neighbourhood.

At first glance it would appear that the collective goods examined by the neighbourhood studies vary from neighbourhood to neighbourhood. This suggests that there is an attempt to meet the preferences of citizens. Upon closer inspection it becomes obvious that three categories of collective goods dominate the neighbourhood planning process. These are land use (zoning) planning, transportation, and open space, parks and recreation. In addition, social services have drawn attention, particularly with the latter neighbourhood studies.

There are several possible reasons as to why the neighbourhood studies have concentrated on a limited set of collective goods, and hence probably only partially meet citizens' preferences. The first reason was reviewed at the beginning of this chapter, that is, municipalities are limited in what they can do by the Province of Ontario. The emphasis of the Ontario Planning Act is on land use development. Therefore it comes as no surprise that the neighbourhood studies in Ottawa have a heavy emphasis on the allocation of land. In all of the development plans, land use is the first collective good to be considered. Indeed, the Chairman of the Ottawa Planning Board indicated that the major purpose of the Centretown neighbourhood study was to review the existing land use and zoning controls so that the City would be in a better position to arrive at a new plan for the area (Appendix A, No. 37). In addition, transportation planning and the provision of open space, parks and recreation have been other areas of traditional

interest to Ontario municipalities.

A second possible reason for the limited number of spatially differentiated collective goods is the decision-making role played by Ottawa's municipal planning bureaucracy. Lineberry is of the opinion that bureaucracies rather than elected officials dominate government decision-making. He provides the example of the 1972 San Antonio, Texas budget which totalled \$67.7 million and which ran to a length of 590 pages. The budget was prepared and submitted to Council by the municipality's bureaucrats. The extent of the City Council's changes amounted to two pages and only several hundred thousand dollars (Lineberry, pp. 149-150).

Bureaucracies exhibit two types of decision-making behaviour; discretionary behaviour and deterministic behaviour. With discretionary behaviour, bureaucrats at both the lower and upper echelons of power decide how particular situations will be dealt with. The possibility exists that similar situations may be handled in different ways. On the other hand, with deterministic behaviour, bureaucratic decisions become predictable over time. Decisions made in one situation are used again in a new but similar instance (Lineberry, pp. 150-153). Though it is not possible to document, given the research approach, the existence of discretionary behaviour by Ottawa's planners with regard to the neighbourhood studies, one can probably safely assume that deterministic behaviour has been routinely exercised. The similarity between the

neighbourhood development plans, both in terms of format and the types of collective goods considered, suggests the presence of deterministic decision-making by Ottawa's planners. The City's Planning Branch and its planners, because of previous experience which neighbourhood residents normally lack, are able to dictate the basic direction of a neighbourhood study. The course followed for previous neighbourhood studies, determines in large measure how future ones will be carried out.

An analysis of the time which it takes to obtain City Council approval of a neighbourhood development plan suggests that Ottawa's planners have gained increasing experience in doing the neighbourhood studies. The evidence for this can be seen in Figure 4, which is an analysis of the time to gain Council approval for a development plan. The analysis was done on those plans approved up to November, 1978. The time to do a neighbourhood study through to the City Council approval stage shows a continuous downward trend with the exception of Riverside Park. Sandy Hill took almost six years while the Overbrook plan received Council approval in only fifteen months. Such decreases in time would have been unlikely without the neighbourhood studies becoming a routine activity for Ottawa's planners. One way of helping to make the studies routine is to concentrate on a limited set of collective goods.

A third possible reason for the limited scope of the neighbourhood studies is that bureaucracies generally tend to

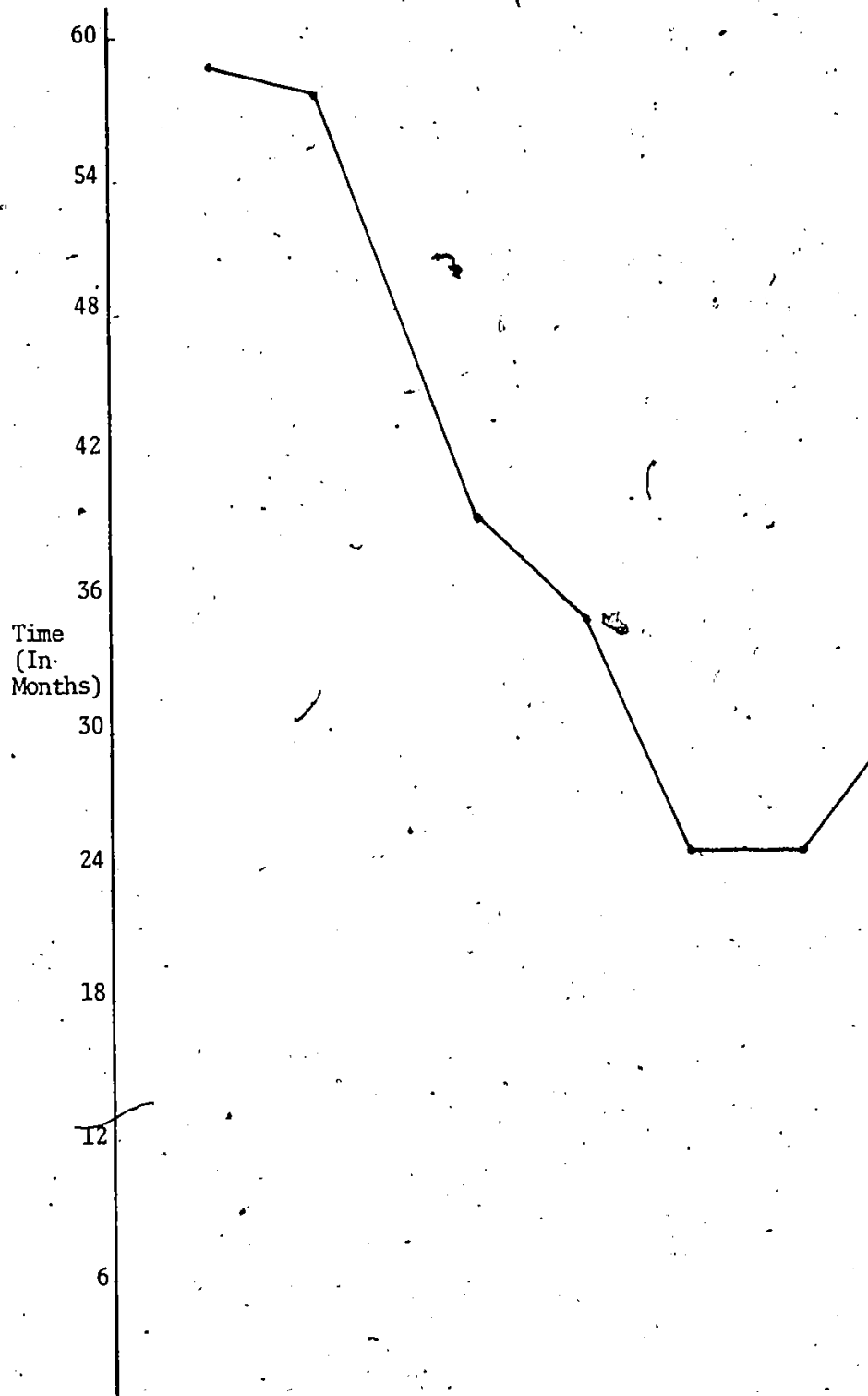
ignore the measuring of citizens' demands. They focus instead on consumption, but there is no reason why consumption should equal demand. The reason for this focus is because bureaucracies are monopolies and there is little incentive for them to know what the public demands are for collective goods and services. A secondary reason is that bureaucracies are usually only deliverers of a service, not producers, and thus there is little incentive for them to know exactly what they are doing (Lineberry, pp. 160-167). If there was competition between bureaucracies for collective goods provision then bureaucracies may very well have a greater incentive to be more responsive. The Lakewood Plan in Los Angeles County seems to indicate that there are advantages to be derived from competition. But the citizens of Ottawa have no alternative to the City's Planning Branch. This lack of competition in the municipal planning field may help to explain why there is little spatial variation in the types of collective goods considered by Ottawa's neighbourhood studies, though in fairness, at least some of the neighbourhood studies have employed questionnaire surveys in order to ascertain local preferences. However, the degree to which results of such surveys were translated into community preferences as expressed in the development plans is beyond the scope of this thesis.

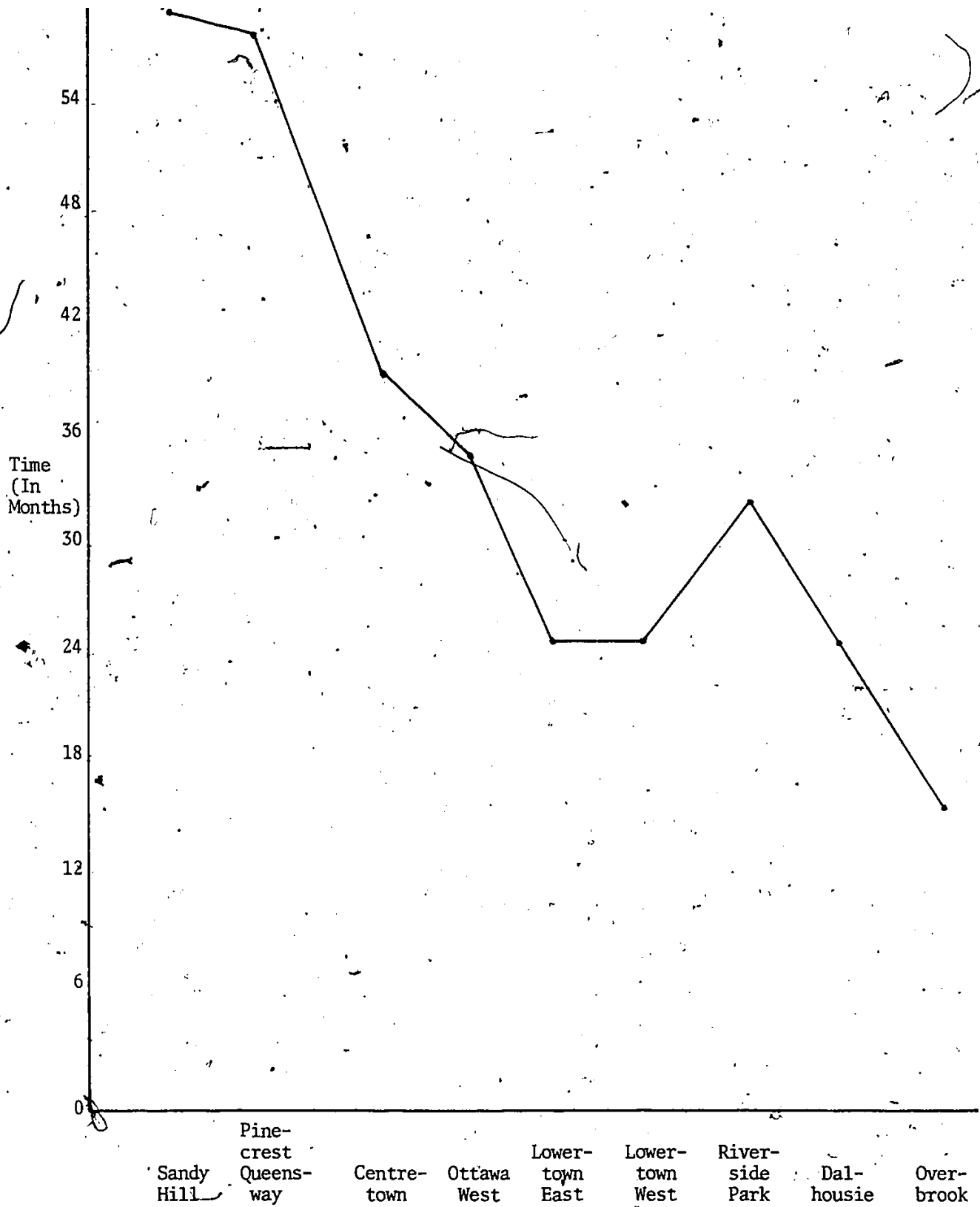
5. Neighbourhood Planning: A Generator of Spatial Conflict

So far various aspects of the neighbourhood studies

1 of 1

FIGURE 4
TIME ANALYSIS TO GAIN CITY COUNCIL APPROVAL
OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD DEVELOPMENT PLANS





Neighbourhood Studies In Order Of Start Up
(Up To November, 1978)

Source: Time Data Is
Taken From Various
Ottawa City Council
Minutes

have been examined in isolation. It is now appropriate to explore the important interrelationships which have been found to exist. The relationships to be considered are between the spatial representativeness of the citizens involved in the planning process, the collective goods which have been examined by the neighbourhood studies, and the types of groups which have been involved in the neighbourhood studies program. The result of these interrelationships has been that the neighbourhood studies have been a generator of spatial conflict, besides being a solver of it. The purpose of the discussion to follow on spatial conflict is to answer the third question which was of interest in this thesis, that is, are the neighbourhood studies able to consolidate individual citizen's preferences into a single neighbourhood group preference for collective goods and services?

Before proceeding any further it is important to define what is meant by "spatial conflict". Spatial conflict is caused by a spatial distribution of collective goods which is unsatisfactory to either individuals or a group of individuals in a neighbourhood. The dissatisfied individuals or groups would prefer another spatial solution to the distribution for such goods. This definition is similar to Janelle's who says spatial conflict exists if there are two or more parties who are in opposition to each other, and the participants are concerned over existing and proposed activities at certain locations (Janelle, p. 312).

The idea of residents' planning for the interests of their neighbourhood increases the chances that city planning will be more parochial. Local concerns will take precedence over issues which are more city-wide in nature. Given such a situation conflict is almost inevitable. In Ottawa's case, two types of conflict are in evidence, intra-neighbourhood conflict and inter-neighbourhood conflict.

The seed for spatial conflict lays in the organization of the neighbourhood studies. The neighbourhood development plans are formulated primarily by a group of active citizens in association with a city planner. This core group of activists sees to it that a development plan is prepared and approved by Ottawa City Council. This group of citizens is analagous to an "intermediate group" which is one of three kinds in Olson's typology of groups (see Chapter 3). If there is to be any hope of successfully planning and obtaining certain collective goods for a neighbourhood then some of its residents must undertake some group coordination and action. The provision of collective goods, such as new sidewalks and parks is not guaranteed just because City Council approves a development plan.

There is no evidence that what Olson describes as a "privileged" or "elite" group exists amongst the neighbourhood residents. This type of group requires that only one or a few residents act to ensure that a collective good is obtained. Such a group assumes that the good will be obtained with or

without any group coordination.

A problem for the citizens' planning committee of a neighbourhood study is that a development plan is rarely accepted by all residents, both those residing in and those residing outside the subject neighbourhood. Certain individuals or groups will usually come forward to object to specific provisions in a development plan. They would prefer to see another course of action recommended. Objections arise to such things as land use zoning, the development of new roads, and the location of open space and parks.

Perhaps the best way to explain the spatial conflicts which may occur is to illustrate through the use of examples drawn from the neighbourhood studies. The examples will first illustrate intra-neighbourhood spatial conflict, and then will be followed by inter-neighbourhood spatial conflict.

The Overbrook draft development plan assigned a 35 foot height limit over the area so that the low density character of the neighbourhood would be maintained. But one resident at a community meeting complained that the height limitation would make it impossible for him to construct a proposed 135 unit apartment complex. His view was that the limitation was too restrictive, especially because his land was on the periphery of the community (Appendix A, No. 38).

Spatial conflict in a neighbourhood has also involved groups besides individuals. For example, over 100 Lowertown West residents descended on Ottawa City Hall to protest the

neighbourhood's traffic plan which had resulted in the closing of a number of streets. The plan was designed to limit the disruptive effects of non-local traffic passing through Lower-town West, but the residents complained that drivers got lost and bogged down because of the dead end streets. Some residents felt that traffic had actually increased on the local streets. One resident admitted that the traffic plan had been well advertised before it had gone into effect "but we must have missed it in the newspapers." The political reaction was to review the entire plan, though there were residents in Lower-town West who favoured the plan as is (Appendix A, No. 39).

Perhaps the development plan which has generated the greatest amount of controversy is the one for Centretown. Some persons see it as a great success whereby the residential fabric is being revived and a 20 year population decline has been stopped. On the other hand, there are those who see the plan as hurting business development because a great deal of property has been zoned residential which was formerly designated commercial. Some persons object to the requirement that new residential developments must contain a certain percentage of three bedroom units, or that several major roads may be blocked at the Queensway. In total about 50 objections have been formally lodged to the Centretown plan (Appendix A, No. 40).

Part of the reason for the inter-neighbourhood spatial conflict lays in the fact that the studies have not been too successful in getting local residents to participate. The most

significant participation has been by citizens on the neighbourhood planning committees. The general public response to the studies has been low. A measure of the low level of responsiveness is the attendance at public meetings. A public meeting held in Ottawa South over two nights which was designed to approve the area's draft development plan, drew in the order of 60 to 90 people despite a neighbourhood population of about 7,000 people. In Overbrook, the first public meeting held at the start of the study drew about 150 people from an approximate population of 11,600. The attendance at subsequent meetings has been no better.

The low responsiveness, at least in part, is due to the nature of group action. Most neighbourhood residents choose not to actively participate in a study or to inform themselves as to a plan's recommendations because they feel that as individuals their contribution will make little difference (see Kasperson and Breithart, Chapter 3). Sproule-Jones and Hart would say that people do not believe that the benefits would exceed their expected costs of participation (see Chapter 3). Individuals of this kind belong to Olson's third type of group known as a "latent group". Given the lack of individual rewards, the latent group has no incentive to achieve a particular collective good, even though the good is very valuable to the group as a whole. This lack of participation by most of the neighbourhood residents makes it very difficult for the provider of collective goods, in this case

the City of Ottawa, to know exactly what people really want. A latent group may move from the periphery of activity to become an intermediate group if an issue arises which is of sufficient importance to cause individuals to speak out. Such an occurrence resulted with the Lowertown West traffic plan.

It is generally agreed that participation is affected by an individual's socio-economic status. Participation tends to be greatest amongst the middle and upper class members of a community. In Ottawa this has tended to be the case according to the City's neighbourhood planners. The intermediate groups in the neighbourhood planning process have usually been drawn from middle and upper class areas. A confirmation of this would require a survey of those citizens who have been actively involved in the neighbourhood studies.

The neighbourhood studies have also been confronted with inter-neighbourhood spatial conflict, though perhaps it has not been nearly as apparent. Inter-neighbourhood spatial conflict occurs when the positions of citizens in different neighbourhoods come into conflict. A recommendation regarding a collective good in one neighbourhood may be seen as contributing to the public "good", but is viewed in another and not necessarily adjoining neighbourhood as a public "bad". Again, several examples will illustrate this situation.

In Riverside Park the original traffic study said that there was no justification for closing McCarthy Road, a major road running south from Walkley Road to the Western Community.

However, most of the 200 residents of Riverside Park in attendance at a public meeting wanted McCarthy closed even though it had been designated to be the main road serving 16,000 people in the Western Community. The residents of Riverside Park wanted to prevent, via the road closure, traffic from entering their area from the Western Community (Appendix A, No. 41). The Ottawa Planning Board voted to close the road, even though planners estimated that the closure would cost the residents of the Western Community about \$500,000 in extra travel costs by detouring along other roads if they wished to go downtown (Appendix A, No. 42).

A more recent example is the support expressed in the Ottawa East draft development for the construction of the Vanier Arterial. The arterial, when completed, will run from Alta Vista Drive to the MacDonald-Cartier Bridge. The citizens of Ottawa East see the arterial as helping to relieve some of the interprovincial traffic which currently uses Main Street, a major road bisecting their neighbourhood (Appendix A, No. 43). The irony in this is that the residents of Overbrook, New Edinburgh, Lowertown and Sandy Hill are opposed to the Vanier Arterial. Residents of these areas see the partially completed arterial as being very disruptive to their communities. From their point of view, there will be increases in traffic, noise, the loss of open space and the splitting of neighbourhoods if the Vanier Arterial is ever completed (Appendix A, No. 44).

Urban politics, when put in the context of intra and

inter-neighbourhood spatial conflict, is " ... essentially, a politics of spatial allocation of advantages and disadvantages" (Lineberry, p. 14). Lineberry goes on to say:

What is important is to see public service decisions not merely as objects of political conflict, but as fundamentally redistributive mechanisms. They constitute ... hidden multipliers of income (Lineberry, p. 14).

Therefore, neighbourhood planning is fundamentally a process which allocates collective goods and services. A decision to downzone a property, to close a street, or to build a new road provides residents of a neighbourhood with either increased or decreased benefits. The allocation process is by its nature political, and hence, a situation in which conflict is a natural phenomenon.

The spatial conflicts experienced by the neighbourhood studies illustrates the unrepresentativeness of the actively involved citizens. It is very difficult for the citizens who actively participate in the day-to-day operations of a neighbourhood study to articulate what the demand is for collective goods in terms of quantity, quality, and level of availability desired by the residents of a neighbourhood (Bish and Ostrom). Arrow has shown that because preferences between individuals can be highly divergent, it is very difficult to pass from a series of individual preferences in which every individual has his preferred ordering for collective goods to a single composite group preference. The City of Ottawa has experienced just such a problem. Not only do citizens disagree within a

single neighbourhood, but the disagreements also occur between neighbourhoods.

The disagreements within and between Ottawa's neighbourhoods also suggests that not only does Arrow's paradox indicate a problem of defining levels of collective goods and of identifying the groups concerned, but also of delineating the most appropriate spatial units for neighbourhood planning. The group preferences for collective goods as defined by the various neighbourhood development plans may coincide with the actual preferences of very few individuals in the neighbourhood. This problem may be overcome by adjusting the size of the spatial unit or scale at which the City of Ottawa and its citizens plan for collective goods. In some cases, the spatial unit may need to be increased while for other collective goods the City should perhaps decrease the size of the spatial units for which it plans. In other words, the most appropriate spatial unit in which to plan is influenced by the nature of the collective good in question. It will be shown that the neighbourhood units used by the City of Ottawa have not always proven to have been the best. For some collective goods the spatial unit needs to be increased and for others decreased, if citizens' preferences are to be better satisfied.

As was discussed in Chapter 2, Bish suggests that because of the diverse nature of collective goods, the most appropriate territorial unit in dealing with collective goods is highly variable, even in a single metropolitan area. The

City of Ottawa recognized this in 1973 when it approved its comprehensive planning program to develop a new official plan. The planning program was designed to function at both the neighbourhood and city-wide scale. It was foreseen that the neighbourhood scale was inappropriate for all of the planning activities which would lead to a new City official plan.

Despite the separation of the planning program into two scales, this has proven to be inadequate. For example, the partially completed Vanier Arterial, because it is a road under the jurisdiction of the Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton, has not been conducive to neighbourhood planning. Though it is opposed by local residents in the neighbourhoods through which it is intended to traverse, none of the relevant neighbourhood studies have been able to deal with it effectively. For this reason, the Overbrook neighbourhood study does not advance solutions for the problems posed by the Vanier Arterial. What the Regional Municipality and City have done is to undertake a separate review of the arterial, including consultation with citizens in the affected neighbourhoods. The nature of the arterial is such that the devising of measures to control the spillover effects from the road are beyond the scope of a single neighbourhood study.

Another example of the inadequacies of the neighbourhood scale has been the attempts at social planning as part of the neighbourhood studies. Two problems exist in this regard. Firstly, the City has no overall social services policy which

would act as a guide to those involved in the neighbourhood studies. Secondly, the City has little jurisdiction over social services. Most of the responsibilities lay with either the Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton or the Province of Ontario. Consequently, the recommendations on social services have been rather weak and in some cases quite limited. Even in the case of the Westboro neighbourhood study where the Social Planning Council of Ottawa-Carleton has done a major social needs study, implementation of a number of the recommendations are just as appropriate for other neighbourhoods in Ottawa (Social Planning Council of Ottawa-Carleton, 1978, pp. 49-63). Several planners did feel that even though the City lacked power, at least the neighbourhood plans could highlight some of the social issues which are considered important to local residents.

The above-noted instances have been examples in which the neighbourhood scale has been too small to permit effective planning. Ottawa has also found that the neighbourhood spatial unit was too large to permit a sufficient review of an issue. The Ottawa West development plan confirmed the existing high density residential zoning for Mechanicsville, a small community in Ottawa West. However, because the area is presently occupied by older single family residences, the danger existed that new high-rise apartment buildings would be built which would be incompatible with the existing low-rise character of Mechanicsville. It was necessary for the City to undertake a major

design study so that a strategy could be devised whereby high density low-rise residential dwellings could be developed. The Ottawa West development plan by itself was insufficient to meet the planning needs of Mechanicsville (Appendix A, No. 45).

The neighbourhood and city-wide approaches to the spatial organization of municipal planning in Ottawa is a compromise as the foregoing discussion has shown. The nature of those collective goods within the realm of municipal planning indicates that the spatial units currently being used are not always satisfactory. If the City hopes to deal more adequately with the preference schedules of citizens a more complex spatial organization is required.

6. Conclusion



Two things stand out with regard to the neighbourhood studies. Firstly, the studies concentrate on the planning of a limited number of collective goods. Secondly, space has had important effects on the organization and functioning of the individual neighbourhood studies.

Not surprisingly, the neighbourhood studies have concentrated on only a few collective goods. These goods are land use (zoning) planning, transportation, parks, open space and recreation, and more recently social services. Except for the latter good, the collective goods have been those of traditional interest to municipal planners. The lack of great spatial variation in the collective goods has its origins in

the limitations placed on municipal planning by the Province of Ontario. The lack of spatial variation may mean that the neighbourhood studies are not responding as well as they might to citizens' preferences for collective goods.

Of more interest perhaps than the collective goods which have been examined is the effects of space on the neighbourhood studies. The neighbourhood boundaries are essentially a compromise between conflicting criteria, if indeed a compromise is even logically possible. The neighbourhood approach has not always been a satisfactory method of solving spatial conflict. In some cases the existing neighbourhood boundaries have been unable to internalize conflict within the confines of a particular neighbourhood.

A possible solution for the City of Ottawa is to opt for a more complex division of space. The division of space would be based not on conflicting characteristics of a neighbourhood as is the case now, but rather on the spatial nature of the collective good in question. Hopefully, citizens would find it easier to resolve major issues affecting their communities. A polycentric approach would not necessarily eliminate spatial conflict, but would probably lessen some of the more obvious difficulties which neighbourhood planning as practised in Ottawa has experienced.



CHAPTER 6
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

1. Introduction

This chapter will be divided into two parts. Part I will be a summary of the theoretical basis of the thesis and what has been its utility for the empirical research. Part II will constitute the conclusions which can be drawn from the analysis of Ottawa's neighbourhood studies program. The conclusion will also examine the future of the neighbourhood studies and the adequacy of the empirical approach.

Part I - Summary

1. The Utility of the Public Choice Approach

The basic theoretical framework for analyzing the City of Ottawa's neighbourhood studies program has been the public choice approach. Because the emphasis of the neighbourhood studies is on the planning for the provision of collective goods and services, the body of literature known as public choice was deemed appropriate for the empirical analysis. The value of the public choice approach is its concern with government provision of collective goods.

An important tenet of public choice is to examine the processes which lead to the satisfaction of citizens' preferences for collective goods. But one goal of this thesis has

been to analyze not so much the processes of neighbourhood planning, but more to concentrate on an analysis of the outcomes of the processes. The outcomes include those arising from the goals and objectives of the program, the types of collective goods examined by the neighbourhood studies, and the reaction of neighbourhood citizens to some of the recommendations contained in the neighbourhood development plans.

Another goal of this thesis has been to show how the geographer's concerns with space can strengthen the public choice approach. The public choice literature is essentially aspatial, but such a singular perspective confines the analysis of collective goods provision to a consideration of only a government's organization. However, government operates in a two-dimensional world. The first dimension is how a government is organized to carry out its responsibilities. The second dimension is that government operates over a specific territory. This territory is often divided spatially for the provision of collective goods. Geographic space influences a government's ability to meet the challenge of collective goods provision.

Part of the utility of the public choice approach is that many of its concepts are drawn from the market model of economics. Public choice assumes that analogies can be drawn between the public sector provision of collective goods and the provision of private goods in the market place. Given this assumption, public choice concludes that certain forms of government organization are more efficient than others in a

particular situation. Government, like a private firm, needs to be concerned with operating at a least cost position. However, the need for efficiency often conflicts with equity in the provision of collective goods. Public pressure for an equitable distribution may run counter to what is considered to be efficient. It follows that geographic space can influence the question of efficiency versus equity. One form of territorial organization may be efficient but it may not permit collective goods to be provided equitably.

The provision of collective goods is complicated because the ability of government to respond to increased or changing consumer demand is subject to pressure from different interest groups. A private firm can more easily respond to consumer demand. If a product is in high demand for example, all a firm needs to do is to increase production.

2. The Role of Citizens' Participation

A difficulty confronting government is to determine what the public's preferences are for collective goods and services. Government needs to be able to measure, if it is to adequately respond, the public demand for collective goods in terms of quantity, quality and location. One approach which has become popular is to employ citizens' participation as a means of allowing people to articulate their preferences. It is hoped that by including citizens in the decision-making process, government will have a better idea of consumer demand.

An important feature of the neighbourhood studies program in Ottawa is the active involvement of local citizens. This came about because some people demanded a more active role in the planning of their neighbourhoods. For these people the simple act of voting in municipal elections was unsatisfactory for the articulation of their preferences. Ottawa's municipal government was not responding to what they saw as their needs for collective goods.

The City of Ottawa, like many governments, was slow to accept a more active role for citizens in the planning of their neighbourhoods. However, over time the City became more favourably disposed to citizens' participation, eventually to the point where it became the normal thing to do, as witnessed by the neighbourhood studies program. The irony is that though citizens have been given the opportunity to participate in the planning for the future of their neighbourhoods, most have chosen not to do so. Voting in municipal elections remains the preferred alternative for the expression of people's will.

The dilemma which has faced the City of Ottawa is that it cannot be certain that the neighbourhood studies have really been a satisfactory way of measuring citizens' preferences for collective goods. The danger exists that the studies have tended to reflect not so much the desires of all neighbourhood residents, but more of those who have actively participated in the studies.

Part II - Conclusion

The theoretical approach discussed in Part I has been applied to finding answers to three questions regarding Ottawa's neighbourhood studies program. The results of the empirical research will be discussed by dealing with each of the three questions separately.

1. Goals and Objectives of the Neighbourhood Studies Program

The first question of interest was to investigate if the goals and objectives of Ottawa's neighbourhood studies program were based on an attempt to meet the preferences of neighbourhood citizens for collective goods and services. The City Council minutes from 1973 indicate that the program's primary purpose was to develop a new comprehensive city plan. There was no indication that the preferences of neighbourhood residents were to be taken into account. Despite the absence of a reference to citizens' participation which would help in meeting neighbourhood preferences, participation did become something that was automatically sought by the City of Ottawa at both the bureaucratic and political levels. Given the lack of clarity on the purposes of citizens' participation, it is difficult to fit the approach used by the City of Ottawa into either Wengert's or Bregha's typologies of participation (see Chapter 3). Citizens' participation as it has evolved in Ottawa perhaps best fits Wengert's "participation as conflict resolution" category. The idea is to find ways to reduce

tension and resolve conflict. The underlying assumption is that the sharing of points of view between interest groups, politicians and bureaucrats makes for better understanding and a reduction in mistrust.

The lack of a reference to the desirability for citizens' participation, and hence, to meet their preferences suggests several things. Firstly, it could be assumed that citizens' participation would be sought because of previous City experience. It is likely that since citizens' participation was an important aspect of the Sandy Hill and Pinecrest-Queensway studies which were started in 1971, that this would have been a major influence as to how any future studies would have been handled. Secondly, the absence of a reference to the need for citizens' participation in 1973 suggests that it was not wholeheartedly endorsed by City staff. They would have been responsible for preparing the document which detailed the strategy for developing a new comprehensive city plan.

If a clear statement had been issued in 1973 indicating what citizens' participation would achieve, then some of the delays experienced in getting the earliest set of neighbourhood development plans approved by City Council may have been avoided. However, it is possible that Ottawa's planning staff had little appreciation as to how to handle citizens' participation, let alone know what it might achieve. Citizens' participation and ways of doing it probably had to be learned because the City had little previous experience with it.

2. Spatial Variability in the Collective Goods and Services Studied

The second question which was of interest dealt with the spatial variability of the collective goods and services examined by the neighbourhood studies. A content analysis of twelve development plans revealed that the studies have concentrated on three categories of goods: land use (zoning) planning, transportation and open space, parks and recreation. To these can be added social services which have received a good deal of attention from the latter series of neighbourhood studies. There were a number of collective goods which were more neighbourhood specific, such as utilities, the physical environment, and other residential and commercial concerns. But generally there has not been a very significant spatial variability in the types of goods examined.

Several reasons help to explain the concentration on a limited set of collective goods. Firstly, a municipality's powers are entirely controlled by provincial legislation. In the Province of Ontario municipal planning is governed by the Planning Act, and therefore influences what collective goods planners will concentrate on. The neighbourhood studies have followed what are generally viewed as the traditional concerns of planning in Ontario. Secondly, the responsibility for the provision of many collective goods is not within the legal jurisdiction of the City of Ottawa. The Province of Ontario either has direct control over certain goods, assigned their

provision to the Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton, or to other special purpose bodies. Thirdly, bureaucracies determine the procedures to be followed in carrying out an activity. They rely on past experiences and methods. Fourthly, bureaucracies tend to ignore the measuring of consumer demand. If Ottawa had a real commitment to planning for the preferences of citizens then it is suggested that one of the goals of the neighbourhood studies should have stated as such. However, the final two reasons are only suppositions based on theory and findings elsewhere. Further empirical research would be needed to prove their validity in the case of Ottawa's neighbourhood studies.

3. Consolidation of Citizens' Preferences

The third question was concerned with the ability of the neighbourhood studies to consolidate the preferences of individual residents into a single neighbourhood group preference for collective goods and services. This has proven to be impossible as predicted by Arrow's paradox. The needs and interests of citizens are so diverse that the neighbourhood studies could not possibly hope to satisfy the preference schedule of each and every individual. The result has been the generation of spatial conflict within and between neighbourhoods. A lack of spatial conflict would have been evidence that individual preferences have been consolidated into a single neighbourhood preference.

A number of reasons have been advanced as to why intra and inter-neighbourhood spatial conflict have arisen. Firstly, was the inability of the studies to obtain a geographically representative set of citizens. The studies, according to several of Ottawa's planners, have been unable to involve a set of citizens who reflect the diversity of socio-economic classes in a neighbourhood. Secondly, the neighbourhood studies have been a way to allocate advantages and disadvantages in terms of the planning for the location of the collective goods. The proposed locations of the goods has not been satisfactory to all citizens in the neighbourhoods. Thirdly, the size of the spatial units for local area planning have not always been appropriate.

The simple two-dimensional approach to municipal planning, namely, city-wide and neighbourhood planning, may have seemed adequate but in reality it has not been. The neighbourhood boundaries in some instances have been either too small or too large. This suggests that Ottawa's planning program needs to be more spatially complex if problems are to be adequately addressed. A possible solution would be a polycentric approach to municipal planning whereby the nature of the collective good under study would determine the study boundaries. An example of this is the examination of the Vanier Arterial which encompasses a number of neighbourhoods. No single neighbourhood study is able to devise satisfactory solutions to the problems caused by the road.

The existence of spatial conflict supports Wolpert's view (see Chapter 2) that the location of collective goods is not solely based on a logical consideration of alternatives, that is, a normative response. The existence of spatial conflict also lends support to Downs's belief (see Chapter 2) that people act out of self-interest and that their behaviour is "rational", that is, directed primarily towards selfish ends. However, the fact that some citizens do cooperate to plan for the good of their neighbourhood also means that people act "irrationally", or what Downs would say as taking into account the needs of others.

4. Neighbourhood Planning: Its Future in Ottawa

When Ottawa City Council approved the five year planning program in 1973, it was believed the entire city would have undergone neighbourhood studies by 1978 or 1979. This has not been the case. As can be seen in Figure 1 (p. 53), there is a large area of Ottawa which has not yet undergone any neighbourhood studies. It was originally planned that this middle belt area between the inner and outer sections of the City would be the last area to be studied. However, the current situation in Ottawa indicates that further neighbourhood studies are not in the offing and that a different approach is likely to be taken.

In July 1978, the Planning Branch prepared a report dealing with the future of the neighbourhood studies. Essen-

tially, the Planning Branch wanted to do an evaluation of the past and current studies. The conclusion from the evaluation would have been used to develop a new planning approach for the remaining neighbourhoods. But the response of City Council was not to initiate any new studies until major elements of the studies currently in progress had been completed (Appendix A, No. 46). The feeling amongst some Planning Branch staff was that there was no need to begin new neighbourhood studies on the scale which had been practised. The middle belt area of Ottawa has few problems which warrant studies costing tens of thousands of dollars. As one newspaper editorial said, "Extending such studies to the newer suburban neighbourhoods without serious planning problems would be pure boondoggle" (Appendix A, No. 47).

A further indication that the neighbourhood studies program may be coming to an end is a decision by Ottawa's Board of Control. A member of City staff said that the Board of Control in January, 1979 deleted approximately \$250,000 from the 1977 budget for the Planning Branch which would have been used, at least in part, to begin new neighbourhood studies. Currently active studies will be finished but no new ones are likely to be started. At least no new ones will be begun in 1979.

The view within the Planning Branch is that the planning approach which will be used in the future will be more problem specific. For example, if a major zoning issue

arises a city planner will work with local residents to devise a solution. No longer will a planner and citizens spend one to two years preparing a neighbourhood-wide plan. What is envisioned is a change to an even more local planning scale. Hopefully, this new scale will allow a faster response to citizens' needs than is possible under the current neighbourhood studies approach. The focus on very specific problems, if it does come to pass, will be a return to a planning method employed by Ottawa during the 1960's.

The possible reversion to a previously used approach is very interesting from an institutional point of view. Rather than devise a really new approach, the City would be reverting to a tried and true method. The one change would be the involvement of local citizens in the decision-making process. Perhaps after eight or nine years of the neighbourhood studies experiment, Ottawa's planners are no longer interested in taking risks with an untried approach to local area planning.

5. Adequacy of the Empirical Approach

The empirical approach used in this thesis has been able to deal with the questions which were of interest regarding the neighbourhood studies program. Of particular utility has been the application of content analysis. If there have been any difficulties, they lay in the fact that some of the conclusions are only tentative because of the

unavailability of some data.

The use of content analysis has shown that it does have applications for the answering of geographical questions. There really was no other satisfactory method to determine the spatial variability of the collective goods examined by the neighbourhood studies. However, the content analysis was limited because it utilized the simple frequency count approach to recording the data. Another approach to the content analysis would have been to determine the intensity of feeling towards various issues across Ottawa's neighbourhoods. For example, land use (zoning) planning may have been of greater importance than transportation or vice versa in specific areas of Ottawa. A content analysis technique to measure intensity is "evaluative assertion analysis". The idea is to sample sentences from communication material in order to learn how a particular issue is regarded. A problem with the evaluative assertion analysis technique is that it is very time consuming (Osborne and Reimer, pp. 96-100). But for the purposes of the research in this thesis, a frequency count content analysis has been more than adequate.

The empirical research is open to the criticism that some of the conclusions are drawn by way of example. This was particularly the case with regard to the examination of spatial conflict. Given that there are 12 neighbourhood studies, it was impractical to draw an example from each study to prove the existence of intra-neighbourhood and

inter-neighbourhood spatial conflict. The danger with examples is that spatial conflict, especially of the inter-neighbourhood kind, may be construed as having confronted every neighbourhood study, but this was not the intention of the argument. The point was simply to illustrate that the neighbourhood studies are not always able to consolidate individual preferences into a single group preference for the planning of collective goods.

Despite any negative criticism which may be made of the empirical research, this thesis is the first indepth analysis of the neighbourhood studies which has been done. It is particularly appropriate at this time because the studies have had a central place in Ottawa's municipal planning effort during most of the 1970's, and the future of the program is in doubt. The thesis has also illustrated the great difficulty in successfully translating the ideals of citizens' participation into a practical reality. This is despite a tremendous effort by the City of Ottawa in terms of money, staff, and input from genuinely interested citizens.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abler, R.; Adams, J.S.; Gould, P., Spatial Organization: The Geographer's View of the World, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1971.
- Adler, G.M., Land Planning By Administrative Regulation: The Policies of the Ontario Municipal Board, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971.
- Anderson, G., "Local Area Planning: The Dream and the Reality", City Magazine, Vol. 2, No. 7, 1977, pp. 35-43.
- Arrow, K.J., Social Choice and Individual Values, second edition, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970.
- Bish, R.L., "Commentary" (A reply to Heikoff), Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. 39, 1973, pp. 403-412.
- Bish, R.L.; Ostrom, V., Understanding Urban Government, Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1973.
- Bregha, F.J., Public Participation in Planning Policy and Programme, Toronto: Ontario Ministry of Culture and Recreation, 1973.
- Buchanan, J.M.; Tullock, G., The Calculus of Consent, Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 1965.
- Compton, F.H., "Community Development: Theory and Practice" in James A. Draper (editor), Citizen Participation: Canada, Toronto: New Press, 1971, pp. 382-396.
- Cox, K.R.; Dear, M.J., Jurisdictional Organization and Urban Welfare, Discussion Paper No. 47, Department of Geography, The Ohio State University, 1975.
- Davis, J., "Citizen Participation in a Bureaucratic Society: Some Questions and Skeptical Notes", in George Frederickson (editor), Neighbourhood Control in the 1970's, New York: Chandler Publishing Co., 1973, pp. 59-72.
- Downs, A., An Economic Theory of Democracy, New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, Incorporated, 1957.

- Duckworth, L., "I am a Public Participator"; Town and Country Planning, Vol. 44, No. 1, 1976, pp. 25-28.
- Friedman, J., "The Concept of a Planning Region -- The Evolution of an Idea in the United States", in John Friedman and William Alonso, editors, Regional Development and Planning, Cambridge, Mass. The M.I.T. Press, 1964, pp. 487-518.
- Government of Ontario, The Planning Act, Queen's Printer for Ontario, January 1977.
- Head, W. A., "The Ideology and Practice of Citizen Participation" in James A. Draper (editor), Citizen Participation: Canada, Toronto: New Press, 1971, pp. 14-29.
- Heberlein, T.A., "Some Observations on Alternative Mechanisms For Public Involvement: The Hearing, Public Opinion Poll, The-Workshop and the Quasi-Experiment" in Albert E. Utton, W.R. Derrick Sewell, Timothy O'Riordan (editors), Natural Resources For A Democratic Society, Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1976, pp. 23-40.
- Hesslink, G., "The Function of Neighborhood in Ecological Stratification", Sociology and Social Research, Vol. 54, No. 4; 1970, pp. 441-459.
- Hester, R.T., Neighborhood Space, Stroudsburg, Penn.: Dowden, Hutchinson & Ross, Inc., 1975.
- Hitchcock, J.R. (editor), Case Studies of Neighbourhood Planning in Toronto, Papers on Planning and Design, No. 1, Department of Urban and Regional Planning, University of Toronto, 1973.
- Hitchcock, J.R.; Bellamy, D., "Neighborhood Planning and Neighborhood Practice", Plan Canada, Vol. 17, No. 2 1977, pp. 96-106.
- Hoinville, G., "Evaluating Community Preferences", Environment and Planning, Vol. 3, No. 1, 1971, pp. 33-50.
- Holsti, O.R., Content Analysis For the Social Sciences and Humanities, Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1969.
- Hulchanski, J.D., Citizen Participation In Planning: A Comprehensive Bibliography, Planners on Planning and Design, No. 2, Department of Urban and Regional Planning, University of Toronto, 1974.

- Isard, W., Introduction to Regional Science, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1975.
- Jackson, W.A.D.; Bergman, E.F., A Geography of Politics, Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown Company Publishers, 1973.
- Janelle, D.G., "Structural Dimensions in the Geography of Locational Conflicts", The Canadian Geographer, Vol. 21, No. 4, 1977, pp. 311-328.
- Kasperson, R.E.; Breitbart, M., Participation, Decentralization, and Advocacy Planning, Resource Paper No. 25, Washington, D.C.: Association of American Geographers, 1974.
- Keller, S., The Urban Neighbourhood: A Sociological Perspective, New York: Random House, Inc., 1968.
- LeCavalier, P., The Perception of Neighbourhood Strain: A Community Case Study, M.A. Thesis, University of Ottawa, 1975.
- Levesque, J.R., "Action Sandy Hill", Community Planning Review, Vol. 20, No. 1, 1970, p. 19.
- Lineberry, R.L., Equality and Urban Policy: The Distribution of Municipal Public Services, Vol. 39, Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications, Inc., 1977.
- McDonald, J.R., "The Region: Its Conception, Design, and Limitations", Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 56, No. 3, 1966, pp. 516-528.
- Ministry of Housing, "People and Planners: An Interview With Ewart Parkinson", Housing Ontario, Vol. 20, Nos. 4/5, 1976, pp. 10-11.
- Mishan, E.J., "The Postwar Literature on Externalities: An Interpretative Essay", Journal of Economic Literature, Vol. 9, 1971, pp. 1-28.
- Moodie, D.W., "Content Analysis: A Method For Historical Geography", Area, Vol. 3, No. 3, 1971, pp. 146-149.
- Mueller, D.C., "Public Choice: A Survey", Journal of Economic Literature, Vol. 14, 1976, pp. 395-433.
- Olson, M., The Logic of Collective Action, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965.

Ontario Economic Council, Subject To Approval, Toronto:
Ontario Economic Council, 1973.

- Osborne, B.S.; Reimer, D.L., "Content Analysis and Historical Geography: A Note on Evaluative Assertion Analysis", Area, Vol. 5, No. 2, 1973, pp. 96-100.
- Ostrom, E., "Institutional Arrangements and the Measurement of Policy Consequences: Applications to Evaluating Police Performance", Urban Affairs Quarterly, Vol. 6, No. 4, 1971, pp. 447-475.
- Ostrom, V., "Polycentricity", Paper presented at the 1972 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., 1972.
- Ostrom, V.; Tiebout, C.M.; Warren, R., "The Organization of Government in Metropolitan Areas: A Theoretical Inquiry", The American Political Science Review, Vol. 55, 1961, pp. 831-842.
- Ostrom, V.; Ostrom, E., "Public Choice: A Different Approach to the Study of Public Administration", Public Administration Review, Vol. 31, 1971, pp. 203-216.
- Ottawa, Corporation of the City, City of Ottawa Comprehensive Zoning By-law: By-law Number AZ-64, Revised to November 19, 1968, Ottawa, 1968.
- Ottawa Planning Board, Official Plan of the Ottawa Planning Area, Ottawa, 1970.
- Planning Act Review Committee, Background Paper 4: Citizen Participation in the Preparation of Municipal Plans, Toronto, (n.d.).
- Planning Act Review Committee, Report of the Planning Act Review Committee, Toronto, April, 1977.
- Planning Branch, Draft Centretown Neighbourhood Development Plan, October, 1974.
- Planning Branch, Draft Sandy Hill Development Plan, City of Ottawa, June, 1975.
- Planning Branch, Preliminary Ottawa West Development Plan, City of Ottawa, December, 1975.
- Planning Branch, Preliminary Redevelopment Plan: Lowertown East, City of Ottawa, January, 1976.

- Planning Branch, Development Plan: Lowertown West, City of Ottawa, January, 1976.
- Planning Branch, The Centretown Neighbourhood Study: Final Draft Development Plan, September, 1976.
- Planning Branch, Draft Dalhousie Neighbourhood Plan, City of Ottawa, August, 1976.
- Planning Branch, Development Plan for Planning District One (Pinecrest-Queensway), City of Ottawa, October, 1976.
- Planning Branch, Development Plan: Riverside Park, City of Ottawa, October, 1976.
- Planning Branch, Draft Development Plan: Overbrook, City of Ottawa, June, 1978.
- Planning Branch, Ottawa South Draft Report, City of Ottawa, August, 1978.
- Planning Branch, Draft Glebe Development Plan, City of Ottawa, August, 1978.
- Planning Branch, Ottawa East Draft Development Plan, City of Ottawa, 1978.
- Planning and Works Department, Preston Street Area Neighbourhood Study, City of Ottawa, April, 1965.
- Planning and Works Department, Lower Town East Neighbourhood Study, City of Ottawa, March, 1966.
- Price, T. (editor), Regional Government in Ontario, Windsor: The University of Windsor Press, 1971.
- Quigley, M., Democracy Is Us: Citizen Participation in Development in the City of Toronto, Toronto: Ontario Department of Municipal Affairs, 1971.
- Riedel, J.A., "Citizen Participation: Myths and Realities", Public Administration Review, Vol. 32, No. 3, 1972, pp. 211-220.
- Robarts, J.P., Report of the Royal Commission on Metropolitan Toronto: Detailed Findings and Recommendations Volume 2, Government of Ontario, June, 1977.

- Rondinelli, D.A., Urban and Regional Development Policy and Administration, Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1975.
- Rubin, K., Sandy Hill - A Case Study of Neighbourhood Participation in City Planning, Ottawa, prepared with the aid of Action Sandy Hill, Citizen Committee for Planning in Sandy Hill, and the City of Ottawa Planning Branch, September, 1972.
- Rutherford, P. (editor), Saving the Canadian City: The First Phase 1880-1920, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974.
- Schmandt, H.J., "Municipal Decentralization: An Overview", Public Administration Review, Vol. 32 (Special Issue), October 1972, pp. 571-588.
- Smailes, A.E., The Geography of Towns, Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1968.
- Social Planning Council of Ottawa and District, Action '70: A Community Forum For The People of Ottawa and Region, Ottawa, January, 1970.
- Social Planning Council of Ottawa-Carleton, The Social Needs of the Westboro Area, Vol. 1, Ottawa, December, 1978.
- Sója, E.W., The Political Organization of Space, Resource Paper No. 8, Washington, D.C.: Association of American Geographers, 1971.
- Sproule-Jones, M.; Hart, K.D., "A Public Choice Model of Political Participation", Canadian Journal of Political Science, Vol. 6, 1973, pp. 175-194.
- Stone, P.J.; Dunphy, D.C.; Smith, M.S.; Ogilvie, D.M., The General Inquirer: A Computer Approach to Content Analysis, Cambridge, Mass.: The M.I.T. Press, 1966.
- Suttles, G.D., "Community Design: The Search For Participation in a Metropolitan Society", in Amos H. Hawley and Vincent P. Rock (editors), Metropolitan America in Contemporary Perspective, New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., pp. 235-297.
- Walker, B.E., "A Comprehensive Plan For Toronto", in Paul Rutherford (editor), Saving the Canadian City: The First Phase 1880-1920, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974, pp. 222-225.

Warren R., "A Municipal Services Market Model of Metropolitan Organization", Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. 30, 1964, pp. 193-204.

Wellman, B., "Who Needs Neighbourhoods", in James A. Draper (editor), Citizen Participation: Canada, Toronto: New Press, 1971, pp. 282-287.

Wengert, N., "Citizen Participation: Practice In Search of a Theory", in A.E. Utton, W.R.D. Sewell, T. O'Riordan (editors), Natural Resources For A Democratic Society, Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1976, pp. 23-40.

Wolpert, J., "Departures from the Usual Environment in Locational Analysis", Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 60, 1970, pp. 220-229.

APPENDIX A
SPECIAL FOOTNOTES

The following is a list of references from Ottawa City Council Minutes, other City and Province of Ontario documents, and the two English language newspapers in the City. They were considered too long to footnote in the text of the thesis.

1. Planning Act Review Committee, Background Paper 4: Citizen Participation in the Preparation of Municipal Plans, Toronto: Province of Ontario, (n.d.), pp. 1-2.
2. Ibid., p. 44.
3. Ibid., pp. 44-46.
4. Ibid., p. 46.
5. Ibid., p. 41.
6. Ibid., pp. 7-8.
7. Ibid., p. 7.
8. Ibid., p. 8.
9. Planning Act Review Committee, Report of the Planning Act Review Committee, Toronto: Province of Ontario, April, 1977, pp. 75-76.
10. Ibid., pp. 76-80.
11. Ottawa Journal, May 7, 1969.
12. Ottawa Journal, March 20, 1969.
13. Ottawa Journal, November 1, 1976.
14. Ottawa Planning Board Minutes, February 16, 1972.
15. Ottawa Citizen, July 27, 1971.

16. Planning and Works Department, Preston Street Area Neighbourhood Study, City of Ottawa, April, 1965.
17. Planning and Works Department, Lower Town East Neighbourhood Study, City of Ottawa, March, 1966.
18. Minutes of the Council of the Corporation of the City of Ottawa, Part 2, May 7, 1973, p. 1373.
19. Ibid., p. 1388.
20. Ibid., pp. 1374-75.
21. Ottawa Citizen, April 6, 1973.
22. Minutes of the Council of the Corporation of the City of Ottawa, Part 2, May 7, 1973, pp. 1374-75.
23. Ibid., p. 1391.
24. Ibid., p. 1380-82.
25. Ibid., p. 1405.
26. Minutes of the Council of the Corporation of the City of Ottawa, Part 3, July 15, 1974, p. 3361.
27. Official Plan of the Ottawa Planning Area: Plan Procedure; Amendment No. 79, City of Ottawa, n.d.
28. Planning Branch, Sandy Hill Development Plan, City of Ottawa, June, 1975, p. 4.
29. Minutes of the Council of the Corporation of the City of Ottawa, Part 5, November 2, 1977, pp. 5082-5085.
30. Minutes of the Council of the Corporation of the City of Ottawa, Part 2, May 2, 1977, pp. 1813-15.
31. Ottawa Journal, May 8, 1973.
32. Planning Branch, Preliminary Ottawa West Development Plan, City of Ottawa, December 1975.
33. Minutes of the Council of the Corporation of the City of Ottawa, April 18, 1979.
34. Minutes of the Council of the Corporation of the City of Ottawa, Part 3, October 4, 1971, p. 3014.
35. Ibid., April 5, 1978, p. 1621.
36. Ottawa Citizen, March 22, 1978.

37. Minutes of the Council of the Corporation of the City of Ottawa, Part 4, October 22, 1973, p. 3367.
38. Ottawa Citizen, September 26, 1978.
39. Ottawa Citizen, September 21, 1978.
40. Ottawa Citizen, September 22, 1978.
41. Ottawa Journal, April 22, 1976.
42. Ottawa Journal, May 14, 1976.
43. Planning Branch, Ottawa East Development Plan: Draft City of Ottawa, 1978, p. 46.
44. Ottawa Citizen, July 10, 1978.
45. Planning Branch, Mechanicville Development Plan, City of Ottawa, October, 1976, p. 107.
46. Minutes of the Council of the Corporation of the City of Ottawa, July 19, 1978, pp. 18-19.
47. Ottawa Journal, April 3, 1978.

APPENDIX B
DEFINITIONS OF CATEGORIES
USED IN TABLE 1

1. Land Use (Zoning) Planning

- a) Residential: concerned with the maintenance of existing housing or the expansion of residential areas in a neighbourhood.
- b) Commercial: concerned with maintaining, expanding or decreasing commercial areas.
- c) Heritage: concerned with the preservation and enhancement of heritage areas and specific buildings. The areas or buildings can be of either a residential or commercial nature.
- d) Industrial: concerned with the maintenance, enhancement or conversion of industrial lands to other uses.
- e) Government/Public: concerned with designating lands for either government offices or for other public purposes such as parks, schools, hospitals and churches.
- f) Other Residential: concerned with ways other than through zoning controls to upgrade residential areas. Measures include designating an area as a Neighbourhood Improvement Area, or suggesting cooperative housing as an alternative to public housing..
- g) Other Commercial: concerned with ways of improving certain commercial areas other than through zoning controls in a neighbourhood, such as the establishment of a Business Improvement Area.

2. Transportation

Concerned with finding ways to deal with transportation problems. Measures include road and public transportation proposals.

3. Open Space, Parks, Recreation

Concerned with the delineation of open space and park areas, and possible types of recreation facilities and programs.

4. Social Services

Concerned with developing community services such as day care, a health clinic, and a local community office, etc.

5. Physical Environment

Concerned with a variety of items such as street lighting, flood control and dog control.

6. Utilities

Proposed plans to bury hydro and telephone lines.

APPENDIX C
METHODOLOGY FOR THE CONTENT ANALYSIS
OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD DEVELOPMENT PLAN

Content analysis has been chosen as a research technique for this thesis because one source for data has been the various development plans which have been prepared for Ottawa's neighbourhoods. The content analysis has been applied to those plans prepared up to August, 1978. Though a number of definitions have been devised to describe content analysis (Holsti, pp. 2-3), the one which will be used here was coined by Stone et al. They say that "Content analysis is any research technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying specified characteristics within text" (Stone et al, p. 5). Essentially, content analysis is the application of the standard methods of scientific investigation so that order is brought to the studies of content communication. Content communication includes not only written documentation but also films, radio and television programs (Moodie, p. 147).

Until quite recently, content analysis had not been a research method which had been used in geography. However, Moodie (pp. 148-149) and Osborne and Reimer (pp. 96-97) have stated that the application of content analysis can allow geographers to more rigorously and systematically analyze descriptions and accounts of the past. This is particularly

so for historical geographers whose task it is to make sense out of past events.

Content analysis is appropriate for the research undertaken in this thesis because the geographical question to which it has been applied is dependent upon the neighbourhood development plans prepared by the City of Ottawa in conjunction with citizens of the subject neighbourhoods. The question to which content analysis is being applied is: Is there a spatial variability in the collective goods and services examined by the neighbourhood studies? In order to deal with this question effectively, the guidelines for undertaking the content analysis are drawn from the book on the subject by Holsti (1969). The methodological steps followed to carry out the content analysis are listed below.

i) Construction of Categories

The initial task is the construction of categories in order that the necessary data can be coded. The coding of data is an example of the need for classification in geographical research. Geographers classify so that order is brought to a set of data. Inductive generalizations are not possible by relying only on unique experiences. The grouping of data allows general statements to be made about events, thereby creating new knowledge (Abler, Adams and Gould, pp. 149-151). However, any data coding for research purposes is useless without some theoretical underpinnings. Holsti (p. 94) says:

Without a theory, however rudimentary, to inform the analyst, he is without any guides for his coding decisions. In short, unless he can state explicitly why he is analyzing documents, he cannot intelligently work out a plan on how to do it.

The theoretical basis for the research question on the spatial variability of collective goods is the public choice approach which is discussed at length in Chapter 2.

The rules which have been used for the construction of the categories are (Holsti, pp. 95-101):

- a) The categories must reflect the research question.
- b) The categories must be exhaustive, that is, all relevant items from the documents must be capable of being placed in a category.
- c) The categories must be mutually exclusive, that is, no item can be placed into more than one category.
- d) The categories must be independent, that is, the assignment of any datum into a category does not affect the classification of other data.
- e) Each category must be derived from a single classification principle, that is, conceptually different levels (scales) of analysis must be kept separate.

The procedure, using the above-noted rules to devise the categories in Table 1 (pp. 86 - 87) was to read each of the 12 development plans, and to make notes as to which collective goods had been examined by each neighbourhood study. From

the notes it was a simple matter to make a composite table containing a list of the collective goods studied. The categories of collective goods employed in Table 1 are known as subject matter categories, the most common type used in content analysis according to Holsti. Subject matter categories are used to determine what the communication material is about (Holsti, pp. 104-105).

ii) Recording the Data

The recording of the data in Table 1 was accomplished by determining if an individual development plan examined a particular collective good. The approach is a simple frequency count of the number of development plans which studied a certain collective good. In other words, the recording unit for the content analysis has been the presence or absence of certain themes in a development plan (Holsti, pp. 116-122).

iii) Sampling

Because of the limited volume of documentation, the sampling approach is straightforward (Holsti, pp. 127-135). A 100 percent sample of the development plans has been used to determine the spatial variability of the collective goods examined by the neighbourhood studies. A total of 12 development plans have been considered in the content analysis.

iv) Reliability and Validity

One problem with the content analysis is attempting to test for the reliability of the results. Reliability is defined as "... repeated measures with the same instrument on a given sample of data should yield similar results" (Holsti, p. 135). The ideal situation would be to have had several persons code the data from the development plans in order to see if the results were similar in each instance. Such was not possible for this thesis. But a previous knowledge of the contents of the development plans, and with having done a content analysis before are two factors which contribute to the reliability of the analysis.

A final question regarding content analysis is the validity of the results, where validity is defined as "... the extent to which an instrument is measuring what it is intended to measure" (Holsti, p. 142). The validity of the results has been tested by using content validity. This method is employed when the purpose of the content analysis is to describe the contents of certain communications material. Holsti says "Content validity is usually established through the informed judgement of the investigator. Are the results plausible? Are they consistent with other information about the phenomena being studied?" (Holsti, p. 143). The results in Table 1 appear plausible, and are what one would expect knowing the situation surrounding the neighbourhood studies

in Ottawa. The tendency for the neighbourhood studies to focus on a rather limited set of collective goods was anticipated.