

AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE PEOPLE'S PLANNING PROGRAMME

CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

**TOTAL OF 10 PAGES ONLY
MAY BE XEROXED**

(Without Author's Permission)

ROGER BILL

385601



AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE PEOPLE'S PLANNING PROGRAMME

By

Roger Bill

B.Sc. Ball State University 1968

A THESIS

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts in SOCIOLOGY

Memorial University of Newfoundland

January, 1974



ABSTRACT

The People's Planning Programme (PPP), an advocacy planning organization, operated in St. John's, Newfoundland for a sixteen month period during 1972 and 1973. It was involved in community action, it experimented with urban planning techniques, it served as a major opposition to specific municipal development proposals, and it evolved as a distinctive form of citizen's organization.

The purpose of this thesis is to describe, in the context of a reconstruction of the career of the PPP, its experiences in community action, its experiments in planning technique, and the evolution of its organization as a response to an idealized composite of town planning, town planners, and the public bureaucracy.

The method of study was participant observation. The design of the study was ex post facto in that the PPP as an event had concluded before it was applied as data for the purposes of this thesis.

The data gathered was interpreted and analyzed in the context of a model of public decision making where town planning, town planners, and the public bureaucracy function to limit public control and public scrutiny of that policy making. Control and scrutiny of public

planning policy is limited to 1) those who can perceive and manipulate their universe in a rational and systematic manner, 2) move through the professional culture of town planners, and 3) move through the public bureaucracy.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I appreciate the support, advice, and direction
given to me by Dr. Bob Chanteloupe and Dr. Jack Ross.
Special thanks goes to them.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	1
--------------------	---

PART I

Chapter

I. ADVOCACY PLANNING AS SOCIOLOGY	3
II. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHOD	16

PART II

Chapter

III. THE PUBLIC HEARINGS ON PLAN 91	23
IV. ST. JOHN'S CENTRE - PLANNING/72.....	51
V. BLACKLER AVENUE AND ATLANTIC PLACE.....	70
VI. A RETROSPECT-THE POLITICS OF THE PPP. .	103

APPENDIX

Bibliography

INTRODUCTION

The People's Planning Programme (PPP) was begun in January, 1972. By the summer of 1973 the PPP had effectively dissolved. During the 16 month period that the PPP was actively engaged in community action it had experimented with techniques of town planning, served as a major opposition to specific municipal development proposals, and evolved as a distinctive form of citizen's organization.

The problem of this M.A. thesis is to describe the PPP in terms of its experiments in urban planning technique, its experiences as a citizen's interest lobby, the evolution of its organization, and its role as an advocacy planning agency. The themes of the description are developed in the context of a reconstruction of the career of the PPP. The reconstruction places emphasis on the interaction of the PPP, the Other side, and Third parties.

The method of study was participant observation. The period of study was 16 months. The design of the study was ex post facto.

The objective of the study is to gather information about alternative techniques of town planning by gaining a

familiarity with the phenomenon of advocacy planning. The PPP was the first program of advocacy planning in the Atlantic Provinces of Canada. My motive in doing the study was to understand advocacy planning sociologically as a technique, having demonstrated that it could be successful as a project in St. John's, Newfoundland.

The data used for the thesis consists of 1) field notes, 2) internal documents of the PPP, 3) third party and media accounts of the PPP, and 4) what the Other Side did and said as reflected in 1 - 3.

While the chance character of the research design is expanded on in Chapter II, chance also has relevance for this thesis aside from a strict methodological consideration. The PPP did not begin as a research project, though I was one of the two people who started it. The projects the PPP was involved in were not selected with their suitability as research topics in mind. A decision to use the PPP as data for this thesis was not involved in the guidelines of the PPP.

In May, 1972 I had made a thesis proposal to my faculty advisor which would have used some limited PPP data in a selected way. The thesis proposal was accepted. For a number of reasons, one being a conflict with the strategies of the PPP at the moment, I abandoned that research. It was not until the spring of 1973, when the PPP was in a state of organizational dissolution did I observe the PPP retrospectively and discover it as data for this thesis.

PART I

Chapter I

ADVOCACY PLANNING AS SOCIOLOGY

In order to understand the People's Planning Programme as advocacy planning one needs to have some sense of 1) town planning, 2) town planners, and 3) the public bureaucracy. It is in the context of these three variables that the career of the PPP has relevance to the general discipline of sociology.

The PPP can be viewed as a response to institutionalized town planning. If we would identify an ideal point where planning, planners, and the public bureaucracy are joined, then we would suggest that advocacy planning, and the PPP as a specific illustration of that planning strategy, represents an ideal point opposite the first.

For example, a major theme of town planning is rationality and consequent single best solutions to problems. Advocacy planning, on the other hand, reflects a notion of competing interests, accepts that a plan is an embodiment of a particular group interest, and in that respect is not necessarily rational. Further, a major theme of town planners is professional autonomy. Advocate planners preface their work with an awareness of being accountable to their clients or customers.

It is argued that the public bureaucracy represents the greatest single combination of organized resources in our society, that the bureaucracy has inherent power, and that it is in itself an interest (Lineberry and Sharkansky, 1971: 178). If that argument is a sound one, then the essentially rational planning of the autonomous professional town planner in the service of the public bureaucracy is increasingly beyond the control of those who cannot move freely in 1) the context of a rational and systematic approach to town planning, 2) the professional culture of town planners, and 3) the public bureaucracy.

I would like to treat the variables of planning, planners, and the public bureaucracy separately.

Planning

"Planning . . . rests on the strategy of mitigating social problems by imposed or controlling processes of change. . ." (Boskoff, 1970: 319). The object of this planning, this attempt to mitigate social problems, is the comprehensive plan or the master plan as we know it in St. John's. The master plan ". . . is a set of maps and policy statements that describe in general terms the present intention of the authorities respecting actions they may take over the long run and that may affect the physical development of the city" (Lineberry and Sharkansky, 1971: 310). The master plan is simply a plan for the physical development of a city. The master plan is a manifestation of

planning which ". . . serves to emphasize the design, allocation, construction, and interrelation of necessary facilities for means of urban living" (Boskoff, 1970:336).

Planning has developed areas of specialization.

There is land use planning, downtown planning, systems planning, long range planning, etc. The specialities are numerous. The common demoninator for these planning specialities is that they all use land and space as critical variables. The data that planning uses has to be translated into the language of space. In this respect all planning is physical planning. Boskoff noted that physical planning largely takes for granted the social consequences involved in its planning or resulting from its planning (Boskoff, 1970: 336). That observation gives the physical planner the benefit of the doubt. Paul Davidoff was more to the point. He is reported to have observed that planners cope with the problem of alienated man with a recommendation for reducing the journey to work (Lineberry, 1971: 310).

The observation shared by Boskoff and Davidoff about the social impact of physical planning decisions is one issue. A second issue is planning as a process. Mitterenthal defined it as, ". . . a process by which decisions are reached in a systematic and deliberate fashion with regard to the allocation and utilization of resources for certain agreed-upon goals. To achieve these goals involves a rendering of choices among various policy alternatives and mounting of specific forms of action to satisfy them." (Mitterenthal, 1970:3).

The key to Mitterenthal's definition of the planning

process is his observation of the deliberate and systematic nature of the process.

The process of planning is rooted in the scientific method. Rationality is its cornerstone. Lineberry and Sharkansky illustrate a rational model of public policy decision making with which the planning process fits hand in glove. The five steps in the process are:

1. Identify his problem
2. Clarify his goals and then rank them according to relative importance
3. List all possible means - or policies - for achieving each of his goals
4. assess all the costs of each set of alternatives and the benefits that seem likely to follow from each
5. Select the package of goals and associated policies that would bring the most relative benefits and the fewest relative disadvantages. (Lineberry

and Sharkansky, 1971:180)

Planning, borrowing from management science and military and defense analysis, adapted a systems approach for its distinctive process. As identified in the professional planning association's advisory service publication in the United States the systems approach has five steps. They are:

1. Identify Goals and Objectives
2. Identify Alternative Programs
3. Predict Relative Effectiveness
4. Evaluate Alternative Programs
5. Repeat, Revise, and Refine (aspo Planning Advisory

Service, 1970).

There are two points that are fundamental to my perception of planning in this study: 1) planning deals with physical things and its language and perspective are anchored in space, and 2) planning is a process which

is rational and this process is a systems approach.

Underlying the language and the approach is the assumption that there is a greatest good for the greatest number, a general welfare, a single public interest, a common good, and a single best solution to any given problem. We find that a city has a master plan and not master plans. The plan currently in force for the metropolitan area of St. John's is called the Metropolitan Area Municipal Plan and not the Metropolitan Area Municipal Plans. While a master plan consists of a number of different programs for the development of the city, and in this respect offers a number of different strategies, they are all complimentary and interdependent. They are supposed to mould together into a rational scheme of growth. When they come together they become a single plan and a single best solution.

Planners

My primary concern is with planners as members of an occupational category which is becoming more professional. I assume that there is not a rigid dividing line between professional occupations and non-professional occupations. I assume as well that ~~within~~ an occupational category some members may be more professional than others.

Moore characterizes professionals by identifying the presence of six variables. They are: 1) a full-time occupation, 2) a calling, 3) an organization, 4) educational prerequisites to entry, 5) a service orientation, and 6) autonomy. (Moore,

1970:8).

Greenwood argues that all professions possess:
1) systematic theory, 2) authority, 3) community sanction,
4) ethical codes, and 5) a culture (Vollmer and Mills, 1966:10).

The key feature to both of these characterizations of professionals is the concept of autonomy, or authority and community sanction.

Freidson puts the professional's rationale for autonomy directly: "The profession claims autonomy over the content of work by virtue of the objective and reliable character of its expertise, an expertise which it claims to be so complex and esoteric that only properly trained men can know and evaluate it." (Freidson, 1970:360).

The autonomy enjoyed by professionals is as Moore suggests, "an ultimate value for the self-identified members of an occupational category . . . " (Moore, 1970:16). Simply put, professionals seek and achieve practical immunity from lay evaluation, and this is becoming more the circumstance with town planners.

Autonomy allows for the masking of privilege and power while functioning in the economic self-interest of the professional. Freidson observed the economic motive at work in the most "professional" of occupations, medicine: "All else being equal, where the terms of work are such that diagnosing and treating illness will increase income, so also will more illness be found. 'Unnecessary' surgery is perhaps the most obvious case in point." (Freidson, 1970:359).

Town planners enjoy two layers of protection from the evaluation of non-planners. They maintain a posture of value-neutrality and rationality in their work, and at the same time their work is of a professional calibre which entails a presumed sense of autonomy. I found that town planners maintain an emotional neutrality toward their clients. In passing, I would like to note that in the Atlantic Provinces town planners have clients and not customers. Outside of government employment on a full-time basis town planners have practices and not jobs. The emotional neutrality is not unexpected given the assumed rational nature of their tasks. This rationality and objectivity of the task coupled with the autonomy claimed by the professional essentially removes the planner and his planning from the arena of public debate.

Lineberry and Sharkansky suggest that planners have four roles. They are: technician, broker, mobilizer, and advocate (Lineberry and Sharkansky, 1971:307). The technician's role is one of the planner being a specialist working on the basis of planning theory alone. The technician has a client who is the community at large or the general welfare. The technician avoids politics. The broker differs from the technician in that his client is his immediate employer, though he may claim to be working on the basis of planning theory also. The mobilizer is a player with a political dimension. Rather than merely advise his client the mobilizer will attempt to solicit support from different sectors of the community for his plan. Where the technician and broker

deny their political character the mobilizer is a player. The advocate is a variant of the mobilizer. The advocate is a player whose intent in the political process is clearly to politicize the planning process. The advocate is as much involved in the political process as the technician is removed from it.

Technician or broker are the most prevalent roles assumed by planners in the Atlantic Provinces. These professionals are not ideal-types however, in that they are not independent and free practitioners operating as entrepreneurs. For the most part professional planners are salaried employees of government operating in the structural framework of the public bureaucracy. Jackson suggests that this is an irreconcilable position for the participant as he is responsible to two institutions that are in conflict. (Jackson, 1970:53) The conflict arises where professionals control the standards and norms for conduct of professional activities, though the bureaucracy specifies the task objectives. I would argue that this conflict is merely a nuisance when measured against the autonomy obtained by the professional working in the public bureaucracy.

One finds a horizontal monopoly or organization of professionals as well as a vertical monopoly or organization of the public bureaucracy. At the point where the two intersect the professional town planner enjoys three layers of protection from being the object of public scrutiny or control.

Public Bureaucracy

N.H. Richardson, writing in the British professional planning journal about the Canadian experience at participatory democracy, observed:

"Most people in the English-speaking world have grown to think of the achievement of representative, or parliamentary, democracy as the final triumph of the citizen over authoritarianism and the power of the state. That seems less certain today. The size, complexity, and ubiquity of the machinery of the modern state have become so vast that there is serious doubt about the adequacy of the system of representative democracy to give the individual citizen adequate protection from it, still less to enable him to exercise effective control over it" (Richardson, 1970:52).

Richardson holds out hope by only expressing a "growing doubt" that representative democracy is still able to control the machinery of the state in Canada. The machinery of the bureaucracy is a political force, an interest, and as some critics suggest a force which undermines democracy. Oppenheimer argues that the bureaucracy of the state could itself rule as a third alternative to a capitalist or socialist system (Benello, 1971:270).

Peattie argues that, "Our cities are more and more publicly managed environments. Private actions take place within a generally narrowing network of public intervention, public policy, and public planning" (Peattie, 1968). Within this publicly managed environment she notes, "... there is a transfer of wider and wider areas of public policy from politics to expertise" (Peattie, 1968).

Lineberry describes public bureaucracies as "New Machines". He writes:

"City Government is characterized not by an absence of political resources but by their dispersion in countless hands; centralized leadership from political officials is difficult to obtain. One effect of this dispersion is that the greatest single combination of organized resources now resides in public bureaucracies." (Lineberry and

Sharkansky, 1971:178)

The bureaucracy has power by virtue of its responsibility to execute policy as well as its emerging capability to make policy for the public. And, that policy is more and more a result of the deliberations of experts rather than of politicians. What has occurred is the coupling of expertise with the political resources of the public bureaucracy.

Peattie saw the danger in this and the need to ". . . prevent the exercise of bureaucratic power from leading to a new, diffuse despotism, in which power appears in the image of technical necessity." (Peattie, 1968:87)

Franz Neumann in "Approaches to the Study of Political Power" noted, "The trend toward bureaucratization has unquestionably two roots: the transformation of parliamentary democracy into mass democracy; and the transition of a predominantly competitive economy into a predominantly organized economy." (Neumann, 1950; Lindenfeld, 1968:49)

The argument that a free or capitalist state was not vulnerable to this centralization, while it was characteristic of an unfree or socialist state, was dealt with by Goodman. (Goodman, 1971) He illustrated the organized nature of the North American economy by observing that planning in both the United States and the Soviet Union is, ". . . rationalized

on the basis of making production efficient through centralized or 'comprehensive' control While the United States does not engage in formal five year plans, the kind of informal planning engaged in by a military or urban-industrial complex is in fact a form of central planning and control for allocating the country's productive resources." (Goodman, 1971:176)

When the professional planner moves into the public bureaucracy (meshing two claims of autonomy) there is an exaggeration of technical expertise which manifests itself as public policy made in the image of technical necessity. At that point the bureaucracy is operating in harmony with the professional planner and their interests are mutual.

The motives of the bureaucracy are two:

1. the desire to maintain its autonomy, security, and freedom from political interference, and
2. an interest in program expansion. (Lineberry and Sharkansky, 1971:176)

The key to this observation is the "desire to maintain its autonomy". It is the same desire that Moore described as the "ultimate value for the self-identified members of an occupational category".

Conclusion

Planning is purported to be a value-neutral and technical undertaking whose method is rooted in the scientific tradition.

Singular findings are arrived at by a deliberate and rational process which has been identified as a systems approach. Planning is performed by planners who represent an occupational category which is striving to become more professional. The overriding characteristic of professionals is their unaccountability to their customers, clients, or constituents. Their competence can only be judged by their colleagues. Most planners are planning on behalf of government bodies. Most planners are plying their skills in the service of the public bureaucracy. The public bureaucracy is becoming more and more an independent force in public policy making. The public bureaucracy is making more and more decisions on the basis of technical expertise and technical necessity. That is the point where planning, planners, and the public bureaucracy come crashing together.

The point that runs through the experience of the PPP is that the public's control over public planning is severely limited. Access to it is limited to those who can 1) perceive and manipulate their universe through a systems approach, 2) move through the professional culture of planners and other technicians, and 3) move freely through the public bureaucracy.

It is not necessary for an individual to be able to do all three in order to be able to influence public planning. For example, a land developer who is prepared to bribe a planning official in the bureaucracy (moving freely through the public bureaucracy) can influence

public policy without having an inkling of what a systems approach is. But, generally the closer one comes to possessing all three capabilities the closer one comes to being able to influence public planning policy.

The PPP was a response to the idealized set of circumstances I have attempted to describe. The motives, the strategies, and even the structure of the organization were, for the purposes of this study, the antithesis of that model of planning, planners, and the public bureaucracy.

Chapter II

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHOD

The design of the study was ex post facto in that it occurred after the data had been gathered. The PPP can be considered an event. After the event occurred I discovered in it the data for this thesis. The method of study was direct observation. My role was that of a participant observer. The period of study, or length of the event, was sixteen months.

Design

The examination of the PPP as a selected example of advocacy planning did not develop from theory or other studies, but more from a hunch. There was not a careful consideration of "the literature" before the event. The event had its own motives and in those motives is the hunch. The hunch was that the public could exert influence over public planning to a larger degree with advocacy planning available as a tool than without advocacy planning available as a tool.

The study was formulative and exploratory. (Sellitz, 1959:50) The examination of the PPP does not test an hypothesis about human action, but rather "emphasizes unconscious learning whose objective is to reach a disciplined

understanding of human action." (Sjobery and Nett, 1968: 317)

The PPP developed as an action program with specific action goals. These goals are discussed in Part II. The PPP did not develop as a controlled research experiment. In December, 1971 a friend asked me to co-author with him a brief to the public hearings on a master plan proposed for the city of St. John's, Newfoundland. Rather than submit a conventional brief we decided to attempt to politicize the planning process. The stated goal of our activity was to generate awareness of the proposed plan and to provide a medium of communication for those persons wishing to contribute criticism to the public hearing.

Our objective was to challenge the assumption in the proposed master plan that the professional planner's sample of community attitudes was representative and random. We felt that we could draw a different sample and demonstrate the basis for reaching different conclusions in the master plan. Our objective took the form of testing a technique of community problem identification in the context of town planning.

The PPP project was outlined for the purposes of obtaining funding, a strategy was defined and redefined, and the PPP was operating inside of a few weeks. At that time data was being generated.

The initial experiment was successful in terms of

its own objectives. The PPP changed in character and developed more scope, and on the basis of the success of the first project we proposed to demonstrate that advocacy planning could work on a neighborhood level.

The second project, St. John's Centre - Planning/72, had its own specific action goals. These goals are discussed in Part II. It was at that point in time, in May, 1972, that I set out a program of controlled research for a M.A. thesis. I proposed at that time to develop a theory about neighborhood planning based on the St. John's Centre - Planning/72 project. As a corollary I proposed to develop mechanisms to equate social information with the typical physical information used by town planners in making decisions. The design of the study was structured, my frame of reference as an actor and an observer was clear, and data was being organized with its application in a comparative study in mind.

I abandoned that research program in August, 1972. A conflict had developed in my role as a student and an observer of the St. John's Centre - Planning/72 project, and my role as a co-ordinator of the PPP and an actor in the experiment. I recognized my commitment to the action goals of the experiment to be more important than my commitment to the program of academic research.

In the spring of 1973 I found myself redefining the PPP and rediscovering it at an academic level of abstraction. I began to identify it as a response to

institutionalized forms of public decision making.

In March, 1973 I recognized that the PPP had reached a peak in its activities and was beginning to dissolve. At that time I proposed an M.A. thesis in the form of a case study of the PPP. This present thesis is a direct outgrowth of that idea.

There are two principle characteristics of a study with a design of chance or of an ex post facto nature. First, the design maximises discovery. (Sjoberg and Nett, 1968:180) Secondly, the validity of the data gather by direct observation is ehanced.

As the event occured outside of academic guidelines, though the study of it was rigorous and in part systematic, findings and observations were drawn ~~from~~ insight, i.e. discovery.

The problems of participant observation as a research technique are controlled by the fact that the data was gathered with objectives, other than academic ones, in mind. I accept that a characteristic of the direct observation technique is that the validity of the research must always be in some doubt. However, the chance design of this research hedges that doubt considerably.

The study is formulative and exploratory. It is not an hypothesis testing study. The reason for applying the data in an exploratory fashion is clear. Advocacy planning as a phenomenon is relatively recent. It is recorded as first occuring in 1959 in the United States. (Piven, 1970:34)

Advocacy planning was first attempted in the Atlantic Provinces of Canada by the PPP. There are few Canadian examples with which to compare the PPP. A broad body of theory based on Canadian data does not exist. The present need is to gain a further familiarity with the phenomenon upon which theory can be developed and later tested empirically.

Method

The method of study was direct observation. I was one of the two people who started the PPP and I remained a principle actor throughout. My role was that of a participant observer.

There was no role pretense. Other people in the PPP, people on the Other Side, and some Third Parties knew me as a graduate student. They were aware that I proposed to use the PPP experiment in neighborhood planning as the subject of my M.A. thesis at one point in time.

My role was not a marginal one in the PPP. I took part in the initial organization of the PPP, the definition of its objectives, the determination of its strategies, the organization of social action, and participation in social action. I represented the PPP to the Other Side, to Third Parties, and was usually known to the media as its principle spokesman and representative.

At the beginning of the PPP I maintained a journal in which I recorded events. I did not keep regular or systematic fieldnotes after the summer of 1972. I have relied on

documents of an internal sort to reconstruct parts of the action projects described in Part II. Newspaper reports have been used to confirm events.

To the tangible record of the PPP that can be made from the above sources I have added by observations of events that were of a face to face nature.

PART II

Chapter III

THE PUBLIC HEARINGS ON PLAN 91

In January, 1972 the following proposal was submitted to a prospective funding source by the PPP.

"The City of St. John's, Newfoundland has reached a crucial point in its growth where decisions have to be made about its future development. This development involves expansion in its outlying regions and renewal of its urban core. The costs in terms of dollars are immense. The social costs may be impossible to project.

The urban dilemma that St. John's faces has been recognized by the municipal authorities to the extent that a series of draft proposals have been devised by a team of planning consultants which provide alternative solutions. The plan, Plan 91, is currently before the public for their consideration.

Whether the plan is well-conceived or ill-conceived, sound or unsound, or a workable or unworkable one by planning criteria is one set of considerations. Regardless of the evaluation of these considerations, the success of the proposals is questionable if there is not a full participation of the community for whom the plan is designed.

Except for a few poorly attended public presentations, public opinion has been neither solicited nor received. The constructive criticism by the community of Plan 91 necessary to make the plan a success has not been forthcoming.

In keeping with this need we propose to assist persons in conducting dialogue with the municipal authorities and their consultants in the course of the scheduled public hearings. It is a frequent complaint of both professional architects/planners and laymen that they do not understand one another. We propose to provide 1) a source of communication for both parties; 2) a procedure by which planning can be made effective from the perspective of the layman; and 3) a means by which technical material may be understood by the layman.

The immediate objective of our program is to

serve as stimulators and communicators of public dialogue in conjunction with the consideration of Plan 91. Aside from this objective we have two goals which extend in time beyond the resolution of the issues of Plan 91. These are the development of 'advocacy planning' as an element in the process of planning, and community development focused at urban planning."

Excerpted from Proposal: A Program of
Advocacy Planning and
Community Development.
January 17, 1972

In April, 1972 the following was presented to a national seminar conducted in St. John's, Newfoundland.

"The City of St. John's, Newfoundland is well along in the process of grand scale 'master planning' and relatively close to adopting a scheme of growth for a twenty-year period. Though the team of town planning consultants retained by the municipal government exclaims that their proposals are dramatically innovative, the proposals appear for the most part to be old wine in new bottles. The process by which the plans were generated involved a substantial commitment to public participation. As is the case with the substantive proposals, the process is also old wine. On the whole, St. John's is following the path of conventional Canadian planning.

Conventional planning has erred in two ways. Firstly, planning has concentrated on physical land use. This emphasis of planning has rightly been criticized for not being responsive to the human needs of the urban dweller. Physical planning has social consequences, but as of yet recognition of this sometimes **direct relationship** has not been made. Physical planners have not acknowledged themselves as being accountable for the social costs and social casualties of their designs. Secondly, the process by which plans are created and adopted has failed to involve those persons who are affected by the plans in the formulation and consideration of those plans. There are a number of reasons for this second error, and as the People's Planning Programme (PPP) is concentrating on the process of planning, this error may be best understood in the context of the St. John's master plan experience.

During the two years that the planning has been underway, material has been made public in a technical fashion and an obscure fashion when attempting to reduce the technical level. It is interesting to note that not all of the technical material has been available for public scrutiny. The physical settings in which the material was presented were stock. The manner of

presentation and communication was stock. The last scheduled presentation, a series of three meetings, had a public attendance of approximately sixty persons.

Planning is purported to be a relatively complex technical undertaking. By its very nature, technical material used in reaching planning decisions removes it from the criticisms of the lay person. When this material is broken down, the manner of communication is generally obscure. A multi-coloured land use map with bold black lines simply does not translate to reality. Public meetings and public presentations reach far too few. The manner of receiving public criticism via letters, petitions, or personal representation excludes those who are not skilled at communication.

For people to become involved in planning considerations and to make a constructive contribution a substantially different approach is suggested by the PPP. Our immediate objective is to serve as stimulators and communicators of public dialogue in conjunction with the consideration of Plan 91, the proposed master plan. We are attempting to provide a source of communication to both professional planners and lay persons. We are attempting to make ourselves available as a vehicle for public criticism surrounding Plan 91.

Two elements are present. We have to one, translate planning generally and Plan 91 specifically to the layman. We are attempting to do this using film, video-tape replay, three dimensional models, photographs, and other visual information. To communicate or be a vehicle for criticism we will be relying extensively on video tape replay. In the programme thus far, VTR has been employed to inform people and stimulate cross communication amongst various interests, both established and not established. Further on in the programme, we will begin to compile a composite of citizen's criticism. This VTR compilation will be a brief, a submission, to the public hearings on Plan 91."

Excerpted from a paper presented to a seminar titled, "Film, Video-Tape, and Social Change" sponsored by the Extension Service of Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's, Newfoundland. April, 1972.

In May, 1972 the PPP described its activities through the public hearings in the following "overview".

"The People's Planning Programme, begun in December

of 1971, is a non-profit organization involved in the exploration of alternative methods of urban planning. Specifically, the focus is towards advocacy planning. The PPP's single goal, to create a circumstance where people plan for their own environment, was pursued most recently in conjunction with the public consideration of the city's proposed master plan.

The activities of the program and its direction may best be described in the context of previous efforts at planning for St. John's. The municipality is not unlike many other Canadian cities in its planning biography. The city arrived at master planning after running the course of servicing planning, transportation planning, renewal planning, metro planning, etc. The orientation has previously been an engineering/physical one. There is in force an aging zoning by-law. There is in force an aging subdivision by-law. Both documents are generally agreed to be in need of a major overhaul.

In the late 1960's the municipal government commenced master planning. The enabling legislation is the "City of St. John's Act", the city charter, though the provincial government operates with a relatively sound planning act, "The Urban and Rural Planning Act". In Newfoundland, municipal units are not obliged to utilize the provincial legislation in planning.

The municipal government commissioned the firm of Sunderland, Preston, Simard, and Assoc. Ltd. of Montreal, P.Q. to prepare a twenty year plan, Plan 91. The plan is a general land use and transportation scheme. Preparation of the plan was commenced in 1969.

The municipal government has a free hand in the plan. The city charter does not require a plan to concern itself with any particular problem areas. There are no procedural requirements for the adoption or implementation of the plan. There is no requirement for costing or phasing. There is no requirement for the involvement of the citizenry in the formulation of the plan. The work was undertaken by resolution of the City Council, and it may be adopted by resolution of the City Council, and it may be changed or altered at any time by resolution of the City Council.

In 1969 the municipal government committed themselves to a policy of citizen's participation in the process of planning. The commitment was a general one. The consultants conducted a mail survey of the attitudes and perceived needs of the community. In the autumn of 1969 a series of presentations of the plan proposals was held in the Arts and Culture Centre (a new and impressive structure on the campus of Memorial University of Newfoundland). Approximately 3,000 persons attended. A number of those persons sent their comments to the municipal government. It is difficult to assess the success of this series of presentations as in 1972 the views of it are markedly different. The City Council never tires of claiming success, though people who attended the presentations are less than enthusiastic about them.

In the winter of 1971, over one and one half years later, a second series of public presentations was held in the City Hall (a new and impressive structure). It was to be the opportunity for the community to make comments prior to a final draft of the plan being considered by the City Council. The attendance at the first session was six persons. The attendance at the second session was about twenty persons. The City Council and the consultants had seemingly done all of the right things. Conventional advertising was employed. The media was engaged. Land use maps and information were delivered to nearly all residences via the local newspapers. Information was available in the form of seven plan documents. But, something had gone wrong.

The answer was fairly clear, though not simple, in the end of it all. People had not understood the proposed plan. People did not translate bold black lines on a multi-coloured land use map to reality. People did not know what the plan would do and what it would not do. People did not know the process by which the plan was generated nor the process by which the plan would be implemented.

There were seven volumes to the draft plan. It was a massive amount of material to sift through. There were a couple of abbreviated drafts available. There were models and professional planners. The City Planner and the City Engineer were on hand. But, in the end people did not respond. It was suggested to the PPP that the community of St. John's simply did not care and was not interested in participating. In April of 1972, during the course of a series of public hearings, it was demonstrated that this was not the case. The community cared, they made their comments, they expressed their pleasure and their displeasure, and they made what one hopes will be a constructive contribution to the creation of a master plan.

On a general level it is felt that for people to be involved in the reaching of public decisions a few things are essential. First, it is essential that people understand what is going on in terms of their own world views. Secondly, it is essential that people have the capability to manipulate that technical data which the professional planner works with in reaching his conclusions. Thirdly, it is essential that people have a channel via which their expressions can be made and received.

Lay persons ask, "what in the hell is that planner talking about?" Professional planners ask, "what in the hell are they talking about?" Public discussion has usually been two monologues passing one another like trains in the dark. Neither party apparently understands the other and, thus, no dialogue.

Assume that the first essential is met and that there is understanding. If the lay person perceives what the plan may do and questions the reasoning, the trade-offs or choices, he remains virtually without influence if he cannot

develope coherent alternatives. He cannot develope coherent alternatives given the sophisticated tools and data the planner employes. There is not a complete, a whole, contribution from that persons if his creativity cannot manipulate the tools and data. He remains a spectator.

Assume that both the first and second essentials are met, i.e. the lay person understands and has access to a capability to manipulate the tools and data. To be productive in the process there has to be a channel in which to communicate and a sense that the contribution will be received. Public meetings and public hearings and public presentations reach far too few people. The manner of receiving public comment via letters, petition, or personal representation excludes those who are not skilled at communication and organization. This manner of public discussion gives an inadequate sample of the community's feelings. It is, of course, better than no discussion. The question is, is it good enough?

These ideas are of a general nature, but in line with what we found in St. John's. Any application of these ideas would have to recognize the subtle differences, and not so subtle differences, of diverse Canadian communities. For example, a public meeting may be quite appropriate for London, Ontario. However, in Newfoundland there is not a tradition of local government, much less public meetings.

The People's Planning Programme sought initially to generate public comment and criticism surrounding the proposed master plan. We did a few things differently than had the municipal government. We relied on visual material extensively. In particular we employed video-tape. The hardware of video-tape replay facilities is not in itself magic. The facilities are a tool. We employed it as a communications tool exclusively. In a loose sense it was a community development tool, but that was not our focus. In a loose sense it was a record keeping tool, but neither was that our focus.

The first step was to translate the proposed master plan for the lay person. The major visible component of the proposed plan was the transportation system. We raised questions about the scheme, the costs, the alternatives, the conflicts, and the trade-offs the system entailed in a relatively simple and practical manner. We used aerial photos and did super-impositions of roadways and parking facilities. We reduced the system to specifics as illustrative of the intent of the scheme. We developed alternatives hoping to illustrate the choices that were involved.

We recorded meetings that the PPP attended with video-tape and then in an edited form screened the video-tape for other groups of people. What we were seeking to do was to develope a dialogue amongst the community. We talked with divergent groups such as the Council of Women, the Community Planning Association of Canada, school children, a university church organization, etc.

We made use of the talents of engineering students, architects, sociologists, and planners to provide the technical insight into the planning data, i.e. the capability to manipulate the data. We feel that we did a competent job as in the Public Hearings (April/1972) the community was asking hard questions. The community did not rest with asking about the potholes in the streets, but dealt with broader issues on the scale of the city.

Creating a channel for communication was the most difficult task. It was felt to be important for persons to express themselves in their own way and in a setting that was comfortable for them. The VTR allowed this to happen. We were portable and able to seek out comment and ideas. We recorded hours of conversation outside of our offices. There was a direct expression, immediately available for the person commenting, that did not require any translation or summarization in a written fashion.

Ten days preceeding the beginning of the Public Hearings the PPP conducted a series of informal workshops on Plan 91. The workshops were well advertised in the local media and exposed via circulars, posters, and personal contact. The workshops were held in the offices of the PPP, a downtown location. They were designed as an opportunity for lay persons and persons with expertise to talk with one another about the issues of Plan 91. The workshops were advertised as a forum for comment which would become a 'citizen's interest' brief to the Public Hearings. The form was that of an open discussion.

Eight workshops were conducted and the office was filled to capacity on all but one occasion. Approximately 350 persons attended. The group represented a fairly broad cross-section of the community excepting that the city's poor people did not respons. It was our major failure. We have attributed it to our manner of advertising which relied heavily on the conventional media.

The workshops were arranged around those issues that people had expressed concern with, i.e. transportation, character, ecology, social and public services, housing. At the conclusion of the workshops the PPP had recorded over twenty hours of discussion and edited this material to one and one-half hours of video-tape.

We used VTR rather simply. We would record a workshop. Immediately following the workshop we would edit the tape to approximately twenty minutes. At the beginning of the next workshop we would screen the edited tape. It allowed persons who had participated in the workshop being screened to make any changes to the tape they wished. It also introduced the nature of the workshops to the people present and induced a dialogue. It was in essence a discussion of 350 people over an eight day period.

The first day of the Public Hearings, held at the City Hall, was encouraging. The room was at capacity.

The room stayed at capacity for five of the six sessions. In the end of the Hearings there was dialogue between the City Planner, the consultant, and the community. About 350 people expressed themselves via VTR, twenty briefs were presented, and over 500 people attended.

The representative of the consulting firm, Mr. Goldwyn Sunderland, was quoted in the St. John's Evening Telegram of Thursday, April 27, 1972 as saying, "This type of discussion is very useful. It's unfortunate that it didn't happen two years ago. Two years have been lost in refining the first draft of Plan 91. I see things emerging from this discussion that should be incorporated."

The independent commissioner conducting the Hearings remarked that he felt they were a success. He is at this time preparing his report for the City Council. Their response to the community shall be a good measure of the success of the PPP effort."

Excerpted from People's Planning Programme -
St. John's, Newfoundland.
An Overview.
 May 26, 1972.

The preceeding proposal, seminar paper, and overview illustrate the way in which the PPP presented itself, in part, initially. The setting for the PPP can be traced to November, 1971. At that time the planning consultants to the City Council held a series of public presentations of Plan 91. They were a disappointment owing to the small attendance.

It was in this setting that a friend of mine, Bill McCallum, and myself got started on the PPP. Bill is an architect. In November, 1971 he was an underemployed architect as business was generally poor in the Atlantic provinces for architects at that time. Bill and I had first met when we were both employed in a municipal planning department in Nova Scotia two years earlier. He is a native of St. John's.

Initially we were talking of submitting a brief to the public hearings on Plan 91 expressing our own views about the

substance of the plan. Bill referred to it as an "informed brief" at the time.

Neither of us had any confidence that a brief to a public hearing would have impact on elected officials. It is ironic that we did not have any confidence in the public hearings themselves as a tool in determining public policy, yet a year after the PPP was started we were involved in a fight with the City Council and Mayor over the right to have a public hearing.

The City Council sponsored the public hearing for the master plan. A year later the City Council refused a request on the part of 4,000 citizens to conduct a public hearing into a specific development. If one were to measure the extent to which the public is formally involved in municipal decision making based on that observation, then after operating the PPP for one year we could conclude that there has been a regression.

The question of citizen participation, community debate, or whatever we wish to call "it" is a political question. The argument is about the line that divides representative democracy and participatory democracy. If the public is a level of government, as are the municipal, provincial, and federal governments, then the question as to how much power the public shares with the three established levels of government is the question of citizen participation.

Citizen participation as a concept embraces vastly differing relationships of the public to government. Sherry R. Arnstein ranked eight types of relationships, all of which

may be called citizen participation, according to the degree of citizen power (Arnstein,1969:Arnstein,1971).

8. Citizen control	
7. Delegated power	Degrees of citizen power
6. Partnership	
5. Placation	
4. Consultation	Degrees of tokenism
3. Informing	
2. Therapy	
1. Manipulation	Nonparticipation

In 1972 citizen participation in St. John's was occurring at the lower levels of tokenism in Arnstein's model. There was little sharing of power by the City Council with the public of the city. The City Council and the consulting planners had done little more than inform the public about Plan 91. On January 9,1972 I recorded in my journal an early idea for the PPP which noted the level of public debate and discussion about Plan 91 at that time: "establish ourselves as advocate planners for the specific purpose of engaging in the public debate revolving around Plan 91. The debate hasn't started yet, and it is possible that there won't be any."

The Other Side

The City Council recognized the general need for a master development plan. It established the terms of reference for

a master development plan. I was told by a member of the firm which received the contract to prepare the master development plan that they consulted with the City Council on the terms of reference for the study. A contract was let and after a six month period of study a draft plan was presented to the public. Then, there was a delay of approximately two years until the draft plan was a matter of public discussion again.

The reason for the delay was that the Provincial government's planning proposals for the metropolitan area of St. John's were in conflict with the planning proposals developed on behalf of the City Council. Specifically, at issue was the alignment of an arterial road. The City Council had commissioned a firm of transportation engineers to develop a transportation plan in conjunction with the master development plan. The Provincial government had commissioned a firm of engineers to do similar planning for the metropolitan area. The recommendations were in conflict and it required two years to reach a political compromise. Both parties agreed on the need for the arterial road, but the alignment of the road was left undecided.

The first public discussion of the master plan proposals after the delay was the poorly attended presentations in November, 1971. Following the presentations that fall there was a public discussion of the plan by the City Council. The draft plan was given "approval in principle" by the City Council at that discussion. The importance of giving an item "approval in principle" is questionable. It is not an action which is

specifically allowed for in the city charter, The City of St. John's Acts. On November 28, 1973 the Mayor-elect shed some light on the question. She was explaining to a Canadian Broadcasting Corporation interviewer that she felt the City Council had been too hasty in approving a particular development proposal. She said that there were too many questions to be resolved for the City Council and that the approval should be delayed. The interviewer suggested that any delay would place undue pressure on the developer and the proposal could be abandoned. In reply, the Mayor-elect said that the City Council could give the development "approval in principle" which "is what we have always done when we don't know what to do".

The City Council was conducting planning with a minimum of statutory controls, and those controls the Council had to comply with were non-specific. The controls do not specify that the City Council must give a draft plan its "approval in principle" prior to approving it. The Council argued at the time that their action was simply a technical manouver which was required in their scheme of things to bring the plan to a public hearing. The city charter allows for public hearings about municipal business, but does not specify any Council action other than the passing of a resolution calling for a hearing prior to conducting a public hearing.

There were public hearings. They were conducted on April 25, 26, and 27, 1972. A report from the Commissioner of the hearings was submitted to the City Council and made public.

That was in May, 1972. As I am writing this in January, 1973 the draft plan has not been discussed publicly by the City Council since the submission of the commissioner's report.

In January, 1972 Bill and I had two meetings with the Mayor. Our intention was to introduce ourselves and to inform him of what we were attempting to do with the PPP. We were intending to ask him for his co-operation, but we were not going to ask for money or material support. Our first meeting was an abbreviated one. The Mayor suggested that we meet in the company of one of the consulting planners and discuss the idea. At that second meeting we proposed to the Mayor and a senior partner in the consulting firm that was preparing the master plan that the PPP would compliment their efforts at generating citizen's participation. We explained that one of our main interests was to experiment with a different planning technique.

The consulting planner said that we would interrupt the process that was in motion, and that what we were describing was more appropriate at an early stage in the plan process. The Mayor said that he was not interested. There was not explanation as to why he was not interested. Simply, that was the response of the chief elected official of the city and a senior member of the consulting firm to a proposal by a couple of citizens to participate in the planning process.

The Mayor, as was demonstrated over the next two years, was not sympathetic to any idea of sharing the power and authority of the City Council with the public. The planner

took refuge in the rational and deliberate systems approach. He favor citizen's participation in planning generally, and felt that our ideals would make for an interesting experiment. However, he felt that the time for the application of our ideas was past. A second partner in the firm suggested to me that the PPP was about two years too late.

Those two meetings with the Mayor raised a single and simple question for us: Who were we to participate with? We had taken for granted that we would participate with the Municipal government and/or their consulting planners. The problem was that neither was prepared to be accountable for Plan 91 nor responsible to the criticism of it.

On January 11, 1972 I recorded in my journal our first contact with the planning consultant's agent:

"I talked with Canadian British Engineering Consultants Ltd., the local representative of the Montreal consulting firm. They briefed me on the history of the document now being considered. It was referred to as a 'refinement' of the April, 1970 publication 'Long Range Plan', which was a preliminary document-a culmination of six survey documents. This current plan is preliminary also. After the public hearings more revisions are envisaged and then a final document will be submitted for the formal consideration of the City officials. The City officials are not yet responsible for anything that is before the public to consider."

Two days later I made the following entry into my journal recording a conversation with the City Planner:

"conversation with the city planner in the a.m. - got material that led to the #7 document. got the background and some insight. the plan is not preliminary or final or anything. the Council is preparing the plan under their own charter and not the Provincial act. Nothing they do is binding. The plan is being prepared as if it were to conform with the provincial legislation, but in fact it isn't".

The City Council's enabling legislation for planning is non-specific. The Provincial government's enabling legislation for planning is specific. For example, the Provincial legislation specifies that a "plan" must contain a social and public services plan. The Municipal legislation does not specify the components of a "plan". Both the consulting planners and the municipal planning personnel argued the advantages of the flexible legislation, the City of St. John's Act. Both, on different occasions, suggested to me that the pressure being generated by the PPP on the Municipal government might result in the City having to meet the requirements of the Provincial legislation which they felt were unduly stringent. At the same time the more flexible legislation allowed them greater autonomy.

Both the Municipal planning personnel and the consulting planners took the position that the findings and recommendations of Plan 91 were arrived at by a rational and deliberate application of scientific planning theory. The Municipal planning personnel perceived their role as technicians. The consulting planners saw their role as brokers, their immediate client being the City Council. Both groups identified themselves as professionals.

Robert Goodman has a thesis that professional planners are "soft cops" (Goodman, 1971). In that thesis he argues that the planner carries out the orders of government as do the police, and that planners execute a policy determined

by a government reflecting the perspective of an urban/ industrial complex. Planners in the public service are quick to point out that ultimate decisions are political, as they should be in a democracy. In that position is a denial of responsibility for the decisions made by their employers, clients, or customers.

Third Parties

There are two institutionalized lobbies for urban planning in Canada. One, is the Town Planning Institute of Canada (TPIC). The other is the Community Planning Association of Canada (CPAC).

The TPIC, its name reflecting an association with the Town Planning Institute, its British counterpart, the the professional association of planners. It is the licensing agent and guardian of the professional standards of performance. Eligibility for membership in the TPIC is a prerequisite for employment in planning agencies in the St. John's area.

The TPIC has member groups in each province or region of the country. In Newfoundland professional planners are members of the Atlantic Planners Institute (API). The PPP had three contacts with the API.

At first we sought an endorsement from them. We reasoned that the Other Side would argue the technical complexity of planning rather than Plan 91. They would argue that their critics were not competent as planners

and as such their criticisms would be dismissed. We felt that if we could obtain some sort of participation on the part of the professional association, then we would take that argument away from the Other Side.

On January 12, 1972 I recorded a meeting with some planners belonging to the API:

"went to the provincial department of municipal affairs under the assumption that api was active here - was going to talk with an officer. no such luck. no local federation of tpic. asked for an endorsement from the professional personnel in the role of api locally, but got vacant civil servant stares. 'but in our position we really are not able to openly support your activities, and anyway what will happen when a group you represent is in conflict with our programs on a provincial basis. just how far are you prepared to go'?"

At that time there was no Newfoundland association of professional planners. In 1973 the local professionals were meeting casually, but formally. They had begun to make public statements in the role of API.

The second contact with the API was a few weeks following the meeting with the professional planners employed by the Provincial government. I had written to the Secretary of the API who was in Halifax, Nova Scotia. I had asked for an endorsement and any money they may have for experiments and research. The Executive of the API gave us an endorsement and a grant of \$50. I learned later that the API had budgeted for experiments and research for a few years and the PPP was the first application of that money and the last.

The third contact with the API was in the fall of

the year. I had gone to the annual general meeting of the API and applied to the Executive for a renewal and increase in the grant for the second year of the PPP. The PPP never received an acknowledgement of the application. At that meeting one of the professional planners from Newfoundland was elected to the Executive of the API. He was one of the planners I spoke with in January, 1972 at the Provincial Department of Municipal Affairs. Since that January meeting he had changed employers and was working for the City Council of the City of St. John's.

The Community Planning Association of Canada, which is 26 years old, had as its original aim:

" . . . to foster an understanding of the need for municipalities to plan, to encourage the participation of the citizens in the planning process and to press for adequate facilities in the educational sphere to train the Canadians who would do the planning."
(Tonge, 1972:3)

The membership includes professional planners, architects, and engineers. In 1972 the CPAC in Newfoundland did not have any full-time staff nor did it maintain an office. The CPAC published an infrequent newsletter. During 1972 the CPAC held only one meeting and it was not until the summer of 1973 that a second meeting was held. The association also had a remarkable hand at business for a voluntary association. Their net assets increased from approximately \$2,200 in 1972 to \$2,700 in 1973 as reported in the Secretary's annual report.

The CPAC was not involved in the public discussion of Plan 91. Their idea of citizen participation was described to me as, "Having a few of the b'ys down to Bowring Park in the spring for drinks". The CPAC did not encourage the PPP and there was little co-operation. This can be attributed in part to the relationship of the CPAC through its chairman to the Other Side. The chairman of the local association at that time was a brother to a City Councillor who was as well the Manager of the St. John's Harbour. The Councillor, a professional engineer, was politically aligned with the Mayor on the issue of citizen participation.

Professional architects practising in Newfoundland are members of the Newfoundland Association of Architects. In January of 1972 we approached the association for the same reasons that we approached the API. Their Executive was encouraging, but they were not formally prepared to endorse the PPP or to openly co-operate in the Public Hearings experiment. Their position was that they were making a submission to the public hearings and they did not want to reflect any interest other than their specific professional one.

During the summer of 1972 the PPP invited the architect's association to participate in a neighborhood planning project. The letter of invitation to the Executive, with copies mailed to all of the individual members of the association in the St. John's area, was never acknowledged.

There were a number of other voluntary associations active in St. John's when the PPP began. These, we felt, were potentially interested, but not specifically committed to planning or urban affairs. We did not attempt to solicit their support as we did with the API.

Organization of the PPP

The character of the PPP organization was in part an accident and in part by design. The pressures of funding, recruitment, management and definition were encountered from the first.

Until February, 1972 there had been no money for the PPP to operate with. We were using an office in the university that happened to be vacant, a university phone, and furniture salvaged from the university storage rooms. During January we had made two proposals for funding. At that point in time the PPP consisted of Bill, myself, and a half-dozen others, each with some university connection.

The Extension Service of Memorial University of Newfoundland initially funded the PPP. They gave us an operating grant through a foundation grant they were using for video-tape experiments. There was also a commitment of video-tape equipment and materials plus manpower to enable us to use the equipment.

The operating grant we received from the Extension Service was \$2,000. We also received \$50 from the API for the public hearings project. That was our total budget.

No money was paid in salaries.

Two things are interesting about the initial funding of the PPP. One is the amount and the other is the source. The cost for a four month ~~program of~~ citizen participation is relatively low when measured against the reported cost of Plan 91. Plan 91 is reported to have cost \$200,000, though the exact figure is not public knowledge. The PPP cost, from January to mid-May of 1972, \$2,050.

The source of the money makes for a paradox. The university, a major employer, a primary activity generator in the city, a primary determinate in the organization of land uses in the city, and the place of work for a range of professionals not found in any other institution or government agency in the city, is a poor corporate citizen.

While the Arts and Culture Centre (also known as the 'tarts and vulture' centre) on the university campus hosted a public exhibition of the draft Plan 91, the university itself had no public submission to the Public Hearings on Plan 91, or publicly any input to the planning process. The corporate body of the university very likely did have contact with the consulting planners in the study stage of the plan. But, the corporate body of the university did not have a public input to the plan. The university's view of the city, and its interest in the growth of the city was not a view which was subject to public scrutiny.

There was not an academic or research body in the university that made a submission to the Public Hearings.

During the Hearings the Commissioner noted the failure of any university department to take a part in the community dialogue. A staff member of the anthropology department in the audience objected to the Commissioner's remark, and said that at least ten behavioral scientists were in attendance. The Commissioner replied, "Well, then why not formally?"

The paradox is that the university is also a good corporate citizen. The university made a cash grant and a large material outlay to a group of citizens trying to generate public participation in the planning process. If the Commissioner of the Public Hearings is correct in saying that the PPP was the impetus for the success of the Hearings, then the university must share a substantial amount of the credit as they funded the PPP.

There is a paradox if we hold the view of the university as a large institution with a singular personality. There is no paradox if we accept that the interests of the university are many and at times in conflict.

For the purpose of the application to the Extension Service for funding three people were identified as 'co-ordinators' of the PPP. They were Bill, myself, and an anthropology graduate student at the university. Bill became ill and was hospitalized before the Public Hearings and never did return to the PPP in a full-time capacity. The anthropology graduate student stayed with the PPP into the summer of 1972 and later took a position with the Extension Service of the university.

The title of "co-ordinator" was the extent of the formal designation of roles within the PPP. There were no professional roles. There was no formal division of labour.

There was no requirement for admission to the PPP. There was not a membership. There were no dues. There was no constitution or rules by which business was to be conducted.

Decisions were made by consensus. Whoever was taking part in a discussion, a meeting/non-meeting, was taking part in the decision making of the PPP. If there was a meeting scheduled, which happened rarely, then whoever came to the meeting made the decision. If three people attended the meeting, then three people made the decision. If ten people attended the meeting, then ten people made the decision. The way in which decisions were reached is blurred even more by the fact that we did not have regular meetings. The distinction between meeting and non-meeting was removed with the result being that we were continually meeting, or non-meeting.

It is difficult to say how many people took part in the PPP, because the structure was an open one without clear bounds. No one kept track of the number of people who came and went. I believe it is fair to say that 50 people did something tangible in the course of the Public Hearings project. During the workshops the PPP was operated by six or seven people, and during the Public Hearings it

was operated by four people. By "operated" I mean the people who mixed sound for the video-recordings, did the tape editing, swept the floors, unlocked the office, etc. At that time there were perhaps six keys to the office that circulated among ten persons.

At the same time other people were seen as being part of the PPP. For example, a woman who attended two or three of the workshops and had been in the PPP office on one or two occasions did a radio interview on behalf of the PPP. The point I wish to make is that there was not a clear distinction between members.

The informality was intentional and necessary in the beginning of the PPP. There was no recruitment of people into the PPP. The people who became involved had different motives and were seeking different rewards. We were treating the PPP as a place which would allow for the expression of individual motives, rather than a place which would make something happen. How the openness manifested itself was accidental, or without a design. For example, neither Bill or I wanted a distinction between professional persons in the PPP and non-professional persons. The resulting absence of any division of labour on a formal level was the accident.

How the PPP controlled its finances and material resources may bring the structure of the organization into focus. Bill and I were financially responsible for the PPP initially and there were three signing authorities

for our funds during the Public Hearings project. It was not until the fall of the year that the PPP became incorporated and individuals handling the money obtained some limited liability. We were committed to spend the money for the purpose that we outlined to the Extension Service. Decisions on what we would spend the money for were taken in the course of the meetings/non-meetings. I did not record any serious argument over expenditures during the Hearings project.

The use of the facilities of the PPP and the VTR material was not formally controlled by any single person. For example, one man, who happened to be living in the PPP offices as well as working with the PPP, began to provide a regular though informal day care service for the children of the neighborhood in which the office was located. Every afternoon a dozen or so children from the neighborhood would be rampaging through the offices. The man who was making this happen did not ask anyone else if he could do it, nor did anyone else expect to be asked.

One Friday three of us went to talk with a group of children who were 10 and 11 years old. We were recording our conversation with video-tape. The children became interested in the VTR and we showed them how to use it. They were anxious to use the VTR and we agreed to meet with them the next day at the home of one of the children. On the next day they decided to "make a movie about the city". They took the portable VTR equipment in a red wagon and

went off with it for the best part of the afternoon. At that point they had control of a large part of the material resources of the PPP.

The Overview of May, 1972, cited above, describes the process that we used in the Public Hearings project. There was success in terms of generating comment and dialogue. There was an increase in the amount of public participation in the planning process. How much influence the public has been able to exercise over the plan is not certain.

The Commissioner of the Public Hearings, appointed by the City Council, submitted a report to the City Council. The Commissioner was a downtown businessman and later successfully ran for a seat on the City Council.

The Commissioner asserted that, "The Hearings were frank, open, made convenient for the public and gave full opportunity for public participation. About one hundred people attended each afternoon and evening session and on the last evening there were not enough seats to accomadate the general public" (Murphy,1972).

The following is his commentary on the PPP brief to the Public Hearings. His designating me as "the Chairman" of the PPP is an error on his part.

"Following this, Mr. Roger Bill, the Chairman of the People's Planning Programme, read his brief and this brief is attached.

When the reading of his brief was finished, approximately one hour and twenty minutes of video-tape was shown with interviews with a cross section of the general public and many views of the city.

After this first video-tape presentation, Mr.

Roger Bill displayed five artist's conceptions of the manner in which vacant space between houses could be filled in with appropriate row housing in order to encourage a higher population density in the older part of St. John's.

The second part of his presentation consisted of a one hour video-tape, which showed the various workshops his group had conducted.

Following this, general comments were made by citizens and the meeting closed at 5:20 p.m.

The purpose of the videotape presentation was to inform me of the manner in which the People's Planning Programme had involved the general public.

It was obvious from the videotape presentations that a fairly large representative cross section of the public had taken part in the workshops. While the videotapes provided excellent background there were naturally many different views, sometimes contradictory and thus I must mainly convey to Council the recommendations as submitted by the People's Planning Programme in their attached brief.

However, it might be of interest to Council if I mentioned some of the topics covered by citizens through the videotapes. They spoke of the concern for the type of life which pertains in the suburbs. They termed it the "isolation of suburbia" and felt that many people did not ~~see~~ know each other; they had to travel long distances to see their friends; to go to their schools; to visit their favourite church. They also spoke of the lack of corner stores to satisfy the everyday necessities and in addition they stressed that such corner stores often provided the social outlet for people to meet one another.

Great concern was expressed for the safeguarding of the charm of the old City and many of the participants were afraid that some of St. John's historic landmarks would disappear as rapidly as the old City Hall.

Some spoke of the difficulty for ordinary citizens to interpret the Plan and others felt that the Plan, once adopted, would become a completely fixed Plan, incapable of alteration.

There was much comment on improved bus transportation, with some suggestion that smaller buses should ~~be~~ replace the larger buses in the downtown area and several suggestions were made that large taxi-cabs carrying six passengers be allowed to operate on scheduled routes under a private enterprise system. There was considerable concern for the need to establish more walking routes, it was suggested that in the older part of the town, walking underpasses and walking overpasses could be put near busy intersections.

Many expressed the view that high-rise or parking

towers would block the view of the harbour, but others felt that if these were kept to a modest size they would not interfere with a view of the houses built higher up on the slopes of the City.

There was continuing expression throughout that the central core of the old City should accomodate a lot more people than it does at present and this centre was defined as being bounded on the east by the Newfoundland Hotel, on the west by Leslie Street, on the south by Water Street, and on the north by LeMarchant Road. It was felt that a detailed study should be made of this area and financial assistance perhaps in the way of low interest loans, could be made to refurbish and redecorate the hundreds of charming old homes in this area and that many small town-houses could be constructed, thus revitalizing the old St. John's.

Concern was expressed that the proposed network of roads into, out of and through the City would damage or eliminate much that is worth preserving in the older part of the City and it was deplored that no by-laws exist for the preservation of older buildings and no machinery exists for consultation on this matter.

Concern was expressed that the Newfoundland Hotel might be demolished and it was felt that it is imperative that proper use be found for this fine building.

A number of people deplored the fact that the plans for the central and downtown area were much too vague and some stated that there was a need for a detailed survey of the downtown area and that such a committee to do this survey should consist of representative citizens, along with planning experts.

These are just some of the many points covered by the many speakers through the medium of videotape and also through the discussions on the floor, but throughout it all it was obvious that this group believed that the older part of St. John's should be upgraded, a lot more dwelling units should be built in the older part and all that is worth preserving should be preserved.

I thanked Mr. Bill and his group and expressed the opinion that the activities of his group had done a great deal to stir up public interest in Plan 91." (Murphy, 1972:1-5)

The recommendations of the Commissioner's report ignored in large part the PPP brief. A problem that planners complain of is that people do not understand planning and its dynamic quality. Planners argue that the general

public is concerned about nothing more than their sewers being blocked and pot holes in the streets. The substance of the PPP brief was directed to the large and dynamic issues. The Commissioner of the Public Hearings produced a report about sewers being blocked and pot holes in the streets.

The City Council received the report in May, 1972, expressed some dissatisfaction, and then seemingly forgot about it. The Mayor when asked about ~~the status of~~ Plan 91 a year later in the Spring of 1973 replied that he hoped to see the plan adopted in the summer months. As I write this in December of 1973 the Mayor has been voted out of office and the plan has yet to be publicly debated much less adopted.

Chapter IV

ST. JOHN'S CENTRE - PLANNING/72

The downtown neighborhood planning project, St. John's Centre - Planning/72 (SJC), is described as an experiment of planning technique in the plan document that evolved from the project. The plan document is appended as a complete description of the experiment. In this chapter I wish to describe the organization of the PPP through the project, some of the motives for undertaking the project in terms of the organizational needs of the PPP, the relationship with Third Parties during the project period, and the relationship with the Other Side.

Prior to the Public Hearings there was a sense of optimism within the PPP. There was a sense of momentum. We were confident of a favorable public response to the Public Hearings project.

We had demonstrated that we could move from ideas to action, or plainly, to "start". One of the criticisms we encountered questioned our staying power. The question was in the order of, "why should I invest any energy in the PPP when it will probably close in a month or two?"

There was as well a question about our ability to perform the more difficult task of initiating planning.

Questions about our technical credentials were raised. The PPP had played the role of the critic in the Public Hearings. The substance of our criticisms was fended off by the Other Side by challenging our credentials and our competence at doing planning. The logic was that if the critic is nothing more than rabble in the public's mind, then the substance of the criticisms is suspect. It would have been different if the critic were a priest.

The question of the legitimacy of actors in a conflict situation was raised in an experience I had as an outgrowth of the PPP work. In the summer of 1973 I gave testimony in an appeal to a planning appeal board in Nova Scotia. A public interest lobby was appealing a decision of a municipal government that allowed for a large commercial/residential development in a neighborhood of working class homes.

The developer, the Other Side in the issue, quoted Plutarch to me during an adjournment. The message was that the motives of the appellant were suspect. If the appellant were a rival commercial enterprise he argued, then he would not question its motives. The developer argued that the public interest lobby, an environmental action centre, was merely playing and their play was costing him a substantial amount of money which would necessarily be reflected in the cost of the development to the public.

The Plutarch quote was to the effect that "little boys are playing at killing the frogs, but the frogs are dying in earnest".

The PPP encountered similar arguments. Our response was to confront the criticism rather than dismiss it. If the PPP was competent and credible, then a coherent plan would come from the process that we were proposing to demonstrate in the SJC project. If we were competent in roles other than that of the critic, then the question of our credibility as a critic would be resolved.

Questions about our staying power were encountered regularly. More times than not we were asking it of ourselves. I was personally looking at the PPP in a two year time frame, being that period during which I had a guaranteed income. Others expected the PPP to demonstrate its staying power in a much shorter time frames which were often tied to their immediate economic needs.

The course was set when the PPP selected a narrow approach to community development. It was expected that the advocacy planning program would take one year to develop. In the second year we could expect to engage in community development which we perceived as community organizing. The broader approach would have meant facing issues larger than urban/planning focused ones at the beginning.

The SJC project was to demonstrate a second capability of the PPP and establish avenues to resources that would not be available to a citizen's group that was primarily

the "opposition". The SJC project would not necessarily involve confronting the Other Side. It would not necessarily involve confronting the professional culture of planners.

There was another motive of an immediate nature for deciding to do the SJC project. Prior to the Public Hearings the PPP had become involved in opposing a major commercial development for the downtown area of the city. As I discuss in Chapter V it was not an issue we wanted to become involved in at that time. Our argument was, however, that the downtown was a residential community as well as a business community. We felt that one way to emphasize the residential nature of the downtown was to produce a plan that would technically compete with the plans for development of a commercial downtown. A second way to alter the emphasis was to generate an awareness of the downtown as being a good place to live. Our thinking was that a sense of community could be encouraged that would manifest itself as an organized lobby of downtown residents. It would be at that point that the PPP would bridge whatever gap there was between a program of advocacy planning and one of community development.

The Other Side

One of the attractive factors in doing the SJC project was that we would not have to confront the City Council. During the course of the project we did not

confront the City Council about SJC, though we were in conflict with them on other issues.

We asked for their co-operation on one occasion when we found that we needed some maps of the downtown area. They had copyrighted their maps and strictly controlled their distribution. The public bureaucracy would not receive our request for the maps and we had to formally request the maps from the City Council. It took a period of about six weeks for us to get four maps. The City Council discussed our request on two occasions and we had to meet with the City Engineer and the City Solicitor to reach a formal agreement about our use of the maps. For the Other Side it was an exercise in information control.

During the course of the SJC project the PPP circulated two petitions in the downtown project area that requested the City Council to make some modest improvements in the area. The petitions were received by the City Council, referred to the public bureaucracy, and then ignored.

One petition requested a change in the traffic pattern in the project area. The petition challenged the accuracy of some data in the City's transportation plan. The City Council referred the petition to the City Engineer's office. When I met with the City Engineer it was in relation to our obtaining the maps. I took the occasion to ask him about the petition and what conclusions his office had reached after studying it. This occurred about one month

following the submission of the petition to the City Council. He did not remember the petition, then he did remember seeing it on his desk in a pile of other business, and then he remembered that it had been referred to someone else in the office and he had not received a reply. And, that was that.

In retrospect it is impossible to describe with any precision what the Other Side's relation was to the SJC project because the PPP was involved in a confrontation situation with them simultaneously. To say that the Other Side ignored the SJC project is perhaps the fairest assessment. The plan document was given to the City Council, but no discussion occurred. The plan was publicly presented and only two City Councillors attended the meeting. As is the case with most plans, the SJC plan elicited no response from the public bureaucracy.

Third Parties

The only contact the PPP had with the professional culture of planners and architects in relation to the SJC project was a request we made to the Newfoundland Association of Architects. After we had made some progress in the project we asked the NAA to co-operate in some limited ways. A letter was sent to the Executive of the association with copies to all of the members. We never received a reply. I have never received an explanation as to why there was no reply, other than that two architects did not remember.

receiving the request.

Our funding for the SJC project was relatively large. We received approximately \$12,000 from the Federal government's Department of Secretary of State Opportunities for Youth program. The OFY program's rationale was employment generation and not social change or community development. Accordingly, over 80% of the SJC budget was spent on salaries.

There was peripheral contact with the university during the SJC project. One of the co-ordinators, and the only one who was with the SJC project from beginning to end, was an engineering student at the university. His academic program was a work/study one. He was able to qualify his work at the PPP as legitimate learning in the context of his program.

The Extension Service continued their material and technical support of the PPP. We used VTR which they made available to us. There was no financial contribution.

It was during the time that we were engaged in the SJC project that we encountered other citizen's groups in the City and the Federal government's Department of Secretary of State Citizenship Branch, the federal agency interested in funding social change projects. We did not encounter the Citizenship Branch or other citizen's groups in direct connection with the SJC project, but merely at the same time.

In June, 1972 the PPP had talked with the Citizenship

Branch of the Department of Secretary of State about funding. We had talked with officials of the Department at the federal level, about maintenance funding for a two year period, i.e. staying power. Our ideas were well received, the money was available, and we were assured that their office was prepared to fund the PPP. What needed to be done was to work out the details of an application for their funds with the Newfoundland office of the Secretary of State.

The budget that we had discussed with the Ottawa office was \$12,000 over a two year period, or a maintenance budget of \$500 per month. I met with the Citizenship Branch in St. John's. I was informed that there were no funds available.

It was clear that we were being misled. The St. John's office of the Citizenship Branch had a continuing investment in the development of a welfare rights organization in the city. The PPP was perceived as being in competition with this group for the leadership role in the "opposition". This perception was held by the local office of the Citizenship Branch.

In discussion with the Citizenship Branch in St. John's we found that the terms of our grant would be such that we could not initiate social action. We were to be a resource to other citizen groups. Our serving as a resource to the particular welfare rights organization was discussed. We did receive a grant of \$3,000 for a one year period on the basis of the PPP being a resource group.

The welfare rights organization contacted the PPP on one occasion to discuss our co-operating on the submission of a brief to a local conference. The conference was being held by the City to lay the base for a municipal housing policy.

I met with the vice-chairperson of the organization on a weekday afternoon. Before noon on the following day I was called to the office of the Citizenship Branch to discuss my discussion with the welfare rights organization. The bureaucrat I met with was playing the role of broker for the welfare rights organization.

That same afternoon six people talked about the situation at the PPP office. We concluded that dealing with another citizen's organization and a mutual funding agent brokering on their behalf was all too confusing. We did not make any further contact with the welfare rights organization in connection with the municipal conference.

In preparation for the conference we did become involved with six people who had been associated with the welfare rights organization previously. They were interested in investigating the economies of slum housing in the city. The group consisted of two people who had been actively involved in the welfare rights organization at one time and four friends of theirs. None of the group was a welfare receiptent. The group later received over \$30,000 from the Federal government, in the form of an employment generating scheme, to make repairs to homes of poor people.

The PPP was operating with a paid staff at the time we were talking with this group of people. Nearing the end of the OFY project period the PPP gathered data regarding 1,100 dwelling units in the central area of the city. A house to house survey was conducted. It provided a qualitative picture of the standard of housing in the central area of the city. The group of citizens we were working with was cross referencing this data with ownership information we were collecting at the same time.

The intention was to determine the ownership of slum dwellings and the economies of that housing market. The findings were to be submitted to the City-sponsored conference. The findings were going to be submitted on behalf of the PPP with the understanding that this group of six persons would be participants in the PPP.

A month preceeding the conference the PPP asked to have the data brought to the PPP offices. It was being stored at the home of one of the six persons. We were prepared to make the statistical compilations necessary for the submission to the conference. Asking to move the data was consistent with the original understanding between the PPP and this group of persons.

They refused to allow the data to be moved. We were informed that they did not have confidence in the PPP as they felt we had been compromised by the City government. We had applied for two grants at that time and this group felt that we would temper our investigation and attitude

for fear of losing our chances of receiving funding. It was a serious misunderstanding. There was mutual distrust. The people who were operating the PPP at the moment decided not to make an issue of the incident which would have revealed the infighting to the Other Side. We abandoned the idea of a submission to the City-sponsored conference based on the survey data the PPP had collected.

On one hand the PPP was initiating social action and attempting to mobilize support for its programs. On the other hand we were expected to play a resource role to other citizen groups. There was role confusion in our minds and in the minds of other citizen groups and funding agents.

Organization of the PPP

It was during the last week of April, 1972 following the Public Hearings that there was any hard thinking about the SJC project. The terms of the grant from the Secretary of State OFY program were sufficiently lax to allow for most any sort of neighborhood planning project.

At this time the PPP was undergoing a change in its structure. Bill McCallum had withdrawn from the program due to health. The people who were specifically interested in community development had left the program when we selected a narrow approach. University students who were interested in the PPP as a part of their course work had left as their academic terms had ended. There were a handful of people who were operating the program. The

organizational informality was being confronted by the demands of administering a grant of about \$12,000. In April, 1972 there was no formal structure to the PPP, it was an open organization, and it had \$12,000 to operate with.

In April, 1972 I was called a "co-ordinator". In the summer months during the SJC project there were three other people called "co-ordinator". There was no membership of the PPP and that did not change. There was however a paid staff.

Up to May, 1972 the PPP was operated by volunteers. From May to September, 1972 the PPP was operated by a paid staff.

The SJC project was designed by a group of eight to ten people sitting down and talking about it for one week. There were eight staff positions available from the OFY grant. Three of the positions were assumed to be for three of the people who operated the PPP during the Public Hearings. All but two of the people who were sitting down and talking about the design of the SJC project were interested in obtaining staff positions for the project. The group was primarily young and connected to the university. No one was initially excluded from this group, but quickly the staffing was agreeded to which proved to serve as an excluding mechanism.

For the purpose of doing the SJC project there was a visible PPP organization. There were two project co-ordinators. They were responsible for managing the funds. We were

spending about \$800 per week.

One-half of the salaried positions for the project were committed to residents of the project area. These people were recruited by word of mouth. None of them had been involved in the PPP prior to the SJC project, and only one of them continued to work with the PPP after the project concluded.

Hiring and firing was done by the two project co-ordinators. Decisions of policy and decisions of tactic were made collectively as they had been during the Public Hearings project. There was some division of labour, though all project participants earned the same salary.

People came and went in the program, but very few people came who did not earn some money. There was little voluntary effort. I was gone from the project for the first six weeks. One of the co-ordinators left after eight weeks. Some people worked only a week. Three of the project participants who took part in the project design left before the completion of the project, and all eventually obtained employment with the Extension Service of the university.

The office operated on regular hours. Project participants had assigned tasks which they were to perform in order to earn their salary. The PPP became a regular job. Meetings were distinguished from non-meetings. Work was distinguished from play. And, who was part of the PPP as opposed to not being a part could be observed on the

basis of who received money for their efforts and who did not.

In the first week of May, 1972 the PPP was making decisions about the neighborhood planning project. I am including in full one of the project proposals we considered. What the PPP in fact did in the SJC project was quite close to the ideas of the working paper.

"OFY DEMONSTRATION PROJECT

1 - The purpose of this project is to demonstrate the validity of the idea that a neighborhood-sized unit can identify its own needs relative to Plan 91, and is able to translate those needs into a coherent, comprehensive proposal to be submitted to the proper municipal authority.

2 - STEPS

A. Identification of the Neighborhood

There are two aspects to this. First, the project will pinpoint the neighborhood. Second, the residents will define the neighborhood boundaries.

How is the neighborhood pinpointed?

1) Divide the city into as many areas as are recognized (named), locally. The boundaries of these areas are not important, but the names are.
 2) Rule out all areas unaffected by Plan 91.
 3) Rule out all but working class areas. If you choose a middle or upper middle class area, and the project is successful, the majority of central city residents may not be convinced of its validity for them.

4) Rule out all but 'old town' areas. The emotional appeal over 'saving the city' is directed to these areas.

5) Make a choice. Try to choose one which seems to have a central focus, e.g. four contiguous block faces.

There are probably many types of information that can be used to aid in neighborhood selection. Among them are:

- 1) Knowledge of local residents
- 2) Plan 91
- 3) The DeLeuw Cather Study
- 4) Census data

B. Involvement of Neighborhood in the Demonstration Project.

No information should be collected from the neighborhood residents in the initial stages of the project. A data gathering scheme is off-putting. Nor should any attempt be made to organize the neighborhood.

The start of the involvement process, before a project office or site is located, should be a campaign to make the neighborhood aware of the project and its goals. Essentially the project provides information to the community rather than the opposite.

The information campaign should be as individualized as possible, focusing on family and household units. Once awareness is generated, the type of information should be changed in an effort to generate neighborhood interest in the project.

After disseminating this second kind of information, the project should be ready to move into the neighborhood. This should be accomplished together with a third type of information campaign, directed at motivating the neighborhood residents to seek information about the project from the local office.

These three types of information together have the following purposes:

- 1) To create a basis for the neighborhood residents to involve themselves in the project.
- 2) To create a sense of anticipation in the neighborhood in the project.

The neighborhood project office should be based on the PPP model. I say this because the PPP approach has proven to be successful, and also it will be familiar to the neighborhood residents.

The initial involvement of the neighborhood, hopefully, will be information-seeking from the project office. Therefore, the staff should be as flexible and as low key as possible. At this point no one knows what these people will want to know. I am fairly sure of the following areas as being of interest to them.

1. More on what Plan 91 means to them.
2. What the project is all about.
3. What the project can do for them relative to Plan 91.

The project should be prepared to cover at least these areas. I would suggest a combination of presentation forms as used by the PPP: oral, three dimensional models, still photos and drawings, video tape, etc. This will introduce the residents to some of the media available for their own use.

The entire orientation of the project must be very clear in getting across the idea that the neighborhood will determine its own plan for re-development and that the project will furnish technical assistance. In other words, the neighborhood will have to answer "what" and "why" questions; the project

staff and any resource people roped in will have to answer "how" questions. There is a much greater chance of success if the residents are certain nothing is being imposed on them. The project is only a social and technical service.

Once the residents begin to see the project in this way, their involvement can be deepened by having them define the neighborhood boundaries.

I would avoid as much as possible having the project collect information. This should be the job of the residents once they begin deciding what they want their development scheme to include. It will be up to the project staff to identify the kinds of data required in order for the neighborhood plan to go forward as a strong document.

C. Goals of the Project

The project has two goals. These should be made clear to the residents.

1) The primary goal is to have the neighborhood plan for its own development. The formulated plan would be submitted to the city planning authority and to any other agencies or sources of possible funding.

2) The project will demonstrate to the rest of St. John's the viability of doing urban planning in this way.

How the project moves from neighborhood involvement to primary goal should be left as unstructured as possible. Flexibility and an ability to modify the approach to fit the neighborhood's desires are the keys to a successful demonstration project. I think the techniques embodied in the successful PPP effort should be retained. In fact, a transfer of the entire PPP approach to the neighborhood level would be the strongest base possible."

The neighborhood planning project was developed from this working document and was introduced in the Overview of May, 26, 1972.

"From a program of generating awareness the PPP is moving into a demonstration project over the next sixteen weeks. Operating on a \$12,000 Secretary of State grant we are hoping to demonstrate the viability of the idea that a neighborhood sized unit can identify its own needs and goals, and is able to translate those needs and goals into a coherent and comprehensive planning proposal.

The situation in St. John's relative to the demonstration project is this: the City has no

development or redevelopment plan for the central city, the 'old town'. The 'old town' is structurally deteriorating. Fires claim lives every year. The National Harbours Board wishes to extend its facilities necessitating the splitting of the 'old town' with an arterial road. There is a major commercial development scheduled for the central business district with more in the offing. The federal government can reasonably be expected to begin devoting resources to the renewal of central cities in the near future. If this comes to pass, St. John's without any sense of renewal planning could fall head over heels into making a splendid mess of dispensing a substantial amount of money.

There is one other motive in the demonstration project. Plan 91 calls for a continuation of the suburban trend in development of St. John's. In essence, Plan 91 rationalizes this trend. An alternative is infilling and renewal/rehabilitation in the built-up area of St. John's. It is certainly not a simple alternative, but we feel it is a credible one.

The idea is that using the techniques developed by the PPP in generating awareness to engage a neighborhood in planning for itself. The PPP has selected a central city neighborhood and it will be the physical unit that the proposal shall deal with. The boundaries will hopefully be defined by the neighborhood residents. The project began on the 15th of May, 1972. By mid-September a plan will be prepared for submission to the relevant government bodies."

The SJC project was completed in September. It was complete to the point that a plan document had been prepared, the photographic and video-tape portions of the plan had been thought out and production was underway, and final reports to the OFY authorities had been mailed. It was not until November that the plan document was back from the printers and distributed to the project area.

At that time the program was being operated by four people, all of whom were connected to the university. Two of the people were working in anticipation of the PPP receiving a large operating grant, and when that did not

materialize they effectively left the program.

After September there was a sharply reduced amount of contact with the residents of the project area. We were operating with only a few volunteers, none of whom were residents of the project area. The residents did not take any initiatives based on the petitions that had been submitted to the City Council earlier in the summer. We did not expect any initiatives at that time. We did expect that there had been some awareness generated about common areas of interest on the part of the project area residents. We expected that as issues of common interest arose the residents would take some collective action. That has not happened as yet.

In November the City was holding a conference on housing. It was to be the opportunity for the citizens of St. John's to have some input into a municipal housing policy. The conference was the City's response to a critical housing shortage.

We wanted to make the SJC plan public before the conference. Our thinking was that if we could generate visibility for the central city housing situation, then likely the emphasis of the conference would be directed to that situation. We wanted the focus to be on housing in a residential downtown. We succeeded in large part.

Our role was not an aggressive or belligerent one in the conference, as opposed to our role in confronting

the City during an action project that summer. The tone of the conference was aimiable. There was no exposé of the slum housing market in the City.

We allowed ourselves to be co-opted. The conference was designed and advertised as a first step in generating a municipal housing policy. A citizen's committee, with one of the project co-ordinators of the SJC project included, ingested the information generated at the conference. A report from that committee was submitted to the City Council. It was never discussed or debated by the Council after it was initially tabled, and the City did not develop a municipal housing policy.

We allowed ourselves to be part of a charade. We participated in a limited form of political action which diverted energies from more fruitful forms of political activity.

After the conference the PPP received word that its applications for funds submitted to the Federal government to pursue community organizing in the central city had been rejected. We had not expected to be rejected. We lost our momentum and experienced a group paralysis. We had anticipated that a logical next step for the PPP would be to organize to implement the SJC proposals. When that failed to materialize we were faced with rethinking entirely the direction of the PPP. It came to pass that events determined the direction of the PPP, rather than our determining events.

Chapter V

BLACKLER AVENUE AND ATLANTIC PLACE

In July, 1972 the PPP was involved in the St. John's Centre - Planning/72 project. We were also involved in other activities. We argued an appeal to a municipal zoning appeal board on behalf of a resident's group who were attempting to block the expansion of a commercial activity in their neighborhood. The residents won the appeal. We consulted with a householder's association about developing a community centre complex for their community. The project did not get past the preliminary stage, but the householder's association was able to use the fact that they were seriously considering developing the centre in their negotiations with government.

Our major activity aside from the SJC project was consulting to a citizen's committee who were carrying on a fight with government to change a plan for a renewal area. The change the citizen's committee wanted meant reversing a decision which would have relocated all of the families who were members of the citizen's committee. The experience emphasizes a role of advocacy planning in citizen's action.

Blackler Avenue is located in an area known as Mundy Pond in St. John's. The street was unpaved in 1972. The

families on the street did not have municipal water and sewer services. The issue that we were involved with concerned twenty-two homes on Blackler Avenue.

Mundy Pond contained about 300 families and was surrounded by urban development. The Mundy Pond area was unserviced while the adjacent areas had municipal servicing. The residents of Mundy Pond were generally working people. Perhaps a more significant, though less tangible issue is that Mundy Pond had a reputation in St. John's of being the "other side of the tracks". The area was designated by government as an Urban Renewal Area making it eligible for special Federal government renewal programs. It also meant that the ordinary zoning controls were suspended and the area was treated as a planned unit development.

In 1970 a plan of renewal was adopted for the Mundy Pond area (Butt:1972). The plan proposed that the homes on Blackler Avenue be moved and that the area become part of a large park.

The plan had been accepted on behalf of the Municipal government by the City Council; on behalf of the Provincial government by the Minister of Municipal Affairs; on behalf of the Federal government by Ministry of State for Urban Affairs; and on behalf of the Mundy Pond residents by the Mundy Pond Householders Association (MPHA).

The City Council established a sub-committee composed of City Councillors to consult with the residents of the

renewal area. The City Council had a renewal officer whose office was in the renewal area at a municipal depot to assist in the implementation of the plan.

The Provincial government was represented by the Provincial Planning Office of the Department of Municipal Affairs and Housing. The Federal government was represented by Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation. The roles of the two senior levels of government are less important than the role of the Municipal government.

The plan was prepared by a consulting firm whose office was located in Montreal, P.Q. The plan was prepared by the same firm that prepared Plan 91. The firm's representative in St. John's was an engineering consulting firm. The Planning Department of the Municipal government was responsible for the implementation of the plan.

The area residents had a householder's association, the Mundy Pond Householder's Association. It was established to represent the residents in the renewal scheme. It is curious that the MPHA identified its personality as an "association", while another householder's group in the St. John's area identified itself as a "union".

The Blackler Avenue residents were represented by the Blackler Avenue Citizens Committee (BACC). The Municipal government recognized the MPHA as the area resident's representative. The BACC did not accept the authority of the MPHA to represent them in dealing with government.

While this appears to be a substantial array of

government departments and citizen groups, and I do not want to belabour the point, it is only more confused by personalities.

The MPHA was the first form of local association outside of the church in the Mundy Pond area. It was a creation of the Federal government and is funded by Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation and the Department of Manpower and Immigration. The first executive experienced considerable stress. There were accusations of mismanagement and rumours of graft. There was a fight for control of the MPHA within the executive. The executive split. On one side of the executive John Murphy (pseudonym) and on the other was Tom Ryan (pseudonym).

John Murphy lost the fight for control of the executive and the MPHA. He left the executive though he remained a member of the MPHA. Tom Ryan seemingly won the fight and stayed on in the capacity of secretary of the association. He was in 1972 the only member of the original executive still holding an office in the association. John Murphy became a spokesman for the BACC though he was not a resident of Blackler Avenue.

The Other Side

How citizen's participation was practiced by the implementing authority, the City Council, is telling. In 1962 there was a general redevelopment plan proposed for the Mundy Pond area. Residents informed me that there was virtually no citizen involvement in the preparation

of that plan. Residents on Blackler Avenue were generally not aware that a plan had been prepared 10 years before.

It was not until 1970 that money for the renewal of Mundy Pond was available from the Federal government. A new scheme was prepared. I was informed by residents that there was no citizen participation in the preparation of that plan either.

The new scheme was presented to the area residents at a public meeting, and they were asked to vote at the same meeting to either accept or reject the scheme. It was the first time the area residents had been shown the scheme. The plan proposed that Blackler Avenue would be closed and 22 families relocated to elsewhere in the scheme area.

During that first meeting, attended by approximately 300 people, there was an opportunity for the area residents, after having had a look at the maps and hearing an explanation of the plan, to ask questions. The rule of conduct for the question period was 1) each person could ask one question, or 2) nobody could ask a second question until everyone had a chance to ask one question. A member of the BACC recalled the first rule and a member of the City Council recalled the second rule. The plan was approved by a voice vote at the meeting.

The people who voted against the plan at the meeting were the residents of Blackler Avenue. It was the only area slated for relocation. The remainder of Mundy Pond

was to receive municipal water and sewer services, paved streets, sidewalks, an improved park, the removal of a noxious asphalt plant, some arterial road, and rational planning controls.

Members of the BACC informed me that their individual representations to government were met with a position that went: "The plan was approved at a public meeting by Mundy Pond residents and the MPHA is the representative of that group, and anyway the plan says that it is uneconomic to service the street". The PPP encountered those positions while we were working on behalf of the BACC. We also encountered another one.

In attempting to obtain the planning documents for the renewal scheme we were informed by the renewal officer's office and the Planning Department of the City that the plan documents were not available for the public. The documents were considered "confidential". The plan documents were not in the public libraries.

Rather than send a letter requesting access to the documents to the City Council, we sent a letter to the local newspaper accusing the City Council of being dishonest. By innuendo we accused them of being corrupt, or of allowing a situation where corruption could occur. The City Council reacted aggressively. They reacted defensively. The PPP was belligerent.

While we did not speculate about the Council's response to our letter at the time we sent it, their response did

conform to a behavior pattern of politicians observed by Lyndon B. Johnson, or an observation attributed to LBJ, the former United States President. He is supposed to have told an aide to circulate a story that a political opponent had sexual relations with pigs. The aide questioned LBJ as to why he wanted such a story circulated when it was obviously not true. LBJ told him that his opponent would have to deny the charges and in so doing would fix the issue in the voter's mind. The Council did deny the PPP charges, and they denied it on a number of occasions.

The Other Side used three strategies to deflect the pressure of the BACC. One was information control. The second was a technical argument. The last was by rejecting the credentials of the BACC.

It was during the Blackler Avenue fight that the Planning Department met with the PPP. There had been occasions earlier when planners from that Department discussed issues with people from the PPP, but the meetings were informal. Our meeting with the Planning Department was "making it" in some respects. It was legitimizing for the PPP in the Other Side's frame of reference.

The PPP had argued the planning of the scheme. The BACC had argued their right to represent their own interests. It was only after the BACC had won some political ground that the City Council gave any ground on the issue of planning.

The PPP won the planning argument by demonstrating a substantial dollar saving for the renewal scheme if

the decision to close Blackler Avenue was reversed. The Planning Department recommended to the City Council that a cost/benefit analysis be conducted by a competent firm of professionals.

The firm hired to do the cost/benefit study was the local firm representing the Montreal consultants who had prepared the scheme in the first instance. They reached the same findings as had the PPP. As a twist to the behavior pattern of politicians as observed by LBJ, or as a third step to his formula, there is something of a profitable extension operating for the consultants to the scheme. A politician is reported to have observed that when you make an exaggerated and falacious claim about your opponent, the opponent will make a denial and demand a retraction. In that case there is an opportunity to withdraw the false statement yet further fix the issue in the voter's mind by raising the issue a third time. If votes were dollars then the consulting firm getting paid for correcting their own mistakes was good politics.

There was a public meeting called by the BACC at which time the Other Side announced that they were changing their decision about closing Blackler Avenue. The City Council expected their Planning Department and the consulting firm's representative to attend the meeting, and seemingly take responsibility for the earlier decision on the basis of bad planning. The consulting firm attended, but the City Planning Department did not. One member of

that Department told me later that they were not prepared to be the political whipping boys in the issue. It was his position that their work was value-neutral, that mistakes get made, and that nobody is responsible for it.

The role taken by the City Council at the meeting was a conciliatory one and it was their feeling that they were demonstrating how accessible and responsive they were. At the end they were still trying to say that they were not crooks.

Third Parties

The other parties were the Blackler Avenue Citizens Committee (BACC) and the Mundy Pond Householders Association (MPHA). Their relation to one another was like that of the PPP to the Other Side.

In 1972 the families living on Blackler Avenue organized themselves into the BACC. They asked John Murphy to be their spokesman. There were no officers, but two men were acknowledged as leaders and shared the stage with John Murphy at public meetings. All of the families who were members of the BACC faced relocation in the renewal scheme.

John Murphy approached the PPP and asked us to consider the arguments made in the renewal scheme for closing Blackler Avenue. We were asked to attend a meeting they were holding the following week. Three people from the PPP attended the meeting. One person attended in the capacity of an officer of the Community Planning Association

of Canada (CPAC). We had at that time elected two people from the PPP to the CPAC executive. The other person attended in the capacity of a journalist for the Alternate Press in St. John's. I was the third person attending the meeting.

We told the meeting that we felt the planning decision was a poor one. An engineer, a community organizer/graduate student, a journalist, and myself had reached that conclusion.

The BACC asked us to assist them in arguing their case with the Municipal government and to provide technical assistance to the BACC. The PPP was to be a resource to the BACC. They were responsible for policy and strategy. We left the first meeting before a discussion on tactics for the fight took place.

We prepared briefs for the BACC, kept the media informed, produced petitions and circulars, and provided the planning expertise for them. At the same time the PPP was exerting pressure on the City Council over the issue of information control.

The PPP moved into the area of policy and strategy on one occasion and it was a mistake. The BACC was meeting open opposition from the Other Side. The Other Side would only recognize the MPHA. The Other Side did not want to deal with John Murphy who had expressed political ambitions on other occasions. The MPHA would not deal with John Murphy. The PPP suggested to two members of the BACC that they may have wanted to select someone from the street

to serve as chairperson of the BACC, though retaining John Murphy as the spokesman. John Murphy certainly did not like the suggestion. The two members of the BACC with whom we spoke rejected the suggestion. Our relationship with the BACC became strained. The PPP was not a party to the confidences of the BACC as we had been initially. In the end they proved to be right as the issue was decided favorably for the BACC.

The PPP was suspect to the MPHA, or at least to its secretary Tom Ryan. He was the only member of the MPHA executive with whom the PPP had contact.

The MPHA was the recognized representative for the Mundy Pond residents. The BACC did not recognize the MPHA authority. It was an advantageous situation for the Other Side. The City Council did not recognize the authority of the BACC, yet the Council's sub-committee met with the BACC, accepted its briefs, and negotiated a change in the plan with the BACC. However, any change in the plan which was agreed to by the Council sub-committee and the BACC was prefaced with its being acceptable to the MPHA.

The BACC asked the MPHA to endorse its request to have the renewal plan changed. The executive of the MPHA would not allow the item to be discussed at the general meeting of the association. The MPHA, in an executive meeting, decided to agree with the BACC on the plan change provided there was no additional cost to the scheme and that there was no delay in implementation involved. The pressure

on the MPHA was to get the scheme implemented as quickly as possible as the cost overruns were eating into the budget.

The BACC petitioned the residents in the Mundy Pond area. The residents endorsed the BACC position on the scheme, and the position of the MPHA executive was effectively undercut.

At the final meeting where the Municipal government announced a change in the plan the MPHA executive was absent.

Organization of the PPP

The PPP was involved in the SJC project at the same time as it was involved in the Blackler Avenue fight.

Four people, three of whom were drawing a salary from the PPP, were involved in the Blackler Avenue issue. The fourth person, the volunteer, was a journalist working for an alternate press in St. John's.

We did not have meetings. Decisions were arrived at by consensus which evolved over a few days time when the need to make decisions arose. No single person was responsible for the PPP as spokesman or co-ordinator. The terms of our work were established by the BACC.

The Blackler Avenue issue demonstrates that advocacy planning works. That is not to say that the BACC would not have gotten the change in the plan without the help

of the PPP. The BACC was a well organized neighborhood group. They met technical arguments when they questioned the scheme. They were told that it was uneconomic to service Blackler Avenue. They were able to use the PPP to counter that argument. However, the Other Side was not going to offer that argument with any seriousness until the BACC had established their right to negotiate for themselves. Had the BACC not brought the Other Side to the table, so to speak, the PPP would not have had a role to play.

The PPP played primarily a technician's role. We were prepared to argue on the basis of planning theory alone. On the one occasion that we became involved in strategy making we found that we had made a mistake. Our role became unclear and the BACC expressed some suspicion about the PPP. The failure was in our not containing ourselves to the role which was defined at the first meeting with the BACC. I feel that advocates can be part of strategy making without losing the dimension of being planners. The situation which we encountered was more a problem of role failure than some general principle of advocacy.

It was the Blackler Avenue issue over which professional planners working for the Other Side had to deal with the PPP in the ordinary course of their business. As a result of our meeting with the professional planners employed by the City ~~that~~ they recommended to the Council that one of their own do essentially the same work that the PPP had done. The conclusions were the same excepting the professionals found a savings of \$112,000. We found a lesser

savings.

ATLANTIC PLACE

" . . . 20 - story hotel office tower and commercial development for the heart of downtown St. John's . . ."
(Daily News:1973)

There was evidence from the first that the attitudes of the Mayor toward the development of Atlantic Place was not that of a municipal official making a decision on behalf of the general welfare of the city. On March 22, 1972 the Mayor of St. John's announced the development of Atlantic Place to a local businessman's club. The composition of the audience is significant as it represents that group of interests which would seemingly benefit by a commercial development in the downtown.

The Mayor's announcement preceeded any public discussion of the development by the City Council. The Mayor reported that negotiations between the developer and the City had taken place, in private, over a period of a few months.

It was evident from the perspective of the PPP that a decision to make a major change in the downtown area was being made in such a way that citizen's interests, other than commercial interests, were not to be considered. The interests on the "inside" and the relationships involved among them may be analyzed by tracing the major actors (that were made public) by means of their political allegiances and economic connections known at the time.

Atlantic Place was an issue with the PPP from March, 1972 until May, 1973. It was a public issue twice; once in 1972 and a second time in January, 1973.

The Other Side

In March, 1972 the Mayor announced the development in terms of "death or development". Neither the Mayor nor the developer were strangers to the "develop or perish" ethos of the later provincial Smallwood governments.

The Mayor had been appointed to the Provincial Cabinet as a Minister without portfolio preceeding the general election in the Province in 1971. In 1971 the Mayor, without resigning his municipal office, ran as a candidate for the provincial Liberal party in a riding far removed from St. John's. He was successful in his campaign and held a seat in the Provincial House of Assembly and a seat in the Municipal government simultaneously.

The developer, Andrew Crosbie, was the campaign manager for the Provincial Liberal party in the 1971 election, and in the second election which saw Smallwood's Liberal party defeated decisively. Richard Gwyn, the Smallwood biographer, observed that had the Liberal party handily won the 1971 election, then Smallwood would have resigned and supported Andrew Crosbie for the leadership of the Party and the Provincial government.

The public relations firm which worked for the Liberal party in the two elections of 1971 and 1972 was the same public relations firm which conducted the advertising

campaign for Atlantic Place. It was the same firm which conducted the Mayor's campaign for re-election in the fall of 1973.

The developer was well connected politically to both the Provincial and Federal governments. At the Provincial level the developer was active in the Liberal party. When the government changed and the Progressive Conservative party took control, an executive with the developer's group of companies resigned and became an executive assistant to the new Premier. The developer's brother was the Minister of Finance in the new government. The Federal government was controlled by the Liberal party in 1971 and 1972. The senior Liberal member from Newfoundland was Don Jamison, a cabinet minister.

It is the two ministries of Don Jamison in the period of 1971-1973 that are of particular interest to the Atlantic Place development. In 1971-1972 Jamison was the Minister of Transport and the Canadian National Railways were responsible to him. The Canadian National Railways (CNR) was to be the single largest tenant of Atlantic Place, and their tenancy was critical to making the development possible. The larger part of the Atlantic Place development was the transfer of property and buildings between the developer and the CNR. Information regarding the terms of the transfer of public property has yet to be made public.

The second ministry of Don Jamison is the Department of Regional Economic Expansion (DREE). DREE was funding the construction of an arterial road from the expanding

suburbs of St. John's to the downtown. DREE could also be expected to contribute to the building of a parking garage that the City was responsible to construct as one part of their concession to the Atlantic Place developer.

The point that I would like to make is that the developer was a powerful man and enjoyed peculiar access to public decision making units, i.e. the Mayor's office and the City Council (an executive of the developer's group of companies was a City Councillor and a second Councillor was a first cousin), the Provincial Liberal party and the office of the Liberal Premier in 1971, the Progressive Premier in 1972, and the Federal Liberal Cabinet and critical ministries.

When the Mayor initially announced the development he assured the citizens of the city that they would have an opportunity to express themselves about the development. The fact that the development had been negotiated in private made a shambles of any pretense at public participation. It was not, however, only the public that was presented with a fait accompli. One Councillor suggested to me that the Council was not a party to the negotiations and did not have access to the terms of the agreement which was announced by the Mayor.

The Council did not conduct a public hearing into the development, though the PPP made such a request. The Mayor's only reference to the request of the PPP, and

our subsequent criticism of their refusal to hold a hearing, was, "I don't think we should be too deeply concerned with people who whistle in on a wave of prayer and will likely whistle out the same way" (Evening Telegram:1972). The further characterization was of "drifters and dreamers".

In January, 1973 an executive vice-president of the CNR announced to the St. John's Board of Trade that the CNR was entering into an agreement with Andrew Crosbie to occupy a substantial portion of Atlantic Place. The development had been enlarged by about 50% over what the City Council had approved in principle in 1972. The morning newspaper in the city, owned by the developer, headlined the announcement, "CN project gets okay" (Daily News:1973). The City Council tabled the new proposal for Atlantic Place on the day following the publication of the CNR announcement.

In the 1972 proposal of Atlantic Place, and its consideration by the City Council, the Mayor attempted to mobilize support for the development. The Mayor was the leading advocate of the development. The developer did not visibly attempt to mobilize support for his scheme. In 1973 the developer became a publicly visible player.

The public's response to the second proposal was more aggressive and vehement than was their response to the first proposal. When the Mayor refused to conduct a public hearing into the proposal, in the face of a packed City Council chamber, he was met with an organized

opposition

There came a point in the fight with the City Council where the PPP felt that the Mayor was losing political ground and the opposition was in a position to obtain a delay in the project being approved. At that point the developer became an active and public player.

The first sign of the developer taking on the mobilizer role was an announcement that he was going to answer his critics. And, until he answered his critics, which would take some time as he had to prepare his answers, he would not have anything further to say. At that point in time there was extensive media exposure of the issue and there was growing pressure for answers to some of the questions about the stranger parts of the development, e.g. the tax concessions and other incentives.

The second sign that the developer was acting as a mobilizer was his announcement that he had scheduled a time when he was going to answer his critics, and that his answer was going to be in the form of a brochure about the development which would be delivered to every home in the city.

A function of his action was that the pressure for a delay, which would have involved a public hearing, was diverted to a delay which he could control. He had the appearance of being a responsible corporate citizen. His stance also defused the growing opposition.

Prior to issuing his brochure the developer, in harmony with the Mayor, said in effect "my opponents have sexual relations with pigs". They argued that the

opposition was a well coordinated conspiracy with a rival commercial interest controlling it. The opposition had to say, "no, we do not have sexual relations with pigs", and that required that part of the opposition's effort be spent defending itself.

The Plutarch-quoting developer from Nova Scotia challenged the motives and legitimacy of his critics. He suggested that his critics were merely idlers. Andrew Crosbie was not prepared to accept that the motives of the opposition were legitimate. He tacitly acknowledged the legitimacy of a rival commercial interest, but suggested that it was in the "back room".

The developer did argue the character of his critics and suggested that they were idlers. On one occasion his daily newspaper characterized the opposition as "long haired, hippie, layabouts" (Daily News:1973). Alvin W. Gouldner identifies Leslie Fielder observing "that at the root of any (student) demonstration there is a character who is . . . a student of sociology. . . (and) a Jew . . . (and) an outsider, or who possesses at least two of these characteristics" (Gouldner,1970:9). The developer identified the PPP as his major critic and me as its spokesman, having at least two undesirable identities.

From my vantage point I was sure that the opposition to the development was spontaneous and that the developer's conspiracy theory was no more than a red herring.

I had the opportunity to speak privately with the

developer when three people from the opposition attempted (successfully) to attend his press conference at which time he answered his critics. Besides suggesting that the PPP would be more effective if I were to wear a suit and a tie, sharing a confidence about the development, and asking me about my personal self he told me of his conspiracy theory. He argued that the opposition was too well managed for it to have been a spontaneous public response. It occurred to me that he would gain nothing by telling me of his conspiracy theory.

That was the first time that I felt the developer was serious about the conspiracy theory. It was like discovering that society is not just a game that we are all playing at, but that some people are really like that.

Later, the developer informed a businessman (my source) that he had a file on me. He told me that he had files on his opponents during the course of the conversation I had with him. Quite apart from these two references to his files, a third person told me that the developer had told her that he maintained files on his opponents a few years before the Atlantic Place issue. The businessman told me that the developer alleged that I was making \$20,000 per year out of the PPP, living the good life in Pouch Cove (my home a few miles from St. John's), and that I was cohabitating with the unemployed journalist who was part of the PPP. That is extreme. And, extremists usually think in conspiracies. I had been naive.

The advertising brochure was an adequate effort at good corporate citizenship. It did not violate any consumer protection legislation of the Federal government, though the PPP made a formal complaint to the Department of Consumer and Corporate Affairs. The brochure satisfied the Provincial government, who had been petitioned to intervene, that demoncracy had occured.

I think that it is an unfortunate admission that the public of St. John's did not get the public hearing they wanted. The Mayor and the developer had won. It was an informed opposition which they beat. It was the first citizen group coalition which they beat. Their concentration on the PPP as their critic further isolated the PPP. It was an introduction to what I came to call a "never-never land".

The public bureaucracy as characterized by the Planning Department of the City preferred to think of themselves as being on the same side as the opposition. In the 1972 proposal of Atlantic Place the Planning Department learned of the development along with the businessman's club to whom the Mayor made the initial announcement. The proposal was not submitted to their office for their perusal, much less for their advice.

The second proposal was submitted to their office for study. It was not tabled at a public meeting of the City Council prior to its being considered by the Planning Department. Requests for information about the revised

proposal were met with the position that the information was confidential. It was not until a few days before the opposition made its first move that the planners leaked any information about the development.

The Planning Department recommended to the City Council that they refuse the revised proposal. The City Council approved the revised proposal and the City Planning Department is involved in implementing the revised proposal. That is consistent with the "soft-cop" role of planners.

Third Parties

At the time of the first Atlantic Place proposal in March, 1972 the PPP was the only citizen's organization or voluntary association that expressed any opposition to the proposal. The response to the second proposal was much different.

On January 22, 1973 a CNR executive announced to a St. John's businessman's club that they were agreed to being part of a bigger and better Atlantic Place. On January 24, 1973 the City Council met, tabled the new plans and agreement, congratulated themselves and the developer on their mutual initiatives, and indicated that they would approve the project at their next regularly scheduled meeting. On the evening of January 25, a Thursday, there was a meeting at the PPP office to talk about the most recent proposal.

By Monday of the following week the PPP had made an argument against the development, and had sent a

request to the City Council asking for a delay. On that Monday evening the Citizen's Rights Association, a welfare rights lobby, was holding their regular monthly meeting. Their topic of discussion for that meeting was "Housing". The PPP attended the meeting, with drawings of the Atlantic Place proposal in hand and flyers to distribute. We argued that funds at the municipal level which could be used for housing were being spent on Atlantic Place in the guise of incentives and concessions.

The people attending the CRA meeting decided to protest the action of the City Council. Their tack was to ask for an opportunity to present their case, rather than argue the merits and demerits of the proposal. Surprisingly, it was the same tack that was used by the PPP in March of 1972 that failed.

An ad hoc committee, calling themselves Citizens for a Public Hearing, organized a demonstration to protest the City Council's approving (the Council was expected to approve the scheme) the development. When they decided to fight their case by demonstrating, they had less than thirty-six hours to organize the demonstration.

The Citizens for a Public Hearing was composed of staff persons of the CRA, an unemployed journalist working from the PPP, a member of the Newfoundland Historic Trust, and a university instructor who had earlier expressed strong opposition to Plan 91. A spokesman was designated. He was one of the CRA staff persons.

The Citizens for a Public Hearing organized a successful demonstration as evidenced by the attention they drew to the issue. The demonstration was a failure in that the City Council refused to delay approving Atlantic Place.

The demonstration was the first co-operative action of citizen groups in the time that the PPP had been operating. I was informed by participants in the Citizens for a Public Hearing opposition that it was the first co-operative action they were aware of. There was spontaniety. There was a common ground on the issue of the public's right to be heard.

Following the City Council meeting the Citizens for a Public Hearing held a second meeting in the CRA offices. They became the Concerned Citizens Committee (CCC). There expressed purpose was to obtain a public hearing.

By the next regular City Council meeting, one week later, the CCC had circulated a petition asking for a public hearing. Over 4,000 people signed the petition. The number of names exceeded 10% of the number of persons who voted in the previous municipal election. The 10% figure was a moral victory of sorts. The City of St. John's Act allows for a referendum on municipal issues at the discretion of the City Council. Council may call a referendum if it obtains a petition signed by 10% of the persons who voted in the previous municipal election. They do not have to call a referendum. The CCC argued that the Council should respect the spirit of its own enabling legislation. The Council ignored the petition. The Mayor said that there

would be no hearing, even if there were a petition with 40,000 names on it.

The opposition, the CCC, contained a number of public interests. There was the Newfoundland Historic Trust, St. John's cultural nationalists; the Citizen's Rights Association, a federally funded welfare rights association; the Social Action Committee of the Young Women's Christian Association, the political action element of the YWCA; the Southside Citizens Committee, a neighborhood association opposing construction of an arterial road through their neighborhood; the St. John's and District Labour Council; and the PPP. Both the Newfoundland Association of Architects and the Atlantic Planners Institute, professional lobbies, decided not to align themselves with the CCC.

The CCC carried the opposition from the public demonstration on the 31st of January through March of 1973. After its initial active role in the CCC, the CRA withdrew its visible support. The spokesman of the CCC, a staff member of the CRA, effectively abandoned the opposition in March. There is some reason to think that the Secretary of State Citizenship Branch exerted pressure on the CRA to withdraw their enthusiastic public support of the CCC.

The CCC directed pressure to the Provincial government. The Provincial government refused to intervene. The Federal Members of Parliament from the St. John's area, all members of the Federal Opposition, sided with the CCC. They attempted to obtain details of the CNR agreement with the developer and the terms of the land transfer, but they

were unsuccessful. The only influence they were able to have was by virtue of their office.

No other government body intervened with the "City's business". The last action of the CCC was to deliver a brief to the Premier's office requesting the Provincial government to intervene. The Premier received a delegation from the CCC. The delegation was a middle-class and short-haired one. The Premier appeared before the media when he accepted the brief and promised immediate attention to it. The Premier never publicly responded to the brief. There was not a private response to the brief. The CCC did not pursue the issue any further. A

After the initial public demonstration in the Council chamber the opposition was fighting to get a decision of the Council's reversed. The Council refused to delay consideration of the development, and within a two week period they had given the development approval in principle and committed the City of St. John's to some major capital expenditures as incentives to the developer. Everything was after the fact at that point, and the developer immediately started demolition on the site of Atlantic Place.

The CCC dissolved without ever deciding to dissolve. When the Premier did not respond to their brief, even to say that he rejected the proposals, the CCC let the issue go. The opposition was apparently exhausted after a three month fight. There was some discussion about trying to salvage a change in the City of St. John's Act which would have made

the City responsive to a petition for a referendum. No one in the CCC took the initiative to pursue it.

The two professional lobbies kept their professional distance in the fight. The AIP made some belated arguments about the need for rational planning, but only after having clearly disassociated themselves from the opposition. The NAA preferred to argue independently from the CCC, though there was co-operation on an individual basis.

Organization of the PPP

At the time of the first public announcement of the Atlantic Place scheme, in 1972, the PPP was involved in the Public Hearings on Plan 91 project. The PPP had been operating for about three months at that time.

When the Mayor announced the development we had to make a choice. On one hand we could argue with the City Council about the development. The process by which the decision was being made flew in the face of any illusion about participatory democracy. The probable cost of choosing to argue with the City Council was that we would lose the argument and in the process become isolated and polarized. We would become a divisive influence. We would be against progress. We would become the lunatic fringe. We would be "the radicals". We would be unable to animate middle class concerns, and would have that possible support become inaccessible.

On the other hand, we could ignore the development. We could concentrate on Plan 91, become that value neutral

object we had sometimes described ourselves as, and likely appear to resemble a Board of Trade questionnaire. However, we were publicly committed to a particular view of how public decisions should be made. There were some things the PPP could have abandoned at that early stage, but this was not one of them. We decided to argue the development. We became the critics, the opposition, and we were immediately at odds with the Mayor and the City Council.

The Mayor and the City Council said some unkindly things about Bill McCallum, ~~my~~ me, and the PPP. We said some unkindly things about them. There was a genuine and mutual distrust. I do not feel that the PPP's relationship with the City Council was ever devoid of the animosity which developed during the Atlantic Place issue in 1972.

When the bigger and better Atlantic Place was announced in 1973 the PPP was experiencing the group paralysis that had set in following the SJC project. There were only four people operating the PPP. The only ongoing work was lobbying the implementation of the SJC plan proposals. The lobbying took the form of consulting to a crown corporation that was interested in beginning housing rehabilitation.

When the announcement was made about Atlantic Place in January, 1973 we were approaching a "never-never land". Our relationship to government was characterized by confrontation. We did not have any obligations to government which could be used to exert influence on the PPP. We did not owe anybody. At the same time we were suspect to other citizen groups. We did not have an organizational

structure that was familiar to other groups. We did not have a base of support typical of citizen groups. We did not appear to be accountable to persons or institutions to which citizen groups are ordinarily accountable. The information I received about our image was from one of the people who worked with the PPP during its beginning, but left to do more general community development work. She told me that the PPP was "dangerous". Nobody had any control over it. It did not have a frame of reference in which it was responsible to any agency or institution that other citizen groups were responsible to. We did not have a membership. There was no board of directors that one could point to and say, "they are responsible for the policy".

On one occasion we were refused a grant from the federal government. The reason given in one correspondence was that our work was academic. On another occasion we were refused a grant. The reason given was that we were not really a citizen's group as we did not represent anyone. Yet, the PPP was the City Council's primary opposition on downtown development during 1972 and 1973.

The second Atlantic Place proposal was made on a Tuesday. On Wednesday the City Council tabled a new agreement and revised plans for the development. On Thursday evening six people discussed the proposal at the PPP office.

At this time the PPP was a voluntary activity. We had already learned that we would not receive funding to

to continue the SJC project. We were not committed to any other project at that time. There was no hesitancy about opposing the development.

The six people who were the PPP had all had some earlier contact with it. There was myself, an unemployed journalist, an engineering student, a sociology graduate student, and two architects.

On that Thursday evening, in a matter of a few hours, we pooled what information we had about the development. Some of the information was second hand as the Council had not made public the detailed plans nor the detail of the concessions. There was no information about the transfer of lands and buildings between the CNR and the developer.

We decided on an approach which involved ~~re~~countering the information put out by the Council and the developer. We divided up the work. There was no chairperson, or president, or secretary. Some people developed planning arguments. Some people developed arguments about the financial relationship between the City and the developer. Others produced visual information. An architect, an engineering student, and a sociology graduate student went to the site of the development. They measured the buildings for three or four blocks on either side of the development. They measured the street, the sidewalks, and ascertained the circulation pattern of the area. It was raining that night.

That information was used in the preparation of large drawings over the weekend. We took the drawings to a public affairs television show on Monday of the next

week. The particular television show was in the habit of taking a telephone poll about issues they televised. They polled the issue of the downtown development. The response was particularly strong and the respondents opposed the development by a margin of 60/40.

That night four people working out of the PPP went to the Citizens Rights Association regular monthly meeting. As a result of their attending that meeting others decided to protest the City Council's actions. The few of us working out of the PPP felt that our taking a leadership role in the opposition would be a poor decision. Our image was fixed in the public's mind. What we felt was needed was a new image in the opposition, one that had some flexibility and adaptability. Because of my close personal association with the PPP I did not attend the first meetings of the Citizens for a Public Hearing or the Concerned Citizens Committee.

The CCC took the leadership role in the opposition. The Other Side tried to make the PPP the opposition.

The CCC dissolved in the Spring of the year. The PPP was isolated. That is not to say that the inertia of citizen's action had become diffused. As an outgrowth of the opposition efforts there was an opposition slate of candidates offered in the Municipal elections in November of 1973. Only two members of the City Council were returned and the Mayor was defeated.

The PPP acquired money to produce a downtown neighborhood

newspaper in the Summer of 1973. The grant giving agency insisted that the PPP not be involved in the newspaper. The same agency had refused an application by the PPP to conduct voter's registration throughout the summer. A new group of people, all young and connected partially to the university, took the money, the PPP office, and began to produce a paper. At that time the PPP had dissolved.

Nobody made a formal effort to take over the machinery of the PPP. Our constitution called for certain things to happen when the PPP dissolved. We kept faith with those conditions, e.g. our assets were given to non-profit citizen groups. Nobody attempted to revive the PPP.

After the Municipal elections we made a press statement to the effect that the PPP was closed, had a party, and that was it.

Chapter VI

A RETROSPECT - THE POLITICS OF THE PPP

By way of introducing this final chapter I would like to briefly explain why the chapter is not entitled "Summary and Conclusions". Preferably one should attempt to generalize sociologically about advocacy planning based on the PPP data. As well, the thesis should conclude by distinguishing what actions of the PPP were essential to an advocacy planning program and what actions were not essential, but merely accidental.

I have not attempted to generalize about advocacy planning based on the PPP data for two reasons. One reason has to do with the setting of the PPP and the other has to do with the availability of comparable data.

The bulk of advocacy planning data is set in the United States. Advocacy planning has generally been observed in situations where racism and poverty are overriding social parameters. Advocacy planning gained prominence in the context of a "war on poverty". Its meaning cannot be separated from the variable of poverty, which connotes racism in urban America, and treated as an independent variable. Racial cleavages had no significance in the setting of the PPP.

Advocacy planning data set in a Canadian context is sparse. The PPP was the first advocacy planning program in the Atlantic Provinces. In upper Canada and in the western provinces advocacy planning has occurred in the form of professionals doing "charity work", as extensions to academic programs of professional schools, and as components of multi-purposed community development programs. These examples of advocacy planning are few. They have not been recorded rigorously. There is no bibliography of advocacy projects, and to compile one would entail original research that is beyond the scope of this thesis. If this final chapter were to be entitled "Recommendations for Further Research", then I would suggest that Canada be scoured for advocacy planning data, and that an attempt be made to isolate the phenomenon on a national scale.

In the way of a retrospect I would like to make a few observations about the political character of the PPP and expand on my role as a participant and an observer. When Bill McCallum and I started the PPP we accepted that advocacy planning involved a politicizing of the planning process. If one were to measure the success of the PPP on the basis of how politicized the planning process became in St. John's, Newfoundland, then it could be concluded that the PPP was a success.

When the PPP began Plan 91 was politically a neutral object. It did not appear to be either an advantage or

a liability for visible political actors. After the Public Hearings it was suggested to me that Plan 91 had become something of an albatross for the Mayor and the City Council. That observation was accurate as evidenced by the fact that the Mayor and the City Council concluded their term of office and did not publicly discuss Plan 91 except on receipt of the report of the Public Hearings from the Commissioner they appointed.

Bill and I perceived the political character of the PPP in different ways at the beginning. Bill said on one occasion that he was an anarchist. While waiting for anarchy to prevail he thought of the PPP as a means to express his radical perspective. For my part I thought of the PPP as an expression of my commitment to participatory democracy and basic liberalism of an American midwestern past.

Within a few weeks of the beginning of the PPP we were seeing the character emerge. The character was struck when the Mayor opted to have us on the outside rather than on the inside of City Hall, when we were denied access to critical transportation data for Plan 91, and when we selected to oppose the downtown development that became Atlantic Place. We made some objections to the City Council, the media took notice, and the image was fixed. We became the opposition.

The media, in reporting the closing of the PPP in 1973, recalled only our role as the opposition in municipal planning issues. In fact, the media credited

the PPP with being the opposition in one instance when our role was insignificant in comparison to the leadership of the opposition, the political action component of the Young Women's Christian Association and a middle-class "parlor-room" conspiracy. The SJC project, the most heavily funded PPP project, was not mentioned in the media reports of our closing. The SJC project was coincidentally the least political of our actions.

The PPP had an elusive power base. We were a citizen's group, but the nature of the group was distinctive. We were an open organization, there was no membership, there was no recruitment, and we did not have a clear constituency which we represented. When we prepared the SJC plan document we did not know who to submit it to. No government body had requested it, the residents of the study area had not lobbied for it, and we were the only ones responsible for it. On only one occasion did the PPP have a clear constituency which it represented, the Blackler Avenue Citizens Committee. On another occasion the PPP was part of a colaition of citizen groups. During the Plan 91 Public Hearings we did not represent any single group or interest, but rather we made ourselves accessable to whoever walked through the door.

To illustrate the difficulties the absence of a constituency or a client made I would like to relate a conversation I had with the manager of the Federal government's lending agency, Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation. I was asking him what some general guidelines

in a new piece of legislation, which his agency would implement, would mean in practice in St. John's. I was pressing him. He asked me, "Why should I tell you? Why should I tell Roger Bill?" My only response at the moment was, "Why not?"

Later, I answered his question saying, "I am a citizen and you are a public agency." That answer assumes each citizen is his own base of power. It says, "We citizens have power as individuals."

The exercise of that power is most effective when it is collectively exercised. We presume that it has to be organized to be exercised collectively. However, in the instance of the Public Hearings on Plan 91 there was a collective expression of citizen's power that was not organized.

The PPP, in part, caused the Public Hearings event. The open organization animated the collective, yet unorganized, expression of citizen power.

After the Public Hearings on Plan 91 events caused the PPP. We found ourselves trying to exercise collectively citizen's power when the demands were for an organized collective expression of citizen's power. As an open organization we were not equipped to meet the more formal political demands we encountered. We were characterized as the opposition by the media and third parties, yet we were the weakest and most vulnerable opponent. The PPP recognized this and attempted to withdraw during the

Atlantic Place fight. The Other Side recognized it and attempted to make the PPP the opposition.

The political character that was struck initially was a result of our success with the Plan 91 public hearings. Our success with the Hearings was a result of our open organization. In that project we established that citizen's power, the power the individual citizen possesses, does not have to be organized to be successfully exercised collectively. The incongruity is that our lack of success in other opposition roles established that citizen's power had to be organized to be successfully exercised collectively.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Arnstein, S.A.,

1971 "A ladder of citizen participation in the USA."
Vol. 57/No. 4. (April) 176-182.

Boskoff, Alvin,

1970 The Sociology of Urban Regions. 2nd Edition.
New York: Meredith Corporation.

Butt, Donna,

1972 "Mundy Pond: People still getting the run-
around." Alternate Press Vol. 2/No. 4. (June) 14-16.

City of St. John's Act, The,

An Act Relating to the Municipal Affairs of the
City of St. John's, RSN No. 87. Queens Printer.

Daily News, The,

1973 "CN project gets okay." The Daily News
Vol. 81/No. 16. (January 24) 1.

Franklin, B. and Osborne, H.,

1971 Research Methods: Issues and Insights.
Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Co..

Freidson, E.,

1970 Profession of Medicine. A Study of the
Sociology of Applied Knowledge. New York:
Dodd, Mead and Co..

Goodman, Robert,

1971 After the Planners. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Gouldner, Alvin W.,

1970 The Coming Crisis of Western Sociology.
New York: Avon Books.

Jackson, J.A.,

1970 Professions and Professionalization.

London: Cambridge University Press.

Krause, E.,

1971 The Sociology of Occupations. Boston:

Little, Brown, and Co..

Lineberry, R.L. and Sharkansky, Ira,

1971 Urban Politics and Public Policy. New York:

Harper and Row.

Lindenfeld, Frank,

1968 Reader in Political Sociology. New York:

Funk and Wagnalls.

McCall, George J. and Simmons, J.L.,

1969 Issues in Participant Observation: A text

and Reader. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Pub. Co..

Mittenthal, S. and Spiegel, H.,

1970 Urban Confrontation: City versus Neighborhood
in the Model Cities Planning Process. New York:

Institute of Urban Environment, Columbia University.

Moore, W.E.,

1970 The professions: roles and rules. New York:

Russell Sage Foundation.

Murphy, John J.,

1972 Public Hearings on Plan 91 Report to the

City Council (May 24). St. John's, Newfoundland.

Neumann, F.,

1950 "Approaches to the Study of Political Power."

Political Science Quarterly (June) 161-180.

Oppenheimer, Martin,

1971 "The Limitations of Socialism: Some Sociological Observations on Participatory Democracy." Pg. 270-282. in Benello, C. G. and Roussopoulos, D. (Ed.), The Case for Participatory Democracy. Some Prospects for the Radical Society. New York: Grossman Publishers.

Peattie, L.

1968 "Reflections on Advocacy Planning." Journal of the American Institute of Planners Vol. 34/No. 3 (March) 80-88.

Piven, F.F.,

1970 "Whom does the Advocate Planner Serve?" Social Policy Vol. 1/No. 1 32-37.

Richardson, N.H.,

1970 "Participatory democracy and planning- the Canadian experience." Journal of the Town Planning Institute Vol. 56/No. 2 (February) 52-55.

Rockwood, J.,

1972 "Conditions for complex outlined by Adams." St. John's Evening Telegram Vol. 94/No. 76 (March) 1.

Sellitz, C., Jahoda, M., Deutsch, M., and Cook, S.,

1959 Research Methods in Social Relations. Revised. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Simple, Peter,

1973 "High! Sigh!" The Daily News (February, 14) 4.

Sjoberg, Gideon, and Nett, Roger,

1968 A Methodology for Social Research. New
York: Harper and Row.

Starr, R.,

1967 "Advocators or Planners?" American Society
of Planning Officials newsletter. Vol. 33/No. 11.
(December) 137-138.

Stuart, D.G.,

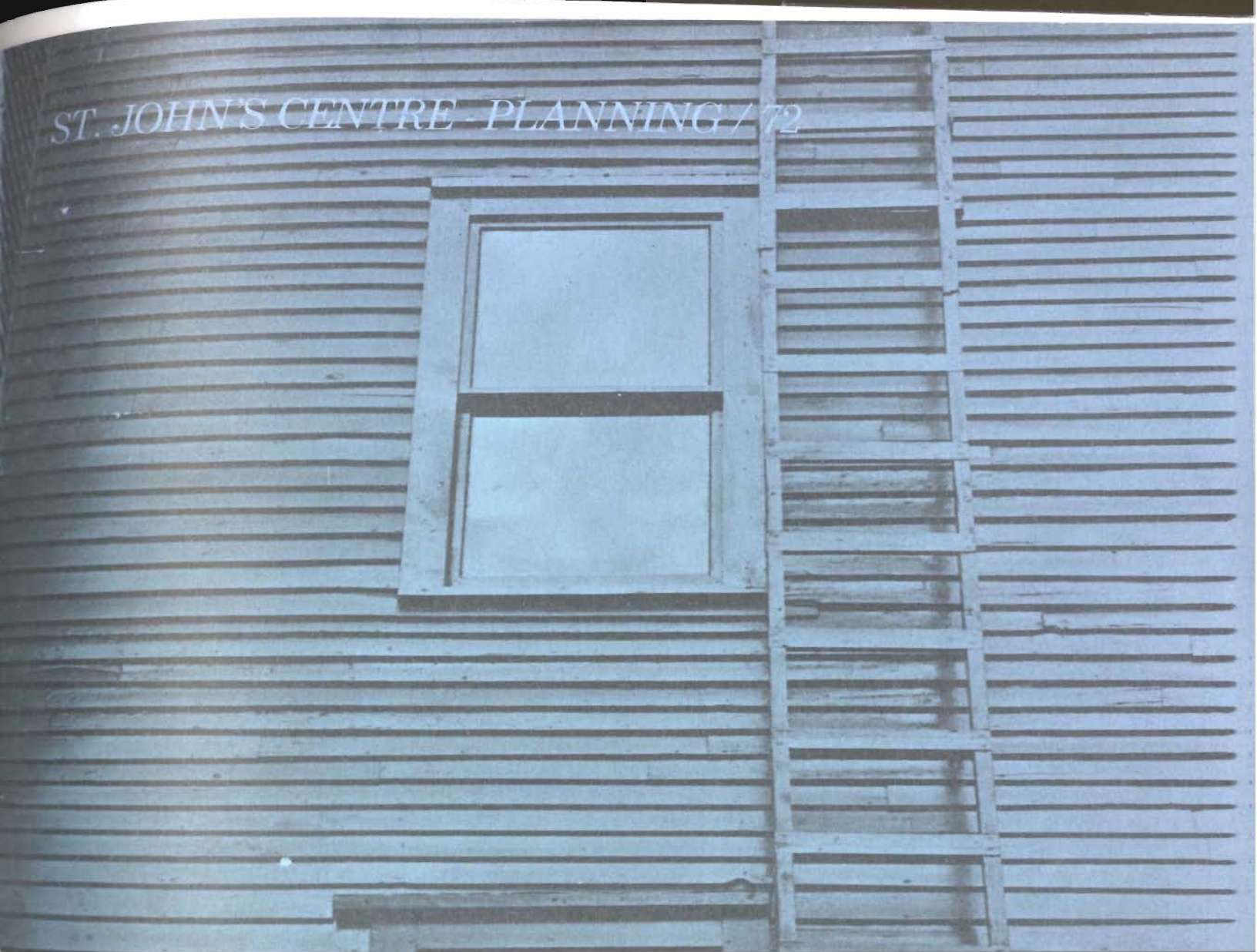
1970 "The Systems Approach in Urban Planning."
American Society of Planning Officials planning
advisory service. Report No. 253 (January) 1-63.

Tonge, E.,

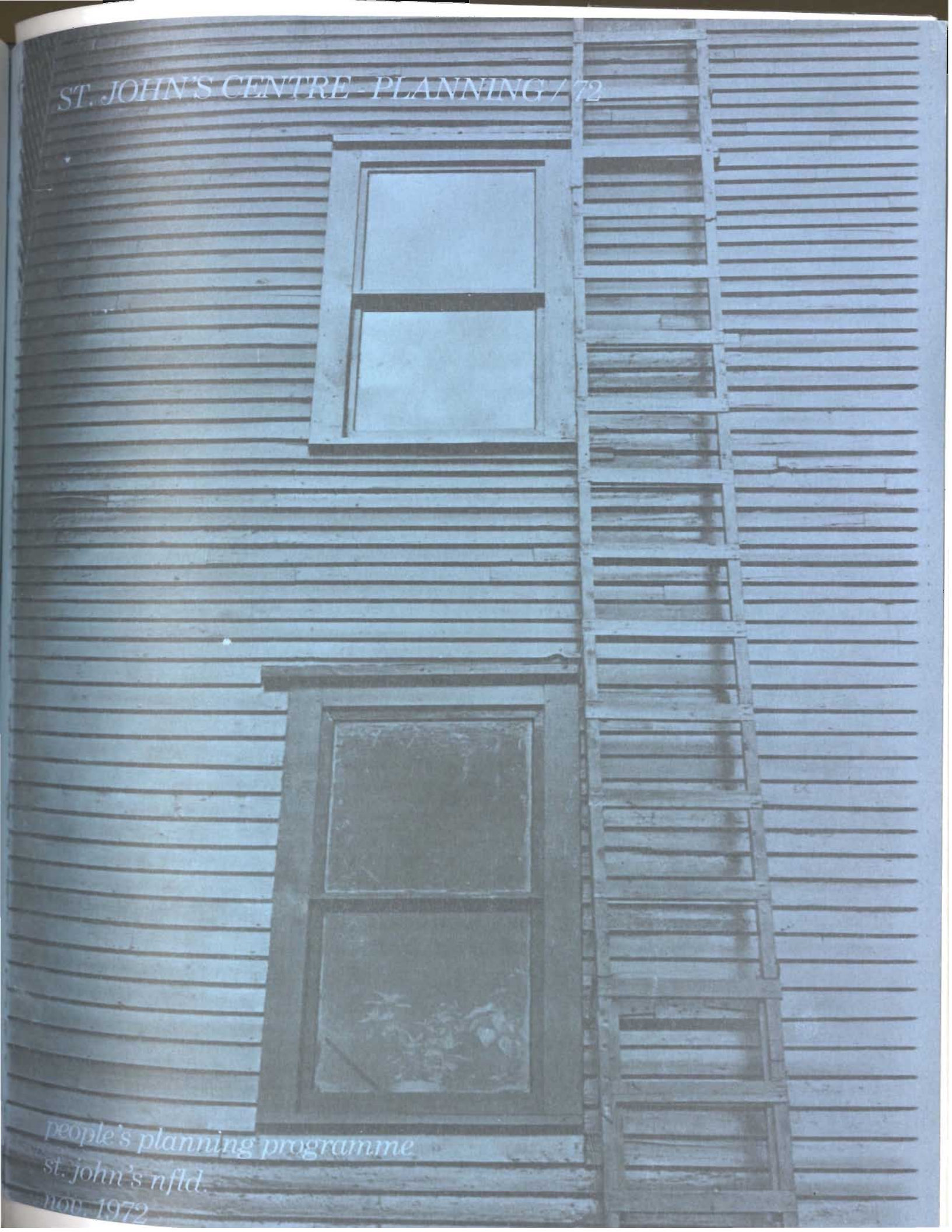
1972 "Looking forward with the CPAC." Review
Vol. 22/No. 1 (Spring) 3-8.

APPENDIX

ST. JOHN'S CENTRE - PLANNING / 72



ST. JOHN'S CENTRE - PLANNING / 72



people's planning programme

st. john's nfld.

nov. 1972

INTRODUCTION

The objectives of the St. John's Centre - Planning/72 program can be simply put: to demonstrate that a neighborhood sized unit can identify its own needs and translate those needs into a coherent plan, and 2) to demonstrate that residential infilling is a credible alternative, in part, to the suburban form of development envisaged in the proposed master plan, Plan 91. The goal that was identified by the residents of St. John's Centre can be simply stated: to maintain and reinforce the residential qualities of St. John's Centre.

The program has been exploratory. Ordinarily, plans seek to control change or to rationalize adaptations to change. In both instances the result has more often been making the best of a bad thing. This plan attempts to alter the direction of change.

Citizens planning, or participatory planning, where the "planned for" are equal partners in decision making with public bodies has primarily been "reactive" planning. The stimulus for participation has usually been an immediate and visible threat to the "planned for". The threat is perceived by the "planned for" as being external to their environment and one over which they have little influence. The planning process is characterized by a high level of emotional involvement on the part of the "planned for", mutual distrust, suspect motives, and varying degrees of social conflict.

In St. John's Centre - Planning/72 there is no immediate and visible threat to the community.] There is no scheme for "urban renewal." There is no immediate threat of an arterial road forcing its way through the area. There is no high-rise residential complex contemplated. The area is not threatened at this time by anything other than continued neglect. In this vein, the planning program may be viewed as "initiative" planning.

Thirdly, and most importantly, the residents and business persons of St. John's Centre identified the needs of the area and subsequently the goal, developed the solutions, and further considered the outline of solutions as a whole, i.e. a coherent plan.

This plan document is an object of their efforts. The implementation of the ideas contained in the document shall have to be the measure of the success of the planning program.

]The term "community" is used rather loosely through the report and in a strict sense, inappropriately. For an explanation of the identification of this "community" reference should be made to Appendix No. I.

The responsibility for implementation is collective, being shared by the citizens of the area, and both the private and public sectors of our decision making network.

PLANNING GOAL

The goal of the plan was identified by the residents of St. John's Centre. Four problem areas were noted and are discussed in detail in the following conclusion and recommendation sections. The planning goal is general, while the recommendations are specific and directed to reaching the goal.

The plan operates against the present trends of development in the city. The St. John's Centre - Planning/72 (SJCP/72) research indicates a declining residential community. The planning goal is "to maintain and reinforce the residential qualities of St. John's Centre".

There is a declining population for the census area that encompasses St. John's Centre. There is an increase in the number of households over the past twenty years. Tenure has been shortened and ownership patterns are shifting from owner occupancy to tenant occupancy. Conversions of single family homes to multiple family homes, but with a real decrease in numbers of persons, is occurring at an increasing rate. The age groupings of the residents is changing to one where very old persons and very young persons predominate. Income levels for the head of the household, and for the family as a whole, are less than for St. John's as a whole. The structures are aging, all having been built around the turn of the century. The public facilities in the area are deteriorating and demand continued maintenance.

The course that the area is following has some relatively certain outcomes if we can trust North American models.]

[Reference to other north american cities, especially when talking about abandonment, should be cautioned for St. John's does not experience rapid change due to the influx of ethnic or racial minorities.

St. John's Centre may become a warehousing area for the central business district. It may become "renewed" in the pattern of 1960 renewal. It may, with continued decline and no forceful public policy, be assembled and remarketed for a new tenant as a vertical community. Or, in the worst of circumstances, it may be effectively abandoned.

A cost of these outcomes would be the loss, for the current resident, of the residential, low-rise quality of the lower town. As was expressed in the public discussions about the proposed master plan, "no one wants the residents of the lower town to be museum pieces."² This plan agrees with that sentiment, but would add that neither is it desirable to have lower town residents living in unsafe structures, being displaced in a wholesale fashion by private market operations, being displaced by car parking facilities, or living in the midst of blight.

The planning goal is specific for St. John's Centre. The study area has different boundaries than the political unit from which it derives its name. However, the needs of this small unit are essentially the needs of the lower town, and the solutions proposed are ones that have an application for the whole of the lower town. In this manner the plan is illustrative of the strategies that may be appropriate for the maintenance of the residential community of the lower town generally.

In the following section the conclusions are organized into four areas, housing, traffic, municipal services, and history. Recommendations are made for each area and all should be weighed against the planning goal.

² Goldwyn Sunderland, town planner for Sunderland, Simard, Preston and Assoc. Ltd. Montreal, Que. April, 1972.

**ST. JOHN'S
CENTRE
PLANNING 72**

**P P P
SEPT. 1972**

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE NO.

INTRODUCTION -----	1
PLANNING GOAL-----	4
PREFACE -----	6
CONCLUSION #1 - HOUSING -----	7
CONCLUSION #2 - TRAFFIC -----	13
CONCLUSION #3 - MUNICIPAL SERVICES -----	19
CONCLUSION #4 - HISTORY -----	22
SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS -----	23
APPENDIX #1 - STUDY DESIGN	
APPENDIX #2 - STATISTICAL NOTES ON STUDY AREA	
APPENDIX #3 - LAND USE NOTES	
APPENDIX #4 - STUDY AREA DESCRIPTION	
APPENDIX #5 - CORRESPONDENCE TO CITY - TRAFFIC	
APPENDIX #6 - CORRESPONDENCE TO CITY - PARKING	
PLATE #1 - STUDY AREA - immediately following preface	
PLATE #2 - LAND USE	} immediately following Appendix #2
Plate #3 - STRUCTURAL QUALITY	
PLATE #4 - CIRCULATION - immediately following Appendix #5	
INFILL DIAGRAMS NOS. I - VII (immediately following page 12)	

PREFACE

The St. John's Centre - Planning/72 program was sponsored by the Department of the Secretary of State, Opportunities for Youth scheme. A substantial investment in terms of material support, technical assistance, and monetary resources has been made by the Extension Service of Memorial University of Newfoundland from the beginning of People's Planning Programme. We would like to thank Mr. Donald Snowden, Director of the Extension Service, for his continued confidence in the program.

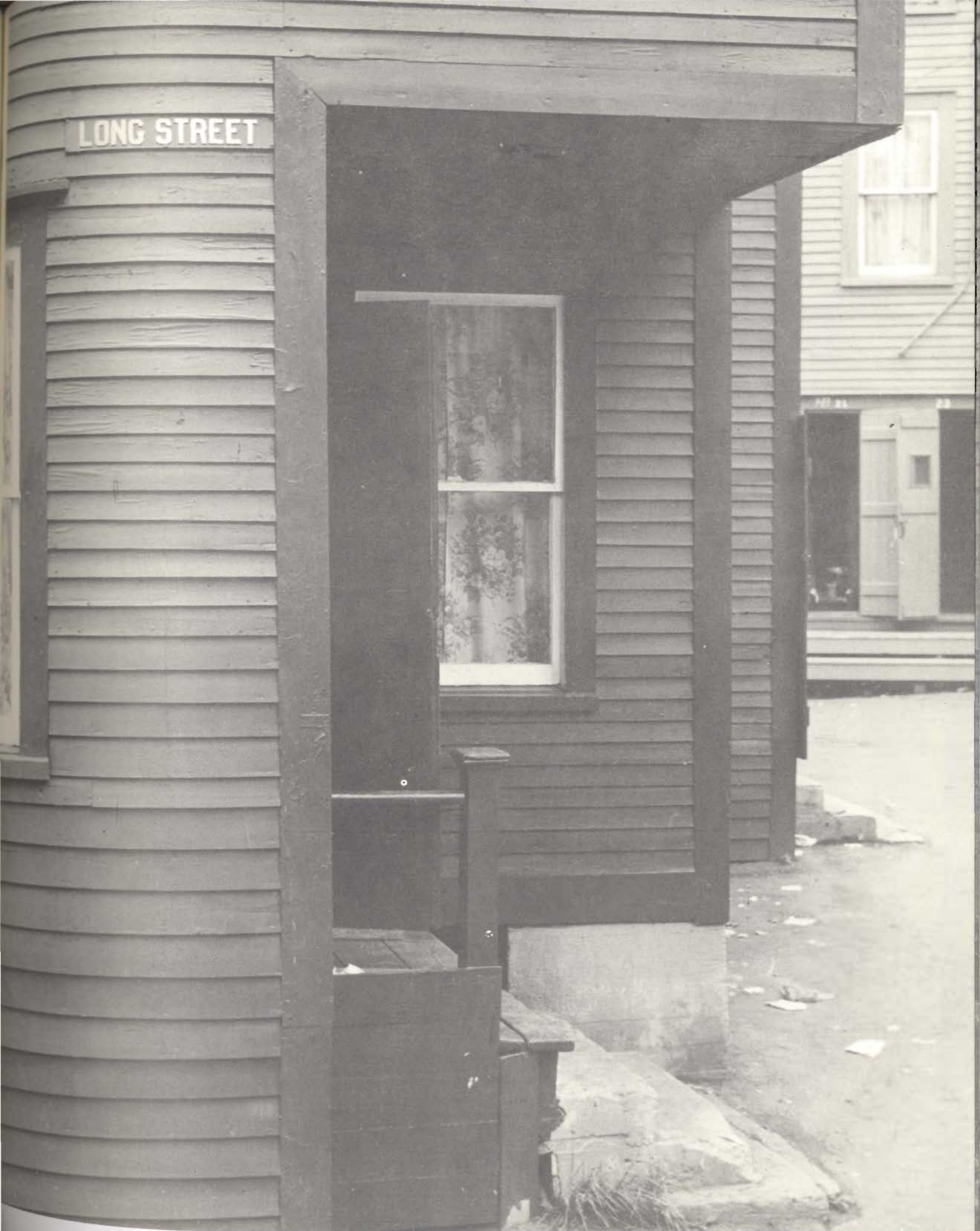
The support and encouragement of many local associations and organizations represents a contribution for which there cannot be a specific value. We thank those persons who freely gave their time and energy as individuals, or on behalf of organizations, for it is that voluntary effort which is essential to effecting constructive social change.

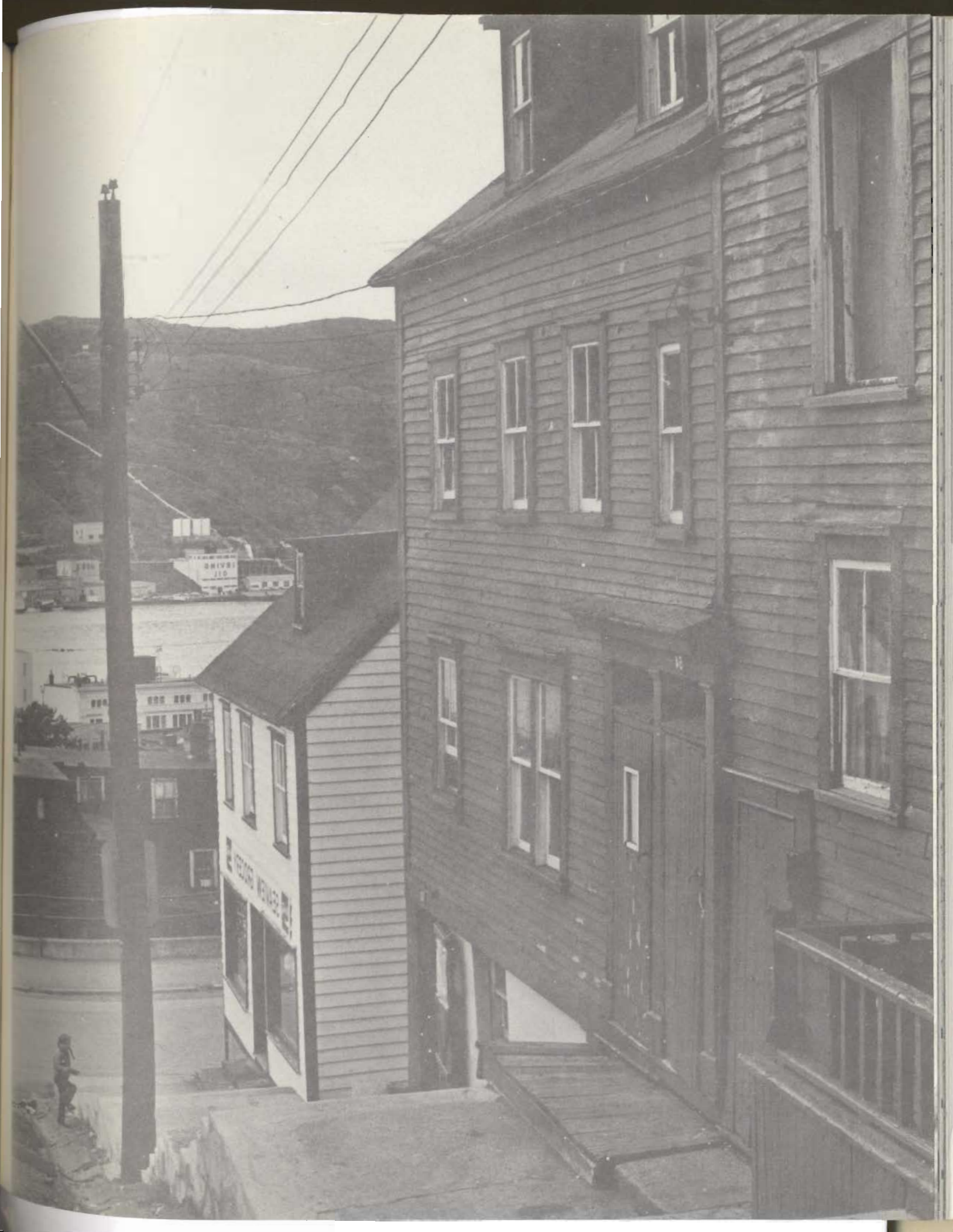
We appreciate the co-operation of various government departments and agencies, particularly the Council and staff of the city of St. John's, and Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation.

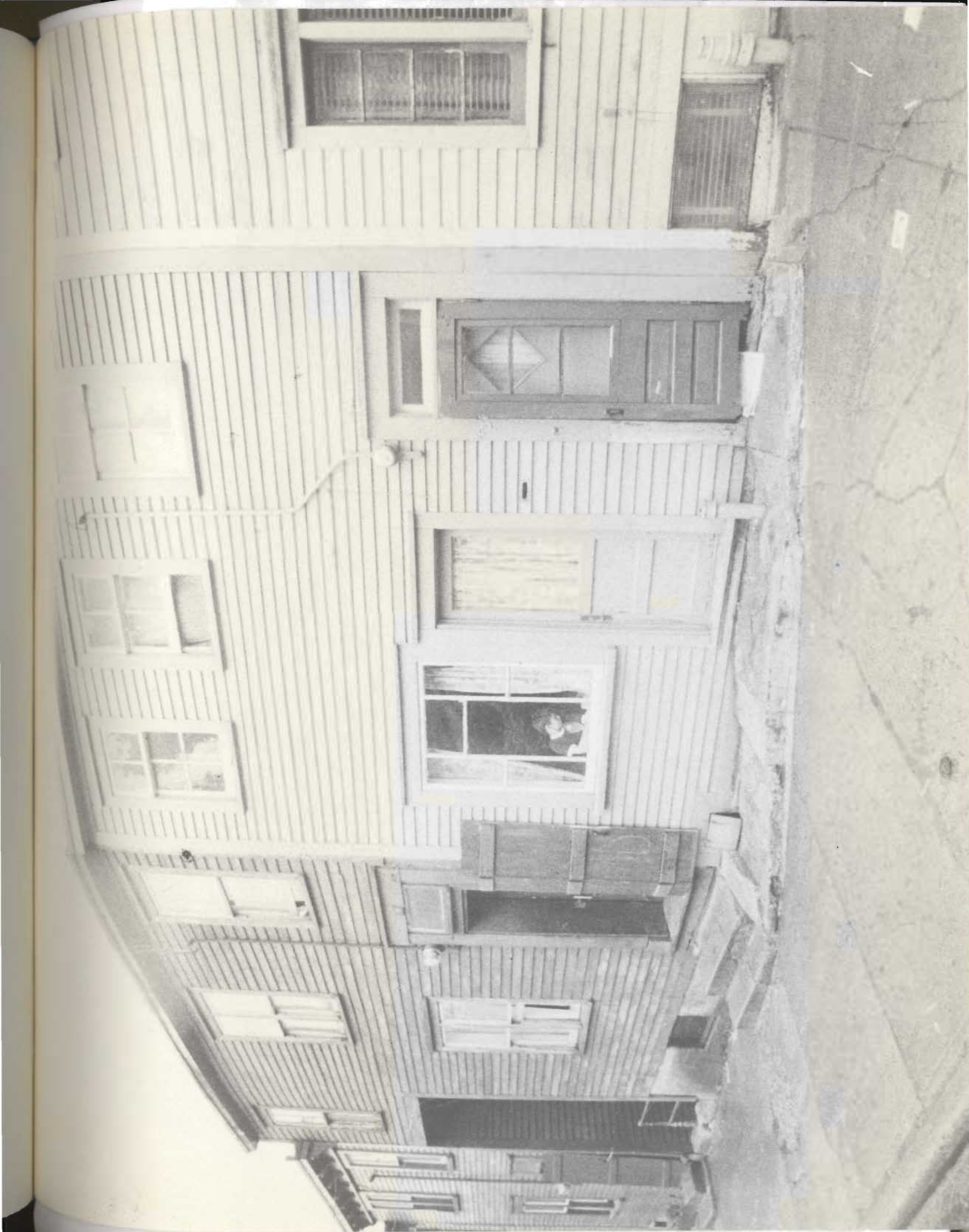
We are indebted to persons, too numerous to mention, who provided their insight and talent to the program. Of these persons we would especially like to thank the residents and business persons of St. John's Centre for allowing us to be part of their community. We apologize for any imposition we may have been and thank you for your help. We trust this plan will be worth your efforts.

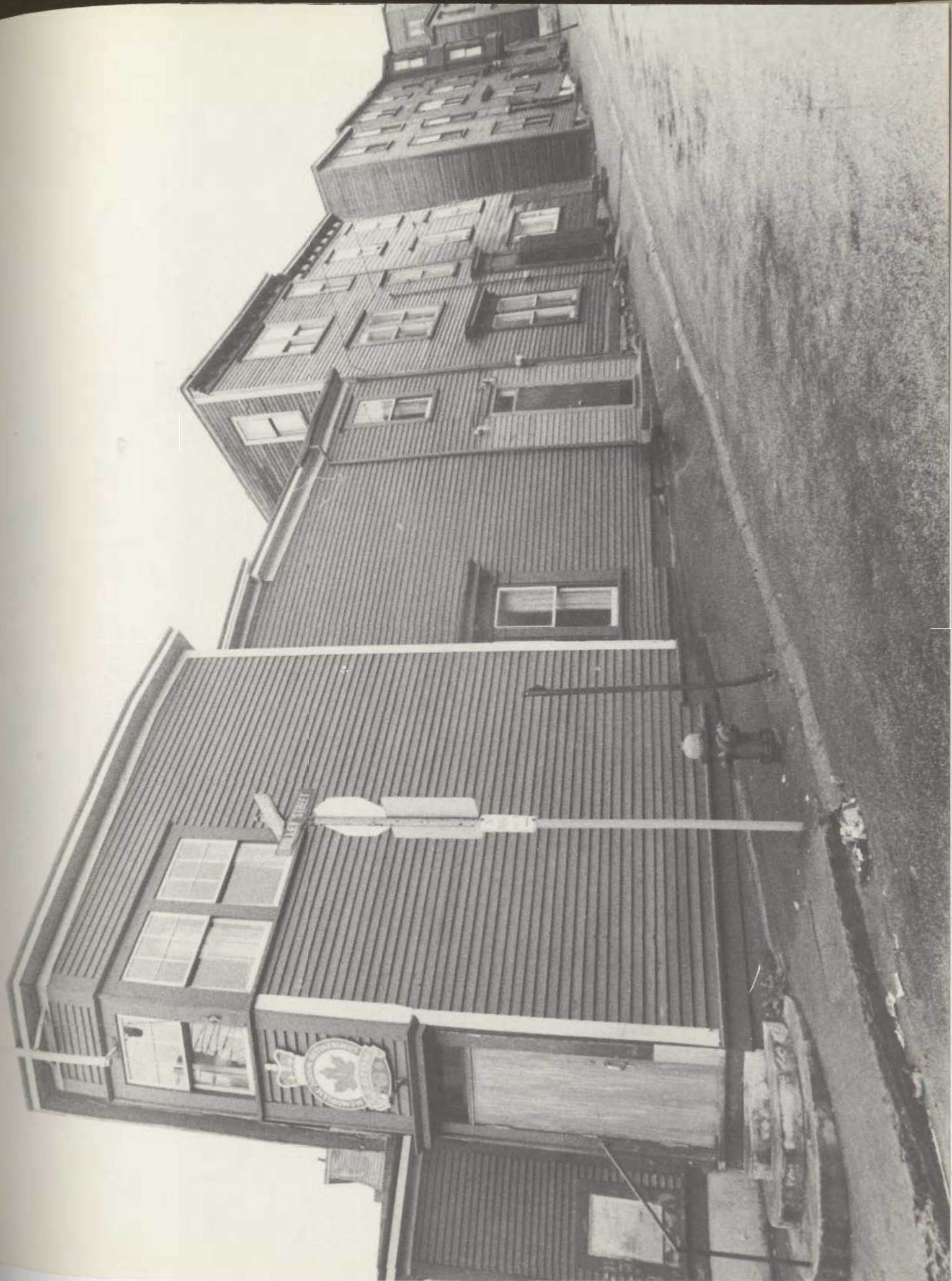


LONG STREET









CONCLUSION NUMBER 1. HOUSING

Housing is aging and in some instances is unsafe. Occupancy patterns are changing as structures that previously housed one family now house two or three families. Though there is a net decrease in the number of persons living in the area over the past twenty years, crowding¹ is occurring. The general problems of tenant accommodation are heightened in so far as the residents have little, if any, choice in accommodation as they are on the low end of the income scale for the city.

RECOMMENDATION NUMBER 1. HOUSING

It is recommended that the city ensure safety in residential structures. Safety in this case means safety from fires.

Unsound structures should be removed. This represents about 20% of the housing stock for the study area. Though this figure seems high, it can do nothing but go higher in the future if the structural decline is not arrested. Condemned buildings that are not demolished are blighting, and their presence only serves to encourage disinvestment and subsequent further blight.

¹Tenants perceive themselves as being more crowded than do home owners. This is confirmed by the City Fire Department who note that a larger number of family units overload the electrical system designed for a single family. Facilities such as washrooms and kitchens are being shared by less people, but more family units.

An improved program of fire inspections and building maintenance should be sustained. Currently, buildings are inspected for fire hazards only on request. Fire inspections should be carried out by the Fire Department on a regular basis, and there should be greater co-ordination between the municipal building inspection department and the Provincial Fire Inspection Division.

Enforcement of minimum building standards is more of a problem than inspection. This is critical in tenant occupied dwellings. The cost of bringing a building to standard is usually passed on to the tenant. This additional cost can, and does, force the occupant into a less expensive accommodation. This accommodation is usually one of a lesser standard. There is no improvement for the displaced tenant.

The proposed amendments to the National Housing Act incorporate a rent control element where grants for rehabilitation are used for tenant occupied dwellings. An expansion of this idea on the local level is feasible.

The problem of ensuring that maintenance is done is one that may be solved by changes in the City's manner of administering current and proposed maintenance statutes. It is possible to conduct an inspection, order improvements, allow for an appeal of the order, provide a reasonable waiting period, and if the improvements are not made the City may undertake the improvements and charge the owner for the full amount.

Or, if providing minimum safety for a dwelling is uneconomic for an owner (landlord), then it is suggested that the public sector acquire the property and operate it in a subsidized fashion. The range of subsidy alternatives needs to be investigated. Simply, we cannot allow unsafe dwellings on the market.

Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation has available a number of programs aimed at distributing rehabilitation monies. These programs have not been utilized in the lower town to any great extent over the past few years.¹ The National Housing Act amendments being considered by the Federal Government could make further money available for rehabilitation, but one must wonder if they will be of as little benefit as have the present programs. Whether we enjoy an expansion of the assisted home ownership or home improvement loan schemes, and regardless of the cost sharing arrangement, CMHC should be encouraged to lead with their resources rather than operate as a strictly responsive lender. Leading, in the St. John's circumstance, means recognizing a critical need for providing resources for persons relegated to low income options.

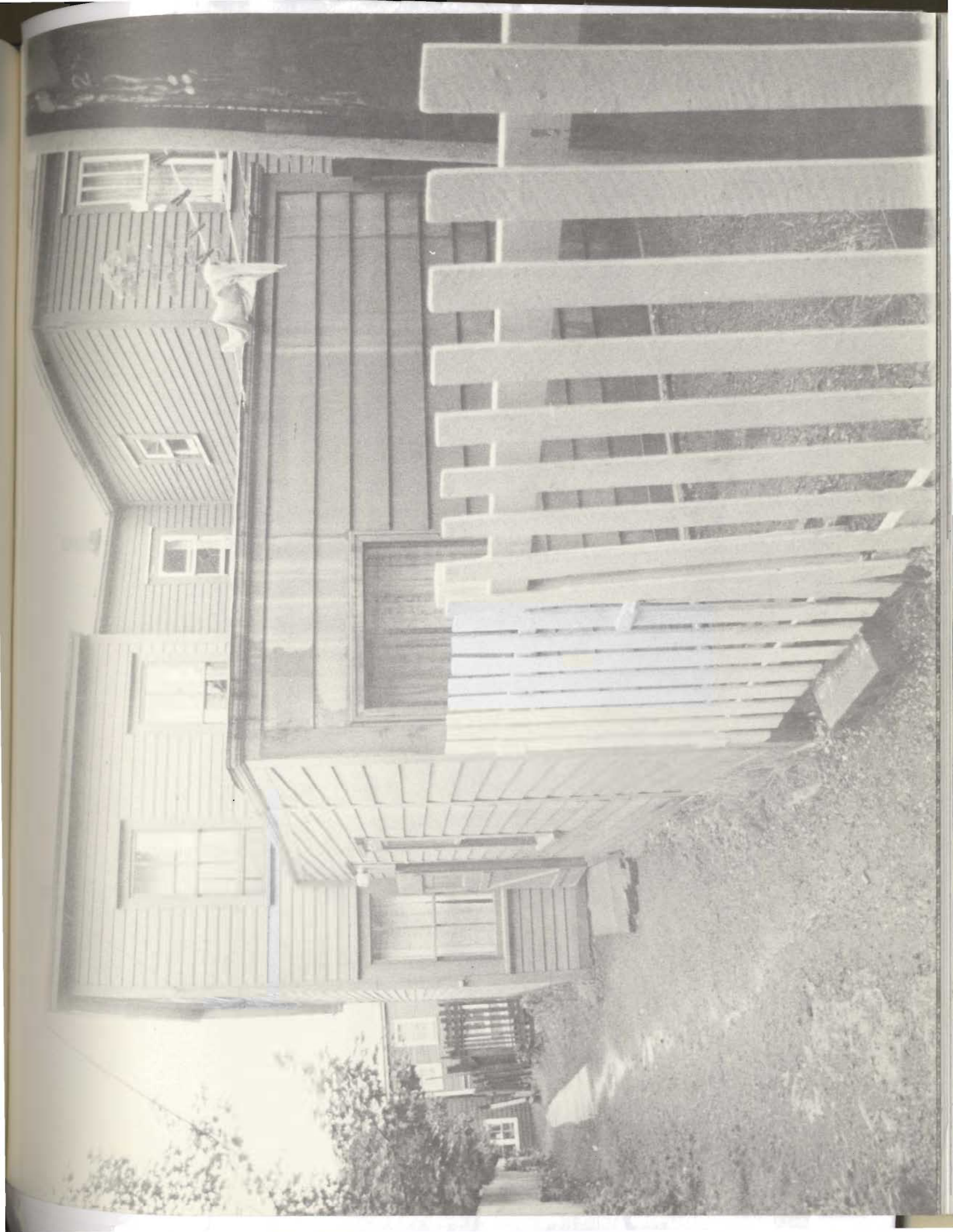
It is recommended that the City and Provincial Governments, in co-operation with the residents of St. John's Centre, establish a Neighborhood Improvement Committee for the purpose of utilizing the anticipated National Housing Act amendments.

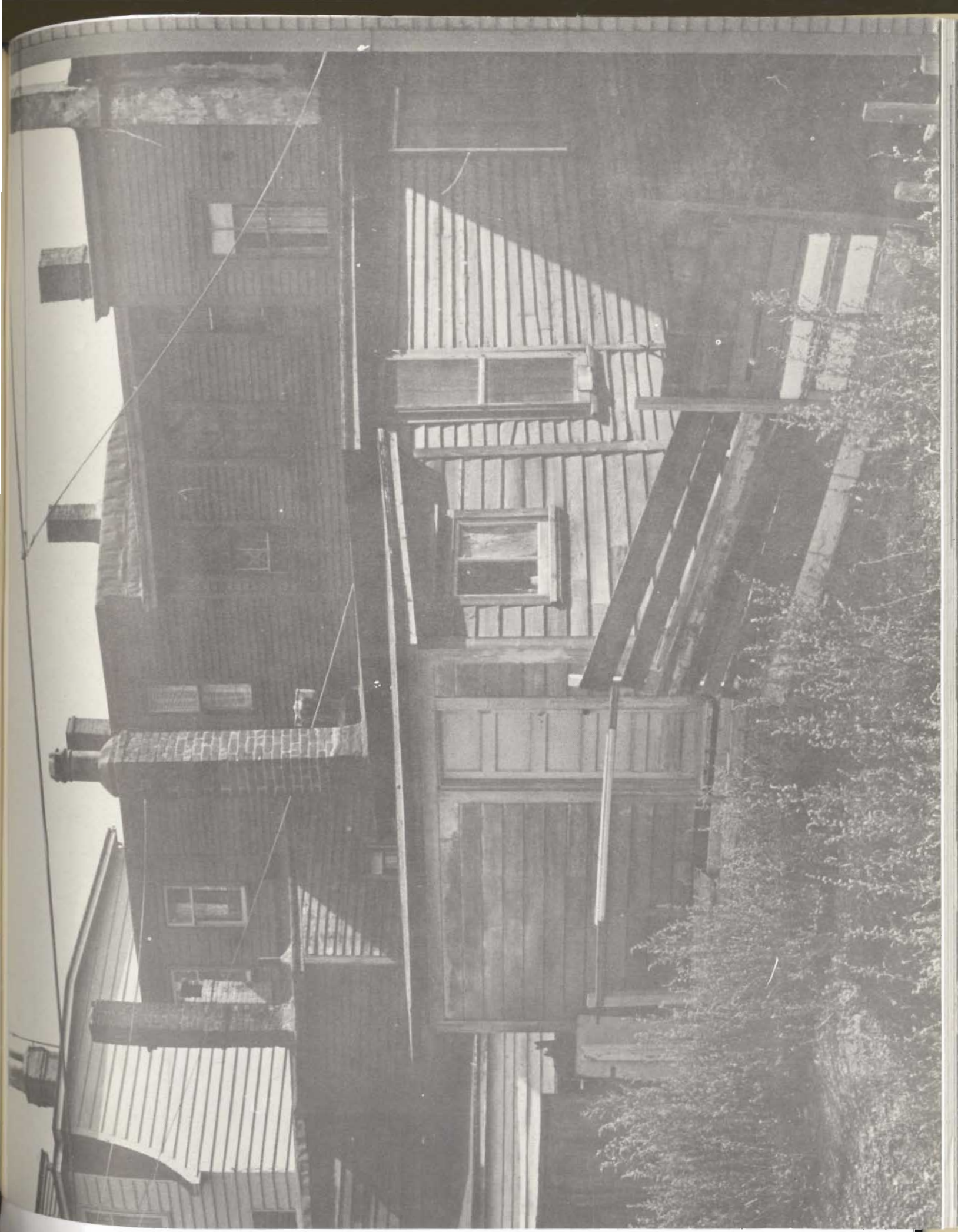
It is recommended that the City and Provincial Governments, in co-operation with the residents of St. John's Centre, approach the Federal Government with a proposal for a pilot project to implement the proposed National Housing Act amendments for St. John's Centre.

It is recommended that the City and Provincial Governments undertake to assess the occurrence of disinvestment in the lower town.

¹ There have been but four applications for home improvement loans in St. John's Centre over the past several years.







There is an uncertainty as to whether major lenders have "red-lined" or "black-listed" lower town areas and effectively stopped the availability of funds for the purchase and rehabilitation of homes. If that is the case, then a vigorous policy of public investment should be commenced.

The cost of rehabilitation is dependent on so many variables that any estimate would be highly suspect. The economies of demolishing the worst dwellings rather than rehabilitation is clear. The City policy of demolition when a structure is beyond 50% deteriorated is a fair one. However, the costs of bringing to a minimum standard poor dwellings needs to be looked at seriously.

Collective undertakings are money savers. The installation of central heating for an entire block face, and rewiring for conversions to multiple dwelling units represents an approximate 35% savings over rewiring and provision of new heating plants for each individual structure on a block face.

A rehabilitation scheme in St. John's Centre would involve the major renovation of some 40 dwellings and the minor repair of some 60 dwellings.

INFILLING

Residential infilling, using the space within our developed city that has been passed over, is proposed for St. John's Centre. It has positive benefits for the area by 1) an infusion of new development aimed at the needs of the lower town resident, 2) a spin-off of encouraging private redevelopment, and 3) encouraging a change of attitude on the part of prospective investors by increasing the desirability and stability of the area.

The infill schemes suggested are conceptual. In the schemes there is a net increase in the number of dwelling units for the area. The cost is dependent on the manner of development. It is recommended that the City and Provincial Governments investigate the application of public capital to the proposed schemes. In a number of ways the schemes are attractive as experimental or pilot projects for which the Federal Government has resources available.

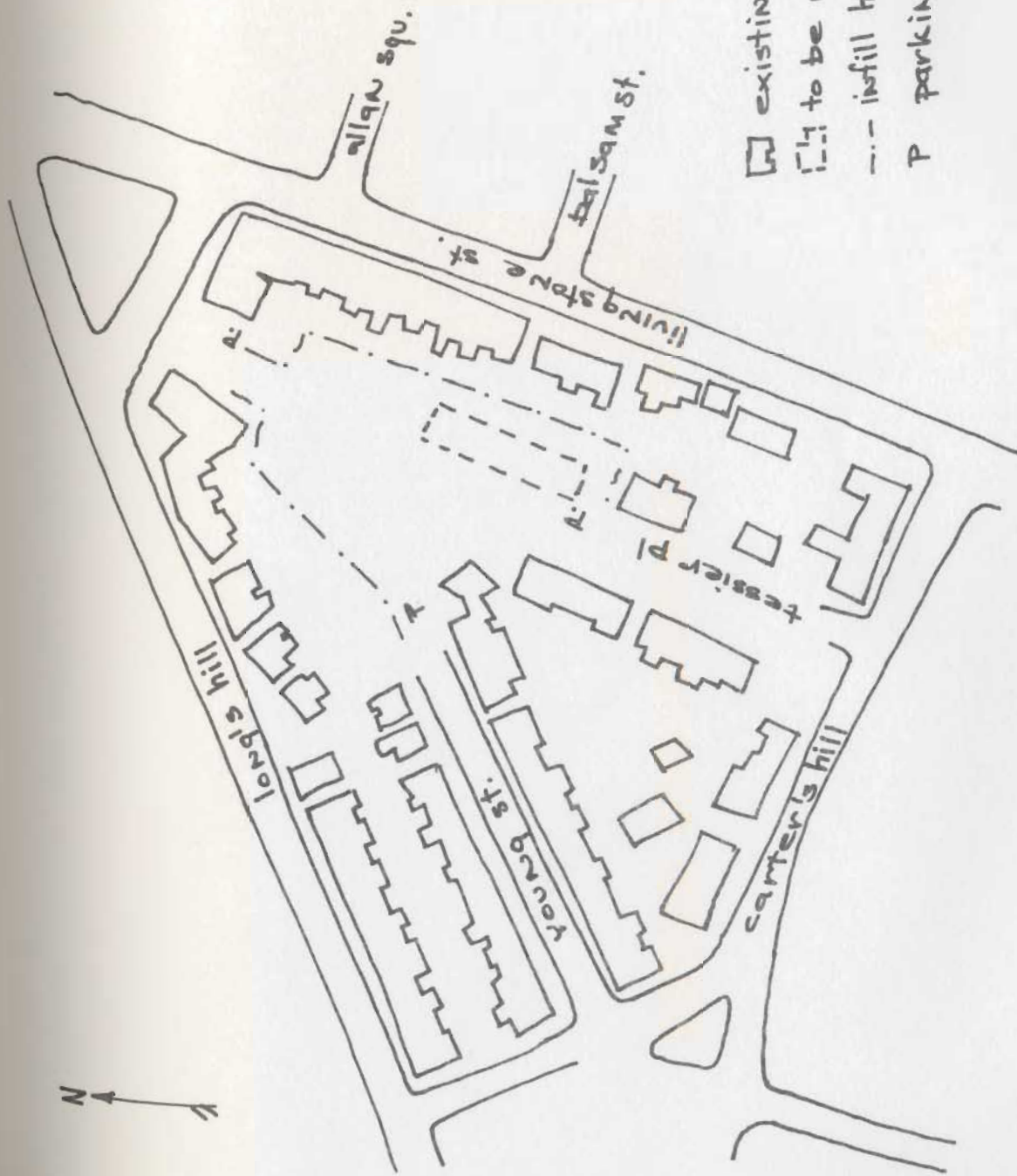
The infill schemes have a number of benefits for the City as a whole. Using something less than one acre of land, that land one assumes is "unsuitable" in the context of Plan 91, space is available for a net increase in dwelling units of approximately ten dwelling units. Assuming that there is only 200 acres of idle vacant land within the developed city, (the estimation given by Plan 91 designer, Goldwyn Sunderland), at a rate of four persons per dwelling unit, these spaces will accommodate approximately 8,000 persons. This would represent 75% of the anticipated population to be housed in the proposed Northeast Expansion Area of Plan 91.

Savings for the whole city are realized by not having to extend water and sewer services, not having to construct new circulation facilities, not having to invest in new school plants, not having to extend power facilities, not having to extend postal services, not having to extend police and fire services, not having to extend maintenance services, and not having to extend transit services (in fact, creating a more dense population pattern would compliment the operation of the public transit system). The savings are realized in optimally utilizing the existing urban infrastructure.

As regards the prospective infill site, street access is available at two locations, sewer and water facilities are in

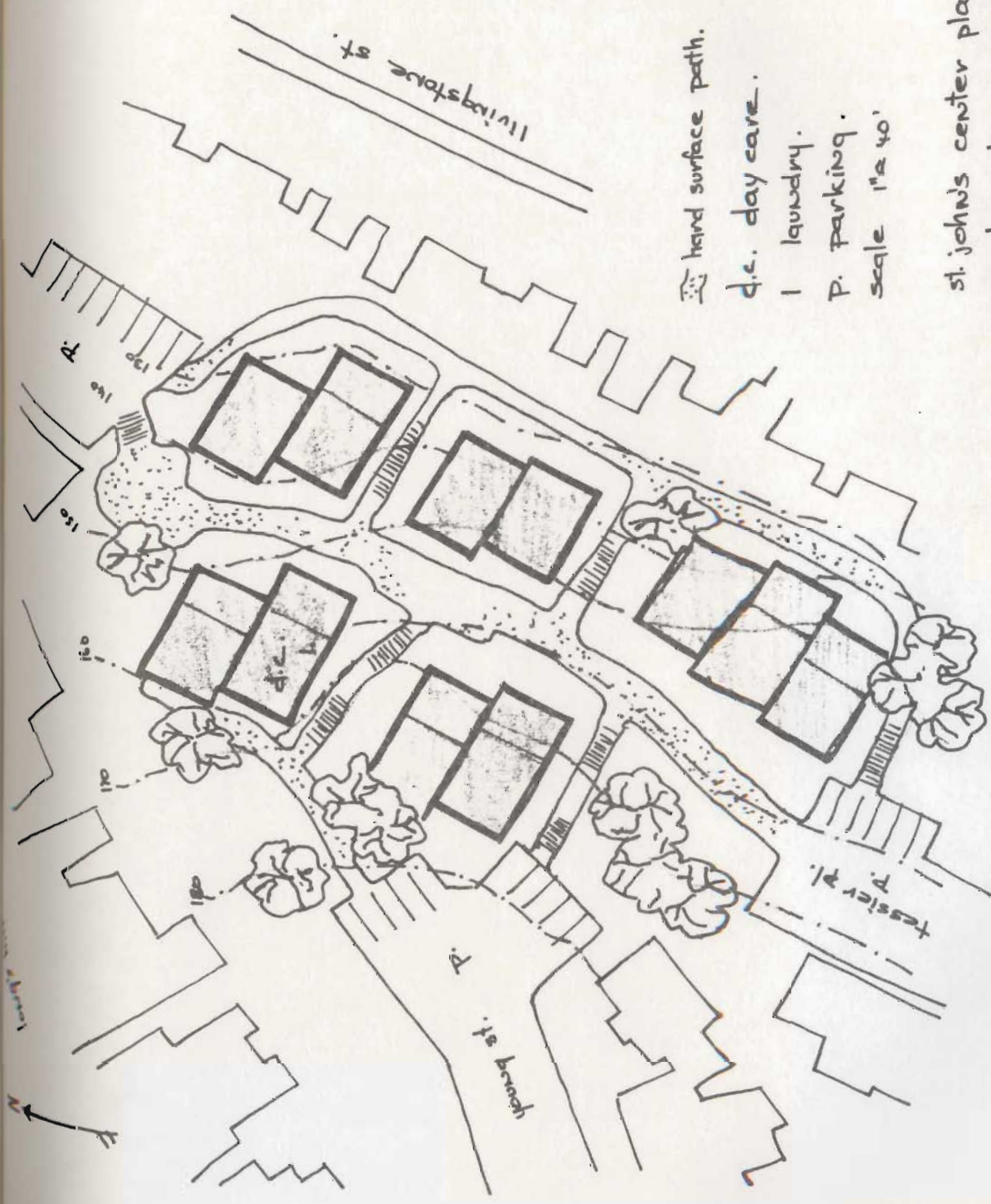
existence (the adequacy of the sewer facility for the lower town is the subject of a DREE study presently), power facilities are available, the school plants have excess space, the area is served by transit, convenience shopping and major shopping facilities are available in and immediately adjacent to the site, the development would not require any expansion of fire and police services, and the space is not productive other than an informal walkway at this time.

The costs of the infill schemes are dependent on the manner in which they are developed. Choices between construction materials, use of private or public capital, manner of disposal, etc., can swing the costs markedly. It is estimated, roughly, that the cost of an 800 sq. ft. dwelling unit on this site would be between \$16 and \$20 per sq. ft; or, less than \$16,000 per dwelling unit. This rough estimate is based on prevailing costs for house construction in Newfoundland.



- existing housing.
- to be removed.
- infill housing area, ± 1 acre.
- P parking.

st. john's center planning
 peoples planning program
 proposal for infill housing
 aug. 1972.



hard surface path.

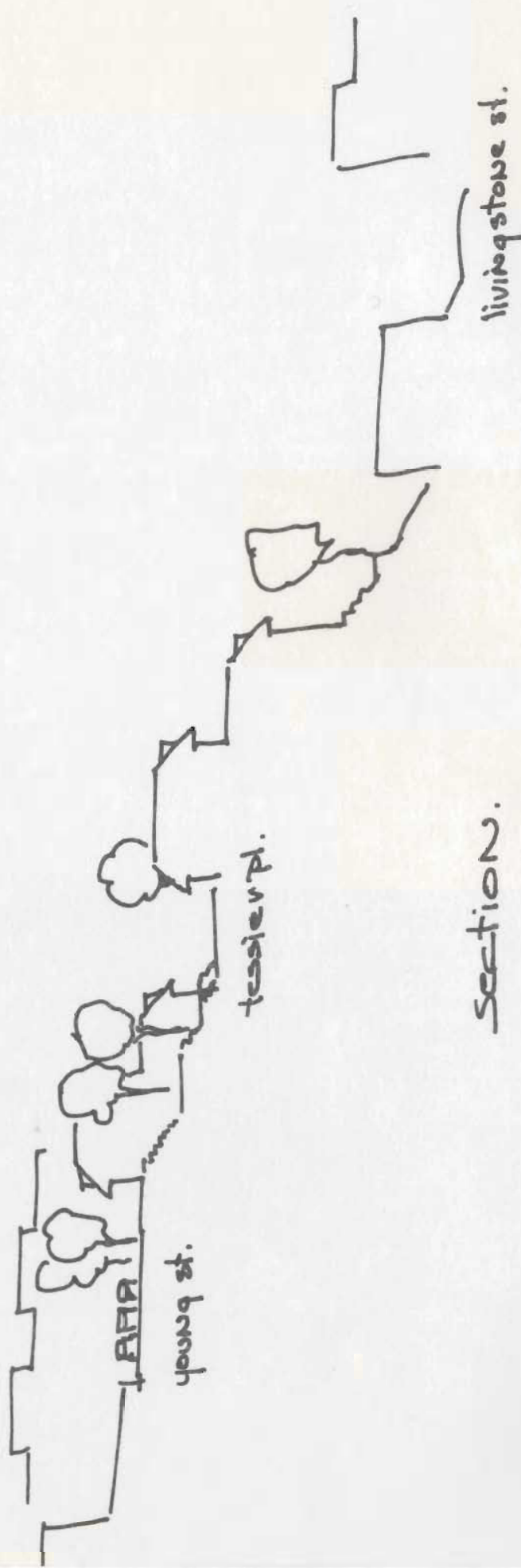
d.c. day care.

1 laundry.

P. parking.

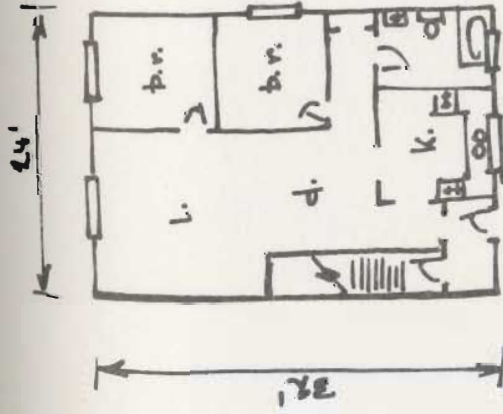
scale 1" = 40'

st. john's center planning
peoples planning program
proposal for infill housing
aug. 1972.

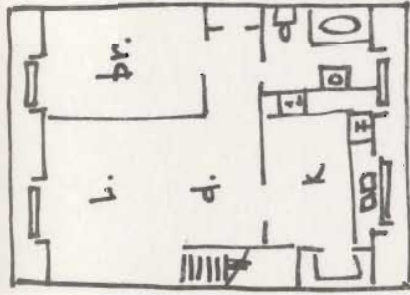


section.

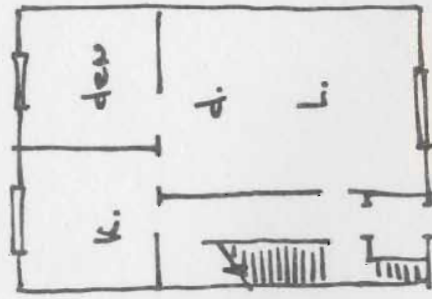
st. john's center planning
peoples planning program
proposal for infill housing
aug. 1972.



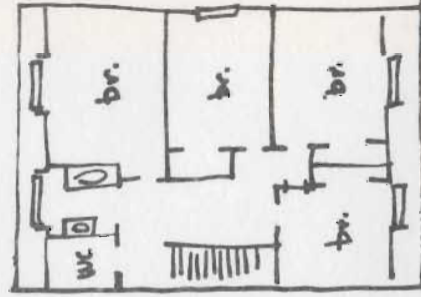
1st. floor apt.
± 750 ft²



2nd floor apt.
± 700 ft²



1st floor



2nd floor.

2 story unit.
± 1500 ft²

the proposal calls for approx. 50 bed rooms, arranged in apartment units and houses of up to 4 bed rooms.

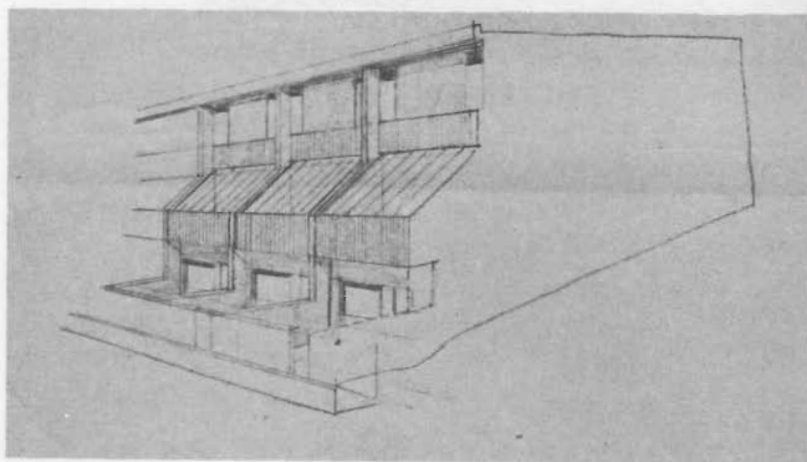
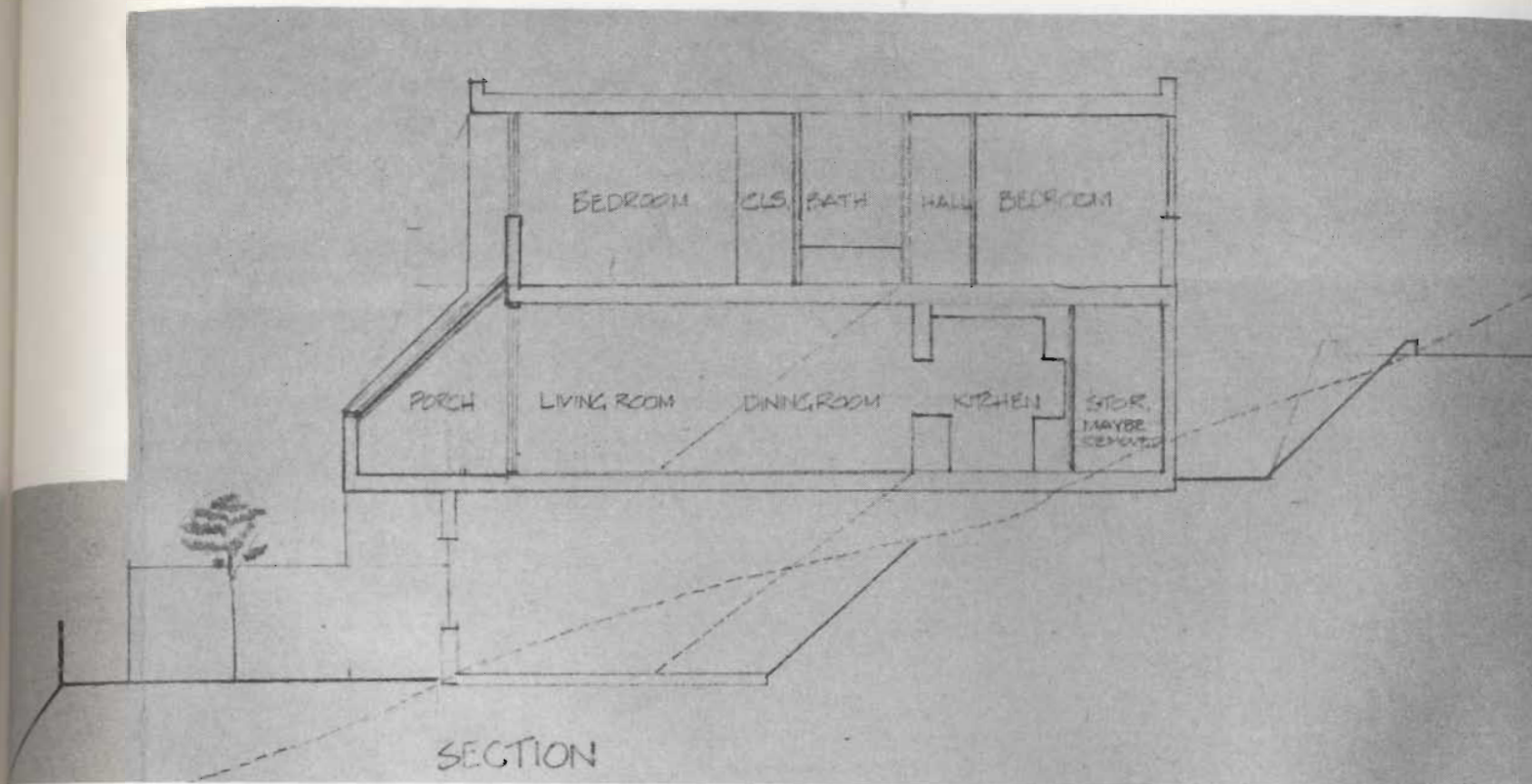
as shown, the proposal could accomodate on 1 acre, 15 houses or 30 apt. units, or any equivalent mix.

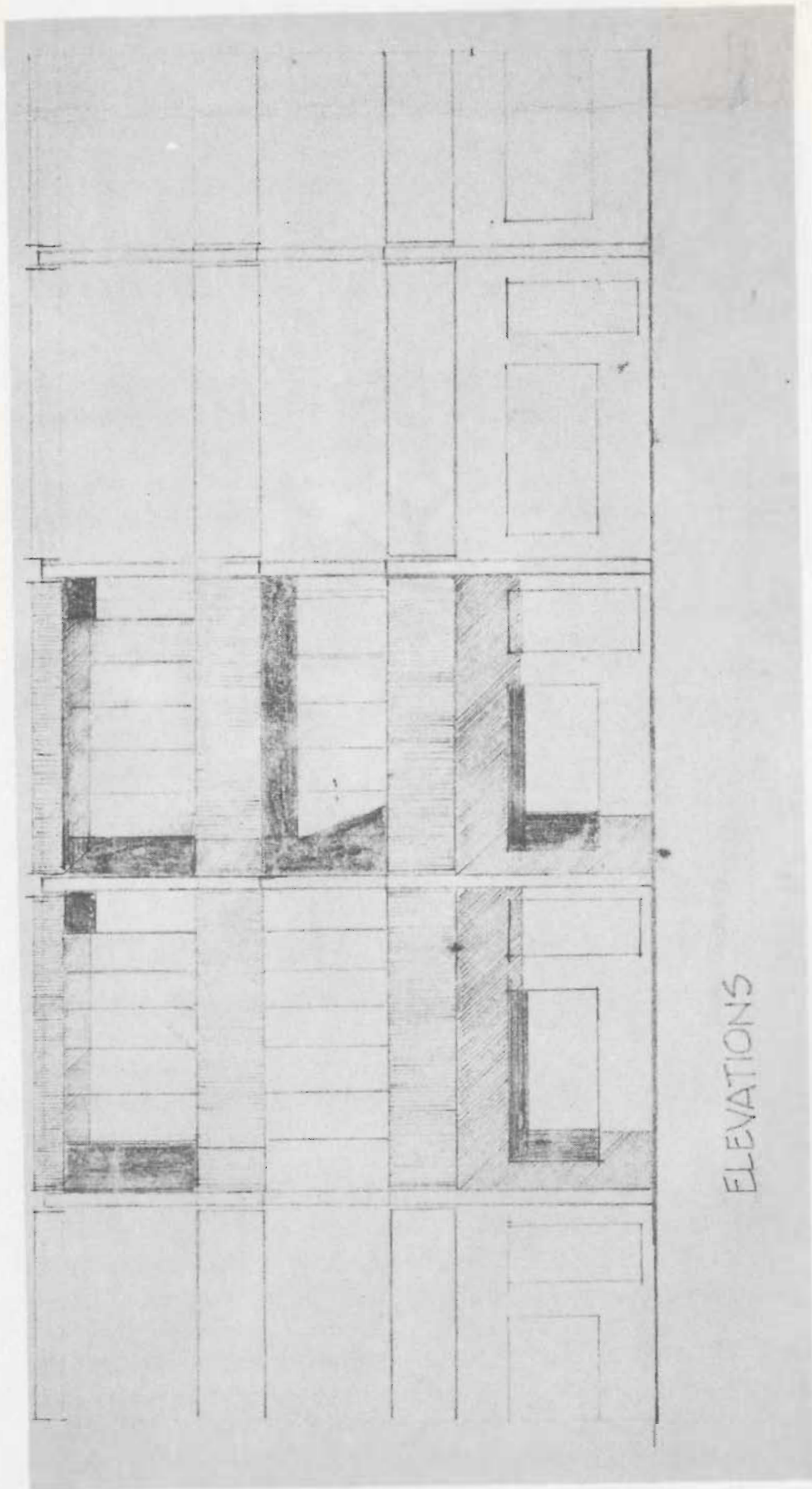
playground and daycare facilities can be provided as well as laundry space.

st. john's center planning
peoples planning program
proposal for infill housing.
aug. 1972.

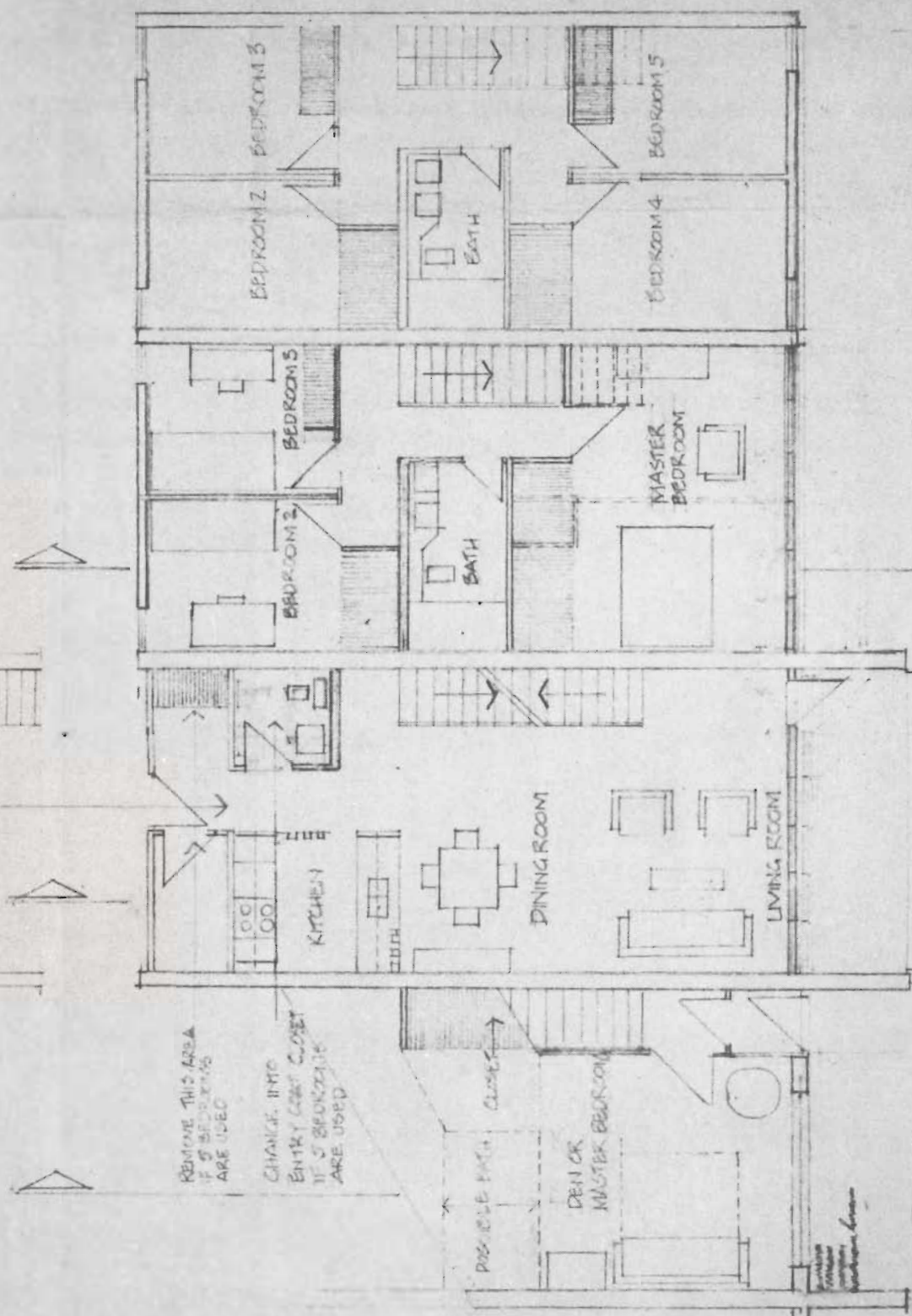
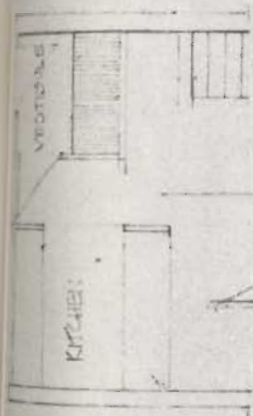


st. john's center planning
peoples planning program
proposal for infill housing
aug. 1972.





ELEVATIONS



REMOVE THIS AREA
IF STAPLES
ARE USED

CHANCE. THE
ENTRY CARD COSET
IF 5 SPONSORS
ARE USED

Date Rec'd Paid

DEJOK

MASTER BEDROOM

SQUARE FOOTAGES

A. pedunculata

17x16 142

2000 12 12

9. 2. 11. 4. 11

1955-56

5 BEDS 5 BATHS

17x16 272

25x16 498

32x14 512

1252916

GROUND FLOOR

FLOOR PLANS

FIRST FLOOR

SECOND FLOOR

ALTERNATIVE
SECOND FLOOR

207

CONCLUSION NUMBER 2. TRAFFIC

There is a conflict between the space available for automobile and truck traffic, and the volume of auto and truck traffic demanding that space. The alternatives are two. The inadequate street structure can be overhauled to accommodate the increasing demand. Or, the adequate street structure can be relieved of the overload.

Queens Road is serving a primary road function, or an arterial road function. The DeLeuw Cather Traffic Study of 1971 states that the absolute minimum standard width for a four lane arterial road is 44 feet, curb to curb. Queens Road is, at best, only 38 feet curb to curb. Presently it is serving the purpose of a four lane roadway with only three lanes operating.

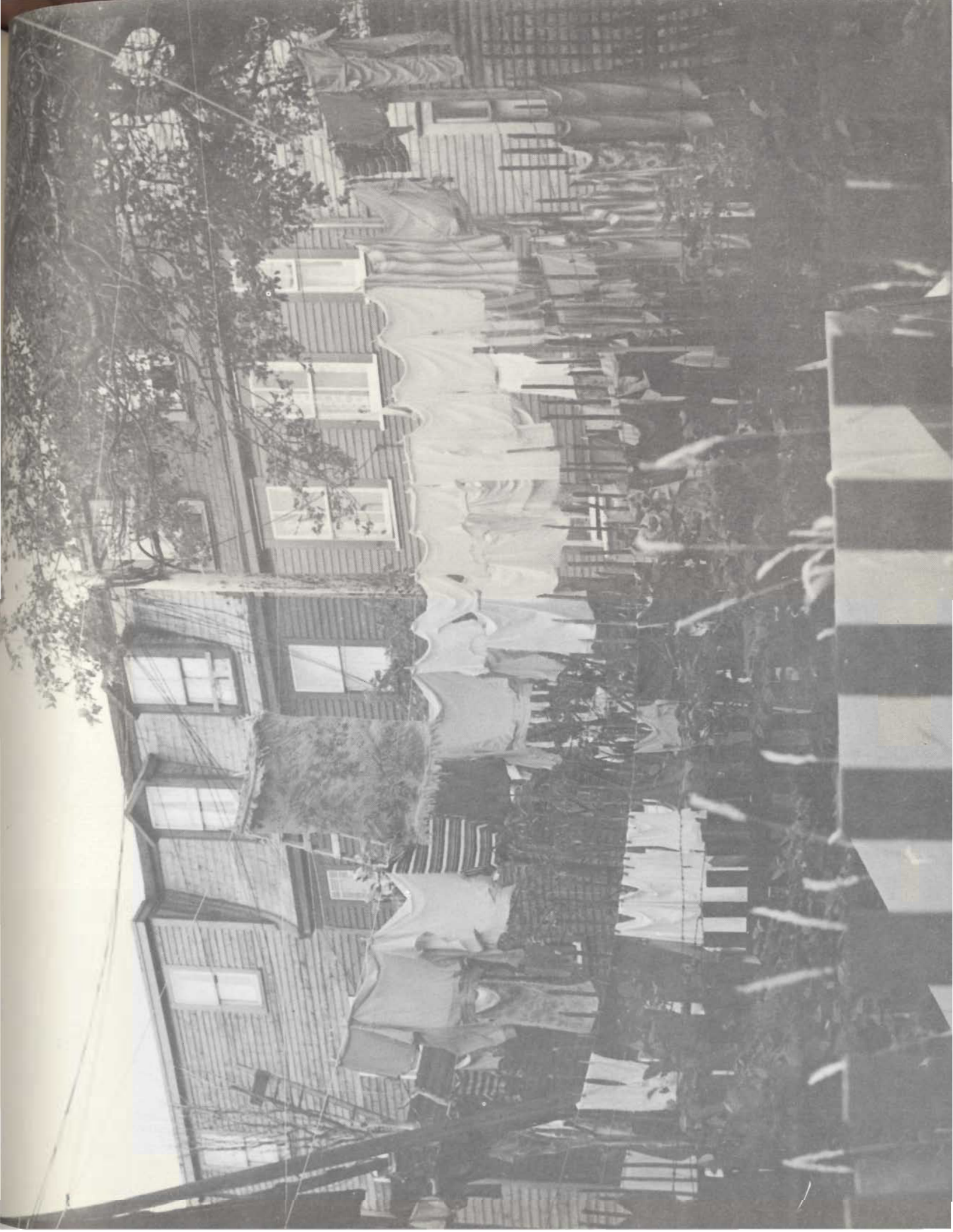
Longs Hill is serving as a primary road, or an arterial road. At its widest the roadway is 32 feet curb to curb.

Livingstone Street is serving as a collector road. It is as narrow as 27 feet curb to curb. The minimum standard width for a collector road is 34 feet curb to curb.

Allan Square is serving as a primary road, or an arterial road. At its widest it is 30 feet. Parking is allowed on both sides of the street.

Balsam Street, Henry Street, Dicks Square, Bulley Street, and Boggan Street are all local streets that are taxed to their limit. Young Street and Tessier Place are not through streets.

The on-street parking spaces in the area are considered part of the central business district space allocation and are used as such.







Auto ownership within the area is surprisingly low. Less than one-third of the families in St. John's Centre owned their own automobiles. However, during the daylight hours every available on-street parking space is occupied. There is little off-street parking space, but all of that space open off-street is used for car parking.

Pedestrian motion is severely restrained by the level of auto traffic and the inadequacy of traffic management hardware. There are no traffic lights. There are few designated cross walks, and those that are designated are supervised only at peak periods. Pedestrians do not enjoy a right of way at any point or at any unsupervised time.

The transit service is felt to be inadequate. It appears to be more a matter of scheduling than of the service itself when available.

RECOMMENDATION NUMBER 2. TRAFFIC

There are two alternatives for the conflict of cars and spaces for cars. One is to increase the space available. Two, is to decrease the demand on the space available.

The first alternative has not worked well on the mainland. Playing catch-up with the space needs of cars has been an expensive and losing proposition. The ratio of cars to people is negatively correlated with the percentage increase of public monies expended on transportation capital works.

The City has received a report that indicated that a five year capital works program to alleviate overloading on some of the

city streets would require an expenditure in excess of \$21 million (not including property acquisition and ordinary maintenance). These improvements are expected to allow for a greater movement of automobiles. These improvements will also serve to encourage more persons to use their autos. Unless the designers of this proposed transportation scheme know something that nobody else in North America knows, the encouragement of further automobile usage will overload the improved system, probably before it is even completed. In five years we will again be faced with improving the space available for automobiles.

The second alternative, that of decreasing demand, is preferable immediately for the residents of St. John's Centre, and in the long run for the residents of the lower town generally. A solution which would move traffic from St. John's Centre to either the east or west of the lower town would be similar to dumping your garbage over your neighbor's fence. The solution is larger.

St. John's is distinctive in that two relatively unrelated circulation structures are present. One operates for the post-World War II city. The other operates for the older, lower town. The demands on the older structure have their impetus in the activity patterns of the newer town. The preferable alternative for St. John's Centre is to concentrate the automobile traffic in the structure that is best able to accommodate it, i.e. the newer town. In essence, if the level of traffic has to be markedly reduced for St. John's Centre, it has to be markedly reduced for the entire lower town.

The recommendation to reduce the demands on the lower town street and parking space is in conflict with both the proposed Plan 91 and the DeLeuw Cather report of 1971. The aims are the same, to reinforce the administrative and business centre of the City, though this plan has as a higher priority the reinforcement of

the residential qualities of the lower town. There is not necessarily a conflict here in aim, but a difference in remedy. Plan 91 recognizes an "urgent need to provide good road access, adequate parking close to Water Street, and possibly a shuttle system along Water Street . . ." ¹ The SJCP/72 plan recognized a need for good road access to the periphery of the lower town, adequate parking on the periphery, and a shuttle system within the lower town.

Specifically, for St. John's Centre it is proposed to clearly delineate the hierarchy of roads in the area. It was found that 75% of all the cars entering Allan Square from Queens Road were continuing on via Livingstone Street to Longs Hill (a primary road pattern). Moreover, it was found by correlation that this was 65% of all the traffic going from Queens Road to Longs Hill. In other words, approximately two of every three cars going from Queens Road to Longs Hill are using the Allan Square/Livingstone Street shortcut, or three of every four cars using Allan Square have no need to do so.

It is recommended that a "No Left Turn" sign be erected at the corner of Livingstone Street and Longs Hill accompanied by a sign at Allan Square and Queens Road to the effect that there is no through access to Longs Hill.

It is recommended that Livingstone Street, operating as an uninterrupted collector road from Longs Hill to Barters Hill be interrupted by "Stop" signs. The residents feel that the speed of vehicles using Livingstone Street rather than LeMarchant Road (a designated primary road) is excessive and hazardous.

¹ Plan 91, Draft Report, January, 1972, pg. 13.

These actions would have the effect of discouraging the use of Livingstone Street as a substitute for LeMarchant Road, or allowing Livingstone Street to operate as a collector road and force LeMarchant Road to operate as an arterial road. It would as well prohibit the use of Allen Square, a local street, for the function of an arterial road by forcing autos to use Queens Road.

The Deleuw Cather report of 1971 (Exhibit 17) shows the existing downtown parking supply including many residential areas of the lower town, St. John's Centre being one. There is an obvious conflict between residentially and commercially oriented traffic and parking uses. It is inconsistent to find residential areas being used for central business district parking demands in the lower town, but find parking for suburban commercial enterprises prohibited from using the surrounding residential streets for their parking needs.

Appendix No. V indicates the number of cars parked in the SJCP/72 area during the daylight hours. The graph is comparable with Exhibit No. 18 of the DeLeuw Cather report showing downtown parking patterns. It is obvious that those persons using the streets of St. John's Centre are not residents of the area, but employees and shoppers in the downtown area.

It is recommended that "One Hour Parking" signs be posted on the local streets in St. John's Centre. This should serve to discourage downtown employees from using the local streets in the area. Residents of St. John's Centre who own cars (approximately 60) could be provided with resident parking permits allowing them to park in violation of the one hour limit.

Generally, for the lower town a number of strategys may be employed to discourage the use of private automobiles in the lower town. A licensing fee for non-residents using the lower town streets, sharply increased parking fees, reduction of the availability of parking spaces,

management of vehicles onto arterial routes forcing them to the saturation point and making for a negative incentive, improving the transit service by discriminating against the private auto and allowing buses priority in certain lanes, at particular intersections, and exclusive rights of way on some routes are all ways to make the transit service a more attractive mode of movement than the private automobile.





CONCLUSION NUMBER 3.. MUNICIPAL SERVICES

The quality of municipal services in St. John's Centre are poor. Previously, services may have been adequate, but changing needs of the area have not been responded to sufficiently. For example, the area formerly housed families that were residents over a few generations. Built into this family pattern was an element of social control not found in areas housing nuclear families of a relatively brief tenure. Currently, there is a situation where families have lived in the area a brief time, and do not know one another as well as before. The age groupings have changed as well, to where today there is a predominance of very young persons and very old persons, two groups with different needs. The younger persons demand active play space. The older persons demand a more passive environment. These needs are in conflict and with the absence of the social control that familiarity brings an external control is needed, i.e. a police presence.

Befor the increased use of automobiles the shared space, streets, in the area served as relatively safe play spaces for children. Young persons were able to walk to nearby open spaces without encountering heavy vehicle traffic. This is no longer the situation. There is no formal play space in St. John's Centre for young children. This need was the subject of a petition to the City Council in July of this year. (Appendix number VI).

Winter maintenance is another problem that has developed over time. The area is an attractive one to live in as it is accessible to most of the residents' needs. Winter maintenance is primarily the clearance of streets. Persons in St. John's Centre still depend on walking. The older persons in the area are especially vulnerable when the maintenance of sidewalks is a secondary concern.

There is a dissatisfaction with the ordinary street cleaning service. This problem is compounded by the antiquated gutter and catch basin system in the lower town. Couple the disposal service with the increase in waste typical of the 1970's and the problem is exaggerated. An adequate street cleaning schedule for the newer town may not be an adequate street cleaning service for the lower town.

The public facilities of streets and sidewalks are continually falling into disrepair. The patchwork maintenance of asphalt road surfaces is just that, patchwork. The sidewalk surfaces, asphalt in most instances, are abused as they are play spaces as well as walking spaces.

Transit services are another instance of municipal services being outdated. The transit service is designed to carry large volumes of persons over reasonably long distances. This service is designed to meet the needs of the newer city dweller. The older city, the denser city, does not receive the service in scheduling that it demands.

Lastly, the lack of repair to municipal services and property serves to make the area an unattractive one. As homes require rehabilitation so do municipal services and municipal property.

RECOMMENDATION NUMBER 3. MUNICIPAL SERVICES

It is these problems of municipal services that may be the most easily remedied. If only for the fact that there is not a multiplicity of government agencies involved in the problem solving the responsibility and ability to act is clearer. The City has the governmental structures in operation that can alleviate the problems, it has the techniques, and the only element lacking is the concerted policy applied to the problems.

St. John's Centre requires a police presence. A foot patrolman during the daylight and evening hours is a simple enough solution.

A reduction of the traffic volume within the study area should make the streets a safer place to play. Still, there is a need to separate autos and people. The most pressing need is for small open spaces designed for use of pre-school aged children.

The prospective infill sites (plate no. 3) notes a few of these spaces. The site at Carters Hill and Tessier Place is the most favorable site. It is presently used for car parking.

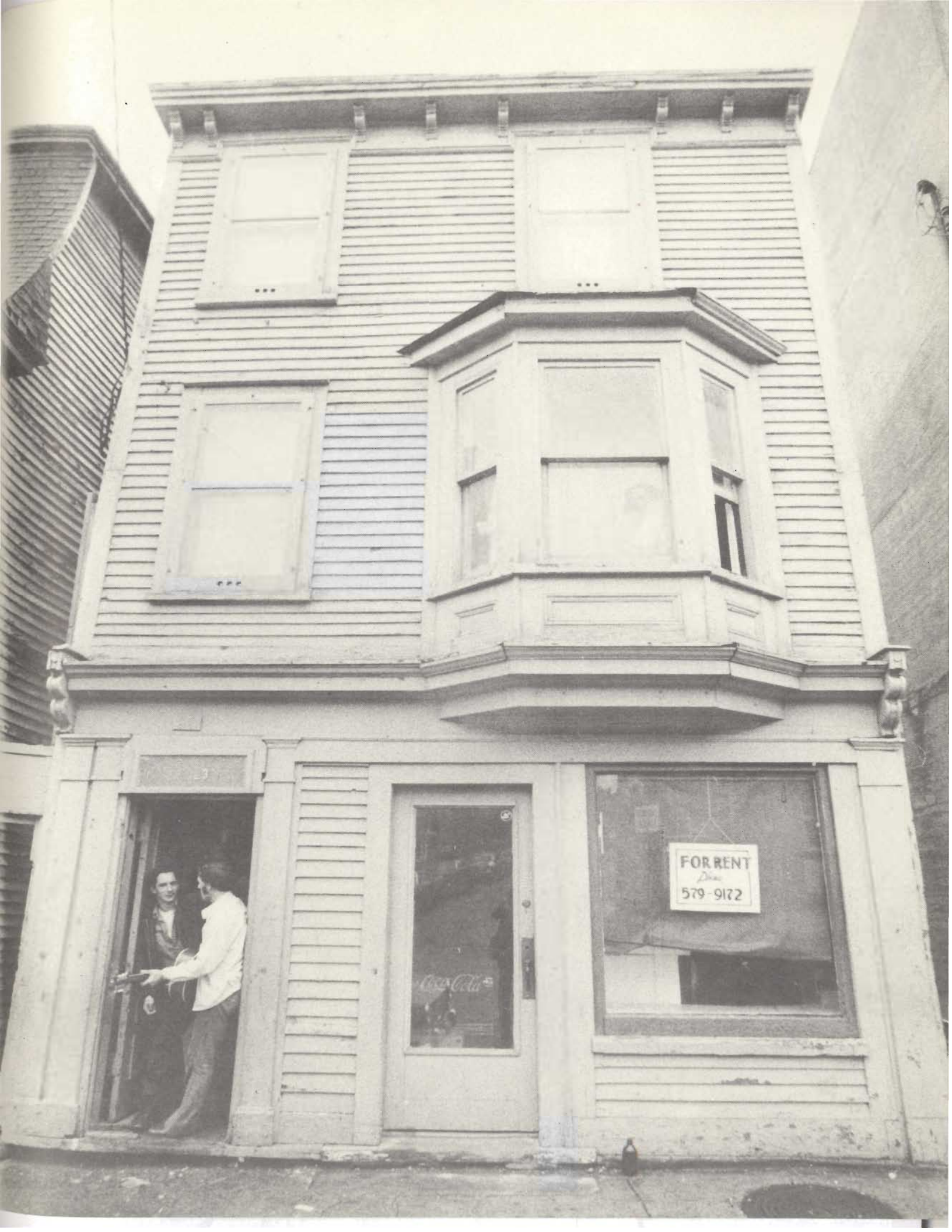
Winter maintenance of sidewalks requires an expansion of the service already available to other areas of the city.

The street cleaning service, while improved over times past, is still not effective. Until such time as the disposal system is updated, the City should increase the service to St. John's Centre.

The incentive for the City to undertake improvements on the public facilities in the area is that of being a co-operative partner in the rehabilitation effort. Government may legitimately wring its hands in trying to effect the rehabilitation of private property. But, the City has an investment in the area in the form of real property. It is an investment over which government has nearly full control. The waste disposal facilities, the street and sidewalk facilities, the public facility of power poles and lines, and street hardware are all public property. One could expect the revenue returned in the form of tax revenues of a rehabilitated community to offset the public expenditures required. If the area is to be a more attractive one to live in then the City must meet its responsibilities.







FOR RENT
See
579-9122

CONCLUSION NUMBER 4. HISTORY

As one gentleman commented while looking at a picture of Balsam Street, "my father was a partner in a cooperage on that street and I remember when I was a boy, I used to carry" There were outings, parties, carriages, football games, carts of vegetables, nuns, the BIS, visiting firemen for entertainment, cottage industries, coopers, longshoremen, smiths, Theatre Hill, Burst Heart Hill, Upper Path, Low Back Car Road, and High Back Car Road. There was the Governor's Garden. There was Johnny Burke and penny songs.

There were also fires. There was dirt and dust. There was illness. There were friends to sit up with the sick. There were trees brought from Boston in suitcases that are now the maple trees on Longs Hill.

The history or the heritage of the lower town is a non-renewable resource. Things were bad and things were good. Our conclusion is that the past is going entirely, or nearly so. Not just the bad, but also the good.

RECOMMENDATION NUMBER 4. HISTORY

Seeking the balance between preservation, conservation, and material progress is perhaps the most difficult element to plan for. The issue is distorted by class biases, long held opinions, current aspirations, etc. The range of opinion varies from suggesting what St. John's needs is another historical fire to wishing for a return of carriages and livery stables. The balance, wherever it may lie, is an element that needs continued emphasis. The problem is how to structure the emphasis over time in such a manner for it to be effective.

Outside of specific restoration projects for a particular aim, whether it be a commercial enterprise or a public venture, there does not seem to be any clear choice. One approach is for the City to adopt the Canadian Inventory of Historic Buildings, which is forthcoming, and protect some elements of our architectural heritage. A complimentary approach is to establish a review board to consider proposed developments within the lower town. The review board could have as a specific emphasis the concern with architecture and historical significance. Voluntary agencies within the City and professional bodies can readily staff such a review board.

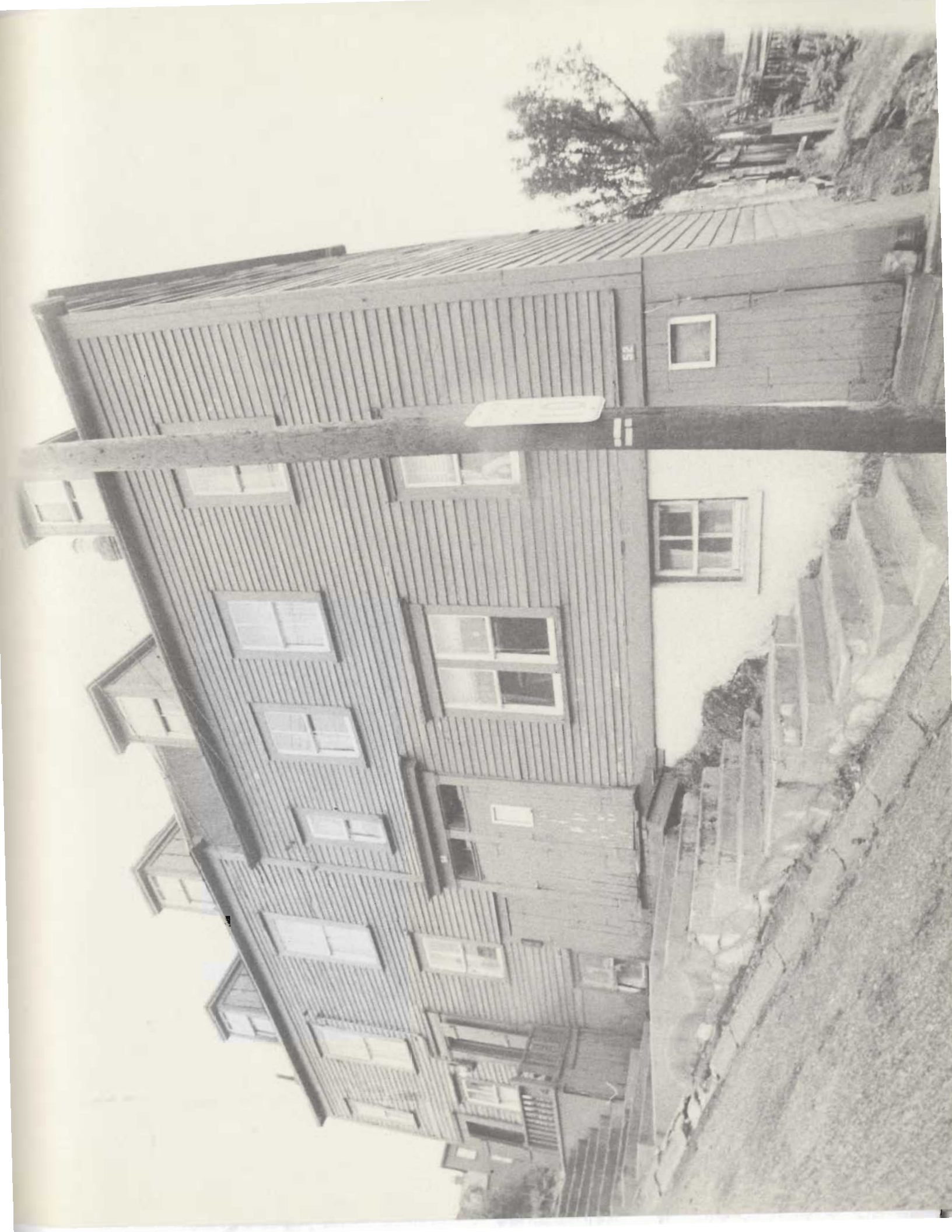
People are all too ready to foresake the articles of the past for the new, finding out only later the value of the things lost. It is not good enough to see progress as "burn your houses boys, there will be two rooms at the Holiday Inn for each of you." We should weigh carefully those non-renewable resources when development decisions are being made.

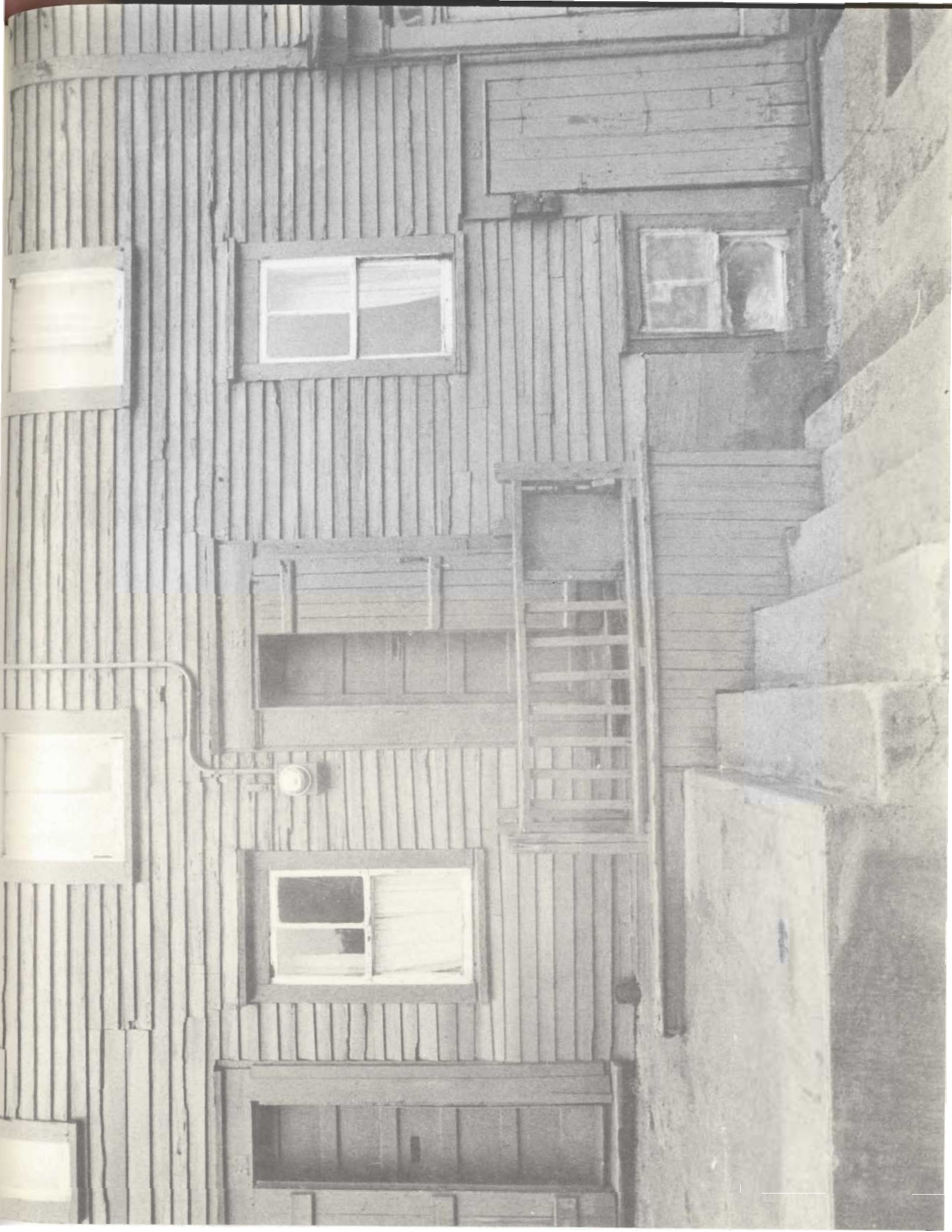
SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS:

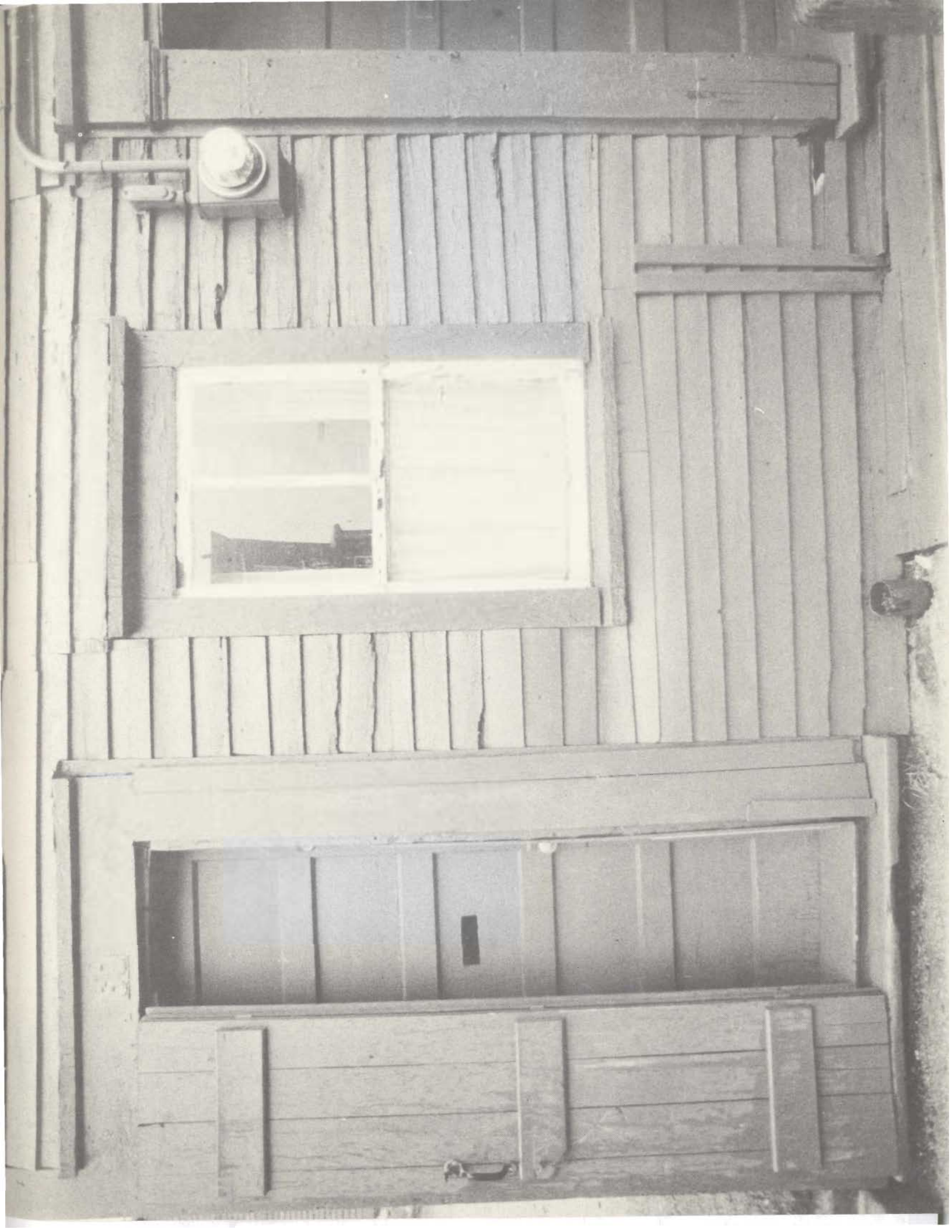
The conclusions and recommendations are the product of the residents and business persons of St. John's Centre. The goal of reinforcing the residential qualities of St. John's Centre was the measure of each recommendation. Briefly, houses need to be safe, the circulation system needs to be relieved of the overload of auto traffic, the level of municipal services and the quality of municipal facilities needs to be upgraded, and a sense of history needs to be integrated into our development decisions.

It is important to note that these recommendations are

relevant to the whole of the lower town. People in the heart of the city are critically important to the health of the business and commerce functions of our central city. To ignore one in the favour of the other is defeating for both.







STUDY DESIGN:

The project began in mid-May of 1972. The two objectives noted in the introduction were identified and the criteria for selecting the study area were settled. Ideally, one would prefer the residents of a lower town area to have approached People's Planning Programme, but the constraints of commencing the project in the time specified by the Secretary of State contract made waiting impossible.

The criteria for selecting the study area were:

- 1) a lower town area
- 2) an area that could be considered a "likely" candidate for urban renewal
- 3) an area that had a piece of "idle vacant land"
- 4) an area that had space available for an office

A number of areas were considered. A choice was made between Temperance Street and Allan Square. Temperance Street was rejected due to its likely conflict with Plan 91, it being the most feasible route for the Harbour Arterial to exit from the lower town to the north if the Kings Bridge Road exit was dismissed. Conducting the project in Temperance Street could be illegitimate as PPP may have tried to argue two things at the expense of the residents.

By the fact that the project was being imposed on the area it was left as unstructured as possible. There were no determinantes, excepting to remain casual. The initial six weeks were devoted to familiarizing ourselves with the study area and familiarizing the residents with PPP. The relationship was informal and consisted of exchanging information.

Half of the project staff were residents of the lower town and St. John's Centre. Decisions were made internally by consensus with no formal hierarchy of decision making.

The second six weeks of the project consisted of a series of interviews, feed-back, action, feed-back, and more feed-back. A perceived needs survey was conducted door to door. The nature of the survey was that of a conversation piece. It was relatively straight-forward, open-ended, and simple. There was no time limit on the length of the interview. The responses were not structured and the data was understandably not capable of being statistically organized and retrieved.

The study area, or St. John's Centre as delineated, was identified only after eight weeks of the project. In the course of the perceived needs survey residents and business persons were asked about their range of contacts, i.e. where do you shop? where do you go to church? where do you play? where do you work?, etc. The extent of contacts were plotted. The area boundary conformed to the area in which we found a consistency of activity patterns. In the end the boundary was struck with the idea in mind that our manpower allowed us to conduct person to person contact on a relatively small area.

The name of the study area was derived from asking the residents how they would identify the area they lived in to someone in the west end. St. John's Centre was the most frequent answer.

Clear needs on which there was a consensus were identified. One was the need for a small play space and the second was for relief of a traffic problem. Technical work was done on these two issues and arguments prepared for the City Council to consider. The information was fed back to the residents and petitions circulated to serve as a check on the information. The petitions were put to the City Council and seemingly well received. To this date no firm

decisions have been made on the recommendations.

Information obtained from the perceived needs survey was fed-back to the residents on a person to person basis. Where there was agreement on the needs, residents were asked to identify solutions.

The possible solutions were considered as a whole and an outline plan was drafted. This outline was two and one-half pages long and more a document to talk over rather than to talk about. Revisions were made to the solutions and this document, the plan, represents the next step.

An inventory of census material, school records, accident reports, fire statistics, CMHC data, information from the clergy, information from the social agencies concerned with the area, etc, was not gathered until the final six weeks of the project. This information served only as a check on the perceptions of the area residents.

The land use classification is straightforward. The structural quality analysis used the classification system of T. Boulton, author of the city's last urban renewal study (196g). Residents had been asked their perception of the quality of their own residence and the quality of the structures in the area as a whole. Residents who were on the PPP staff for the project conducted the objective second measure. The five category system of Boulton was explained to the surveyors and they served as checks on one another's judgements. The result of the survey was that the five category system was reduced to a four category system, the last classification (very bad) was eliminated.

The traffic study is outlined in the July 31, 1972 correspondence to the City (attached).

Physical measurements were done by planimeter.

A broader survey of lower town housing was conducted in the final three weeks of the project. This survey served as a check on the "representative" nature of the study area. The survey was conducted in the daylight hours and the interview time was less than twenty minutes. The controls of the survey were loose and we can only suggest that St. John's Centre is "illustrative" of the lower town and not necessarily "representative."

There has been no effort to "organize" the area residents. By the fact that the PPP provided the impetus in this planning process we felt it to be unfair to organize, or manipulate a response.

Video-tape as a tool was employed only once in the course of the work prior to the preparation of the plan document. The residents were not receptive to being recorded and the VTR application was deleted. The residents were reluctant, and reasonably so, to openly discuss issues in a recording situation with persons whom they had been acquainted with for only a brief time.

The program was conducted in a contracted time period. Fifteen weeks have elapsed from the time of pinpointing the neighborhood to the beginning of the plan presentation. For an exploratory program that was creating its procedures as it went along, the time period was exceedingly brief.

It is difficult to point to techniques that were productive, for the process has just begun. This plan document is the object over which the area has been asked to act collectively for the first time. There is at this time no formal organization within the area representing the interests of the residents. The implementation of the ideas contained in this document shall have to be the measure of success of the project.

STATISTICAL NOTES ON THE STUDY AREA:

Dwelling units surveyed - 145
 Businesses surveyed - 10
 Population - 600

All of these figures are shifting. They are not absolutely accurate today.

Gross density - 47 persons per acre
 Gross area - 12.75 acres

Children are present in 117 of the 145 dwelling units.

Ownership status - 53 owner occupied
 - 92 tenant occupied

Crowding - The gross population is declining (12.5% decrease from 1951 to 1971 for the entire census tract), but the number of households has increased (13.5% increase from 1951 to 1971 for the entire census tract). The number of family units utilizing the facilities has increased, but 115 of the 145 dwelling units did not feel crowded.

Residential land use - 71 buildings housed only one family
 - 20 buildings housed two families
 - 12 buildings housed more than two families

Approximately 50% of the area residents complained of household pests. Nearly all of the complainants were tenants.

Car ownership - 51 residents own their own car
 Persons per household - PPH has decreased from 5.1 to 4.6 from 1951 to 1966
 Households with lodgers - An increase of 25% was measured from 1951 to 1966
 Single person households - A 125% increase was measured from 1951 to 1966

There is a decrease in the number of households with multiple families indicating a shift from extended families to nuclear families.

Families with children - There is a 13% decrease in the number of families with two or less children. There is a 44% increase in the number of families with five or more children. There is an 8% increase in the number of children per family for families with children less than six years old.

Income - 1961 data - Head of household earned less than \$3,000 annually.

Age group migration- The age group 25 to 45 from 1951 to 1966 decreased by 25% (for the City as a whole it increased by 15%)

In 1961 11% of the City population lived in St. John's Centre. This has decreased to about 7% in 1971. (For the entire census tract).

LAND USE NOTES:

PROSPECTIVE INFILL SITES:

The Land Use Map, Plate No. I, is relatively straight forward. The area is primarily residential with commercial activities located at corners. There is no formal open space in the area. The undeveloped land is demarked as "prospective infill sites." The infill site for which the infill scheme is designed includes some residential land.






Six dwelling units on Tessier Place, all in bad condition, are included in the infill site. A small portion of the deep rear yards of the residences facing on Livingstone Street are included in the infill site.

The infill site selected is the most difficult site in the area to develop. The land rises fifty feet in a distance on approximately 120 feet.

Briefly, the area is intensely developed as residential properties with convenience commercial facilities. There is a single office activity and a printing activity. As well, there are community and neighborhood entertainment facilities, e.g. a movie theatre, a Legion Hall, a bingo hall, and a local tavern.

EXISTING LAND USE
PROSPECTIVE TRAIL SITES

LEGEND

-  SINGLE FAMILY RESIDENTIAL
-  MULTIPLE FAMILY RESIDENTIAL
-  BUSINESS WITH DWELLINGS
-  COMMERCIAL
-  UNDEVELOPED LAND





**STRUCTURE QUALITY INVENTORY
LEGEND**

	GOOD
	FAIR
	POOR

APPENDIX NUMBER IV

STUDY AREA DESCRIPTION:

St. John's Centre is bounded by Henry Street, north to Church Hill, west to Gower Street, southwest to Long's Hill, west to Murray Street, south to Carters Hill, east to Carters Hill extended to Queens Road, north to Boggan Street, and east to Henry Street.

The gross area is 12 3/4 acres.

The area from Henry Street to Livingstone Street has a fairly constant slope of 1 to 10. The land from Livingstone Street to Tessier Place rises sharply at 1 to 2. From Tessier Place to Murray Street the land rises at 1 to 10.

The lowest elevation is 90 ft. rising to a high of 190 ft. The rise of approximately 100 ft. occurs in a lineal distance of approximately 1,200 ft.

APPENDIX NUMBER V

His Worship the Mayor, and the
Members of City Council,
City Hall,
St. John's, Newfoundland.

Dear Councillors:

It has been brought to your attention that People's Planning Program is currently involved with a project in the area of St. John's Centre. In this matter, a petition calling for playground space for the children of this area has already been presented to you for your consideration. This petition, which was met favourably on your behalf, and for which all those concerned are grateful, arose out of a need expressed by the residents, for which there was a general consensus.

Another pressing problem was conveyed to us through our survey and concerned traffic arrangements throughout the area. The main concerns were:

1.) The great extent to which Allan Square and a section of Livingstone Street is being used as a "shortcut" for traffic heading East on Queens Road and going to Long's Hill. It is felt that this traffic is well in excess of that normally permitted on a residential street and as such presents a real hazard to residents, especially children, adds to the noise level, is an invasion of privacy, and detracts from property value. As was pointed out in the petition for playground space, due to a lack of such facilities, children are often obliged to play in the street despite the traffic.

2.) The absence of off-street parking for private vehicles, and the extent to which existing on-street parking is being used by non-residents. These non-residents, it is felt, are composed mainly of downtown employees during the daytime and hingo-goers at night. Such use of existing parking space by non-residents, moreover, makes it very inconvenient for residents wishing to find space for their own cars and again is an invasion of privacy.

In response to those complaints a traffic survey was designed to determine if they were, in fact, justified, and, if indeed they were, to measure the extent to which the situation had grown. The survey was conducted in two parts - the first dealing with moving traffic and the second with parked vehicles. The results can be seen in the accompanying diagrams.

It was found that 72% of all cars entering Allan Square from Queens Road were continuing on via Livingstone Street to Long's Hill. Moreover, it was found by correlation that this was 65% of all the traffic going from Queens Road heading East to Long's Hill. In other words, approximately 2 out of every 3 cars going from Queens Road to Long's Hill are using the Allan Square/Livingstone Street shortcut, or 3 out of every 4 cars going along Allan Square/Livingstone Street have no need to do so.

This traffic flow can also be seen to flux with that of traffic flows from the commercial district with the time of day. This may indicate that shoppers and employees are possibly the cause of such through traffic.

In regards to parking, it was found through our initial survey that at most only 60 residentially owned vehicles were in the area. However, the number of parked cars in this same area was always well in excess of this number and at times more than double. From the graph, it can be seen that parking peaks twice during the day, in the morning and afternoon, with a very significant decrease at lunch hour. This graph, moreover, is comparable to exhibit 18 of the Deleuw Cather Traffic Study showing downtown parking patterns. It becomes obvious that those people using these streets for parking are not residents but employees and perhaps shoppers in the downtown area. Consultation with residents and subsequent sampling, showed that many of the vehicles involved belonged to employees of the Newfoundland Telephone Company.

At this point, People's Planning Program would like to take exception to the afore-mentioned Deleuw Cather Traffic Study for St. John's. Exhibit 17 shows existing downtown parking supply which includes many residential areas in the lower section of the city, one of which is St. John's Centre. There is an obvious conflict between residentially and commercially oriented parking use. It is deplorable that residents of the area should have their streets designated for such use when it is not and would not be tolerated in other areas of the city, viz. the Baird Subdivision being used as parking for the Avalon Mall.

In passing, it should be noted that the same traffic study designates Queens Road as an urban arterial road, while stating that no "improvements" will be made due to the existing conditions of the area. The report goes on to state, however, that absolute minimum standard width for such four lane roads shall be 44' from curb to curb. Our measurements show the section of Queens Road in our study area to be at most only 38' wide from curb to curb. The question has been put to us by the residents to explain the apparent discrepancy in relation to what it will mean to them at their homes. What will it mean to their children who will have to cross an already crowded road to get to the only playground in the area? Perhaps Council can explain the situation to everyone's satisfaction!

People's Planning Program recommends that the issues brought before Council in this brief and supported by the petition of the residents be referred to the City Engineer's office for appropriate action in relieving the situation.

The problem of traffic using the Allan Square/Livingstone Street shortcut we feel could be remedied by placing a "No Left Turn" sign at the corner of Livingstone Street and Long's Hill accompanied by a sign stating "No Access to Long's Hill North" at the entrance to Allan Square. The parking problem is more complex, however, and does not lend itself to a straight forward solution.

No matter what course of action is decided upon, it should be put to the residents for approval before implementation. The PPP urges the city to act upon this matter and resolve what is obviously a poor situation.

Thank you very much for your consideration.

Sincerely,

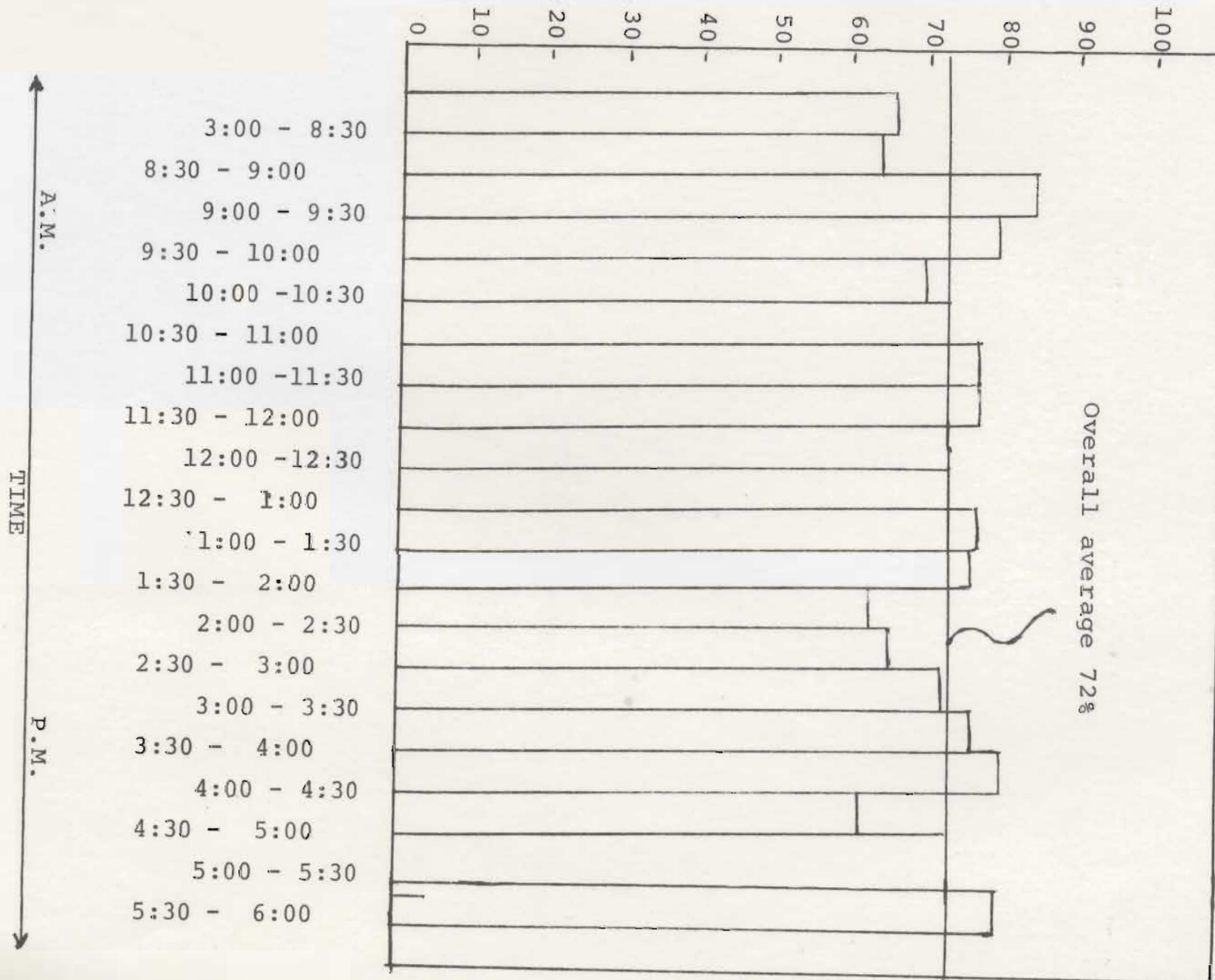
Doug Moody,
for
People's Planning Program.

**CIRCULATION & STREET
HARDWARE
LEGEND.**

-  DO NOT ENTER
-  NO PARKING
-  STOP
-  YIELD
-  NO LEFT TURN
-  RIGHT TURN
-  KEEP RIGHT.
-  BUS STOP
-  ONE WAY
-  LOADING ZONE
- PEDESTRIAN CROSS WALK

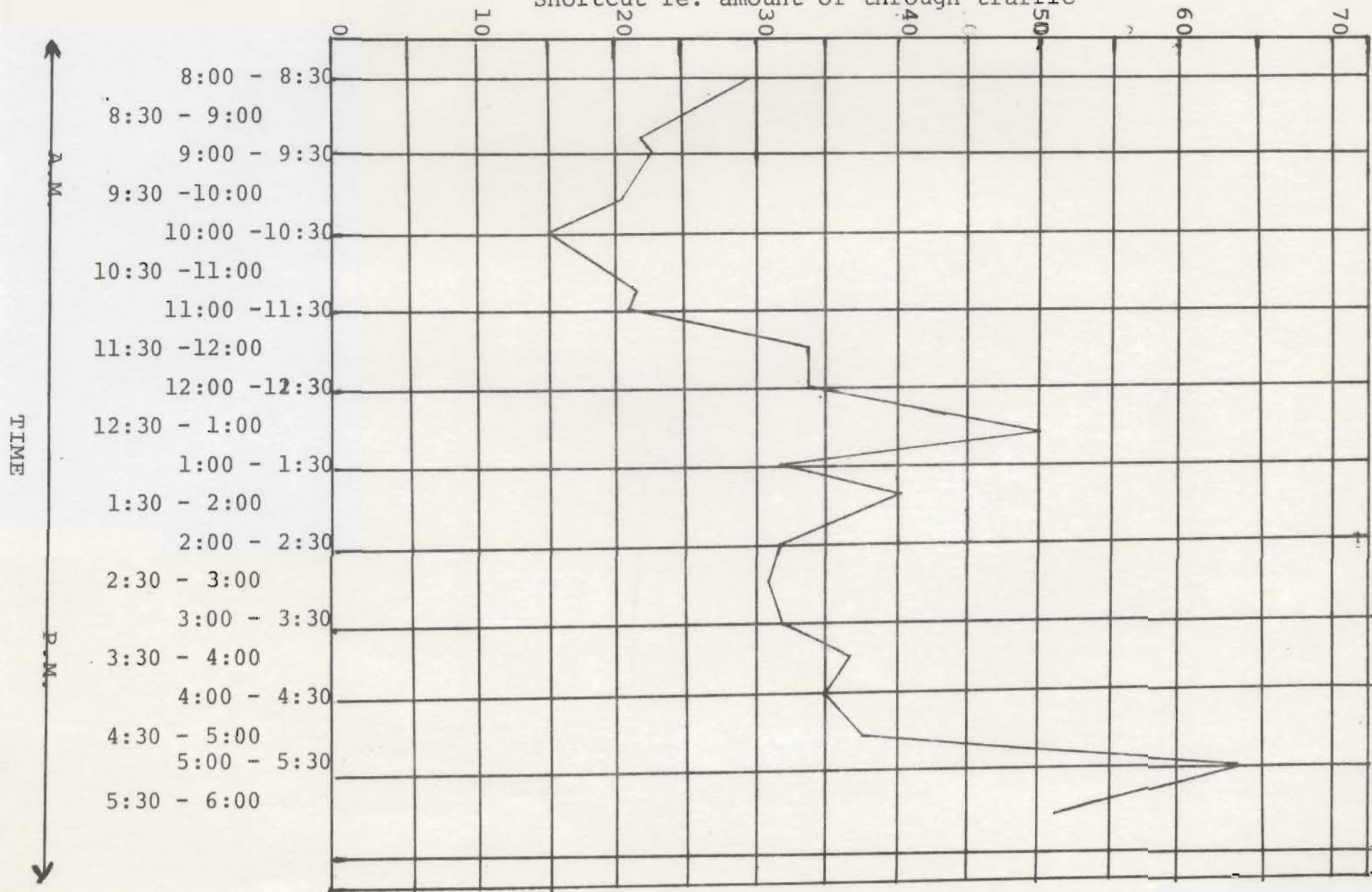
HWARE

No. of cars using Allan Sq./Livingstone St. as a shortcut from Queen's Road to Long's Hill expressed as a percentage of cars entering Allan Square.

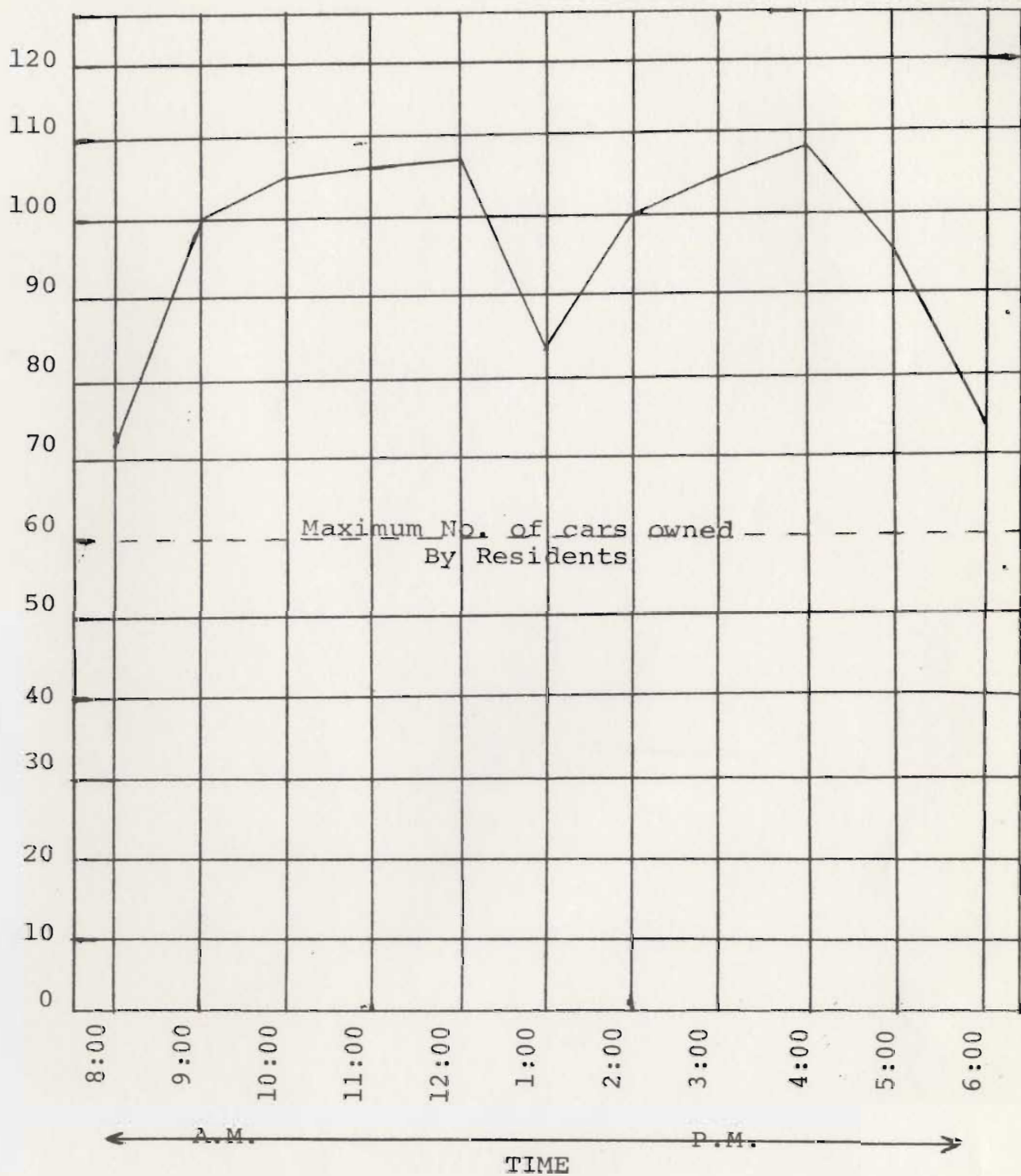


Average No. of cars using the Allan Square/Livingstone Street

Shortcut re. amount of through traffic



Average No. of cars parked in survey area



His Worship the Mayor and the
Members of the City Council
City Hall,
St. John's, Newfoundland.

Dear Councillors:

The area referred to as "St. John's Centre" for the purposes of the People's Planning Program survey, is bounded by Henry Street on the south; by Church Hill on the east; by Long's Hill on the northeast; by Murray Street on the northwest; by Carter's Hill and the extension of Carter's Hill to Queen's road on the west; and by Queen's Road and Boggan Street on the southwest. The area contains Balsam St., Allan Sq., Dicks Sq., Bulley St., and portions of Queen's Road and Livingstone Street.

The PPP's work for the area is aimed at producing a neighborhood plan in September of this year. However, during the course of our surveying and research the people of the area have expressed a few needs for which there is seemingly consensus. The attached petition expresses one of these needs.

Our initial surveying was aimed at determining perceived needs rather than being a "mini-census." As such, we can only speak of estimates of numbers of dwelling units and population. There are approximately 800 persons in the St. John's Centre area. The most frequented park is Bannerman Park, over one-half mile from St. John's Centre.

The Draft Master Plan standards for open spaces for St. John's indicate that a play lot or playground of one to three acres in size is needed for the residents of St. John's Centre.

Within St. John's Centre there is no formal open space at this time. Teenage persons, and older persons with access to private automobiles, have available active open play spaces. Small children and elementary school-aged persons have no accessible formal play spaces.

The attached petition calls for a general supervised open space. The PPP is of the opinion that the most pressing need is for small open spaces, a need recognized by the proposed Plan 91.

There is within St. John's Centre a number of vacant lots, some of which we find owned by the City Council. It is these spaces that we feel are most amenable to the development of tot-lots. It should be noted that the word "supervised" in the petition may be taken to mean "maintained"! A tot-lot can ordinarily be supervised by adults caring for young children.

The PPP's emphasis on the specific need for tot-lots does not diminish the need for play lots of a larger size designed for the use of older children. At this time the open space used for active recreation by older children is the street. This is obviously not a desirable situation.

The attached petition was circulated during the week of July 10th by staff members of the PPP. For the most part those persons circulating the petition are residents of St. John's Centre.

Thank you for your consideration.

Yours,

Roger D. Bill, Co-ordinator
PPP
July 26, 1972

ST. JOHN'S CENTRE - PLANNING/72

PROJECT STAFF

Lesley Ayre
Roger Bill - Co-ordinator
Bonnie Boyd
George Brodie
Ron Budgell
Bob Chanteloup
Charlie Chaytor
Blake Cryderman
Herb Davis - Project Co-ordinator
Trish Fuchs
Sharon Gray
Margaret Guinness
Gerry Halley
Hayward Keats
Jane McLaughlin
Doug Moody - Project Co-ordinator
Ken Noseworthy
Jean Putt
Jean Ryan
Susan Sherk
Patsy Stack - and a lot of friends

PHOTOS BY

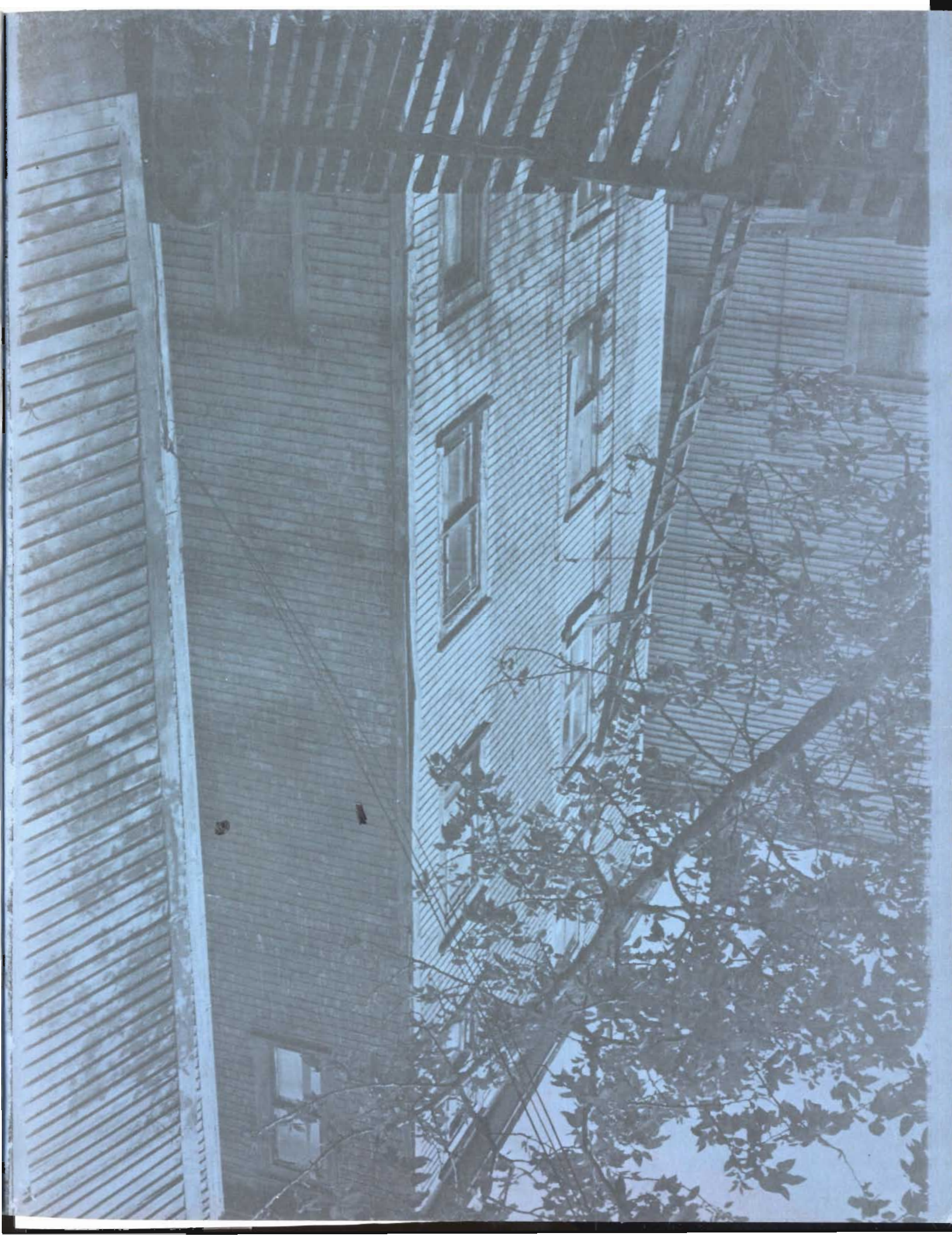
Bill Berns
Bill Coultass
Terry McDonald
Stuart Roth

ARCHITECTURAL DESIGNS

Phil Pratt
Bill MacCallum

October, 1972

People's Planning Program
P.O. Box 2061
St. John's, Newfoundland



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

1

