

COMMUNITY ATTITUDE
TO
CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

COMMUNITY ATTITUDE TO CITIZEN PARTICIPATION :
THE NORTH PICKERING
PUBLIC PARTICIPATION EXPERIMENT

by

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ABSTRACT

The primary purposes of the study are to explain the essentials of citizen participation and see how the community has reacted to an actual example of citizen participation, the North Pickering Public Participation Program.

Citizen participation emerges as a consequence of both the planners' and the people's consciousness. It means different things to different people, but few cases represent true participation. In the study, an implicit comparison is made between an officially-initiated public participation process and a community-preferred one.

Urbanization and suburbanization have brought about intense growth in the existing urban centres and tremendous loss of agricultural land in Southern Ontario. The choice of North Pickering as the site for a new town is claimed to be an answer to the growth objective of decentralization and deconcentration. Its planning process has proceeded with a large-scale citizen participation program. "Information and consultation" are the official strategies from which "decision-making is to be a shared one". Most people are not happy with the participation process for they have not been truly consulted and their opinions have not been considered, although official sources say the final plan for North Pickering reflects public inputs. The community prefers a process in which they are given some power over the bargaining process.

It is suggested that the North Pickering Participation Process represents some degree of tokenism. The officials have the intent, but not the proper way, of involving the people. Thus frustrations arise on both sides. This probably explains why a similar process will not go with the planning of Townsend, another new town to be built in Southern Ontario.

Though not satisfactory, citizen participation in North Pickering is a worthwhile experience. It should be a start rather than an end in itself.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The research in this study has two sources of inspiration. First, although planning has been mainly a physical activity, there has recently been increasing concern with social objectives in planning. Thus directly or indirectly, community reaction and participation is playing a significant role in the planning process. Second, the Ontario government, in order to cope with pressures for growth, has announced proposals for the development of several "new towns". Of particular interest is the new town of North Pickering where a major experiment in citizen participation was initiated.

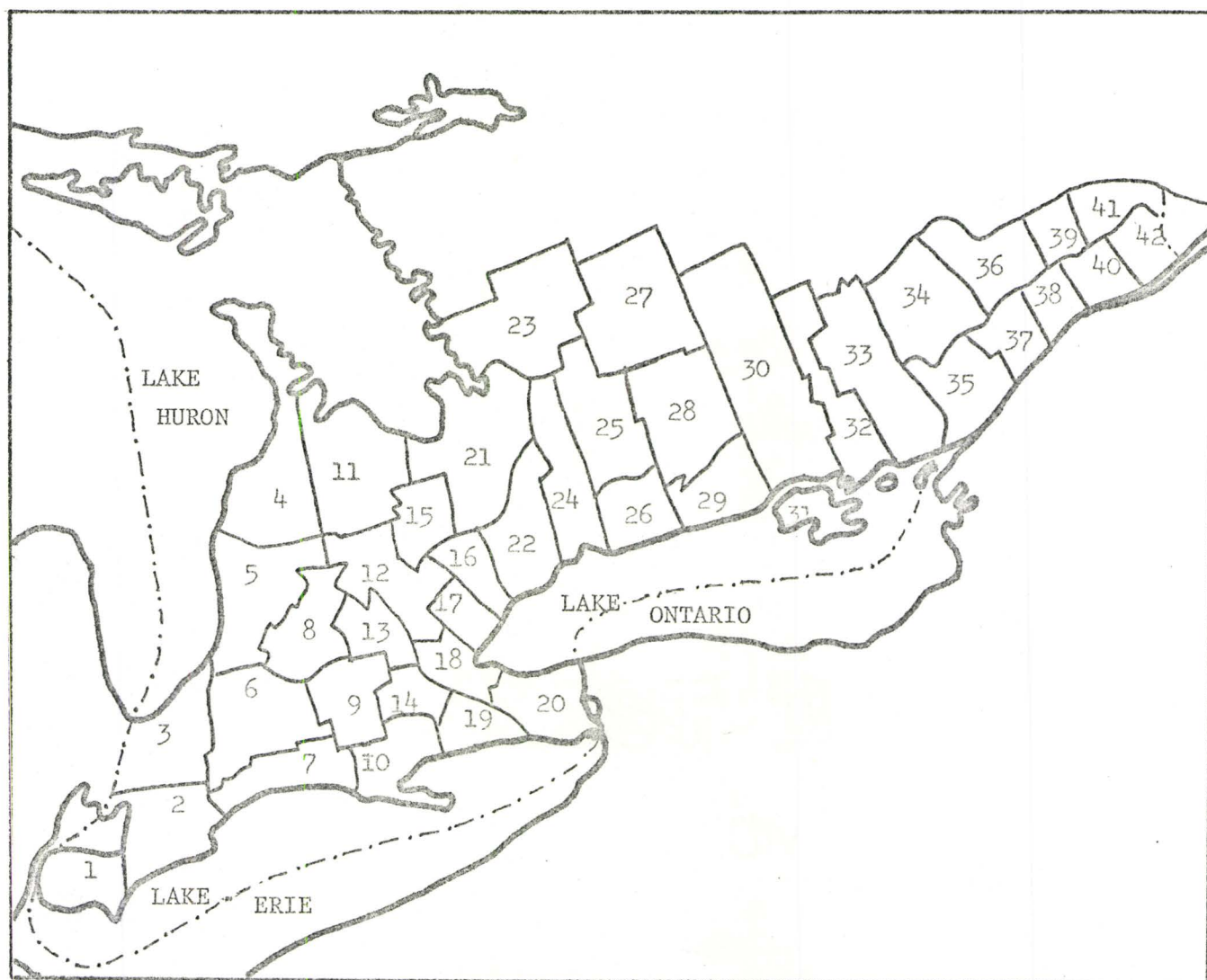
Both North Pickering and Townsend are chosen new town sites. North Pickering is in Ontario County, lying to the north-east of Toronto. Townsend, more related to the Hamilton-Niagara Region, lies amid the Haldimand County, to the north-west of the new industrial complex in Nanticoke. Both sites were chosen to relieve growth pressures or accommodate growth in the nearby communities of "Southern Ontario". As one of the ten regional divisions in the Province of Ontario, the official South Ontario Region comprises the regions of Wentworth, Niagara, Brant, Norfolk, and Haldimand. But in this paper, "Southern Ontario" refers to the

southern half of the Province of Ontario. Figure 1 indicates the region here defined as Southern Ontario. It comprises a total of 42 counties.

This research is intended to give a theoretical as well as a practical treatment of citizen participation. Besides trying to understand the trend of urban growth in Southern Ontario and why the two sites of North Pickering and Townsend are especially chosen, the objectives of the research are (i) to search for a meaning to citizen participation; (ii) to understand the community objectives and analyse their reactions to the new town proposals and the officially initiated citizen participation process; (iii) to assess the North Pickering Public Participation Process (NPPPP); and (iv) to evaluate the implication of the North Pickering experience.

The following is a general outline of the subsequent chapters. Chapter 2 gives an account of urban growth in Southern Ontario, its recent planning policies and the intended direction of planning. Chapter 3 is a theoretical discussion of citizen participation and its role in the planning process. Chapter 4 describes the officially initiated NPPPP, and an official evaluation of the process. Chapter 5 analyses the results of two surveys on community reaction to the NPPPP. The last chapter includes a general evaluation of the NPPPP, its implications, and suggests a participation process the community would prefer.

Fig. 1 : Southern Ontario



- | | | |
|---------------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Essex | 16 Peel | 31 Prince Edward |
| 2 Kent | 17 Halton | 32 Lennox & Addington |
| 3 Lambton | 18 Wentworth | 33 Frontenac |
| 4 Bruce | 19 Haldimand | 34 Lanark |
| 5 Huron | 20 Niagara | 35 Leeds |
| 6 Middlesex | 21 Simcoe | 36 Ottawa - Carleton |
| 7 Elgin | 22 York | 37 Grenville |
| 8 Perth | 23 Muskoka | 38 Dundas |
| 9 Oxford | 24 Ontario | 39 Russell |
| 10 Norfolk | 25 Victoria | 40 Stormont |
| 11 Grey | 26 Durham | 41 Prescott |
| 12 Wellington | 27 Haliburton | 42 Glengarry |
| 13 Waterloo | 28 Peterborough | |
| 14 Brant | 29 Northumberland | |
| 15 Dufferin | 30 Hastings | |

CHAPTER 2

URBAN GROWTH IN SOUTHERN ONTARIO.

Southern Ontario is the most urbanized part of Canada. In 1970, 70% of the Canadian population was classified as urban (Lithwick, 1970); that is, living in places of over 1,000 people, or in the built-up fringes of incorporated areas of over 50,000 people. And the percentage of urbanization of Southern Ontario alone was much greater than that of Canada as a whole, well passing the 80% point (Table 2).

Southern Ontario contains 9 of the country's 22 metropolitan areas. The area contains 31.7% of the total Canadian population (1971). The area around Toronto is growing at an especially higher rate (Table 1). Davies (1972) has shown that larger cities have been increasing at a greater rate than smaller centres.

Urban growth in Southern Ontario has caused two problems : growth concentration and uneven dispersion; and continuous pressure on agricultural land (Yeates, 1975).

GROWTH TRENDS

As is known, urban growth in Ontario concentrates on a strip along the Lake Ontario Shore. New growth has been outward in concentric arcs from the two main centres, Toronto and Hamilton. Among the 40 cities and metropolitan areas in Ontario, these two

respectively take up the first and second position in the urban hierarchy (Bourne et al., 1973). The whole area is dominated by interaction with Toronto.

Between 1951 and 1971, Toronto population increased by 117%, while the population increase in Hamilton was 78%. For the same period, the increase for Southern Ontario as a whole was only 72.2%. This suggests concentrated and centralized growth. By 1971, Toronto and Hamilton together constituted nearly 46% of the total population in Southern Ontario. (Table 1)

The increase in population in the major urban areas creates great demand on urban land. This is accentuated by industrial expansion and greater mobility through the motor vehicle. Urban growth tends to consume land in increasing volume per capita, as income and consumption increase. For example, Jackson (1973) has estimated that 1,500 acres of new land are required to accommodate 20,000 people in single family housing.

Where does the extra land come from? Two phenomena observed are increasing densities in Metro-centres, and suburbanization. Due to constraints on the availability of land within the central core of cities, construction of multiples and apartments has replaced that of detached houses. Core density increases, but even this has not accommodated all the growth, and most cities reach out into the countryside. For example, the population of the outer municipalities of the Toronto Region increased from 17% in 1951 to 40% in 1971 (Metropolitan Toronto Planning Department, 1975). Between 1951 and

1961, the increase in suburban population was 114% in Toronto and 131% in Hamilton (Census Canada, 1961). Consumption of land for urban purposes takes place at the periphery of the urban areas because it is sensitive not only to increase in total population, but to a changing distribution of population within the urban areas (Yeates, 1975, p.85).

As a consequence of large-scale suburbanization, extensive city-fringe areas are sporadically subdivided. Moreover land subdivision seems to have little respect for any specific potential the land may have. This is especially so with the Niagara Fruit Belt (Gertler, 1968, and Krueger, 1968). Large tracts of land are removed from agriculture and recreational use for relatively low density residential purposes. Urban encroachment threatens farming activities. Because of rising land values and speculation, much land is left idle. Owners are discouraged from using the land for productive purposes.

By and large, between 1951 and 1971, farm population in the whole region decreased by nearly 41% (Table 3), while total population in the area was actually increasing (Table 1). Farm population as a proportion of the total population declined from 15.4% in 1951 to 5.3% in 1971.

The total agricultural area lost to the urban growth process within the same period, 1951-71, was 3,251,609 acres, nearly 19% of that in 1951 (Table 4). Crerar (1962), in studying six metropolitan areas in Ontario in the 1941-1966 period, has found

TABLE 1 : Population and percentage change :
Canada and regions, 1951-71.

	Population			Percentage Change		
	1951	1961	1971	1951-61	1961-71	1951-71
Canada	14,009,429	18,238,247	21,568,310	+30.2	+18.3	+54.0
Ontario	4,597,542	6,236,092	7,703,105	+35.6	+23.6	+67.6
Southern Ontario ¹	3,967,060	5,194,651	6,830,652	+30.9	+31.5	+72.2
Toronto (CMA)	1,210,353	1,824,481	2,628,043	+50.7	+44.0	+117.1
Hamilton (CMA)	280,293	395,189	498,523	+41.0	+26.1	+77.9

Sources : Census Canada, 1951-71.

¹As defined on p.2.

TABLE 2 : Urban population and percentage urbanized :
Canada and regions, 1951-71.

	Urban Population			Percentage Urbanized		
	1951	1961	1971	1951	1961	1971
Canada	8,817,637	12,700,309	16,410,785	62.9	69.7	76.1
Ontario	3,375,825	4,823,529	6,343,630	73.4	77.3	82.4
Southern Ontario	3,011,483	4,297,578	5,723,900	75.9	82.7	83.8

Sources : Census Canada, 1951-71.

Table 3 : Farm population and percentage change:
Ontario and regions, 1951-71.

	Farm Population			Percentage Chage		
	1951	1961	1971	1951-61	1961-71	1951-71
Ontario	702,778	524,490	391,713	-25.4	-25.3	-44.3
Southern Ontario	610,767	471,710	362,760	-22.8	-23.1	-40.6
Golden Horseshoe ¹	100,509	67,088	51,377	-33.3	-23.4	-73.2

Sources : Census Canada, 1951-71.

Table 4 : Farm area and percentage change:
Ontario and regions, 1951-71.

	Farm area (acres)			Percentage change		
	1951	1961	1971	1951-61	1961-71	1951-71
Ontario	20,880,054	18,578,507	15,963,056	-11.0	-14.1	-24.5
Southern Ontario	17,250,658	15,910,341	13,999,049	- 7.8	-12.0	-18.8
Golden Horseshoe ¹	1,872,792	1,572,912	1,154,459	-16.0	-26.6	-38.4

Sources : Census Canada, 1951-71.

¹

As defined on p. 6.

that 148 acres of improved farmland were lost for every 1,000 increase in urban population.

Urban expansion in Southern Ontario generally consumes the most fertile acres. The actual loss of farmland of the Niagara Fruit Belt averaged 518 acres per year for 1951-66 (Gertler, 1968). Within the 1951-71 period, the rate of loss of agricultural land was the greatest in the Golden Horseshoe (It includes Ontario, York, Metropolitan Toronto, Peel, Halton, Wentworth and Niagara.), about 38% (Table 4). Assuming an annual increase in agricultural productivity of 2.4% per year (the estimated rate of increase in Canada between 1946 and 1965), the loss in production is striking (Jackson, 1973, p.206).

In general, urban growth in Southern Ontario has resulted in the following patterns:

- (1) Growth is concentrated in the existing metropolitan cores of Toronto and Hamilton.
- (2) Extensive suburbanization takes the form of relatively unstructured sprawl, especially along major transportation axis.
- (3) Regional growth is spatially unbalanced, occurring mainly along the west segment of Metropolitan Toronto toward the developed south-western part of the province. The considerable amount of growth in the area, together with "overconsumption" at low suburban densities, causes difficulty in providing them adequately with transportation and service networks (Design for Development: the Toronto-Centred Region, 1970).

- (4) The Province has worked to reinforce the existing strong inter- and intra-urban linkages among the well-developed south-western part of the region, but has done little to strengthen the linkages and ties with the north and the east.
- (5) Much fertile agricultural land has been lost to urban development, especially in the Niagara Region.

PLANNING POLICIES

The trends mentioned in the previous section are a combination of natural growth and of uncoordinated public policy. At individual levels, various municipal and regional governments pursued policies of their own. There was rarely any coordination and integration from the provincial government. The 1967 Metropolitan Toronto and Region Transportation Study stated that a laissez-faire policy did not produce the most desirable pattern of development, nor even the most efficient distribution of industry (Fraser et al., 1974). But this fact was not realized until the sixties when problems relating to extensive urbanization were already in evidence.

By 1981, Canada is expected to be 80% urbanized (Lithwick, 1970). Simmons and Bourne (1974) have noted that no degree of urban growth yet anticipated in Canada will occupy more than a thin band of land along the country's southern border. This implies that Southern Ontario "megapolis" will continue to grow. In 1970, the Minister of State for Urban Affairs predicted that the population of Canadian cities would double by 2000 A.D.. Toronto is likely to have nearly 6,000,000 inhabitants, while Hamilton would approach 1,000,000

(Bourne et al., 1973). Though Canadian cities are expected to demonstrate less drastic changes than their U.S. counterparts - for example, 'doughnut' - shaped models as prescribed by Berry (1970) and Morrison (1972) - a new planning direction is still desirable.

The provincial government now aims for an improved quality of life for all people of Ontario by encouraging more even distribution of population, and better use of natural environment.¹ The basic features are :

- (1) control of urban sprawl;
- (2) a pattern of separate communities;
- (3) a balanced growth between east and west of Toronto;
- (4) decentralization and deconcentration; and
- (5) preservation of the best agricultural land and the most attractive recreational areas.

The following are some of the major plans and programs for the region (Fig. 2).

The Toronto-Centred Region

As part of Design for Development, the Toronto-Centred Region (TCR) concept was unveiled in 1970. As an extension of Metropolitan Toronto and Region Transportation Study, the TCR area stretches from Hamilton west to Kitchener - Waterloo, north to Georgian Bay, and east to Peterborough.

¹ For more details refer to Design for Development : the Toronto-Centred Region, p.10-11.

Fig. 2 : Regional Study Boundaries



Central Ontario Lakeshore Urban Complex



Toronto - Centred Region



Haldimand - Norfolk Study Area

The TCR development concept is based on principles of linearity, functional efficiency, decentralization, space conservation and natural resource conservation. The Region will contain over three-fifths of the provincial population by 2000 A.D., increasing from its present proportion of half. The TCR consists of three zones.

Zone 1, along the lakeshore between Bowmanville and Hamilton, has a 2-tier structure of cities, which are to be separated and contained by a Parkway Belt and a series of minibelts of undeveloped ravines and valleys. New development within the zone is directed to the east by decelerating population growth rate in the west and the reserve in the east. This is intended to reduce pressure on Metropolitan Toronto and the western corridor, both of which are showing effects of congestion and excessive land prices.

Zone 2 is the commutershed of the Region, preserved for agriculture and recreational use. Urban development is to be discouraged partly because of the high cost of providing sewer and water services.

Zone 3 is the peripheral zone beyond commuting distance of Toronto, but strongly influenced by it. It is where development diverted from the lakeshore is to be directed. The two centres of decentralization are Simcoe - Georgian and Port Hope - Cobourg. Population here is expected to grow between 20% and 25% by 2000 A.D.

The Central Ontario Lakeshore Urban Complex

The Central Ontario Lakeshore Urban Complex (COLUC) area is a triangular-shaped open space frame bounded on the south by the

lakeshore, on the west by the Niagara Escarpment and on the north by the Oak Ridges Moraines.

The COLUC study (1973) aims at an urban system that brings services as near to consumers as in the light of economies of scale and agglomeration, while accomplishing the desired objectives of decentralization and deconcentration in an open space system.

The COLUC area consists of 23 urban places mostly grouped about an E - W axis stretching from Hamilton to Oshawa. They are arrayed into two tiers paralleling Lake Ontario, and separated by a Parkway Belt. The urban places are themselves separated by minibelts. The rest of the COLUC area is assigned a stable, low density, rural role.

The 23 urban places are assigned functional roles according to which activities are allocated. The objective is to optimize the level of service while recognising the forces of diversification, specialization, competition and complementarity. Functionally they are grouped into 4 sub-regions, focused upon Hamilton, Mississauga, Toronto and Oshawa. Each sub-region will be highly diversified and relatively self-sufficient, depending on Toronto only for the most specialized services. In accordance with their functional roles, the urban places are assigned preferred population and employment allocations for 1986 and 2001. At maturity, sometime between 2000 and 2050, COLUC will have a threshold of 6 million people and a 'system capacity' of less than 8 million. Then the secondary sector is expected to take up 30% of the employment with the remaining 70% to the tertiary and quaternary sectors.

The Lake Erie - Niagara Region

This region, officially termed the South Ontario Region, comprises the counties of Wentworth, Niagara, Brant, Norfolk and Haldimand. Because of its favourable location in the large Ontario market, its proximity to the U.S., and the presence of a combination of unique natural resources, it is a fastest growing region in the Province. But development has been concentrated in a narrow arc of land stretching from Brantford in the north-west to St. Catharines in the east.

Pressures of urbanization around the region's cities are resulting in the deterioration of rural landscape. Development along the shorelines of Lake Ontario and Lake Erie have been uncoordinated and uneconomical. For these reasons, the provincial government has undertaken to provide a more comprehensive and coordinated development program in the region. A study by the Regional Development Branch of the Department of Treasury and Economics (Design for Development : Niagara Region) has indicated high priority for the region's economic development, transportation and communication, community and regional environment, recreation and culture.

Of the various counties in South Ontario, Haldimand-Norfolk receives prime attention. Presently it is largely an agricultural area, but such pattern will not continue much longer. The new development and establishments at or around Nanticoke will significantly affect the structure and characteristics of the area.

Thus in Haldimand-Norfolk, the problem now is not one of generating economic growth, but dealing with consequences of growth which has been imposed on the area on a massive scale. The proposed industrial growth will probably increase the population from 84,000 in 1973 to 320,000 by 2000, with over a quarter million being urban.

To accommodate and control long-term urban growth, concentration in a few locations is recommended. This has the advantages of more economical provision of services, greater diversification of economic base, wider range of opportunities. Accordingly, proposals have been made that, from 1974 to 1980, growth should be focussed on one or more communities where local services can be expanded. This can help to initiate development of a major growth point, and initiate planned distribution of growth to other communities. As from 1981 to 2001, there should be continued development of the growth point with concentration of primary area facilities and community services, Meanwhile, growth of selected existing communities should continue, with the objective of creating a balanced hierarchy of urban cities.

NEW TOWN PROPOSALS

The Province of Ontario has, in Southern Ontario, three new town sites, North Pickering in Ontario, Townsend and South Cayuga in Haldimand-Norfolk (Fig. 3 and 4). All sites occupy existing agricultural areas. North Pickering and Townsend are to be built first. In the former, the first residential neighbourhoods are expected to be ready in 1977, whereas in the latter, the first houses are to be built by the fall 1977. North Pickering and Townsend are

Fig. 3 : Regional Location of North Pickering

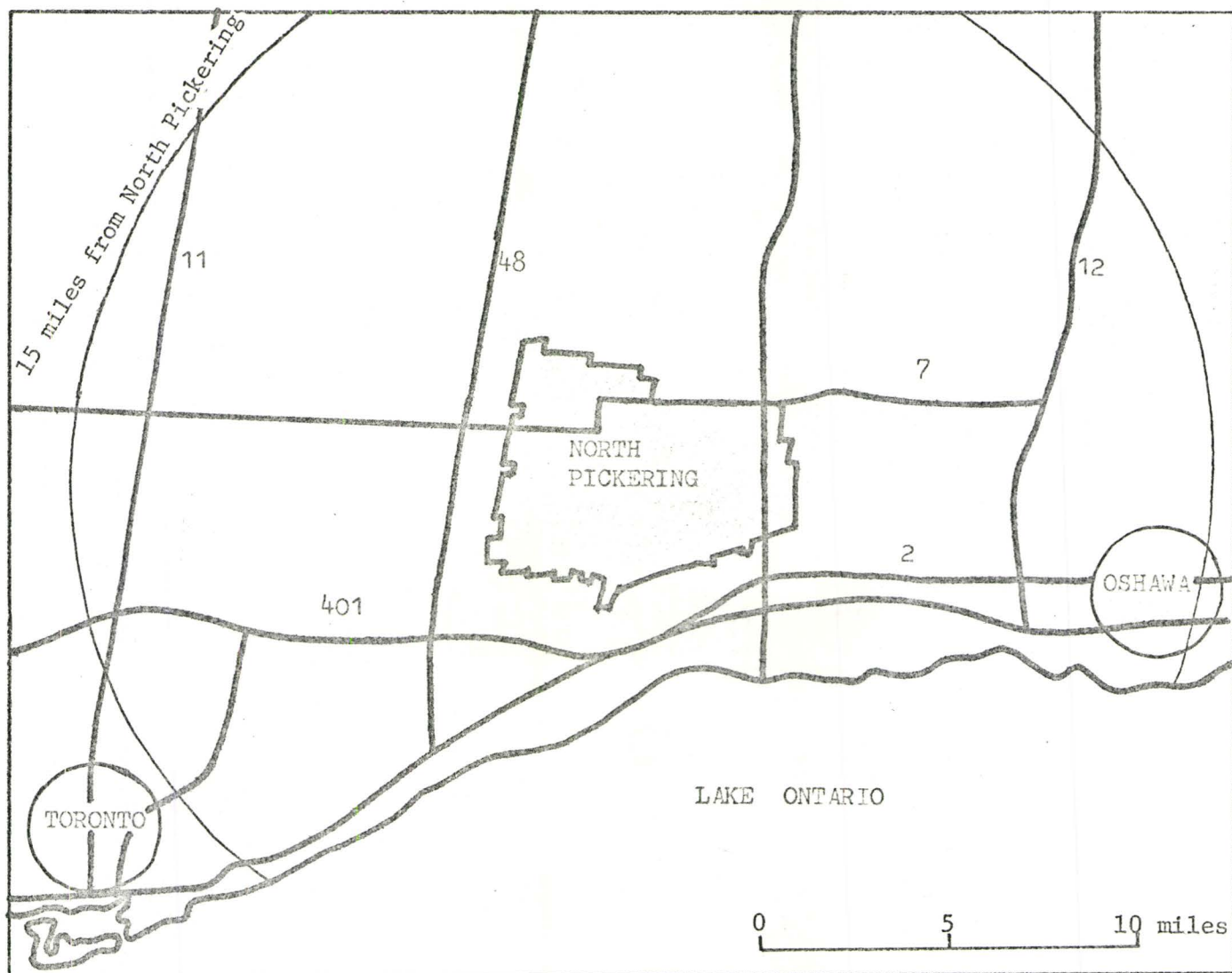
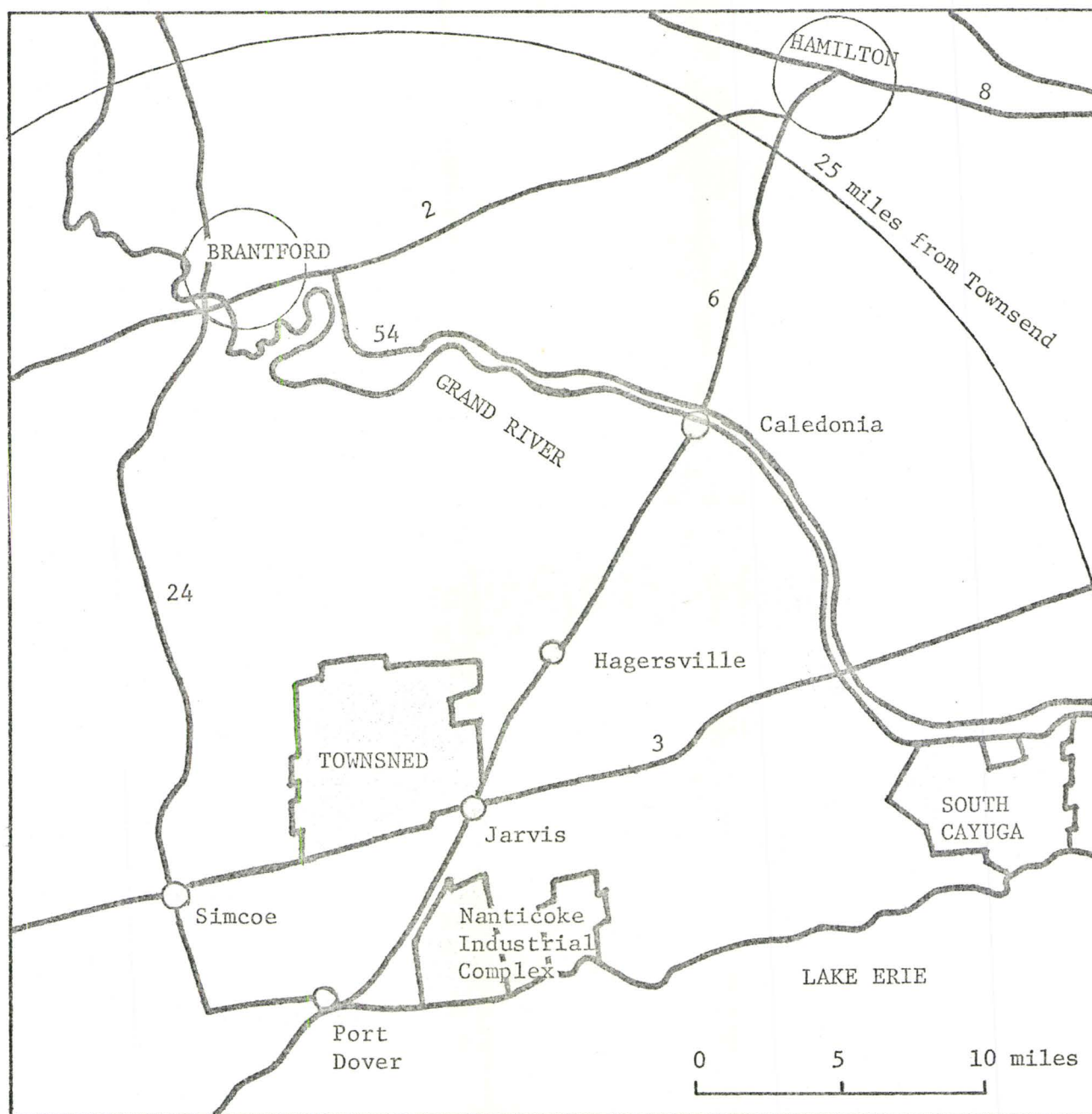


Fig. 4 : Regional Location of Townsend and South Cayuga



at different stages of the planning process, but both are responses to studies discussed in the previous section.

North Pickering is located north-east of Metro-Toronto and it has an area of 25,200 acres. Announced in March 1972, the North Pickering Project has the objectives to ensure orderly development adjacent to the then proposed Pickering Airport², and to provide a spring board for development east of Metro-Toronto.

Townsend, adjacent of Jarvis, is situated to the north-east of Simcoe and Port Dover. It has an area of about 15,000 acres, the acquiring of which began in May 1974. The Townsend new town is intended to cope with the industrial growth in Nanticoke, by providing a residential base for the early Nanticoke population influx, and by laying a foundation for future development of the region.

The North Pickering Project first aimed at a population of 225,000, although this figure has since been greatly reduced.

When announcement about Townsend was made, a population of about 300,000 was suggested. But in the summer of 1975, provincial official said that Townsend would grow to between 80,000 and 100,000 in 30 years (possibly as a reflection of the Stelco decision to postpone actual output date and reduce production size). Anything concerning the proposed development in Townsend up to the time of writing is still a mystery to the public except that a Townsend Development Program and a Townsend Advisory Committee have been established.

² The proposal was finally dropped in 1975 under strong community pressure.

CHAPTER 3

CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

The structure of representative government, which has concerned western nations since the nineteenth century, is undergoing changes. There is increasing demand on the part of the general public for greater opportunity to contribute to the development of policies that affect them. From the viewpoint of the planning bodies, citizen participation is often regarded as an effort to "plan with people", in order to achieve common objectives for the public good. Citizen participation thus arises as a result of consciousness on the part of both planners and people. It has a central position in the process of social planning. However, as we shall see, there is no general agreement about the purposes and form of citizen participation.

THE EMERGENCE OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

Several factors underlie the emergence of citizen participation. First, our rapidly changing and expanding economy benefits some and not others; indeed, some even benefit at the expense of others. Together with this, there is a greater opportunity for mobility for certain groups in society, namely, the middle classes. Social mobility is "stagnant" with the poor lower classes. Second, technological advance is accompanied by a new set of "rules", which

emerges to replace the traditional means of social control. In time past, people believed in birth and origin, and were, in a way, more submissive. With technological changes, success often counts on skill, effort and potential. On one hand, it seems people have been given freedom. But on the other hand, they are still under constraints. For example, a better class background would give better access to the attainment of skills and the exercise of individual potentials. Third, due to market failure, many facets of our economic and social life increasingly require intervention by the public sector.

"In seeking redress of inequities in our social structures and in our distribution of resources," there is an increasing urge for public participation (Clague, 1971, p.31). Goodman (1971, p.147) suggests that the emergence of citizen participation can be regarded as "a moral awakening of those in power". In 1909, Henry Morgenthau said citizen participation "..... is but another proof that those highest in power give heed to the wants of the least favoured of the land." Actually, the present re-emergence of citizen participation is attributable to the increasing awareness of planners for their client group, and to the growing sensitivity of the public with regard to their surrounding environment (Davidoff and Reiner, 1962).

Planners' Consciousness

In discussing planners' consciousness, two changing aspects of planning must be listed. First, planning is undergoing a change in its underlying philosophy; and second, there is increasing attention to the notion of public interest in planning. Though the

two are actually related, they are to be discussed separately here.

1. Choice theory in planning

Traditionally, the responsibility for development of various city planning policies is entrusted to professionals, who supposedly consider all interests of those concerned in their objective, scientific, and apolitical analyses, before arriving at a comprehensive plan or policy. However, in their emphasis on physical planning, or what the Wheatons (1970, p.154) call , on "the presevation of nature over the needs of man", these professionals are often (consciously or subconsciously) influenced by their vested interests, cultural values and class biases. Not infrequently their plans are developed to suit a whim, a prejudice, an economic interest, or a political gain. They rarely give people what they want, but what they think is best for them. Gans (1969) emphasizes that this is not planning for people, either in a practical or a philosophical sense.

Planning for people is to plan with them to achieve their goals, as long as they are not antisocial or self-destructive in consequence. This growing social consciousness on the part of the planners is reflected in a change in the theory of planning. The so-called "choice theory" of planning is, according to Banfield (1955, p.315), "the rational selection of a course of action". Davidoff and Reiner (1962, p.103) defines planning as "a process for determining appropriate future action through a sequence of choices." In democratic theory decision is usually made by a few

delegated people. This decreases individual opportunity to choose. And the planning process is employed to widen and publicize the range of choice of future conditions.

Choices can be made at three levels: the selection of ends; the identification of alternative means; and implementation. In selecting criteria for planning, the planners' role is to identify the distribution of values among people and to determine how values are weighed against each other; to determine relevant client groups and group them according to income, age and so on; and to seek majority's consensus on plan proposals.

The fulfillment of the aforementioned (identifying value distribution, determining relevant client groups, and seeking majority consensus) can only come as a result of involving the public, so that decisions are less subject to errors of ignorance. As Reiner et al. (1963) has stated, by means of client analysis and public involvement, programs can be evaluated as to the scope and depth of social commitment, social responsibilities and also accomplishments. Appropriate decision-makers are members of society. Planners have no full competence for the making or guidance of social policy; rather their task is to illuminate the process by which it is made.

2. Public interest in planning

As Friedmann (1966, p.105) notes, "the public interest ... emerges as a key issue in planning theory and practice", the planning profession is regarded by Simmie (1974) as an altruistic

body, distinguished from other occupations in that it should stand "against excesses of both laissez-faire individualism and state collectivism" (Johnson, 1972, p.12). Thus it can be seen that in planning, the "people" and their interests are important.

Some planners believe that they have a comprehensive viewpoint, and that they can coordinate specialist plans for the benefit of all. This claim to comprehensiveness, according to Altshuler (1965, p.186), "must refer primarily to a special knowledge of the public interest." Often, this comprehensiveness is absent, just because public interest is rarely considered.

The concept of public interest defies generalization. Banfield (1955) points out that there are two conceptions of public interest: the unitary and individualistic conceptions. The former emphasizes the whole, - as a single set of ends which pertains equally to all members of the public. In the latter, the relevant ends are those of individuals, whether shared or unshared.

Simmie (1974, p.123) joins Banfield in arguing that "there can be no such thing as the best or correct definition of the public interest without a previously agreed proposition concerning the legitimate role of government..... The public interest represents a reflection of the ways in which the society in which he (the planner) lives makes its choices about the distribution of power and resources." Since all individuals have competing goals, the legitimization of goals seems possible only by public discussion. Both the Wheatons (1970) and Loeks (1970) agree that the public

interest should be a dynamic equilibrium of various interests, resulting from bargaining in either the market place or the political arena.

Most values are personal, and most individuals labour with hidden fallacies which influence their personal values and goal preferences. The impact of hidden fallacies as barriers in interest identification can be minimized by better information and better ways of thinking about this information (Loeks, 1970). Thus to improve the state of the art of planning, "we must devise new ways of measuring choice alternatives and new means of reaching the people (Wheaton & Wheaton, 1970).

In summary, most planning theorists suggest that the determination of a realistic expression of the public interest requires a greater participation by the average citizen.

People's Consciousness

The demand for citizen participation by community groups reflects the emergence of social awareness in that group. This may be attributable to several reasons. Urbanization and living in large cities create a sense of alienation and powerlessness in the people. There is no access to information. The breakdown of our value system under rapid technological change affects not only our way of living but also our way of perceiving things. To most people, the future is uncertain. According to Berger et al. (1974), there is a sense of insecurity and homelessness in the people. In order to reassure themselves of their capability and possibly to

identify themselves, people need some discretion and control, especially when resource distribution in this world is not at all fair.

People are the direct recipients of all planning programs. Planning affects the environment, and the environment in turn affects the people, both in their physical and psychological needs. In time past when people were not allowed a say in what was going to affect them, they simply accepted whatever was given to them, though very often unwillingly and in a passive manner. Of course, this refers mainly to the politically inarticulate. The elites have, in the legislative process, representatives who would speak on behalf of their interests. Programs such as large-scale urban renewal in the United States in the fifties and sixties represented interests of the elites and imposed negative impact on the poor and the helpless. When social consciousness began to show itself, people argue that their interests should be represented, and demanded participation in the working out of policies that affected them. Head (1971) says that the poor have had enough, and are ready for revolt against the system if their demands are not met. In planning, then, people should have some discretion. As Wolpert et al. (1972) have indicated, the course of neighbourhood improvement depends on how improvement is defined by the principal agents and the distribution of discretion among them.

CONCEPTS OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

The concept of citizen participation is an important part of the liberal-democratic theory of politics. In participatory democracy, every person has the right to participate in the decisions which affect his life. To Head (1971, p.14), citizen participation is "some countervailing power possessing the possibility of checking the influence of other powerful groups exerting pressure upon government on behalf of their own interests."

Citizen participation reflects a desire to involve the general public in the plan-making process. Social planning may be defined as "planning with people". It assumes, on the part of the people involved (including the planners), a willingness and a capacity to engage in a collaborative search for the common good. The act of sharing in the formulation of policies and proposals involves both words and action.

There are several rationales for citizen participation. The Cahns (1968) note that participatory action is an essential component of the faith we profess in the dignity and worth of the individual, a mobilizer of the energies and resources of the poor, a source of insight, knowledge and experience in social programming. In Spiegel's words (1968, p.3), "Citizen participation in planning, a seemingly facile subject at first glance, becomes upon a further analysis, a phenomenon of infinite complexity and subtle dimension(there are) contradictions between myth and reality and even between different sets of observable social phenomena." The different concepts of citizen participation are best summarized in Arnstein's

"Ladder of Citizen Participation". (Arnstein, 1969; see figure 5.)

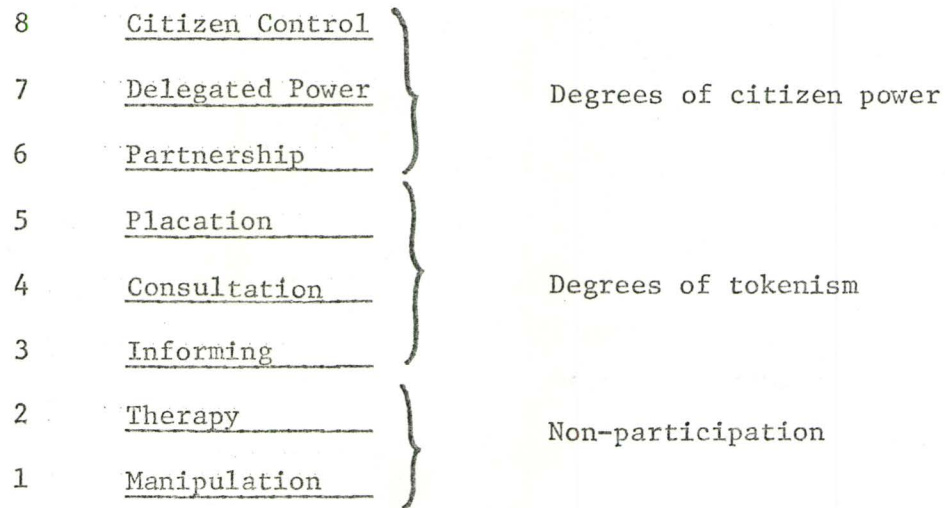


Fig. 5 : A ladder of citizen participation.
(Reproduced from Arnstein, 1969, p.217)

The eight 'rungs' on the ladder define different degrees of participation.

The two bottom rungs, Manipulation and Therapy, describe levels of non-participation. People do not participate in planning or conducting programs, but are "educated" or "cured" by the power-holders. These roles do not represent genuine participation. Rather they are used as public relations vehicle. Citizen participation becomes a process of involving the poor as a form of therapy and self-help on the one hand, and legitimation of the activities of the planners on the other hand (Rein, 1969).

Informing, Consultation and Placation represent varying degrees of tokenism. If they are proffered by powerholders as the total extent of participation, citizens may indeed hear and be heard. However, in practice, Informing is often one-way, allowing neither

feedback nor negotiation; Consultation in the form of attitude surveys and open meetings is just a "window-dressing ritual" (Arnstein, p.219); while Placation, though allowing the people to advise, retains for the powerholders the right to decide. Informing, Consultation and Placation are exactly the prevailing strategies of most democratic governments. They represent some paternalistic gestures which make the people feel more "productive" and "self-respecting". Citizen participation, to the powerholders, is often regarded as a process avoiding the onerous charge of welfare colonialism and paternalism (Arnstein 1969).

Very often, these forms of participation are brought in to reduce conflict. It is a force for pacifying opposition. They are often employed by politicians as a source of strength (Head 1971). To them citizen participation is part and parcel of a more fundamental reorganization of city politics. Politicians have to move cautiously between doing so little so as to disappoint the community-regarding voters (the middle classes) and doing so much as to antagonize the private-regarding voters (the lower classes) (Wilson, 1963).

Further up Arnstein's ladder, Partnership, Delegated Power and Citizen Control denote different degrees of citizen power. In analysing the situation in Atlanta, Hunter (1953) argues that citizen participation cannot become a reality until the closed power system is opened to shared citizen authority and responsibility. Perloff and Hansen (1967) add that participation without power is a cynical ritual.

Partnership is actually a shift of power through negotiations and trade-offs between citizens and powerholders. Delegated power and citizen control mean full managerial power to the citizens. This corresponds to Harvey's (1973) redistribution of power for social justice, a view of citizen participation shared by Cahn (1968), Marris and Rein (1967) and Kotler (1967). Arnstein (1969) defined citizen participation as a categorical term for citizen power. The have-nots are to participate in the economic and political arena, in order to determine how information is shared, goals and policies set, taxes allocated and benefits parcelled out. In its extreme form, citizen participation is a means of inducing significant social reform in order to share the benefit of the affluent society. To these people participation is neither interest articulation nor the broadening of existing elites, but rather a form of revolutionary utopia.³ Harvey (1973) has seen that all social injustice and inequalities are due to the structure of our system, especially through the income distributing mechanism.

CITIZEN PARTICIPATION : PARTNERSHIP AS THE RELEVANT NOTION

In a public decision process, the desired policy outcome is achieved only as a consequence of bargaining. But the bargain should be genuine, with the people given institutional means for the proper access to power. To quote the Cahns (1968, p.223), "Citizen participation does not mean the illusion of participation, the semblance of involvement, the opportunity to speak without being

³The three meanings of participation are from F.J. Bregha, Community Development in Canada: Problems and strategies.

heard, the receipt of token benefits or the enjoyment of stop-gap palliative measures." It should be the act of sharing in the formulation of policies and proposals between the authority and the public with special reference to the differing capacities of various social classes to engage in collective determination of objectives. It is neither a way of winning popular consent, nor passive acceptance of what is being done. There needs to be some degree of openness on all participants in the decision-making process, who should also minimize expression of their own self-interest. On the part of the people, it involves a willingness and a capacity to search for common interests. Conversely, planners and powerholders should allow themselves to be guided by the interests of all there are to work for. From them, actions are as important as words.

Planning may be defined as a bargaining business. Johnson (1972) refers to planning as a form of mediation in the power relations existing between producers and consumers. Schubert (1960) notes the function of planners is to engage in the political mediation of disputes between different goals. To legitimize intervention, planners can employ one of the three strategies which Rein (1969) proposes : the consensus of elites, the power of knowledge, and the power of the people. The concept of citizen participation is an element underlying the democratic theory. As Rein (1969, p.240) notes, "democracy, is after all, not only the search for elite consensus, but also the mobilization of interest groups, each striving to pursue its own aims in the contest of a pluralistic society." Citizen participation, assumed to offer criticisms

and corrective insights, is certainly a strategy used by some groups for legitimising social action, but whether it is a success or not depends on how it is viewed.

True citizen participation appears to require some degree of power. Of the three categories of citizen power Arnstein mentions, Delegated Power and Citizen Control do not seem feasible in our present system. It seems more realistic, for present purposes, to regard citizen participation as a Partnership between citizens and powerholders (planners and decision-makers).

Citizen participation, as partnership, is a process that ought to take place throughout the planning process. The planning process as defined by McLoughlin (1969) consists of 5 stages : goal formulation, plan formulation, plan evaluation, plan selection and implementation. The same view mentioned above is also shared by the Skeffington Report (1969). Moreover, the process should be continuous, not just when an issue arises.

Since the objective of citizen participation is to establish and maintain a better understanding between the public and the planning authorities, it should be a two-way exchange of ideas, not a one-way exercise in persuading the public. Policy-makers are responsible for giving the public enough information and access at the right time. The public, other than having the right to demand answers for queries, should also take initiatives in informing the planners what they overlook.

In a successful citizen participation process, the planners should be unbiased; the powerholders should be open; and the people should have public-regarding ethos. The planning authority should identify with the broadest interest of the people and work in conjunction or in support of other departments.

CHAPTER 4

THE NORTH PICKERING PUBLIC PARTICIPATION PROGRAM

The North Pickering Project, initiated in March 1972, is one of the most ambitious town development programs ever undertaken by the government of Ontario. Because of strong pressure from the citizen groups, in 1973, the Province, in planning the new community, made public participation an integral part of the planning process. The public were to be involved in all phases of planning, from the development of initial concepts to the final recommended plan.

Basically there were two objectives which were to guide the more specific public participation directions and responses to the Project :

- (1) to provide present and future residents with the opportunity for meaningful participation in the planning, development and management of their community;
- (2) to involve the public in the total process of planning and development in order to produce a better community and to promote personal and community involvement.

The planning process had four phases (Table 5) :

- (1) Phase I (Summer 1973 to Winter 1973) consisted of investigation and studies to define the relevant social, economic and physical factors that would influence the Plan for North Pickering.

- (2) Phase II (Spring 1974 to Fall 1974) concerned the actual development of conceptual plans. Three sets of alternative planning concepts, each with four stages of development, were generated based upon dispersed, linear and radial spatial patterns respectively. Public reaction was sought on the size and form of the new community.
- (3) Phase III (Fall 1974 to Winter 1974/75) consisted of elaboration of the favoured plan. Three modified concept plans, consistent with nine basic goals and objectives derived from the guidelines established in Phase II, were formulated. Each concept embodied different planning aims. The public were asked to rank the relative importance of these aims.
- (4) The final Phase IV was the detailing of the final recommended plan. It was accomplished by Spring 1975.

OFFICIAL REASONS FOR PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

The call for public participation in the North Pickering Project was attributable to several factors.

First, there has been increasing demand for tangible evidence of what the legal system promises. The Planning Act of Ontario, in Section 12(1)(b), states that the municipal planning boards must :

"hold public meetings and publish information for the purpose of obtaining the participation and cooperation of the inhabitants of planning area in determining the solution of problems or matters affecting the development of the planning area."

Second, the public's ideas may differ from the planners'. A public participation process provides a search into what people really want. Planners want "public inputs on the pros and cons of the planning options" (File, 1975).

Third, the regional plans, which were produced in the sixties without the process of citizen participation, often resulted in delays and obstacles in implementation, even to the point of failure. Presumably, if people help to refine the plan at earlier stages, conflict at the implementation stage may be avoided.

Fourth, public participation can act as a means of public education.

Finally, when the development of the Pickering Airport was announced, opposition was immediate. People or Planes (POP) was formed as an anti-airport citizens' group. Within a short while, citizen groups within the "sensitized" North Pickering site challenged the concept of a new community, arguing for the preservation of agricultural land, and expressing discontent with the land acquisition process. It is this that necessitated a vigorous and open planning process.

APPROACH TO PARTICIPATION

The North Pickering Project team had a vague definition of "participation". They quoted from a paper by the Bureau of Municipal Research, "Citizen Participation in Metro Toronto - January 1975" :

"Participation is a component of the democratic system which permits non-elected members of the community to exercise some control over decision-making."

In practice, the North Pickering Public Participation team understood citizen participation to involve "public evaluation of the official suggestions" (File, 1975). But there is no mentioning of what and how much "control over decision-making" the North Pickering community should have. The question of power is hinted at, without going into any detail.

A full range of relevant publics was identified for participation in the North Pickering Project :

- (1) the on-site residents;
- (2) the adjacent communities, e.g. Oshawa and Markham;
- (3) the larger Metropolitan Toronto region (where future residents of North Pickering would possibly come from);
- (4) special interest groups of every discipline, e.g., social workers, environmentalists and geographers;
- (5) government agencies; and
- (6) residents of existing new towns in the Toronto Region.

The Project staff was especially concerned with young people, since "they are more sophisticated than their parents, and are the generation that have to grab with these things" (File, 1975). Therefore, they also met with high school students in the area in order to find out their evaluation of the plans.

The participation strategy of the North Pickering Project may be grouped under two headings (North Pickering Project (3), 1975). It should be noted that they are not the same as Arnstein (1969) defines (Chapter 3).

The first is "information and consultation", making available and accessible to the public information concerning the Project and planners for consultation. Discussion papers on various aspects of planning, and regular newsletters with Project information were mailed to the public. Though it appears to be a more passive form of participation, it is claimed that "it enables the planning process to retain its flexibility to individual concerns at the same time as it educates the public for an understanding of long-term issues and needs" (North Pickering Project (3), 1975).

The second is "participation in decision-making". It takes the form of open meetings, response forms and so on. In some instances, negotiation is involved. Generally it is to involve the public in the planning, development and management of their community.

OFFICIAL EVALUATION

The official 'Public Participation in North Pickering' paper (1975, p.8) states that "not only did their (the public's) perceptions affect certain planning goals, but they often played a key role in determining the programs which emerged to support those goals". Officials said that they did receive public inputs during the North Pickering plan-making process, and that these inputs were reflected in the final recommended plan. Table 5 can be used to clarify their claims.

Public involvement persisted through all the four phases of the plan-making process. In each of the phases, the government has, to a certain degree, given concessions to the public.

TABLE 5 :

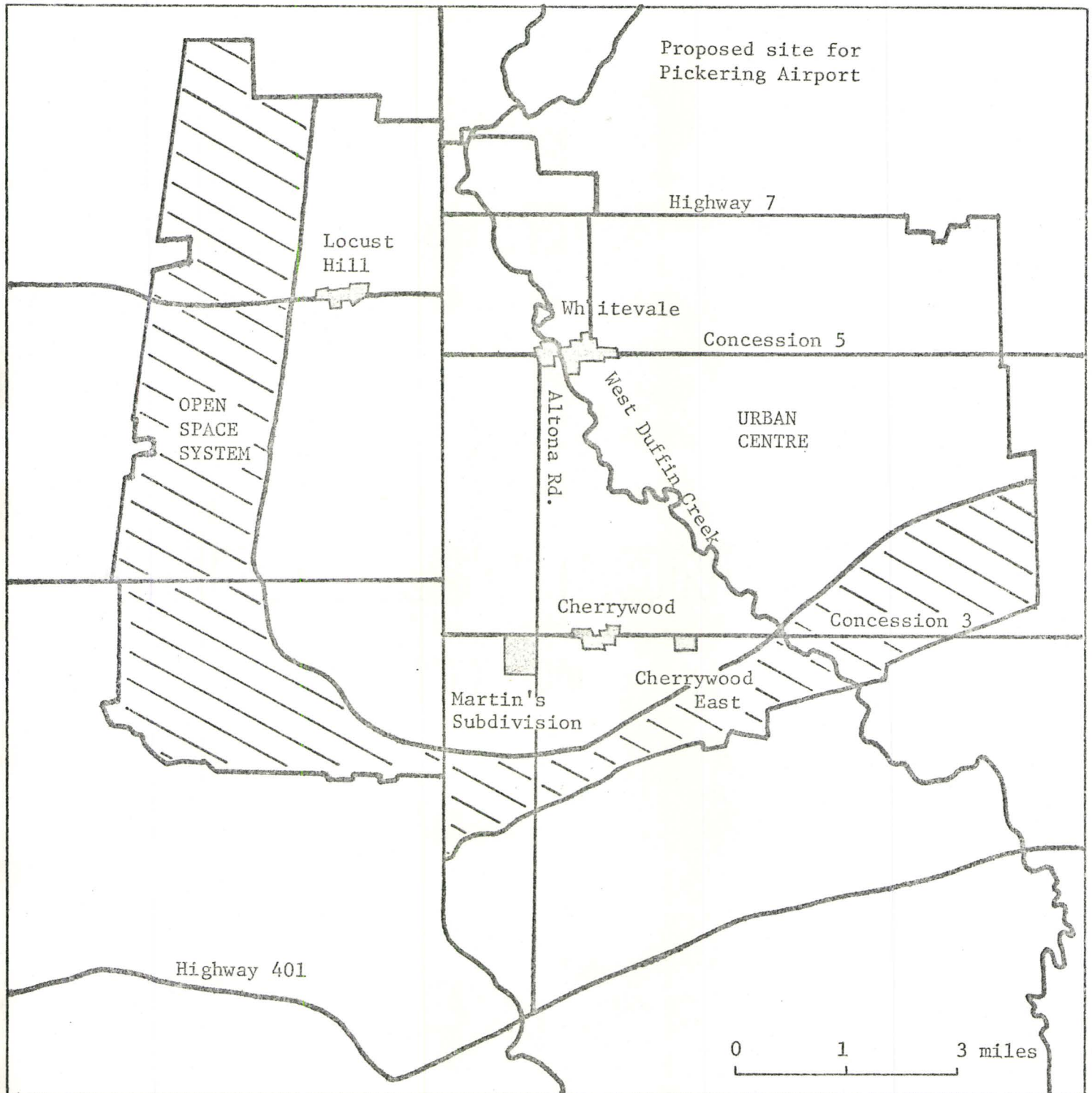
The North Pickering Planning Process :

phases of planning and government responses to public participation.

DATE	PHASE	PARTICIPATION MEANS	GOVERNMENT RESPONSES	NOTE
March 1973 - Jan. 1974	I. Basis for the plan	Newsletters; Project pamphlets; Response forms.	1. An open space system of 8,000 acres on the west and south periphery 2. Hamlets preserved 3. Cost of expropriating the remaining 17,200 acres determined "fairly"	
Spring 1974- Fall 1975	II. Development of conceptual plans	Newsletters; projects pamphlets and reports; Response forms; and open houses in local communities.	4. Scaling down of population	Cross-site council of Community Associ- ation formed under encouragement of project staff.
Fall 1974- Winter 1974/75	III. Elaboration of favoured plan	Same as above	5. Development of urban community east of West Duffin Creek.	Six on-site farmers appointed to formu- late a farm leasing and management pro- gram together with the project staff.
Spring 1975	IV. Final plan for North Pickering	Open houses in local communities		

Sources : North Pickering Project Studies and Reports.

Fig. 6 : North Pickering Project Area



In January 1974, towards the end of Phase I, some new policy guidelines for the North Pickering planning process were announced. 8,000 acres on the west and south periphery of the site area were set aside as an open space system. The hamlets of Whitevale, Cherrywood, East Cherrywood, Martin's Subdivision and Locust Hill were to be preserved (cf. Fig. 6). Expropriation in the Inner Planning Area by the Province would be fair, and based on value as determined in February 1974. These are regarded as responses to the public resentment toward expropriation and their concern to preserve the rural character of the area.

Meanwhile, there was still the question of the size and location of the Project, which so often led to confrontation between the planners and the public during the open houses organized by the Public Participation Unit. Accordingly, the preliminary alternative planning concepts (prepared in Phase II) illustrated a range of sizes and forms that recognised the importance of retaining agricultural land, and of preserving hamlets and open space. In order to preserve the best agricultural land, these concepts stressed commencement of development on the east side of the site, where the lowest grade of agricultural land is located. This second phase of planning was ended with a decision that the originally proposed population of 225,000 should be scaled down to between 65,000 and 85,000.

In the meantime, written responses and verbal comments indicated that the majority of the local community preferred the new urban centre to be located east of West Duffin Creek. In response

to this, a modification of the plan occurred at Phase III and the final recommended plan indicated development of the urban community on the east bank of West Duffin Creek. It created a concentrated pattern of development, in compliance to the demand of retaining the best agricultural land, and the rural landscape, and the historically significant Concession 5.

Most government responses in the plan-making process of North Pickering would appear to have developed in accordance with the people's fear of massive urban development, their preference for a small urban community, the preservation of agricultural land, and a better living environment. Though the public interest has, to some extent, been fulfilled, the Public Participation Process was not without its problems. The officials admitted that initial matters relating to property acquisition prevented the establishment of a meaningful dialogue with the site residents. Expropriation blocked off active interest in planning. Planning issues were only tackled in a more positive way when, in January 1974, responses were made to the early participatory experience. (These responses as mentioned before also formed the new guidelines for planning.)

As an experiment in participation, the North Pickering Project staff agreed that public participation provided a more open and a better planning process. The planners and participation staff have discovered that open houses and smaller public meetings led to more dialogue between themselves and the people. In those meetings, the availability of planners for consultation and the participation

of citizens determined to a great extent the direction of planning. A degree of openness led the planners to abandon some of their initial concepts and the public to move some distance from the frustration and distrust which characterized earlier public meetings.

It is said that the Project's future direction will carry forward lessons of the past. The public will continue to be involved in the areas of detailed design, social development and permanent community services, and in monitoring development.

CHAPTER 5

COMMUNITY REACTION TO THE NORTH PICKERING PUBLIC PARTICIPATION PROCESS

In order to evaluate the impact of the NPPPP from the community viewpoint, the hamlets of Whitevale and Martin's Subdivision were chosen as study areas.

Both are within the Inner Planning Area of the North Pickering site. Whitevale extends across West Duffin Creek along Concession 5. The chosen town site is just to its immediate east. Martin's Subdivision lies in the south of the North Pickering area. It is bounded by Concession 3 and the Altona Road on its north and east. The new town site is to its north-east. (Refer to Fig. 6)

These two sites were chosen for dual purposes. First, they respectively lie to the north and south of the planning area. Since only two surveys were to be done, this might represent a fair distribution of opinions. Second, while both would be preserved as hamlets in the planning decisions, Whitevale lies much closer to the proposed urban centre than Martin's Subdivision. This would help to control for the effect of proximity to the new town site upon the survey results.

Both Whitevale and Martin's Subdivision are small communities. The former had a population of 273 in 1971 while the latter had 214. In Whitevale, the houses are mostly arrayed along Concession 5, and in Martin's Subdivision, they cluster round the corner of

Altona and Concession 3. Most houses are privately owned and the residents can be classified in the middle-income category.

PURPOSES AND NATURE OF THE SURVEYS

The purposes of the surveys were to seek community reaction to the North Pickering Project, to record their evaluation of the NPPPP, and to measure the impact, if any, of the Program on the attitude of the people.

The two surveys in Whitevale and Martin's Subdivision were done respectively on a Saturday (October 18, 1975) and a Sunday (November 9, 1975) between 11 a.m. and 6:30 p.m.. The survey information is attached in the Appendix. The samples are considered random. Every third or fourth household was interviewed. But as some were quite isolated from the others, the randomness was lessened in a few cases.

In Whitevale, a sample of 25 was chosen from among the 68 households. Approximately 28% of the interviewees are new-comers to the village (less than two years in residence) while just under half are long-term residents (of over five years). With Martin's Subdivision, the sample was 22 from a total of 57 households. 14% of the respondents have lived there for less than six months while 55% are long-term residents. All interviewees were drawn from the adult population. The surveys respectively cover 36.9% and 38.6% of the total households in Whitevale and Martin's Subdivision. The results thus should be quite representative of what the community feels.

TABLE 6 : Opinions toward the NPPPP : a cross-comparison between Whitevale and Martin's Subdivision.

Source : field surveys.

6.a : Ways of learning about the new town proposal.

Method	Number of respondents	
	Whitevale (N=25)	Martin's Subdivision (N=22)
Official sources	4	12
Friends	4	4
Newspaper	9	3
TV	1	0
Radio	1	0
Other	6	2
Not remembered	0	1

6.b : Ways of consultation.

	Number of respondents	
	Whitevale	Martin's Subdivision
Letters	18	17
Open meetings	16	14
Personal contact	7	2
others	1	0

6.c : Areas where opinions were sought.

	Number of respondents	
	Whitevale	Martin's Subdivision
Location	6	16
Population	3	4
Type of development	1	4
Transportation	1	1
Social consideration	1	1
Environment	3	4
All aspects	9	1
Others	3	4

6.d : The number of participants in the Participation Process.

	Number of respondents	
	Whitevale	Martin's Subdivision
Many	18	14
Not many	2	0
Don't know	5	8

6.e : Preference for the continuation of official participation.

	Number of respondents	
	Whitevale	Martin's Subdivision
Yes { with improvement	16	15
{ without improvement	4	13
{ indifferent	2	3
No	2	1
Don't care	1	0

6.f : Preference for informal input in the planning process.

	Number of respondents	
	Whitevale	Martin's Subdivision
Yes	21	19
No	2	3
Indifferent	2	0

6.g. : Reaction to the new town proposal.

	Initial Reaction		Present Reaction	
	Whitevale	Martin's Subdivision	Whitevale	Martin's Subdivision
For	5	7	6	13
Against	19	13	18	6
Indifferent	1	2	1	3

TABLE 7 : Relation between reaction and occupation : Whitevale.

Occupation	Reaction			% of total interviewed	Those against the proposal as % of total interviewed
	For	Against	Indifferent		
Housewife	3	3		24	12
Agri. Worker		1		4	4
Manual/blue collar	1	2	1	16	8
Professional/managerial	1	10		44	40
Others	1	2		12	8

Source : Field survey

TABLE 8 : Relation between reaction and length of residence : Whitevale.

Length of residence	Reaction			% of total interviewed	% of total interviewed against the proposal
	For	Against	Indifferent		
< 6 months		2		8	8
6 months - 1 year	2	1		12	4
1 - 2 years	1	1		8	4
2 - 5 years	2	4		24	16
> 5 years	1	10	1	48	40

Source : Field survey.

Table 9 : Relation between reaction and occupation : Martin's Subdivision.

Reaction Occupation				As % of total interviewed	Those against proposal as % of total interviewed
	For	Against	Indifferent		
Housewife	6	3		40.9	13.6
Agricultural workers					
Manual/blue collar	2	1	1	18.2	4.5
Professional/managerial	1			9.0	
Unemployed		1	1	4.5	4.5
Others	4	1	1	27.3	4.5

Source : Field survey

Table 10 : Relation between reaction and length of residence : Martin's Subdivision.

Length of residence	Reaction			As % of total interviewed	Those against proposal as % of total interviewed
	For	Against	Indifferent		
< 6 months	1	1	1	13.6	4.5
6 months - 1 year					
1 - 2 years					9.1
2 - 5 years	4	2	1	31.8	
> 5 years	8	3	1	54.5	13.6

Source : Field survey.

THE WHITEVALE SURVEYA. Results

- (1) Except for some new-comers to the area, nearly 50% of the participants in the survey first learned of the North Pickering proposal through mass media, such as newspaper. Relatively few people were informed through official sources. (Table 6.a)
- (2) 18 (72%) of the households in the survey had been consulted (though many people refused to accept the literal meaning of the word "consulted" in this case) in that they attended public meetings, and were sent newsletters and reports of different sorts (Table 6.b).
- (3) For those "consulted", opinions were mostly sought on the size of the new community, the location of the new urban centre and the environmental effect of the development (Table 6.c). But only 6 (24%) thought their opinions had been taken into account.
- (4) Although there seemed to have many people involved in the NPPPP (Table 6.d), 16 (64%) of the interviewees regarded the official effort made in the consultation procedure as insufficient. The government has spent a lot of money, which, according to the people, is only a waste of resources because they were not given enough access to express their opinions. It seems the government has worked a lot, but "not in the right way"⁴.

⁴Phases in quotation are direct words of the interviewees.

- (5) 22 (88%) of the households interviewed would like to see official participation continue. Most asked for improvement such as "really asking what people want and listening to them", and "reducing red-tape and bureaucratic behaviour of the officials". In general, the respondents desired more frequent contact with the planners and decision-makers through more detailed information flow and greater publicity; that is, making participation more visible. (Table 6.e)
- (6) 21 (84%) of the respondents preferred informal input into the planning decisions "to give a good cross-section of feeling". (Table 6.f)
- (7) 76% of the respondents were initially against the proposal, and there were still 72% against it at the time of this survey. Most respondents (19 of them) were consistent in their reaction. This may imply that the program for consultation and participation had very little impact. (Table 6.g)
- (8) There is no strong relationship between personal attitude and respondent occupation, although the professional-managerial group seems to have reacted more strongly against the proposal. However, there is a correlation between general reaction and the length of residence. The longer one has been in the area, the greater the opposition. (Tables 7 and 8)

(B) Interpretation

Generally, the survey suggests that the residents of Whitevale were against the North Pickering Project. In their

opinion, North Pickering is too close to Toronto and it just gives impetus to the growth of urban sprawl around Toronto. Some respondents suggested that the new town should be located north of Oshawa.

The respondents are also very negative toward what the Ontario government had done in the area. They did not consider themselves as having truly been consulted. Any serious attempt by the officials to "consult" them was "only through public initiatives and pressures". They also would have preferred consultation from the very beginning, that is, before North Pickering was chosen as the location of a new town, and a proper consideration of their opinions and recommendations. The mere provision of information is not sufficient for them.

In some respects, peoples' opinions seemed to have been taken into account by the planners. However, opinions were sought only with respect to the "given" few alternatives. Any suggestions outside the official choices were not considered at all.

Thus, in the Whitevale case, people regarded the process of public participation as a "whitewash" over the whole development process. The government had "already decided what to do and would only do what they want", but just in order to "calm down people" and "clear obstacles", they initiated such "false participation" which was regarded by many Whitevale people as some kind of "totalitarianism". To them, the NPPPP was another

example of tokenism. People would prefer a more meaningful way of participation with a wider consultation process, both formal and informal and real consideration of people's input.

THE MARTIN'S SUBDIVISION SURVEY

A. Results

- (1) Except for the three recent new-comers to the area, 63.2% of the interviewees first learned of the North Pickering Project from official sources - either when they were informed of expropriation, or when they enquired about buying a house in Martin's Subdivision. Only a few learned from newspapers. (Table 6.a)
- (2) 18 (81.8%) of the households in the survey had been consulted in open meetings and through mails. Only 2 had had some personal contact with the North Pickering officials, one being the Chairman of the Area's Community Association. (Table 6.b)
- (3) It seemed that consultation was mostly concerned with the location of the new city. They were also asked about the size of the community, the type of community desired, and whether agricultural land should be preserved. Half of them thought their opinions had been taken into account.
- (4) Although many people were involved in the participation process, 12(54.5%) of the respondents regarded the official effort made in the consultation procedure as insufficient. The official consultation effort was largely initiated under public pressure. Though the officials had tried hard to obtain a wide response, many respondents failed to see any evident result of

the participation process. "It is a waste of taxpayers' money to employ those high-salaried yet inefficient officials," said one respondent.

- (5) 95.4% would like official participation to continue, and 71% of them hoped to see improvement along with it (Table 6.e). They suggested a wider communication program between the government and the people. They would like the planners to come closer to them with the "truth" about development, and they wanted no "fumbling with the job". It was pointed out that when people lost interest, it would be difficult to maintain participation. Thus, in order to achieve effective participation, the government should consider the time issues. A final suggestion was the government should establish a common community organizational link among the hamlets. (In fact, the Public Participation Section has helped to establish a cross-site Council of Community Association.)
- (6) 86.3% of the households preferred informal input into planning discussions. There was a little of the sort in the NPPPP, but still many doubted if it would be effective. (Table 6.f)
- (7) 59.0% of the people were initially against the Project, but when this survey was done, 53.8% of them had changed their attitude, mostly to favouring the Project. A total of 59% of all participants in the survey was for the Project (Table 6.g).
- (8) There is no strong correlation between occupation and personal attitude toward the North Pickering Project, although it seemed most housewives and white collar workers interviewed were in

favour of the Project. The same conclusion holds for the relationship between the length of residence and personal attitude; even for long-time residents, opposition was not significant. (Tables 9 and 10)

B. Interpretation

The attitude toward the new town development was moderate. There were opinions on both sides. To some, their opinions were voiced and heard. Since the new town can bring in jobs, and since it is better to have a planned city rather than uncoordinated sprawl (Pickering, they thought, would grow anyway), few opposed the idea. Those against suburbanization had a more negative attitude. They suspected the participation process was initiated to quiet them down. Some even suggested Barrie as a better site for a new town as well as an airport.

Although over half of the interviewees were in favour of the Project, they were not entirely satisfied with the participation process. They asked why people living outside the site should participate in the decision-making process, since they were not so directly affected by the new town proposal, and their opinion might influence the outcome of the participation process. They were not too pleased with the manners of the officials, and wanted to get more involved. Nevertheless, they agreed that participation did help a bit, "or else Martin's Subdivision would have gone." (Martin's Subdivision is now outside the plan area as a planning decision.)

Most people favoured informal input into planning decisions, although they recognized the technical expertise from the official sources could not be dispensed with. However, people did not like to accept without questioning what the planners imposed on them. They wanted to live in a community of their own choosing, and thus, they liked to participate and contribute in the decision-making process.

A final remark here can be on the effectiveness of the participation process. The percentage of opposition fell by a considerable amount since the inception of the idea, from 59% to 27.3%. Of the 13 respondents who were originally against the idea, more than half changed to either favouring it or taking an indifferent position. It may be worthwhile mentioning that some of the interviewees had a mixed feeling for the Project. They recognised the need for housing and as well the loss of agricultural land. They were concerned with both public economic and private aesthetic rationales. They may have learned through the participation experience a wider range of evaluative criteria.

In summary, the NPPPP is not without its impact on the Martin's Subdivision residents. Yet improvements are still needed such as wider consultation and deeper understanding on both parts of the planners and the people.

A COMPARISON

The two surveys described above were completed in the aim of seeking community reaction to the North Pickering Project and its Public Participation Process, and of measuring the impact of the Program on the attitude of the people. Table 6 summarizes the results of the surveys.

It can be noted that residents in both Whitevale and Martin's Subdivision have similar opinions toward the North Pickering Project and the Public Participation Process. In general, they were initially against the Project. They were informed and "consulted" through letters and open meetings. Few had personal contact with the officials. It seems most opinions were sought on the location and size of the new community. Many people were involved in the participation process, but it does not seem many of their opinions have been adopted. Although they were not satisfied with the Public Participation Process, they still preferred official participation to continue, of course, with improvement. With regard to planning, they admitted that informal inputs were necessary.

The only difference that the surveys indicate concerns the change in attitude toward the North Pickering Project. Table 6.g shows more people in Martin's Subdivision changed their attitude from opposing to favouring the Project. This result can be explained by two reasons. First, Whitevale and Martin's Subdivision occupy two different locations in the North Pickering planning site. As planning decisions, both hamlets are to be preserved. But Whitevale only has

a mere escape. The new town site is just to its east. So the changed attitude in Martin's Subdivision is probably due to the fact that it escaped.

Second, the Whitevale people seem more reserved whereas those in Martin's Subdivision appear to be more open-minded and adaptable to changes. Quite a few of them considered ends on both sides of the scale, such as they took account of both public economic and private aesthetic needs and made a trade-off for themselves. When change was inevitable, they did try best in planning for a better community in collaboration with the planning authority. The question is : are these people passive? or they have a more public-regarding ethos? If many of them have their reaction changed through the participation process without conforming to everything initially imposed on them, it may be asserted that they have a more public-regarding ethos.

CHAPTER 6

EVALUATION AND CONCLUSION

The purposes of this research have been to explain the essentials of citizen participation, and see how the community has reacted to the North Pickering Public Participation Process. Citizen participation is given different meanings by different groups. The community sees it as a means of decision-sharing. Politicians regard it as a way to silent opposition. Planners look upon it as a silence source of legitimacy. Thus the meaning of citizen participation can lie anywhere along a ladder ranging from non-participation to true participation. The NPPPP has involved many people. The official side claims that the final plan for the new town reflects public input, but the surveys done in Whitevale and Martin's Subdivision suggest that the people are not too happy with the process.

Though the NPPPP cannot claim to be a total success, it has not been without impact. A measure of personal attitude evidences this. In Martin's Subdivision, the percentage initially against the Project decreased a lot; in Whitevale, the change was slight. This may be explained, in part, by Martin's Subdivision being further from the proposed urban centre.

Information and consultation, and participation in decision-making are the participation strategies of the North Pickering Project. Under information and consultation are grouped those forms of participation, such as newsletters and neighbourhood meetings which endeavour to make both planners' expertise and information available as the context merits. In Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation, informing is one-sided, from officials to citizens, with no channel provided for feedback and no power for negotiation; and consultation offers no assurance that citizen concerns and ideas will be taken into account. The people in the area do not regard themselves as having been consulted, but informed only. They did receive information from government sources but some do not realize that a proper consultation strategy should be a two-way flow of information. Anyway there was very little personal contact between the planning staff and the people. Even in public meetings, they were only informed of what decisions had been made and of what plans they had come up with.

Participation by citizens in decision-making is intended to be a process sensitive to public opinion through response forms, open meetings and so on. Theoretically, it refers to a sharing of power in the processes of informing and consulting. However in the NPPPP, such was not the case. The citizenry was not given any decision-making power; there were no citizen representatives in the decision-making unit.

Thus most people do not think their opinions were considered. Even in areas where public opinions were solicited, they only represented majority consensus from the given few alternatives. Any suggestions outside the officially proposed ones were not given consideration. Moreover, responses were counted not as a percentage of all who received information but of the total response returns the officials received. It is thus dubious whether the chosen alternatives represent true consensus.

The participation strategies are defective, and the community perceived the planning officials as cunning and dishonest. For example, in Phase 2 of the planning process, after examining the twelve concept plans, the people chose the one that called for development to the east of West Duffin Creek with a population ranging between 60,000 and 80,000. However when the Phase 3 options were drawn up to a population target of between 70,000 and 90,000, the option showing development in the east covered an area 50% larger than in the Phase 2 concept. The public were furious, especially when Donald Irvine, then Minister of Housing, told the Legislature the plan emerged as a response to public preference. As reported in the Globe and Mail (March, 1975), "they see this claim of responsiveness to citizen desires as an example of treatment that is manipulative, contradictory and deceptive."

This is one of the facts that make people feel the NPPPP has been more a concern for appearance than genuine consultation. They pointed out the Public Participation Section is only part of

the Community and Public Affairs responsible for public relationship.

Partly for this reason, some people developed passive attitudes toward the Participation Process. They did not bother to give their opinion, feeling that they could not do much, and whatever response they gave would be ineffective. Thus whatever letters and response forms they received were ignored. Those people who completed response forms and attended meetings were already more open-minded, at least no longer resenting the Project, participating in the hope of getting their voice through.

The passive attitude of the people is a problem in public education and political credibility. The political system has not given them enough encouragement to take advantage of opportunities already open to them. Milbrath (1964, p.64) has argued that "the more sophisticated a person's cognition and beliefs about politics, the greater the likelihood of his participation in the political process."

EVALUATION

In comparing the official and the community evaluation of the Participation Process, it will not be surprising if the NPPPP is classified in the category of tokenism. Though the people are not given power in any absolute terms, in some way they have been "listened" to, even if in a partial manner. The government responses as indicated in Table 5 can be taken as tokenistic concessions. Had there not been a citizen participation process, the location of the urban centre would still have been in the east of West Duffin Creek, for technical studies also favoured this site. Yet it has to be agreed

that this Participation Process represents a higher degree of tokenism. Concessions such as the preservation of hamlets and the reduction of the community size are specific responses to participation.

An objective of the NPPPP is to involve the public, and, to provide opportunity for meaningful participation. Though the meaning of "meaningful participation" is not officially stated, it seems that it refers to involving the public in planning and developing a community they prefer. But this is only participation in "the game of participation". A really meaningful participation process should provide the community power over decision-making. In the NPPPP, the public has been involved but it is doubted if their participation has been really "meaningful". They were not given power of any sort. However, since the people have been partially listened to, this "participation" may be regarded as "meaningful" in some "microscopic" sense.

The sincerity of the NPPP Unit's attempt to provide the public with a chance of working together with the planners cannot be doubted. The establishment of the cross-site Community Council Association, and the involvement of farmers in designing a farm lease program as noted in the last column of Table 5 are indications of good intentions.

Then why is there a gap between official and community evaluation of the NPPPP?

First, the gap may be attributable to different viewpoints on the nature of the developing participation process. As in the example quoted in the last section, the plan in Phase 3 appeared larger because industrial land, Highway 407 and the town centre were added. While uncertainties are inevitable, such modifications tend to make people skeptical about the value of future participation. Had the planning staff been more considerate and thought more comprehensively beforehand, some of the difficulties and unexpected consequences would have been eliminated.

In addition, there is the issue on timing. North Pickering was chosen as the site of a new community but to complement and suit the interest of the proposed Pickering airport. The Public Participation Process was initiated under public pressure, not when the proposal for the new town was originally released. To the public it would seem that this was not a willing step taken by the authorities. It may even be suggested that this was the original error in the NPPPP concept. If it had been announced simultaneously with the new town proposal, there might have been less opposition and skepticism. Thus, the people were annoyed when they were not informed before North Pickering was chosen as a new town site. This is the hard core of the timing issue. If a policy is pursued according to the people's wishes, what people should be informed and what is the way of involving them? Graves (1973) found that most people are only concerned with issues of immediate relevance to their problems or aspirations, or else they do not bother to participate. Perhaps the

Participation Process should have started not with questions on how the new community should be developed, but with whether or not North Pickering should be a site for a new town.

Also, in the NPPPP, too many of the "publics" are still dominated by self-interest and concentrate on some issue such as the government purchase of farmland. Many have been so infuriated that they have refused to participate. This again points out there should be some amendments in the basic policies of pursuing the goal of effective public participation.

As for the planners, they are still somewhat biased and not sufficiently candid. In a public decision-making process, openness is a most important component. If the people had had no grudge against the political decision to suit the interest of some, the NPPPP might have been more successful.

In summary, the North Pickering planning process has certainly been highly comprehensive. However, in spite of the efforts and time spent, the amount of publicity and the numbers involved, this research suggests that the public participation approach has been somewhat less than successful.

A COMMUNITY - PREFERRED PROCESS

Participation is of value. Although most people are not satisfied with the NPPPP, they still wish it to continue. They are in favour of public participation, but often are unhappy about how it is worked out in practice. In Whitevale and Martin's Subdivision respectively, 88% and 95.4% of the residents like official parti-

cipation to continue and over 80% of them favour informal input into the planning process.

The kind of participation they favour is not a theoretical or high-sounding one. It is basically similar to that proposed in North Pickering, except that information and consultation are undertaken in a way that gives people full power in the participation process. It is not to have the people "participating in participation", and the authorities merely going through the required motions of involving the people. The real meaning of participation is shared decision-making through compromise and bargain. For the public to have a share in decision-making, their attainment of power is important. The community must have some degree of power to ensure that their concerns and ideas will be taken into account. However, they have not considered how this power can be attained, or how they can be geared for proper bargaining. Presumably, they would like the government to grant them some seats on a decision-making council.

A sound and good participation process is asking what people want, listening to them, considering their opinions, and adopting them wherever possible. The planners and government officials should be open and tell the truth in every possible sense. If planning decisions are the outcomes of both formal and informal inputs, a wider consultation process, and a deeper understanding of the people's needs, are necessary. For example, some people in the North Pickering site would have attended the meetings if they

have been provided transportation to the meeting places, or if the meetings had been held closeby.

Citizen participation should be a two-way process. The officials should provide the public with updated information on the planning process, in lay terms. And the public should bring to the notice of the officials and planners what they think should be modified, added or subtracted to the proposals.

The consultation process should make use of all sources available, especially the more direct personal contact with the people. Riedel (1973), in writing about the myths and realities of citizen participation, has observed that our political system favours group action, but most individuals are turned off by coalitions.

In terms of information and consultation, they favour a comprehensive role where all aspects are concerned. For example in the North Pickering case, they should advise not only on the location and size aspects, but also on all other relevant matters concerning the development of a Community.

It has been indicated that the time dimension is important in planning. For effective participation, it is necessary to maintain the interest of the people. The gap between various phases of planning and the flow of information can be shortened by a committment to a continuing participation process.

Finally, the people prefer consultation from the very beginning and of course, the manner of official representatives

is important. Red-tape and bureaucratic behaviour are not likely to encourage participation by the people.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE NORTH PICKERING EXPERIENCE

The NPPPP is not a process to everybody's satisfaction. There is ample room for improvement, but it has clearly been a worthwhile experience. However, it seems unlikely that a similar experiment will be pursued again with other new town development in South Ontario. At least this seems to be the case with Townsend.

A public participation process aims at involving the people in the local planning process. In Townsend, a Townsend Advisory Committee and a Townsend Development Program have been set up, but they have been criticized because of the absence of local participation. As reported in the Spectator (Dec. 6, 1975), Councillor Philip Hare of Nanticoke said the Mayor of Nanticoke, as the only person on the Townsend Advisory Committee from Nanticoke, could not report back on what was happening because everything was confidential. So not only is local community participation prevented, but access to information is also blocked.

Undoubtedly, the North Pickering Project has encountered hardships and difficulties. The public participation is a time- and expenditure-consuming procedure. However, officials have devoted much effort and diligence to it. They have expended considerable effort in facilitating the planning process. Thus the rather negative response of the community must be discouraging. It may be part of the reason why a public participation process has not yet been

announced for Townsend. Does it mean that citizen participation is going to retreat from the planning processes?

It has now been two years since the acquisition of the Townsend site. If it is true that the first houses would be built by the fall of 1977, a citizen participation process does not seem likely to come forward, although the Provincial Government has never informed the public that their involvement is unnecessary in planning the Townsend Project. It has been suggested that there would be changes in the planning process if the North Pickering Project were to be done again (File, 1975). Land acquisition in Townsend or South Cayuga are good examples. Using the name of estate agents to acquire the land has advantage over official expropriation. As asserted, it avoids speculation and people can be paid according to what they ask. Probably secrecy is the essential ingredient for fast land assembly. (This secrecy contradicts with our recommendation for openness in the citizen participation process.) This is not the case with North Pickering in which issues over expropriation have aroused hazards and hindered participation in the planning process.

It seems that what is likely to happen in Townsend will be a reflection of the North Pickering experience. To a certain extent, while land acquisition for the Townsend Project was still underway, a program of property management and farm leasing was initiated under which the farmers who sold their land for the new town were encouraged to remain and continue farming until such time as the land was required for development. This is exactly what has been done in

North Pickering in its later planning phases. The lesson from North Pickering is advanced forward in Townsend.

There is evidence to suggest that there will not be a similar participatory process for Townsend. Involving the public creates complication. In order to avoid hazards and undesired complexities, "the government as a whole decides what the government actions will be," according to Donald Irving, a former Minister of Housing (Globe and Mail, Jan. 8, 1975). However, legislation states that the planning processes should encompass public involvement and participation. Public meetings have just been scheduled for the Townsend Project. The first meetings are to take place in the neighbouring communities of Townsend, such as Simcoe and Hagersville in March 1976. Since planning for Townsend has less than 1 1/2 years to go in comparison to North Pickering's 3 1/2 years, it is said that public involvement will be of intensive quality and in a tight schedule. It is certain that Townsend will not have a public participation process as grand in scale as North Pickering. If those open meetings are just to involve the people for the sake of involving them, it is likely that it will fall back into the traditional framework of participation, and be known as another piece of tokenism.

CONCLUSION

Citizen participation means different things to different people, but essentially it is a device to make government responsive to the needs of all people, particularly those that are left out of

the formal governmental decision-making process. The traditional style of citizen participation comes after the planning staff have prepared the various options for planning. But recently in both the Metro Toronto and the North Pickering planning processes, emphasis was placed on a different type of public involvement in which the public received the background studies related to the preparation of the plan and, in some way, joined in discussing how the process should proceed, before they were asked to make decision on the choice alternatives.

However, both would tend to be unique experiences. As discussed above, the North Pickering experience is unlikely to be repeated in Townsend or other new town development at least in the near future. As to the Metro-Toronto Planning, the publics were invited to help formulating the goals for preparing Metro's 25-year landuse policies. But after one year, in January 1976, the Metro planning Committee urged curtailment of public participation in the Metroplan. Public participation in the Metroplan was stopped half-way through. Politicians said that the public role in planning was a waste of time and money, with no returns on the investments.

Actually in such planning processes, frustration on both sides is unavoidable. On one hand the authorities may prefer less intervention from the public, but they may find the lack of interest from the community discouraging. On the other hand, the community yearns for a share in decision-making, but in reality,

even under the best of conditions, most people tend to avoid participation and involvement.

These are the myths and realities of citizen participation. The problem is a political one. The politicians and the planners have different powers and responsibilities, and may have different views of the planning process. The public, often overwhelmed by statistics, have not been able to get enough planning and political help in bringing their concerns to bear on the planning process. As Altshuler ((1965) has observed, though the theoretical problem is the legitimation of goals by public discussion, the practical problem is finding the discussants. The whole thing is a matter of power distribution. While a direct transfer, or reallocation, of political power is unlikely to become a reality in our system, a meaningful citizen participation process should at least have representative participation. As a profession, planners should devise new ways of measuring choice alternatives, and new means for reaching the people. These may help to arouse the willingness of the people to participate actively in the planning process.

The North Pickering and the Metro-plan public participation processes are worthy experiments. They should be adopted and improved upon. It is a loss and a shame to see them shelved. Such participation experiments can become the beginning of real public participation in planning decisions.

NORTH PICKERING PUBLIC PARTICIPATION SURVEY
McMASTER UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY

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Hello, I am from McMaster University, and I would like to have your co-operation in answering the following questions.
(Please check appropriate boxes.)

Do not write
in this column

1. Have you heard about the proposal for a new town at North Pickering?

Yes

No

☐☐☐

2. How did the proposal first come to your attention?

- ☐ friends and relatives
☐ newspaper
☐ TV
☐ radio
☐ official sources, e.g.
special pamphlets
☐ others (please specify)

☐
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☐
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3. What was your first reaction to the proposal?

For

Against

☐☐☐

4. Have you been consulted in any way about plans for the new town by the North Pickering Public Participation Office?

Yes

No

☐☐☐

(If NO, go to question 8.)

5. In what way(s) have you been consulted?

- ☐ open meetings
☐ letters
☐ personal contact
☐ others (please specify)

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6. In what area(s) was your opinions sought?

- ☐ location
☐ population
☐ type of development
☐ transportation
☐ social consideration
☐ environment
☐ all aspects
☐ others (please specify)

☐
☐
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☐

7. Do you think your opinions have been taken into account?

Yes

No

☐☐☐

If YES, in what way?

If NO, what do you think is the reason?

• In your knowledge, have many people been involved in the participation process?

Yes

No

☐☐☐

If NO, who were excluded?

• Do you think sufficient official effort was made in the consultation procedure?

Yes

No

☐☐☐

If NO, why was it not?

And what extra could be done?

• Should official participation be continued?

Yes

No

☐☐☐

With or without improvement?

With

Without

☐☐☐

Why?

• Would you prefer informal or unofficial input into planning decisions, eg. via local representatives?

Yes

No

☐☐☐

• Are you now for or against the new town, North Pickering?

For

Against

☐☐☐

• Occupation of respondent

- ☐ housewife
☐ agricultural workers
☐ manual / blue collar
☐ professional / managerial
☐ unemployed
☐ others (please specify)

☐
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• Length of residence of respondent

- < 6 mths.
 6 mths. - 1 yr.
 1 - 2 yrs.
 2 - 5 yrs.
 > 5 yrs.

In present address

In area

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That's all. Thank you very much for your help.

Site of interview

Date

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