BRINGING THE NEIGHBOURS INTO

small housing BC

SFU SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY
URBAN STUDIES

This report was made possible by the generous support of:

BULLITT FOUNDATION

All Bringing the Neighbourhood into Infill reports can be downloaded free of charge at:
www.smallhousingbc.org/publications

© 2016 Small Housing BC & Simon Fraser University, Urban Studies
All rights reserved
Printed in Canada
First Edition

Every reasonable attempt has been made to identify owners of copyright.
Errors or omissions will be corrected in subsequent editions.

RESEARCH, WRITING AND EDITING:
Meg Holden, Project Supervisor - mholden@sfu.ca
Alex Jürgen Thumm, Lead Researcher - athumm@sfu.ca

ART DIRECTION/GRAPHIC DESIGN:
Erick Villagomez
Alex Jürgen Thumm

CONTENTS

5 ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

6 FOUNDATIONAL KNOWLEDGE

22 CASE STUDIES: A COMPARISON

24 GRANDVIEW-WOODLAND CITIZENS' ASSEMBLY

- 25 *Context & Background*
- 28 *The Citizens' Assembly Model*
- 36 *Process: How it unfolded*
- 39 *Community Opposition to the GWCA*
- 43 *Analysis*
- 58 *Densification & Housing*
- 59 *How Was Small Housing Addressed?*
- 62 *Resolving Public Opposition*
- 63 *Outcomes & successes*
- 64 *Ten Lessons Learned*

70 SOUTHLANDS DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

- 71 *Context & Background*
- 77 *The SCPT Public Engagement Model*
- 79 *'Community Planning Team': The Process*
- 86 *Agricultural Urbanism*
- 88 *Community Opposition and Community Perceptions of the SCPT*
- 92 *Analysis*
- 105 *Densification & Housing*

108 *Resolving Public Opposition*

109 *Outcomes & Successes*

111 *Eight Lessons Learned*

114 LESSONS

118 MOVING FORWARD

120 FURTHER READING

121 REFERENCES

123 APPENDIX

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We are extremely grateful to the Bullitt Foundation and the Real Estate Foundation of British Columbia for generously providing funding and a platform to support this research.

We are very grateful for the generosity of all the people who contributed their time and insights to this research:

GRANDVIEW-WOODLAND CITIZENS' ASSEMBLY

Jak King (community member and opposition activist)
Andrew Pask (Grandview-Woodland Planner, City of Vancouver)
Matt Hern (community activist)
Rachel Magnusson (Assembly chair)
Charles Campbell (Assembly staff writer)
Apidi Onyalo (participant)
Marina Glass (participant)
Dorothy Barkley (participant)
Ed Stringer (participant)
Dirk Duivesten (participant)
(Anonymous participant)
Garth Mullins (community member and opposition activist)
Councillor Andrea Reimer (City of Vancouver)
(Anonymous urban design expert)
(Anonymous community activist)
(Anonymous Assembly observer)

SOUTHLANDS COMMUNITY PLANNING TEAM

Bob Ransford (engagement consultant)
Brad Semke (Southlands Project Manager, Century Group)
Mark Holland (developer and planner)
Michael von Hausen (President, MVH Urban Planning & Design)
Elisa Campbell (Director of Regional and Strategic Planning, Metro Vancouver)
Janine de la Salle (Principal, Urban Food Strategies)
Sean Hodgins (President, Century Group)
Helen Kettle (participant)
Sue Lloyd (participant)
Douglas Bolen (participant)
Karel Ley (participant)
Howie McLennan (participant)
Richard Kunz (community opposition activist)
Mayor Lois Jackson (Mayor of Delta)
Sandor Gyarmati (journalist, Delta Optimist)

REVIEW AND STRATEGIC PRIORITIES WORKSHOP PARTICIPANTS

Eli Spevak (Orange Splott LLC, Portland)
Lester King (Houston Sustainability Indicators Project, Rice University)
Martin Nielson (Dialog)
Don Luymes (City of Surrey)
Tom Ainscough (City of Surrey)
Patrick Ward (Township of Langley)
Terry Sidhu (City of Coquitlam)
Patrick Santoro (Urban Development Institute)
Rachel Magnusson (MASS LBP)
David Hendrickson (Real Estate Foundation of BC)
Meghan Winters (Health Sciences, SFU)
Jake Fry (Smallworks)
Erick Villagomez (Metis Design|Build)
Lance Berelowitz (Small Housing BC)
Akua Schatz (Small Housing BC)
Sophie Fung (Urban Studies, SFU)
Daniel Sturgeon (Urban Studies, SFU)
Amir Moradi (Visiting PhD Student, SFU)
Jeffrey Hsu (Advancement, SFU)

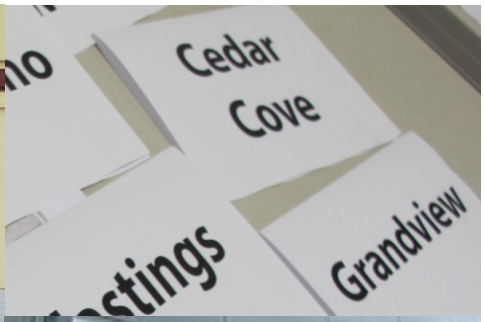
GRAPHIC DESIGN

Erick Villagomez
Alex Jürgen Thumm

RESEARCH, WRITING, AND EDITING

Meg Holden, Project Supervisor
mholden@sfu.ca
Alex Jürgen Thumm, Lead Researcher
athumm@sfu.ca

FOUNDATIONAL KNOWLEDGE



Credits: City of Vancouver (Photos 2, 3, and 6) & Karel Ley (1, 4, and 5)

We reviewed the planning literature in order to develop a state-of-the-art understanding of the challenges faced by public engagement and the strategies that aim to remedy these. In general, the literature focuses on North America and where possible, we narrow our focus still to examine the conditions and opportunities facing the Cascadia region.

Since the 1960s, governments in North America have been confronted with a public that demands to have a say in policy decisions in between elections. It's not only the final product that matters but the process that created it: "we can no longer accept urban development processes (not just projects) that do not involve, or consider the needs, ambitions, potential and problems of local people living, working or recreating in a given area". [1]

[1] Kee & Miazzo (2014), p. 282

Communities haven't been interested in the traditional consultation models used by local governments and developers, such as open houses, information sessions, and public hearings. Their complaints are that either these sessions are held so early on that information is insufficient for a fulsome conversation, or that they take place so far into the planning process that projects are presented as a done deal, as a yes-no consultation with no possibility of negotiation. People are asking to speak, to be heard, and to co-design policy and urban landscapes: they demand higher quality and quantity in public engagement.[2]

[2] Kee & Miazzo (2014); Moore (2012)

At the same time, we hear warnings that "public involvement threatens the quality of public decisions," citing examples of populism trumping best practices and empirical knowledge.[3] Participants in public processes get involved for diverse reasons, and bring heterogenous value to the table. How should their input be valued and balanced with input from planners, developers, and engineers?

[3] Thomas (2014), p. 125

Gow (2000) stipulates that public engagement is not the only factor that should be guiding plans, but it is always a factor. Successful planning strategies need to be environmental, social, and economic and "built politically from the bottom up and technically from the top down".[4] The community shouldn't force the engineers' hands, but neither should engineers' perspectives trump the community's imagination.

[4] Gow (2000), p. 93.

No process, no matter how participatory, is perfect or guaranteed to succeed.[5] While researchers have identified areas where 'traditional consultation' usually

[5] Holden (2011)

falls short, they also warn against one-size-fits-all solutions to engagement. "Effective" participation means real or authentic participation, or "participation that is deep and offers continuous involvement with the potential for all involved to have an effect on the situation and have a degree of comfort with the arrived at decision".[6] It is a process that shifts the focus from complaints and harnesses participants' energy toward productive ends.[7] It strives for high-quality deliberation and very often achieves higher-quality decisions.[8]

[6] King et al. (1998), p. 320. As cited by Shipley & Utz (2012)

[7] Kee & Miazzo (2014)

[8] Beierle & Cayford (2002)

Process isn't everything. Prior to the process itself, a common understanding of what it is intended to achieve must first be struck; fundamentally different interpretations of challenges and objectives may frustrate the best processes.[9] By the same token, "civic engagement in housing and neighbourhood planning should not be viewed as an end in itself, where 'having a say' is reduced to consultation simply to fulfil the requirements of a government funding application".[10]

[9] Mouffe (2000)

[10] Jarvis (2015)

Is it possible that the costs of engagement outweigh the benefits? As Table 1, a comprehensive literature review of its own, illustrates, some say there are a lot of reasons not to engage, but are these "warnings" insurmountable? We intend to show how public engagement practice can enable positive community action. First, we need to review the common failures that plague many public engagement processes.

"Unilateral decisions are always the quickest to make but often very expensive to implement. Frequently there is so much resistance that they are never implemented at all." Creighton (2005), p. 18.

WHEN PUBLIC ENGAGEMENT FAILS

Come-one-come-all isn't representative

Across the board, the most active participants in planning processes represent a limited socioeconomic and demographic slice of the spectrum: middle-class, white, educated, and typically home-owning males.[11] Schatz (2013) points out that community consultation rarely meets its mandate of better representing the public in policymaking: "No matter the methods of consultation, many who are eligible to participate do not, and those who do participate are unlikely to constitute a cross section of all who were eligible to get involved".[12]

[11] Moore (2012); also see studies reviewed by Bedford et al. (2002) and Schatz (2013).

[12] Schatz (2013), p. 22.

Manipulative power dynamics are left unchallenged, relationships are not valued:

How is the notion of "the public" constructed, who is included, and who gets to decide? Who is expected to learn from whom? Define a group as a "hard-to-reach" demographic, as Indigenous peoples are often perceived to be, and you "may guarantee that it becomes just that"—hard to reach—by virtue of having been isolated and labeled in this way.[13] Even when a process takes great pains to be "representative," power imbalances will be replicated and represented too. When one party wields more control through greater knowledge, influence, resources, confidence, voice or speaking privilege, and decision-making authority and discretion, the outcome is distorted and its legitimacy becomes compromised.[14]

Promises made about Public Participation	Warnings regarding Public Participation
Personal empowerment and improving interpersonal skills	Organized interests are able to mobilize and seize power in participatory processes as in other activities of the state
Increasing trust and reducing conflict between diverse individuals and interests	Decreasing trust and/or masking conflict through an inability to engage inter-subjectively with diverse others
Generating satisfied citizens	Participation fatigue and collective action problems between joiners and the majority who opt not to participate
Educating and providing participants with new understandings of their community, their neighbours and themselves; improving policy on this basis	An information-based approach is too time- and resource-intensive (Kweit and Kweit, 1999) and may detract from the connection of policy issues to lived experiences and passions within the local context
Establishing more equitable or direct citizen–government relations	Symbolic or ritualistic politics dominate, as the modern state is too big and complex for 'real' relationships
Overcoming social and political barriers to change toward sustainability	Responsibilization and governance-at-a-distance

Table 1: Promises and Warnings. ***Adapted from Holden (2011)***

To remedy this failing and challenge existing power dynamics, planners and developers need to inform themselves about the social context of the communities where they work. According to Brownill & Carpenter (2007), any process must first explore the different rationalities and interests of those involved and develop "strategies for power" to "maximize emancipatory potential"; in other words, a legitimate process ought to distribute power sufficiently to ensure that all participants can make a meaningful contribution. Residents, community groups, business, Indigenous peoples, experts, developers, and the municipality are some of the key stakeholders whose power relationships ought to be mapped out in a public engagement process within a land use development context.

Overrepresentation of business and development interests is a common complaint,[15] but increasingly others' influence is being called into question, including that of planners and "experts" who "gain authority through their mastery of the subject and their appearance of neutrality"[16] or even that of

[13] Brownill & Carpenter (2007), p. 415. See also: Hill & Cooke (2014)

[14] Bedford et al. (2002)

[15] Brownill & Carpenter (2007)

[16] Shipley & Utz (2012), p. 26.

neighbourhood associations claiming to represent the entire community.[17] Redistributing power through process design can ease skepticism and defensiveness. For some citizens, a process appears more legitimate and participation can become more attractive and less self-interested if it includes underrepresented and marginalized populations in the decision-making process.[18]

[17] Schatz (2013)

[18] Shipley & Utz (2012); Holden (2011)

Public engagement research acknowledges how crucial it can be to foster community members' social capital and how deliberative processes that extend over several meetings do exactly that. Quatsel et al. (2012) cite as such a "return of the social" with Vancouver's Norquay Village planning process. More overt recognition of power imbalances can build trust, bring an increased diversity of engaged citizens, and potentially a greater representativeness of perspectives.

Trust is broken

Trust between the citizenry and local government in charge of planning and land use is in crisis. In virtually every 'typical' project with a 'typical' consultation approach, community members are saying that they have less and less confidence in the process and its outcomes. Some are now calling participation a 'waste of time'.[19] Conversely, there is evidence that some public officials don't trust citizens to be involved in decision-making and also find it a waste of time.[20]

[19] Monno & Khakee (2012)

[20] Shipley & Utz (2012)

A great deal of reparations work exists to fix the lack of trust on all sides of this dynamic. That said, trust is an entity that is much easier to break than it is to build, particularly in a situation in which considerable institutional inertia exists to weigh against efforts to build more authentic engagement processes within local governments that remain committed to order and efficiency.[21] In order to repair trust it is necessary to understand people as both rational and emotional beings; one has to understand their perceptions of a given project, not only the facts.

[21] Shipley & Utz (2012); Moore (2012); Schively (2007); Virtanen et al. (2015)

The degree of participation (i.e. moving from left to right in Table 2) has a positive correlation with trust and confidence (Shipley & Utz 2012). According to Moore's (2012) research on public engagement in Saskatoon, where City-appointed committees are the norm in 'public engagement', although 76% of public sector stakeholders and 66% of business stakeholders are satisfied with public consultations, only 25% of community stakeholders felt the same way. Our case studies provide examples of higher levels of satisfaction by attaining the Collaborative and Empower levels of engagement.

Empowerment of potential participants remains low

> *Even among those present at a public meeting, those who are the most opposed tend to be the most vocal, and those who are "tolerant" tend to remain quieter.*[22] *The way public meetings are designed, these latter effectively have no voice at all.*

[22] Schatz (2013)

An effective participatory process empowers individuals to use their voice to promote community rather than merely private interests.[23] Often, consultative processes such as a controversial public hearing that do not culminate in deliberation towards common ground further divide and frustrate individuals and groups, and silence non-dominant voices. Typically only older, white, male, homeowner voices prevail from the public, while others do not feel welcome or appreciated. Furthermore, many processes leave even privileged and vocal participants feeling 'used' and misled.[24] This is known as tokenism: whether real or perceived, citizens end up feeling their participation simply 'sanitized' a development approval and made City Council look legitimate.

[23] Brownill & Carpenter (2007); Miazzo & Kee (2014); Senbel & Church (2011); Moore (2012)

[24] Ruming (2013), Monno & Khakee (2012)

Some say that this habit of tokenism makes public engagement part of the problem, 'the new tyranny', in its propping-up of a pro-development agenda.[25] These are also cases where participants complain that while Council listened to them, Council didn't do anything about it. As Senbel & Church (2011) write: "Empowering individuals to act in an environment where their actions are meaningless is inappropriate empowerment or misempowerment." Instead, this amounts to top-down decision-making masking itself as participatory planning.

[25] Brownill & Carpenter (2007)

On the extreme end of empowerment is community ownership of the process, which is explored in Jarvis' (2015) study of community-led housing. This

Table 2: IAP2 Spectrum of Public Participation

Inform	Consult	Involve/Engage	Collaborate	Empower
Increasing level of public impact				
"We will keep you informed."	"We will keep you informed, listen to and acknowledge concerns and aspirations, and provide feedback on how public input influenced the decision."	"We will work with you to ensure that your concerns and aspirations are directly reflected in the alternatives developed and provide feedback on how public input influenced the decision."	"We will look to you for advice and innovation in formulating solutions and incorporate your advice and recommendations into the decisions to the maximum extent possible."	"We will implement what you decide."
Public event Open house Fact sheets	Public meetings Focus groups Surveys	Steering/technical committee Expressions of interest/proposals Workshops Polling	Citizen advisory committees Participatory decision-making	Citizen juries Ballots Delegated decisions

Levels and examples of group consultation schematized by degree of participation. *Adapted from International Association for Public Participation (2007), with Moore (2012).*

approach addresses the challenge that the true object of protest in public participation exercises is that ownership doesn't reside in the community. A study from Scotland has also suggested that community ownership can change public opinion toward a development previously considered out-of-the-question; in this case, a controversial wind farm.[26]

[26] Warren & McFadyen (2010)

Consensus often falls short

> *Democracy and citizen engagement processes by definition are messy and rational planning, master planning, hates mess. That's what it's designed to eliminate.* - Matt Hern, East Vancouver community organizer, author, and lecturer

The idea of seeking consensus is daunting—indeed, it's nearly impossible in 'traditional' consultation practices. Planners often claim victory once they can argue that the majority of those consulted approve of their plans. Many developers simply tend to avoid such discussions out of fear of stoking community opposition.[27] One of consensus-building's most daunting aspects is that these processes may require regular meetings over months or even years. Yet this can be a high-yield strategy: according to numerous studies compiled by Shively (2007), consensus-based processes in urban governance reduces frustration and both financial and time costs for the implementation of contested proposals. It has also been found to be perceived as the fairest, most satisfying, and most preferred type of process and especially effective when negotiations are both formal and empowering.

[27] Schively (2007)

Consensus-building shouldn't be thought of as 'sanitized' and polite decision-making. Some trends in public process design suggest that the quest for consensus is too biased toward order, and that a recognition of the messier context of dissent in local communities is a more authentic path. Political theorist Chantal Mouffe proposes the concept of agonism, or agonistic pluralism, as inherent to any truly democratic process.[28] Agonism signifies conflict not between enemies (which is antagonism), but between adversaries. Mouffe insists this sense of the validity of confrontation is needed to stop idealizing the ideal of rational consensus, and that of citizens who are equally happy with a decision that, in nearly all situations, benefits some more than others, and some not at all. Participants must be presented with real alternatives (e.g. a bridge or a ferry; and not simply the choice between a blue bridge or a red bridge) and they must be given the freedom to debate and challenge each other as they journey towards the solution with the most common ground.

[28] Mouffe (2000). A non-agonistic process, on the other hand, is one where officials limit the scope and breadth of discussion to a narrow question so as to limit confrontation. Not because they are 'anti-democratic', but because of a false perception that loud, messy debate is inherently bad, looks bad, and is to be avoided at all costs. Mouffe's agonistic theory of democracy, as this text explains, is in contrast with that of Jürgen Habermas' arguments for deliberative democracy.

Participation models have not effectively embraced new technologies

> *When planning the infill development of residential areas, the current residents are the most relevant local stakeholders. They should be able to examine its effects from their own point of view, that of individual apartments. Visualizations are required to illustrate both the existing environment and the design of the infill development project.* - Virtanen et al. (2015), p. 69.

Techniques and tools that allow community members to visualize, interact with, and co-design projects and developments—and better understand their impact—can play a positive role in community engagement, although they have not been used to full advantage to date.[29] Simply showing what you are proposing to do contributes to securing trust and support. Often, seeing a project realized in graphical imagery eases resident concerns about fit and continuity with local context. Maps, as static and abstract renderings, are not enough to have this kind of effect.[30]

[29] Senbel & Church (2011); Poplin (2012); Virtanen et al. (2015)

[30] Virtanen et al. (2015)

Taking another step across the digital divide, interactive computer games, accessible both during formal events and online, are being developed to engage the public.[31] These so-called "serious games" support learning and tackle real-life projects and their impacts.

[31] Poplin (2012)

The benefits of visualization as observed by academics have yet to be universally accepted by planners. In a 2011 study of a Vancouver consultation, researchers observed that, "planners seemed anxious about the prospect of an empowered community. […] Two of the planners at the visualization media workshop spoke of the extreme caution to be taken when giving the public access to visualization tools that might enable them to develop unrealistic ideas."[32]

[32] Senbel & Church (2011), p. 433

Online consultations are increasingly common and increasingly diverse and interactive in approach. The City of Vancouver created its now standard citizen engagement panel, Talk Vancouver, in 2010 under the slogan "Talk Green to Us" and experimented with discussion forums, ideas slam competitions, and various interactive planning tools to get participants' chatting.[33] It must be remembered, however, that not all residents have convenient Internet access and area residents aren't the only ones who will contribute via this mode. As a case in point, Vancouver's 2010 online engagement forum had visitors from 123 countries; only about 60% of visitors accessed the website from within Vancouver.[34]

[33] Brideau & Mitchell (2016)

[34] Brideau & Mitchell (2016)

Participation does not effectively engage children:

> *While the neighbourhood may well be a mere 'backdrop' for many full-time employed and commuting adults, for children it is more likely to profoundly influence the geographies of everyday life* - Carroll et al. (2015), p. 1.

A growing body of literature is calling for children-inclusive and children-focused planning,[35] arguing that "there are experiences about being a child and relating to the environment that can and should only be told by a child".[36] Children exhibit exceptional insights into urban space and what makes for a great place to live. Furthermore, children's participation is justified from a rights-based framework, built upon the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. An educational, capacity-building value in fostering democratic practice also exists, supporting the notion of children learning about how cities are built, and demonstrating that their voice counts.

[35] Knowles-Yánez (2005); Carroll et al. (2015)

[36] Knowles-Yánez (2005), p. 12

Conflicting notions of the value of participatory planning:

> *Virtually all research reviewed has suggested that citizens are more likely to contribute if they perceive that their input will have an influence on the outcome.* - Shipley & Utz (2012)

The public and planners have different understandings of participatory planning.[37] A post-consultation survey in Canada found that 40% of surveyed participants were skeptical that their participation would have any impact on the outcome of the planning exercise at all.[38] In nearly every study examined, at least some citizens, often those organized in associations, are skeptical that their efforts are worthwhile. All too often, these skeptics are proven right. City Council reserves a right to make decisions that are not responsive to public input.[39] Meetings aren't independently run and information is presented as a done-deal.[40] Developers explain what they're going to do rather than why and whom it is for. People feel ignored.[41]

Time and again a cycle of disappointment is reproduced: engagement processes are not equipped with a binding mandate that ensures participants will take their role to heart and a product is produced that isn't satisfying to staff, Council, or the participants themselves. The opportunity costs of this vicious cycle need to be recognized.[42] A clear incentive to attract busy, sometimes cynical participants, is a process that is able to

[37] Monno & Khakee (2012)

[38] Shipley et al. (2004)

[39] Brownill & Carpenter (2007)

[40] Rosol (2013)

[41] Suchman (2002)

[42] Shipley & Utz (2012)

promise "positive and visible outcomes", within a reasonable period of time.[43] A clear incentive for local governments to design processes in this way is that people will come and offer valuable input toward a constructive outcome.

[43] Kee & Miazzo (2014), Bedford et al. (2002); Shipley & Utz (2012), p.11.

Public involvement can make for better planning

> *The case study record of the past 30 years paints an encouraging picture of public participation. Involving the public not only frequently produces decisions that are responsive to public values and substantially robust, but it also helps to resolve conflict, built trust, and educate and inform the public* - Beierle & Cayford (2002, p. 74) following a meta-analysis of 239 case studies.

Local communities have a vast wealth of experiential and other forms of knowledge that planning can draw on.[44] Many studies indicate that public engagement, and deliberation in particular, enhances outcomes, for it marries this community knowledge that planners do not have access to with professional expertise that may build on best practices from across the globe: "The capacity that participants bring to the table often is quite impressive, both in terms of scientific and technical training and in terms of in-depth knowledge of the issues under discussion."[45]

[44] Kee & Miazzo (2014)

[45] Beirerle (2002), p. 746

Public engagement, as we will see in the case studies that follow, is not free, but this cost can be counted as an initial investment towards strengthening a project's foundation and implementation. Increased engagement can mean lower costs and less opposition later on.[46] Failing to make this investment can increase cynicism, chip away at political legitimacy, and 'deprive' decision making and design processes of valuable ideas.[47]

[46] Sipilä & Tyrväinen (2005)

[47] Shipley & Utz (2012)

WORKING WITH COMMUNITY OPPOSITION & NIMBYS

NIMBY—Not In My Backyard—is a pejorative label often applied indiscriminately to any community opposition to specific land-uses. Some claim the label has become too loosely applied, and so has lost its meaning. Any concerns about any project expressed by members of the public are often immediately rejected, by developers and planners alike, as NIMBYist. A NIMBY concern is associated with self-interest. At the same time, voicing a concern about a neighbourhood change that may negatively affect one's

self interest also represents an assertion of democratic rights and may translate into strong community stewardship. Democratic theory doesn't prescribe delegitimizing personal interest as if this were a negative thing.[48] What may be perceived as a NIMBY protest could be the beginning of socially- or environmentally-motivated grassroots organizing against forces or features that would be bad or undesirable in anybody's backyard.

[48] Bedford et al. (2002)

Drawing the wrong conclusions about why people protest change

> *Many developers are skeptical of infill developments due to the high probability that these projects will be delayed by resistance from the surrounding community. Neighbourhood opposition can hinder an infill project by prolonging the approvals process and making the development unaffordable or by generating political pressure to block the project.* - Cubitt (2008), p. 61

Dismissing people's concerns about change to their homes and communities makes for an inauthentic approach to engagement. Instead, effective public engagement reaches out to understand why people are angry and what interests they are aiming to protect. As one Vancouver resident said, "neighbors and residents should be involved in the process, to reduce fear [of what planning outcomes may be] if nothing else".[49]

"Current resident opposition poses the biggest concern to an infill developer." McConnell & Wiley (2010)

[49] Senbel & Church (2011), p. 431

Nobody appreciates having their concerns dismissed. Organized opposition is capable of recognizing and articulating concerns beyond simple NIMBYism, which may include concerns about process. As Vallance (2003) reminds us, "the compact city must have a reasonable degree of support from a wide range of residents"[50]: a city where people get fed up with change and leave, leaving behind those who cannot leave, is not a sustainable city.

[50] Vallance (2003), p. 163

Development opponents are sometimes presumed to be ignorant, however they are often highly informed, engaged residents with legitimate concerns that aren't being addressed. Potential allies can become opponents when they aren't consulted. Consultation should share as much information as possible: suspicions develop when community members feel information is being withheld.

Where is the anger coming from?

> *Ask: What does the community value about itself? What is its vision?*

Objections to infill and small housing development typically come from single-family home occupants.[51] Projects proposed next to multifamily dwellings or other infill aren't opposed by neighbours nearly as often as are those next to single-family homes.[52] The greatest disdain amongst single-family home dwellers is towards apartment or condo buildings, followed by townhouses.[53] "Infill" is widely associated with these and other medium-to-high density housing forms. Opposition to ground-oriented small housing can be rooted in negative perceptions and experiences with the concept of infill. Providing ample information is critical to overcome misunderstandings.

[51] Battles (1976); Pendall (1999); Vallance et al. (2005); Quastel et al. (2012)

[52] Vallance (2003); Pendall (1999)

[53] Grant & Scott (2011); Battles (1976)

Homeowners have both a financial and psychological investment in their home. "Free-standing-home dweller" sits at the root of some people's identity, reinforced and validated by their neighbourhood. "Home" is a very emotional space, as Vallance (2003) reminds us, and residents' sense of their living space, whether legitimate and rational or not, extends beyond their own property, into their street and their neighbourhood. Neighbours of infill have decried that the landscape has been "stolen" from them. This strong attachment is an attachment to the status quo, and the sense of risk associated with the unfamiliar. If bringing infill development to those single family neighbourhoods where they have the greatest potential is an objective, planners have to consider the "symbolism" behind certain changes.[54]

> "It is not just a matter of avoiding the hurdles of NIMBYism in the race to build high-density neighborhoods, but, and perhaps more importantly, it is about avoiding becoming so focused on the dogma of density that the real value of community is overlooked and ultimately lost" Senbel & Church (2011), p. 433

[54] Arvola & Pennanen (2014); Schatz (2013)

Empowerment of risk bearers[55]

[55] Schively (2007)

Opposition groups can themselves empower marginalized groups who weren't being listened to by officials. One strategy for planners to encourage a wider spectrum of public opinion to be heard is the "empowerment of risk bearers." This means reaching out to include previously marginalized groups in an engagement process from the outset,

so that these people are given a choice other than joining the opposition. Empowerment leads to a sense of community ownership over a given plan or project, taking over from a sense of the project as posing an involuntary risk. Citizen-participants offered a role in shaping their own destiny by understanding the proposed change can become its greatest proponents.[56]

[56] Moore (2012); Schatz (2013)

Experience of infill housing forms makes all the difference

All of these perceptions amount to one primary concern for homeowners: that infill, either because it increases housing supply or because it will 'ruin' the character of their street, might reduce real estate prices and therefore the value of their largest asset: their home.

The risks formally acknowledged by planners are unrelated to the risks perceived by participants. Rather than attempt to anticipate the risks that residents see with infill housing in their neighbourhood, what planners can constructively do is find ways for residents to experience infill housing first-hand. Support for infill housing is more likely to come from people who already live in some form of infill.[57] A 1970s survey of Victoria residents in neighbourhoods with fierce opposition to infill townhouses found one key attribute that most of those residents had in common: only 4% of those surveyed had previously lived in infill or multifamily housing.[58] People are skeptical or even fearful of what they don't know, so citizens who have no experience with infill base their opinion of it on perceptions. These need to be understood not only in order to provide relevant information on what they presume to be an impending threat, but also to gain some sympathy and respect for community members and perhaps even make concessions and design changes that bridge those differences.

[57] Vallance (2003)

[58] Battles (1976)

For example: while Finland thinks highly of environmental sustainability, the attitude towards infill of most Finns surveyed by Arvola & Pennanen (2014) was not influenced by this discourse as they did not believe that infill would 'bring about savings in natural resources'.

There can be tension between social and environmental preferences and the perception of how infill housing serves both is an open question. The ongoing debate around eco-gentrification is an apt example.[59]

[59] See Rosol (2013)

Is everyone against this?

Research on NIMBY organizations has shown that they sometimes wield excessive influence. Groups that bear the title of "Residents' Association" may claim to speak on behalf of all residents but typically do not include all area residents as members, let alone active members. As such, they may be an unrepresentative, vocal minority.[61]

[61] Schatz (2013); Ruming (2013)

In land-use development politics, residents tend to organize against, not in favour of, change. This suggests that there may be a silent population in favour of change. Schatz's (2013) research in the Dunbar area of Vancouver reveals that despite the Residents' Association speaking out against laneway housing, there are 'hidden' supporters: "several homeowners expressed frustration because of the uniformly anti-laneway housing narrative communicated on behalf of Dunbar residents".[62] These groups' organized status and names that suggest community legitimacy wield great influence through the media, communications campaigns, and social media. An Australian case study suggests that such groups' influence rests on a few key individuals' political connections.[63]

Only 20% of those surveyed for a study in Christchurch said that infill made their neighbourhood better. 66% believe that 'infill

[60] Vallance et al. (2005)

[62] Schatz (2013), p. 76.

[63] Ruming et al. (2012)

What is the 'point of resistance'?

> *Does spatial proximity play a role? NIMBY research has tended to be rooted in a spatial theory of opposition, but many studies now question this spatial determinism, showing instead that those living closest to a development can have more positive views than others.*

Community opposition is usually assumed to consist of protest against the nature of a land-use proposal, and therefore is usually classified as NIMBY. In some cases, opponents (who were labeled NIMBY) claim to be upset about the way development was being built or implemented. In Australia, one explanation of opposition to a public housing project was offered this way: "It wasn't about public housing, it was about the way it was done…I didn't speak to anybody that objected to public housing people. I objected to public housing, the way it was being built."[64] A major contributor to opposition is a perceived threat to the "character" and context of the neighbourhood; that the development is "out-of-context".[65]

[64] Ruming (2013)

[65] Tse (2012) cites studies confirming this perception specifically in Vancouver.

Organized opposition is sometimes more sympathetic with a project's affordability objectives than the general public. Ruming (2013) found that residents who had negative, stereotypical judgements of social housing tenants were the least likely to be involved in organized community opposition. This suggests that the 'point of resistance' may not be what it is presumed to be.[66] Thirdly, planners and developers may find more common ground with organized opposition if they enter into genuine dialogue, ready to understand and negotiate.

These are project implementation concerns which can fall into four categories of resistance: "(1) opposition to legislation and approval authority; (2) claims of inadequate information and consultation; (3) concerns over speed of approval/development; and, (4) questions over the level of local representation."[67]

Residents are often more upset about what they imagine the development to look like than the idea of infill development itself.[68] Through effective visualization-rich public engagement, these concerns can be reconciled to the benefit of all: residents will be happier with the final outcome, and planners and developers won't face community opposition that immobilizes their project.[69]

In the case of Vancouver's Dunbar neighbourhood, out of eight possible disadvantages of laneway housing, the most widely held were an increased demand on street parking, that homeowners should have to consult their neighbours before building a laneway house, and that the laneway houses currently being built in Dunbar are both too big and have windows facing neighbours' property which compromises privacy. Most residents surveyed did not consider these two possible disadvantages to be legitimate: that the resulting increased population would strain community services or overall negatively impact current residents.[70]

[66] For example, it is natural to presume that opponents of a new social housing project are against having social housing tenants in their neighbourhood. Ruming's study found that the community was organizing against the housing format, design, and other features, and not against social housing tenants. Vallance et al. (2005) found a perception of poor construction quality to contribute to negative feelings

[67] Ruming (2013)

[68] Virtanen et al. (2015)

[69] Suchman (2002)

[70] Schatz (2013)

Table 3: What are people worried about: What fuels NIMBYism?
The perception that the process simply isn't fair
For over 90% of those surveyed in a New Zealand community, sunlight was a topic concern. Structures that block sunlight are also perceived to impact neighbours' sense of privacy. These are some of the most frequent responses to surveys on infill.
Increased traffic and shortage of parking: while density promises to reduce car dependence, density without amenities increases traffic and parking concerns
Infill' is often presumed to be medium-density development, which is presumed to be 'the slums of the future'
Cheap, low-quality building materials —> cheap rentals
Loss of green space
They won't know their 'infill neighbours', who, if they're renters, are perceived by a strong minority to be 'less responsible', 'less committed to the neighbourhood', lazy, and otherwise problematic and perhaps 'not worthy of knowing'
Aesthetics problems/negative reactions to how the project looks
40% of those surveyed for a study in Christchurch believed infill puts a strain on infrastructure
"Infill" is often assumed to be towers or apartment complexes. In some cultural contexts, living in anything other than a detached home can be considered 'unnatural'
That City officials and Council are 'in bed with developers' and unequivocally pro-development
For some, expressing concern about future housing occupants is socially unacceptable, so the 'legitimate' concerns they articulate may not reflect their actual, underlying concerns.
Regardless of the presence of a progressive discourse on diversity, when it comes down to it, many people prefer others like them on their block, who have the same housing tenure as them
Community opposition is more intense when "an element of affordability is included". This doesn't have to mean subsidized housing; it can be any housing form, including smaller units or houses, that is perceived to be vastly 'affordable' relative to its surroundings. (Rowley & Phibbs, 2012)
All of these perceptions amount to one primary concern for homeowners: *that infill*, either because it increases housing supply or because it will 'ruin' the character of their street, *might reduce real estate prices and therefore the value of their largest asset: their home*.

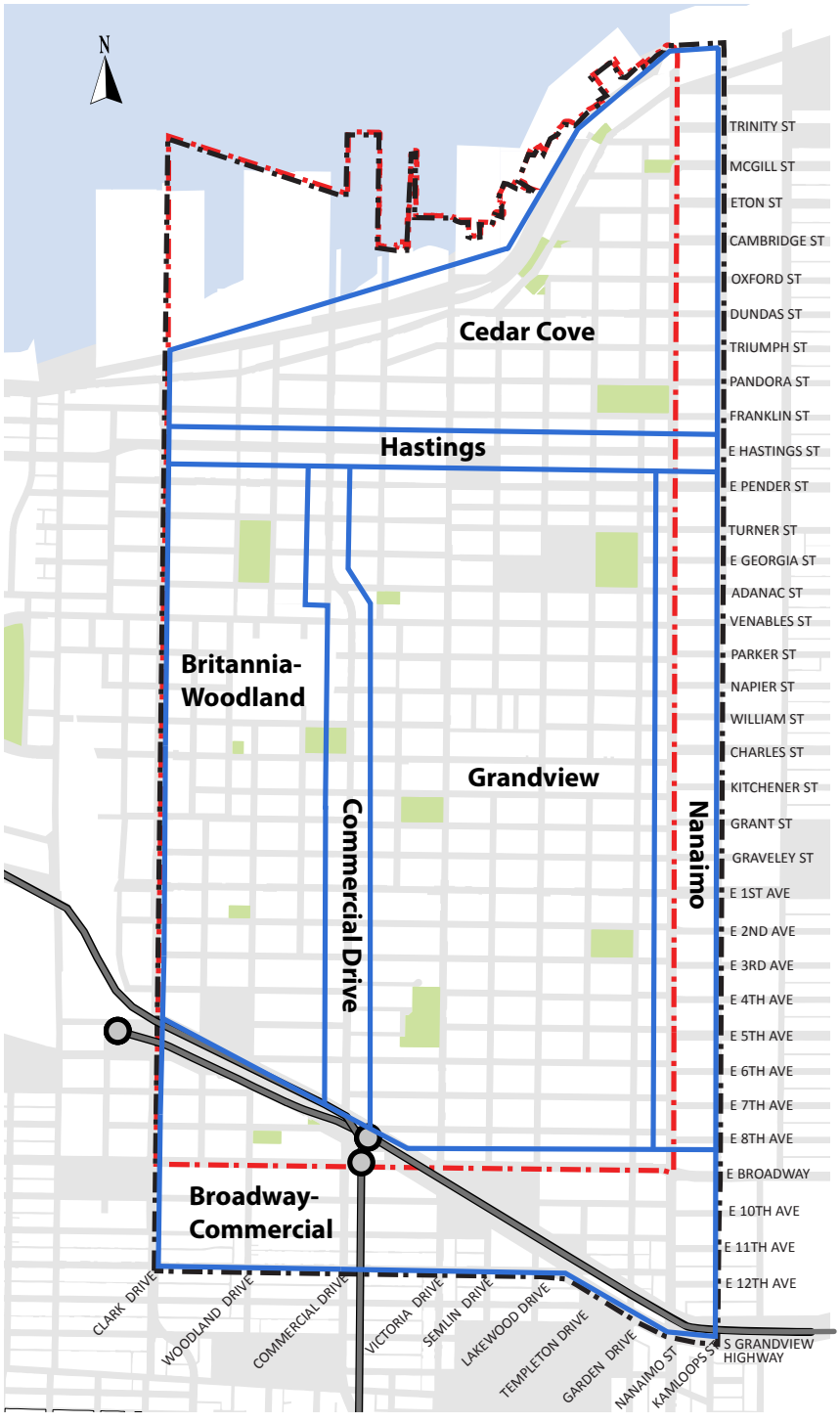
CASE STUDIES: A Comparison

Grandview-Woodland Citizens' Assembly	Southlands Community Planning Team
8 months, 11 meetings (2014-2015)	18 months, about 20 meetings (2006-2008)
48 participants (5 dropped out): random stratified selection (to meet demographic targets)	25 participants (1 dropped out): open call for volunteers
City-initiated, consultant-led	Developer-initiated, citizen-led
Structured process with stages (semi-rigid schedule)	Structured process with stages (unstructured schedule)
Process was chaired independent of government by a public engagement consultant (paid)	The developer surrendered chairing the planning team to a community resident (volunteer)
Diverse, historically working-class urban core	Relatively homogenous agri-suburban area
Highly controversial, politicized planning context	Highly controversial, politicized planning context
Primarily a policy mandate to draft recommendations for an Area Plan, following a prior process that imploded	Primarily a design mandate to design a sustainable, visionary, and politically acceptable development "to protect for future generations a quality of life unmatched"
Open-ended process, but the City 'required' that City-wide planning policies be followed and that a certain level of population growth be accommodated if the report were to be taken seriously into consideration by planning staff	Open-ended: citizen-participants quickly established a vision for their work and a focus on the need to increase housing diversity in the community. 'No development' was not on the table: participants could walk away, but the developer expected a profitable design
Offered citizen-participants authority over their own report; decision-making authority remained with the municipality (non-binding)	Offered citizen-participants authority over their own design brief and delegated authority over the developer's development application; decision-making authority remained with the municipality (non-binding)

Grandview-Woodland Citizens' Assembly	Southlands Community Planning Team
Cost: $150,000 (strict budget)	Cost: $1.2-1.5 million (flexible budget)
Managed and facilitated by third-party staff, planning/design experts called in to speak, City (instigator) representatives present, no developer participation	Managed and facilitated by consultants and citizens, planning/design experts called in to speak and to work with the Team cooperatively, developer (instigator) present, no municipal government participation
No monetary stipend for participants; food and childcare were provided	No monetary stipend for participants; food and a field trip were provided
An ongoing community planning process that predated the Citizens' Assembly — some of those who were previously involved were not randomly selected to participated	No prior engagement — no one who was previously engaged could have felt excluded
Division of labour: Subcommittees and subareas were negatively seen by some because they forced individuals, who had thus far been interested in the entire neighbourhood plan, to choose one unique subtopic or subarea	Division of labour: Subcommittees appear to have been a deciding factor for the process' success
Output: >270 recommendations, estimated >5,000 volunteer person-hours	Output: design brief and charrette product (to be submitted as development application), estimated >2,000 volunteer person-hours

GRANDVIEW-WOODLAND CITIZENS' ASSEMBLY

VANCOUVER, BRITISH COLUMBIA



GRANDVIEW-WOODLAND CITIZENS' ASSEMBLY

Credit: City of Vancouver

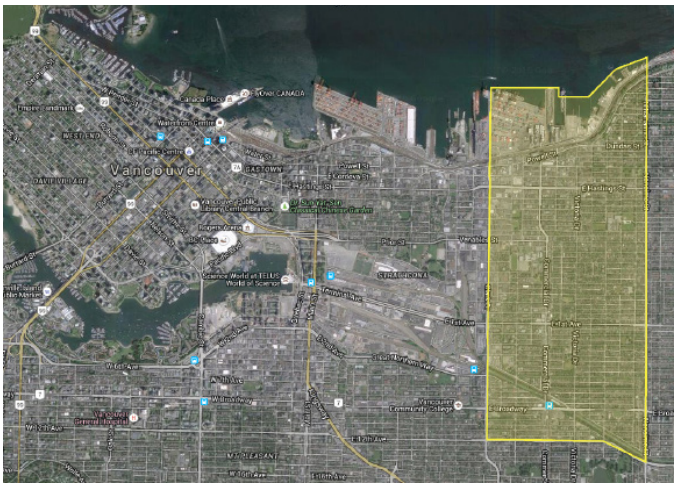
CONTEXT & BACKGROUND

The Story of the Grandview-Woodland Citizens' Assembly

The first neighbourhood-planning Citizens' Assembly was comprised of a stratified representative sample of the community. Just over 500 residents threw their name into the hat and 48 were selected. The engagement model was chosen to amend an extreme breach of trust between the community and the City following release by the City of a draft community plan that surprised and deceived the public. This case study recounts the context of its formation, outlines the design process and rationale for choices made, and gives voice to those who opposed the Citizens' Assembly.

An important reference and community outreach tool throughout the CA process, the original Citizens' Assembly website is still accessible, at time of publishing, at www.grandview-woodland.ca.

Click on the map to access our online context map, with additional area photos.



Grandview-Woodland context map. The neighbourhood is located in East Vancouver, within the City of Vancouver, British Columbia. Map courtesy of Google Maps.

Planning Context

Vancouver, British Columbia, doesn't have a city-wide Official Community Plan (OCP). Several examples exist of city-wide planning guidelines and strategies, most notably on sustainability and housing, but Vancouver typically prefers to engage in neighbourhood-by-neighbourhood long-term planning which establishes land-use and other directions for the coming 30 years. Each area plan is called that neighbourhood's "Community Plan".

Previously, one Community Plan was typically developed during each City Council term,[1] allowing Council the privilege of concentrating on one at a time. During Mayor Gregor Robertson's second term, which began in 2011, Council made the unusual move in setting in motion four Community Plan processes: the Downtown Eastside, the West End, Marpole, and Grandview-

[1] Interview with Councillor Andrea Reimer

Woodland. This workload necessarily made close oversight of each planning process more difficult and in the midst of it all, the Grandview-Woodland Community Planning Process made a grave public relations error that forced the City to retrace its steps and recommence a more transparent, deliberative public engagement process.

The height did it in

Grandview-Woodland (GW) is a neighbourhood of over 27,000 on Vancouver's Eastside. GW, and the wider East Vancouver context it is located in, is known for its relative affordable cost of living and its working-class and immigrant character. The area includes single-family residential housing, low-rise apartments, retail, and light industrial zones. It sports a higher density than the Vancouver average and stands out amidst Vancouver's rapid growth for having experienced a population decline between 1996 and 2011, but there is talk that it is now entering an era of gentrification. Outside of the area, it is perhaps best known for Commercial Drive, a popular shopping and entertainment street that is home to an arts scene and also the city's Little Italy.

Grandview-Woodland's (GW) previous "Area Policy Plan" was implemented between 1979 and 1983. Planning staff having been directed by Council to draft a new community plan for GW in July of 2011, the GW Community Plan process officially began in April 2012 and culminated in May 2013 with the release of the "Emerging Directions" document by City planning staff. This initial planning process exemplified typical Vancouver community engagement.[2] While the City's GW planning team, led by Andrew Pask, has generally been praised for his engagement efforts, the resulting product, "Emerging Directions," received enormous community backlash. Most community members agree that most of the proposed plan made sense, while several contested items were included that the community felt hadn't been resolved. What ultimately ruined the plan's chances of implementation was the surprise proposal within the Emerging Directions document of permitting 36-story towers at the corner of Broadway and Commercial, a key transit hub on bustling Commercial Drive, where no building taller than four stories currently stands or is permitted. The unparalleled uproar that ensued from betrayed planning participants and other outraged community residents made it impossible for Council to adopt the recommendations. A new approach had to be developed to regain the community's trust and to hope to have any plan at all, prolonging the GW planning process by at least three more years.

[2] In addition to the architectural and design reputation widely known as "Vancouverism", the City has an advanced reputation for its extensive public processes. A significant precedent was first set in the early 1990s with "CityPlan", a multiyear process which utilized an array of techniques that invlved over 100,000 residents (out of a population of 500,000). The City's approach has been described as using "'inclusionary argumentation' where urban strategies are debate-centred" (Davidson 2011, p. 121). Vancouver's "Greenest City" engagement process, branded as "Talk Green to Us", contributed some innovation to online engagement practice.

"I think the city was on the right track from the very beginning. I just go back to: they shouldn't spring surprises." - Dorothy Barkley, GWCA participant

How a well-received, "respectful" consultation resulted in a Commercial-Broadway tower proposal has been a point of contention and a source of rumours in the community since 2013. Although no formal explanation has been given concerning who inserted the tower proposal, what is clear is that this rezoning was not part of what came out of the community participatory planning process, nor did it figure in the draft Emerging Directions document that went forward from the area planner responsible for Grandview-Woodland to higher levels in the bureaucracy and ultimately to Council. A minor scandal ensued and three of the four GW Emerging Directions planners no longer work at the City. The Chief Planner Brian Jackson, who retired in July 2015, ultimately apologized for the "mistake."[3]

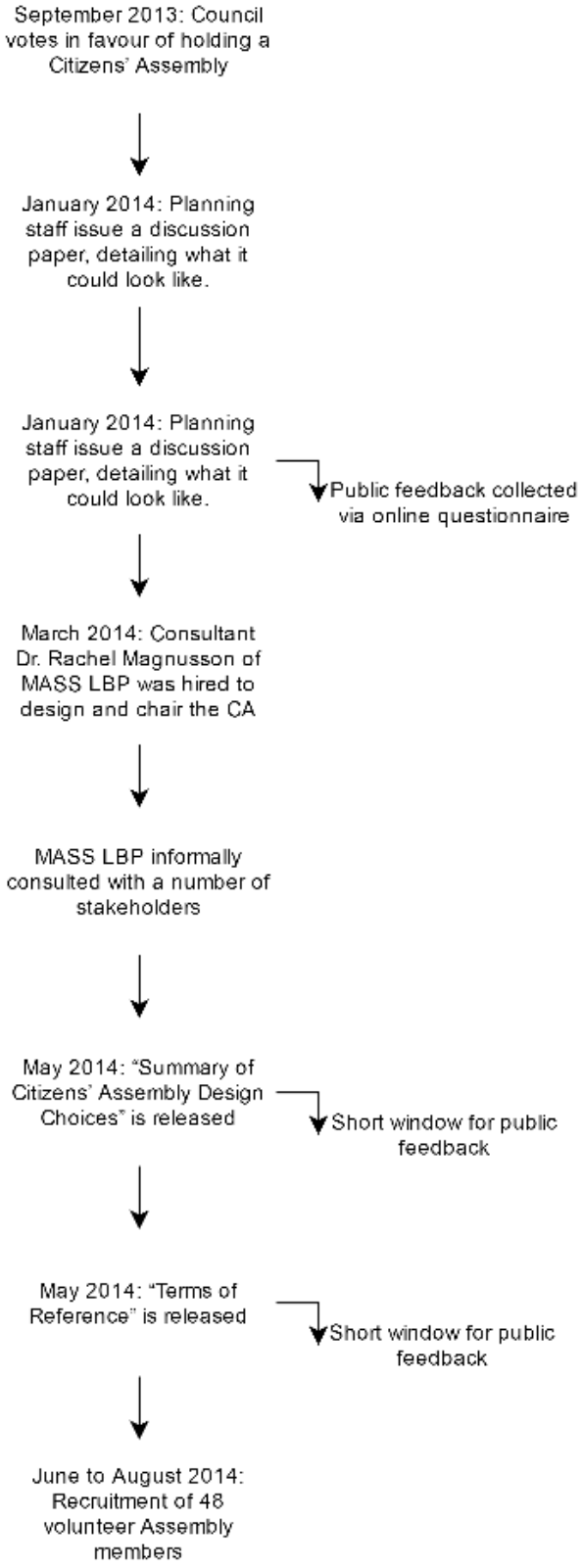
Commercial Drive, Vancouver
Photo Credit: Tim Welbourn (Flickr)

Numerous interviewees were certain that the decision to set-up a Citizens' Assembly in the aftermath of this community outrage was driven by the imminent 2014 election, a move by the Vision Vancouver council to quickly regain lost public support which, in non-election times, might not have seemed so urgent.

After the feedback window on Emerging Directions concluded in August 2013, City Council at the end of September adopted staff's recommendation to extend the GW planning process by a minimum of 12 months and hold a Citizens' Assembly to carry on with the community planning process. Further suspicion arose around how politically-motivated this timeframe might have been. With the next municipal elections coming up in November 2014, it was widely thought that the City and Council sought to push this hotbed of controversy until after the election. Councillor Reimer dismisses many of the rumours as "conspiracy theories" that would have required years of planning "and it's not in [her] nature to plan that far ahead." She cites staff concerns around the potential politicization of a Citizens' Assembly held during an election, where candidates would "grandstand" during a process that is intended to be "structurally buffered from political interference," as the reason for extending the process past the election.

[1] CBC News (2015, July 27). See: www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/vancouver-chief-city-planner-brian-jackson-retires-after-3-years-on-the-job-1.3169252.

THE CITIZENS' ASSEMBLY MODEL



The City's own research defined a CA as "a group of people brought together to consider an important issue or topic", highlighting that they "allow for a deeper and on-going level of discussion than traditional consultation processes."[4] Frequently synonymous or at least similar to "Citizens' Reference Panels" or "Citizens' Juries" models, they seek to construct a representative "mini-public" that is provided with the time, resources, and mandate to thoroughly explore and debate issues as a group and make decisions that are reflective of what the community wants. The City reports that there have been dozens of these processes throughout the world, but rarely if ever did they have a community planning mandate.

CAs vary in size and selection methodology. The balance between too few people, which could be unrepresentative and uninspired, and too many people, where equitable contributions to discussion are nearly impossible and consensus can't be achieved, is a sensitive decision to make. In theory, they could be chosen via a jury-style selection process where random individuals are called upon to participate and compensated for their time. In reality, convenors want people who are interested and motivated and not dependent on financial remuneration for their time, so citizens are expected to apply to the CA.

Employing a consensus-driven decision-making approach, CAs are better poised to tackle multifaceted planning issues in sensitive contexts than are other engagement models, which often consist of a single, ad-hoc meeting and result in no one group discussing the entire issue for more than a few hours. Before accomplishing their assigned mandate through consultation and deliberation, they typically engage in a learning phase in which citizen-members learn about the theories, terminology, tools, context, and

possibilities that they can make use of in their deliberations. CAs not only deliberate amongst themselves but also dialogue with the broader community.

Designing the GWCA

The City launched a process to appropriate the Citizens' Assembly model and to customize it to the characteristics and needs of the context. The Assembly was intended to provide an additional basis on which to draft a new community plan. Unbeknownst to the community, who largely assumed that the CA process inherently meant that past plans would be erased, the controversial Emerging Directions would not be thrown out.

The Grandview-Woodland Citizens' Assembly (GWCA) model wasn't meant to supersede and redo the work completed thus far in Grandview-Woodland (GW). Instead, it was commissioned by the City to "help with the community planning process" by providing a further perspective and an additional set of recommendations, complementing town hall-style subarea workshops as well as the original Emerging Directions document.

The idea of a CA didn't come from nowhere. As the tower fiasco was unraveling Emerging Directions, the Mayor's Engaged City Task Force was wrapping up, recommending that Vancouver delve into more deliberative democracy processes, such as a CA. This recommendation along with Councillor Reimer's personal championing of community engagement generally and the CA specifically are widely credited as the key ingredients that got the ball rolling. The City conducted background research into where CAs have been held and how they worked. The prime example was

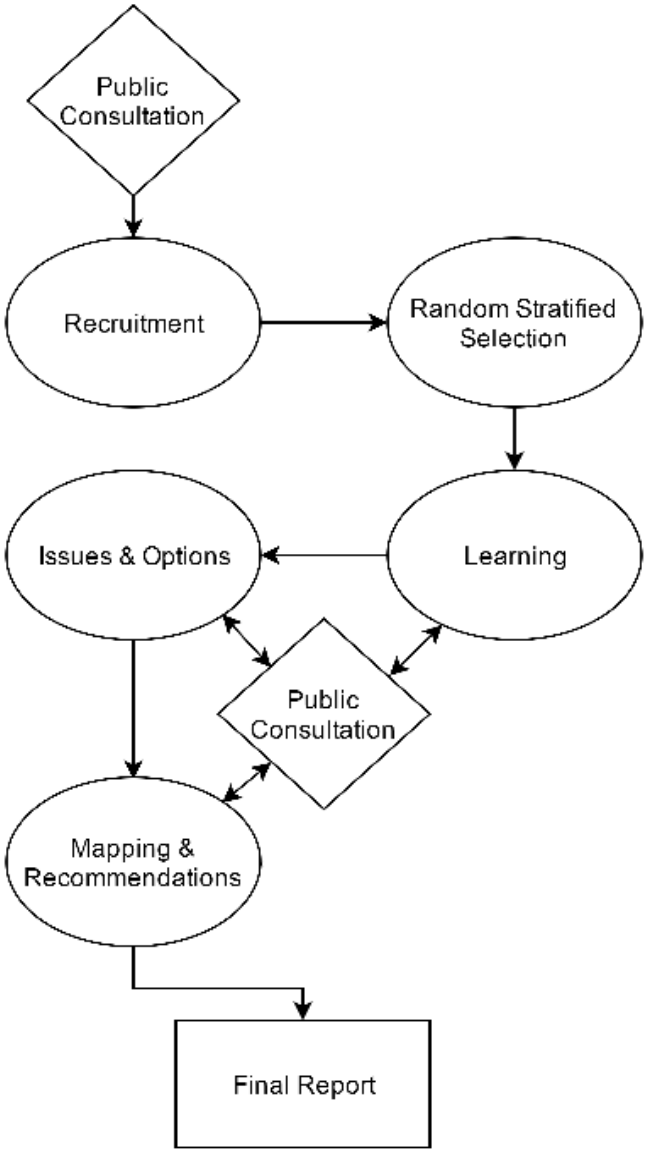
[4] City of Vancouver (2014, January). A Citizens' Assembly for Grandview-Woodland: Discussion Paper.

STRENGTHS & SUCCESSES OF CAs AS IDENTIFIED BY THE CITY OF VANCOUVER

- Effective for tackling complex issues
- Fostering interest in community issues and building capacity and knowledge
- Increased community confidence in decisions that are made (the more the public understands the process, the greater the support for the plan)
- Community confidence in the CA's recommendations

According to the City's best practices review, CAs exhibit the most success when:

- Members are convened to address specific, tangible problems
- Commitment from leadership exists ensuring that the participants' input will influence the decision
- The process includes selection, learning, consultation, deliberating and making recommendations
- They are professionally facilitated by a neutral third party (that is, a consultant)



the only CA held in BC thus far: the provincial Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform in 2004.

Three key documents followed the September 2013 Council decision in favour of a CA for Grandview-Woodland. In January 2014 the City issued a discussion paper on the topic, which provided background information on the CA model and prompted readers with countless questions of "things to think about" for a successful CA, including optimal size, who should be part of it and how should they be selected, what kind of mandate to deliver, and how to uphold the broader community's voice and input in the process. Feedback was collected via an online questionnaire.

In March 2014 a competitive tender was held and the Toronto-based public engagement consultancy and citizens' assembly specialist MASS LBP was hired to design and lead the CA so as to ensure a neutral process. MASS has conducted 24 Citizens' Assemblies and Reference Panels in Canada. The firm's Vancouver-based consultant Dr. Rachel Magnusson was selected to chair the CA.

MASS LBP began to compile a team. Charles Campbell, a local journalist, was brought on board as the lead writer whose role would be to document and publicly report on the Assembly's work. As a long-time GW resident, he was able to supply numerous neighbourhood connections, according to Magnusson. Magnusson and Campbell undertook a number of informal interviews with area stakeholders and planners to gather perspectives and insights into people's concerns and hopes around the CA. One neighbourhood resident, Matt Hern, a local activist, writer, and community organizer, expressed the sentiment that this aspect was not successful, calling the meeting "ineffective." He elaborated: "They ostensibly met with me to ask my advice and talked the whole time. They didn't really get much of my advice because they were just trying to sell me on the CA for the most part. They seemed fine enough people, but their community consultation seemed like community marketing to me."

MASS LBP, working with engagement specialist Susanna Haas-Lyons and the City of Vancouver, published a "Summary of Citizens' Assembly Design Choices" in May 2014. That same month, the City issued a draft Terms of Reference, a 10-page document outlining the objectives, guiding principles, mandate, and composition of the CA, as well as defining the various roles the City and others would play. The public was given approximately two weeks to provide feedback on these before they were finalized in June.

PROCESS AT A GLANCE

- 48 participants (43 at the end)
- Over 5,000 person-hours contributed
- Process documented online throughout
- 11 meetings over 8 months
- Public Subarea Workshops
- Total cost for this Grandview-Woodland planning phase: $275,000
  - $150,000 for the Citizens' Assembly
  - $125,000 for Subarea Workshops and other engagement

Recruitment began on June 23rd, when an invitation was mailed to the more than 19,000 households in GW. Invitations were also posted in public areas across the neighbourhood. Volunteer recruitment ended at the end of July. By August 6th, 48 residents were randomly selected from an eligible pool of 504 community members who applied.

Design choices

Design choices were partly informed by the City's consultations (as described above, feedback was sought at two points in time on the City's directions), but largely by MASS LBP's informal consultations and its own expertise.[5]

[5] Interview with Rachel Magnusson

i. Who should be part of the CA?

Selecting who would make up the CA was a hotly contentious matter. The two predominant options discussed were self-selection and random selection. Many community members in the process expressed the need for demographic and socioeconomic representativeness, especially ethnic and housing tenure (homeowner/renter/co-op). Many also insisted on a multilingual assembly so as not to exclude non-English speakers (this preference was ultimately not accommodated).

"I would say our firm provides the expertise and in this sense the final call because we know what's going to work. Certainly it was in conversation with the City about cost [and other details]." Rachel Magnusson

MASS LBP's best practice of a small, representative assembly drawn in a stratified random process from a pool of applicants ultimately won out. The working language was set to English, citing that 95% of GW residents speak it.

The composition of the GWCA, laid out in the Terms of Reference, was designed to reflect the area in proportion to the 2011 census characteristics of the area in six ways:

1. GEOGRAPHY: proportionate number of members from six zones within the area
2. TENURE STATUS: renter/owner/co-op housing resident, proportionate to the population
3. AGE: a proportionate number of members from four age cohorts: 16-29, 30-44, 45-64, 65+
4. GENDER: 24 men and 24 women
5. ABORIGINAL IDENTITY: at least 4 members who self-identify as Aboriginal[6]
6. BUSINESS: two spaces were reserved for business owners operating in commercially-zoned districts and one space for a property owner who does not reside in the area.

[6] In Canada, "Aboriginal" denotes First Nations ("Native American" in the US), Métis, and Inuit. Self-identification is a common best practice because of the controversy of Indian Status ("blood quantum" in the US): not all individuals who regard themselves as First Nations are legally recognized as such. This population was specifically targeted for the GWCA because of their important historical and contemporary presence in the neighbourhood. GW has the largest Aboriginal population in Vancouver, at just over 8% of the neighbourhood population in 2011.

Weighing ethnic identity beyond Aboriginal identity was considered but ultimately rejected for reasons of practicality and in order to maintain the integrity of the random selection process.

ii. How many people should be part of the CA?

> *"48 is actually pretty big for an assembly. When you look on balance, most are less than that. … In terms of making it larger, there's a point in terms of the statistics of it all where when you're trying to get that representative sample you don't need to have 500 to do it or 100 to do it. You can accomplish what you're after with less."* - Andrew Pask, Grandview-Woodland Lead Planner

The City's planning department as well as MASS LBP took into consideration examples of assemblies ranging from 12 to hundreds of

members. Officials and MASS LBP had two primary concerns: efficiency and representativeness. The former argues for a smaller group that is easier to manage and to bring to consensus, while the latter demands a larger group capable of representing the 19,000 households in GW as well as the business community. Decision-makers were inclined to opt for a representative assembly that would be larger than most CAs had been but well under 100 in order to promote real conversation amongst members.

The Design Choices document indicates that community members who participated in the consultation processes were in the majority in favour of between 12 and 60 members. City staff chose 48 as the ultimate number for three reasons:

- "This size is large enough to ensure a broadly representative Assembly, without being so large as to diminish the opportunity for deeper deliberation."[7]
- 48 members are easily dividable into smaller working groups, as compared to an odd number.
- Logistical and budget constraints also played a role. Concern was expressed about the availability of venues that could comfortably accommodate a meeting of 100 people within the GW neighbourhood.

[7] Design Choices, p. 7

iii. What will the Assembly do? How long will it take? What will be its outcome?

The basic commitment of CA members was to attend at least all but one of the 10 full-day meetings[8]; the walking tours and subarea workshops were optional. The Assembly was given the mandate of constructing recommendations towards a "shared 30-year vision describing the community's aspirations for Grandview-Woodland." While the language of the Terms of Reference provides a mandate to explore an exceptionally broad scope of issues, the final report would serve as another important piece of the Grandview-Woodland planning puzzle. In particular, the CA was tasked with resolving community "disagreements" with Emerging Directions. The final community plan would ultimately be drafted by City staff, incorporating recommendations from all elements and consultations of the planning process going back to 2011.

[8] This later became eleven.

A large number of topics were given to the CA to explore, ranging from land-use (including density, form, and zoning) to "neighbourhood character"; from measures to accommodate population growth to

SAMPLE MINORITY REPORT

MR 4: We agree that Commercial Drive is the "heartbeat" of Grandview Woodland. We support all but one of the recommendations made by the Commercial Drive sub-area group. We believe that what most contributes to the vitality and atmosphere of the Drive is the number and large variety of pedestrians on the streets and that primarily the pedestrian experience should be enhanced and improved. We believe that bike lanes of any kind on Commercial Drive will not help in preserving and protecting the pedestrian ambience that makes the Drive so unique.

Therefore we recommend that the City disregard Recommendation 15.1 of the Commercial Drive sub-area group under the subject of Public Realm and Transportation, and we urge the City to accept and focus on Recommendations 15.2 and 15.3, which we wholeheartedly support.

We recommend that the City investigate enhancement of existing bike routes on side streets near and parallel to Commercial Drive, and provide safe bike parking areas on cross streets adjacent to Commercial Drive.

Endorsed by: Monica Dare and Elisa Coelho.

affordability and gentrification; as well as typical planning dilemmas such as parking, transportation, housing, social issues, business development, and arts and culture. Under the weight of seemingly limitless potential topics, the City asked the community to think on a 'neighbourhood-scale': "Avoid granular topics such as specific side streets or the design of a particular park". Ten months and ten full-day sessions were deemed to be a sufficient time allocation, without placing too large of a burden on participants.

The key product was to be the final report which would outline not only the recommendations but also evaluate the success of this process as an innovation in neighbourhood planning. The final report has the interesting feature of minority reports, whereby individual members or small subgroups included positions that deviated from the Assembly's recommendations. For example, some members distanced themselves from the official GWCA position on building height and residential towers; one report called for the renaming of Grandview-Woodland to reflect its Indigenous history and contemporary population.

A Neighbourhood Planning Map providing 'general commentary' on 'preferred' land-uses, height, form, and areas for growth was also commissioned.

iv. What principles will guide the process and everyone's role in it?

The Citizens' Assembly Terms of Reference (TOR), drafted by the City planning staff, lists 9 guiding principles for the Assembly, including transparency, accessibility, independence, and respect. The process

dictated that the Assembly itself would spend time during the first few meetings to design its own core values to frame the discussion.

An intentional effort was made to construct the Assembly as a legitimate, arms-length process apart from the City, with the City vowing to "respect and support the independence and integrity of the Citizens' Assembly". The TOR outline and delimit the different roles and responsibilities of those involved, ensuring general impartiality. For example, the Chair could not be a City employee. Rather, the Chairperson would be an outside, professional engagement consultant and she was instructed to oversee fairness and respect members' deliberations. The Advisory Committee, composed of experts in deliberative processes and urban planning in Vancouver, could not comment on the CA's recommendations, it could only relay advice about the process back to the City and MASS LBP. City staff would provide its expertise and access to existing documents to the Assembly and provide further logistical support.

While the Assembly's autonomy in formulating recommendations was firmly enshrined in the Terms of Reference[9], City staff did warn the Assembly that it would only consider those which complied with the City's planning principles. According to lead planner Andrew Pask, this caveat was designed to ensure that the Assembly couldn't ignore City-wide policies (e.g. ending homelessness): neighbourhoods don't get to veto approved City-wide directions. It was further dictated in the TOR that staff would "incorporate wherever possible, at the direction of Council, the recommendations made by the Assembly in the draft Grandview-Woodland Community Plan".

[9] The Terms of Reference are linked to in the Appendix.

"The Citizens' Assembly will have full independence to determine how to best fulfill its mandate."

v. How ought the broader community be able to play a role?

The TOR suggests four ways in which the wider community could and should be involved with the Assembly's work: attending the Assembly's public roundtable meetings to engage with its work, attending the occasional Assembly sessions open to the public, submitting ideas online, and attending community subarea workshops whose outcomes would be reported back to the Assembly.

This question of what the broader community's role would be in the CA was one of the most contentious issues. As discussed in the Community Opposition section below, community opponents to the CA cited the "lack" of inclusivity of the broader community—those who weren't CA members—as a primary reason to oppose the process.

PROCESS: HOW IT UNFOLDED

> *"It was learning, it was deliberating, it was producing these ideas, it was testing them with the community."* - Andrew Pask, Grandview-Woodland Lead Planner

i. A 'Learning' Program - MEETINGS 1 - 7

> *"What you're doing and trying to foster is a sense of capacity and thoughtfulness so for me the key thing about the learning program is inspiration for people to either do their own research or to simply think about issues in a new way and from different perspectives and that any particular learning doesn't necessarily matter. It's the idea that you're supposed to be reflecting. So giving people time and space for that deeper reflection is a key strength, which is triggered by a learning program."* - Rachel Magnusson, Chair

With no prior knowledge of community planning required, a significant component of deliberative processes like Citizen Assemblies is a learning stage (often referred to as 'capacity-building') designed to ensure that all participants, and the entire community, had a comprehensive, relatively equal footing in the task at-hand. It was formally introduced as such:

> *"During the first four meetings of the Citizens' Assembly members will learn about community planning and its context in Vancouver, and be introduced to important planning issues in Grandview-Woodland. Members will hear a range of different perspectives on key topics from both planning specialists and community representatives."*[10]

The initial 'curriculum' was constructed through input from MASS LBP, the City, and the experts on the Advisory Committee, but Assembly members were welcome to ask to learn more about any particular topic.

The learning component was primarily focused on presentations and speakers' panels. Historian-led neighbourhood walking tours were organized. "Skill building workshops on dialogue" were to take place. Additional resources, primarily online resources, including videos, were assembled and recommended to participants as well as by participants

[10] Source: Grandview-Woodland Community Planning Process, www.grandview-woodland.ca/stages-of-the-assembly.

for the entire group. On the question of uptake, Assembly chair Rachel Magnusson says, "some read most, some read none." The material is characterized by conceptual learning rather than case study-based learning (e.g. emphasizing debating density, or learning about planning concepts and tools such as Floor Space Ratio, over such resources as community plans and ideas from elsewhere), so as not to appear to be directing participants to particular actions or policy and planning models. The place-specific planning knowledge disseminated was typically from within Grandview-Woodland.

Magnusson emphasizes that a lot of the learning occurs from informal interactions and discussions amongst participants themselves as they learn about each other, neighbours of different kinds who otherwise would not have crossed paths, and from each other's experiences and perspective.

Participants and facilitators largely appreciated the learning phase, saying "it was pretty well-rounded" and "[getting] a sense of how the City process actually works". One participant wished that community groups would have also had input into this. No one wanted it to be cut any shorter; if anything, some had a sense that it wasn't enough time to properly learn the intricacies of planning. The public was also invited to a few of their learning meetings (see next section below). All learning materials were also made available online

See Appendix for a link to a detailed list of the learning program events, speakers, and topics.

ii. An 'Engaging' Program - **THROUGHOUT**

> *"If anyone tells me they didn't have the opportunity to talk about that sort of big picture stuff, I don't know what to say. Short of going door-to-door we gave people a lot of opportunities to engage and a lot of people participated."* - Andrew Pask, Lead planner

An integral component of the CA process, considering that much of the process took place behind the closed doors amongst assembly members themselves, is to balance this out by engaging the wider community at strategic points. The Assembly was expected to be autonomous, but also to frequently 'check in' with the community. Formal, in-person interactions were primarily at the three public roundtables specifically for this purpose. Six out of the 11 Assembly sessions, including three learning Saturdays, were open to public observation so that anyone could learn along with the

Assembly. Feedback, including learning content suggestions for members, was constantly accepted online.

Additionally, the public was invited to participate in the City-organized subarea[11] workshops which were independent of the Assembly but de facto a significant part of and resource for the Assembly, taking place simultaneously with the CA process. Many Assembly members attended these to gain insight into what the community was asking for.

Finally, a few Assembly members took initiative and conducted independent consultations with the community, reaching out to community leaders, businesses, and individuals to acquire additional perspectives.

HOW DID THE ASSEMBLY SHRINK FROM 48 MEMBERS TO 43?

Two participants who quit near the beginning were replaced by the second meeting by volunteers from the original pool of applications. The individuals who dropped out later on were, according to the Chairperson, due to schedule conflicts or family issues. "One of the first people to drop out, who was replaced, did drop out because he thought the process was terrible—'this is all a joke'—but my feeling is that he didn't really give it a chance. But that's fine," she said.

Although far from feeling disappointed with the experience, one participant saw the CA as an opportunity to 'catch-up' and get connected with the rest of the neighbourhood:

> *"I guess we were kind of like ambassadors for the neighbourhood, but at the end of the day we were not too much more educated on the neighbourhood than the rest of the neighbourhood."* - Participant

iii. A 'Planning' Program - MEETINGS 5 - 9 (ISSUES, OPTIONS) MEETINGS 10 - 11 (RECOMMENDATIONS)

The Assembly, based on its learning phase and community input, began to hash out what kind of message and policy recommendations it wanted to pass on to City council and planning staff. Much of this work was accomplished in small groups with the aid of the 9 Assembly facilitators and then reported back to the plenary.[12] "The discussions were free flow, but the agenda was structured," said one participant. Many, but not all participants interviewed enjoyed this break-out format and the work of the facilitators.[13] One participant was upset that participants were forced to

[11] The seven subareas are: Cedar Cove, Hastings, Britannia-Woodland, Grandview, Nanaimo, Commercial Drive, and Broadway & Commercial.

[12] In the Assembly small groups, a facilitator was present and this person also took notes. The table discussing the controversial Broadway and Commercial subarea had an urban designer present. In the City-run subarea workshop (formally separate from the Assembly), small groups had a facilitator, recorder, and artist.

[13] Two participants interviewed had complaints about the lack of organization and training for the facilitators. One example was that discussion would sometimes be held up because the facilitator was busy typing up notes. "I thought they should have been there to facilitate our process, not us to facilitate their typing," said one. Another claims that the facilitators often misinterpreted conversations: "What we found was when the facilitators were reporting what was going on at the tables, it didn't reflect what had been said at the tables."

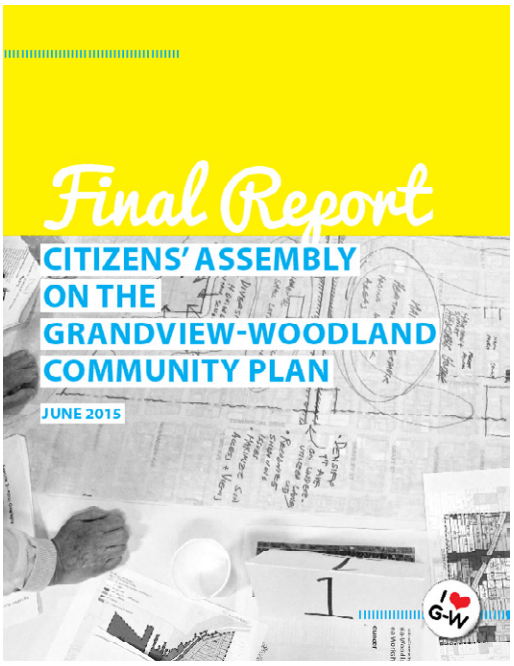
choose at this point only one topic or subarea to work on, after having had a vested interest for so long in the entire process.

It was eventually observed that the original 10 scheduled Assembly sessions would not be enough and an eleventh was added on. This meant that one participant we interviewed was not able to attend as he had booked a trip prior to this extension. Many participants were doubtful that a coherent report could be drafted in this rushed context, but delightfully surprised when it did happen.

The 77-page final report produced around 270 recommendations and included 10 minority reports. The report first appeared in early June 2015 and was presented to City Council and unanimously received on June 24th. At the time of writing City staff have yet to publish a proposed community plan. As time goes on with no City report on their interpretations and interest in the CA's recommendations, community unease grows, as does the skepticism that very much at all will be retained in the final plan. Outside professionals and the community are wondering: what's taking so long?

In the meantime, there is general professional and community satisfaction with the process and outcome of the Assembly itself, although not universal.

Click on the Report's cover page to access the entire report



Community Opposition to the GWCA

Some in the community felt the Citizens' Assembly was undemocratic, unnecessary, ill-informed, and poorly executed. These groups held a very different idea of what 'representativeness' meant than the City did.

Upon the release of the Emerging Directions report, area residents were very vocal in their opposition to the tower proposal. When the response to this opposition was to create the GWCA, an opposition to the GWCA also formed. Many critics are affiliated with the Grandview-Woodland Area Council (GWAC). Around January 2014 a group of Grandview-Woodland residents formed the "Ad-hoc Committee on the Citizens' Assembly", later "Our Community, Our Plan!" to formulate a community proposal of what the CA should look like.

Two predominant spokesmen are community activists Jak King and Garth Mullins. Their primary points of contention with the CA are:

a. The pretext for the process itself. They report general satisfaction with both the consultation process and results of the Emerging Directions document, with the exception of the tower proposal. The solution should have been simply to remove this one item and move on. The question asked of the CA, how to accommodate population growth of "an unspecified number of people", didn't reflect the actual needs of the community, particularly affordability. "It was sort of stuck halfway between a very politicized planning project and a legitimate effort on behalf of a a bunch of individuals to sort out the problem that they were given," says Mullins. Large-scale, continual population growth was an underlying assumption the City brought to the CA as a challenge for them to solve. "The framing of the problem was wrong, and there was no room to challenge the assumptions of the City."

b. The randomized selection of members and the exclusion of non-members. Critics maintain that the Assembly could not have been representative of the community because it was held on Saturdays (when many lower-income people work) and was held exclusively in English. Mullins argues for group representation, or of "communities of interest", rather than individual representation. King attempted to persuade the City to adopt an "open process" and insists that "they decided without any consultation to make it a small process, a closed process" where the wider community, those who didn't form the CA, had little to no influence. He says that the Ad-hoc Committee's "compromised view" was that there should be no caps on Assembly participation, in other words an unlimited number of participants.[14] He also raises the concern that randomized selection was chosen in order to silence and deliberatively exclude those who had been involved in area planning consultations thus far, a common complaint about randomized selection. "The CA was a way of making sure that the usual suspects didn't get in the way, frankly."

"They educated themselves but there was never any attempt made to educate the general public." Jak King

[14] King's full explanation: "Our compromised view was that the CA should not be a small number, it should be anybody who applied to join. They said, 'well, that's an unmanageable number' ... If they can't manage numbers, they shouldn't be doing the game."

c. The segmentation of participation within the process. One GWAC-affiliated Assembly member protested the subarea workshop method, saying, "You'd invested this amazing amount of time and effort on behalf of the full neighbourhood which is made up of these subareas and then you're told, 'No, you can't really have any voice in all those other areas, you just have to pick one arbitrarily.'"

Mullins believes that the methodology isolated members from one another, subverting critical thinking and thereby expediting the implementation of the Planning department's own ideas. "I think part of the problem with the Citizens' Assembly, they did not allow people to get stuff and do stuff collectively. People were organized, these forty-eight people, they were streamed information. There was not very much cross pollination between the people, and then when they actually did the work they were broken into subareas and small groups." Community critics report that the CA's recommendations run suspiciously in the same vein as Emerging Directions.

Credit: City of Vancouver

ANALYSIS

THEMES IN THE INTERVIEWS

Most of our 16 interviewees, including Assembly participants themselves, reported overall satisfaction with the process and particularly with the experience. Below are the predominant themes and debates that stood out in our interviews, loosely in order of prevalence and importance to them.

University of British Columbia researchers Edana Beauvais and Mark E. Warren conducted a survey of GWCA members and those who volunteered to participate but weren't chosen (forming the control group).[1] They wanted to test how much the GWCA followed suit of a prototypical Citizens Assembly and whether it succeeded in addressing a given set of democratic deficits. Both groups, those who were selected and those who weren't, tended to lean toward saying that the CA wasn't representative, or diverse enough, to adequately represent Grandview-Woodland. 'Adequate representation' meant different things for different people. For homeowners and long-time activists, it meant that they have more of a right to participate than the general population having proven that they 'care' more about the neighbourhood and have more invested in it. Overall, the researchers concluded that the GWCA exhibited successful deliberation and "was probably as inclusive as was politically feasible given the circumstances" (p. 18).

[1] Beauvais, Edana & Mark E. Warren (2015). Can Citizens' Assemblies Deepen Urban Democracy? American Political Science Association Conference, San Fransisco.

FURTHER HIGHLIGHTS:

- On the question of whether the CA was accountable to the neighbourhood and had 'authorization' to speak on their behalf, CA members on average agreed a little more than non-members that the Assembly was authorized and accountable.[2]
- Most Assembly members claimed most of their learning came from the expert presentations and other participants, not from the organized interests that also presented or reading optional materials ("self-learning").
- 58.8% of CA members reported that they often participated in Assembly discussions.
- On average most participants agreed that their "understanding

[2] The authors cite one non-CA member research participant saying, "I do not accept the authority of a group whose members were drawn from a hat."

of neighbourhood policies" (i.e. zoning, planning decisions, etc) increased and leaned towards saying that their views (presumedly on what the ideal community plan would be) changed during the process.

- Over 94% of CA members reported that "despite disagreement, they found common ground" and on average, they felt comfortable with the level of disagreement amongst fellow members.
- Over 70% of CA members reported feeling comfortable sharing their opinion with the Assembly.

PARTICIPANT EXPERIENCE

Trust

All interviewees had something to say about building trust with fellow Assembly members and with local government staff, through the CA process. Participants are split as to whether the process did anything to reestablish their trust in the City. Repairing broken trust was a top priority of Citizens Assembly (CA) organizers and City of Vancouver officials, recognizing the damage done by the local area planning process that had just unravelled. Critics of the CA from within the Grandview-Woodland neighbourhood say the process only further entrenched their suspicions of the City's true motives.

Why was a CA established in the first place? "Because of trust, it had been completely lost," said CA lead writer Charles Campbell. There is certainly consensus on this point. According to him, the City's presentation of high-rises at Broadway and Commercial as an environmentally friendly ("EcoDensity"[3]) solution emerging from the local area planning process significantly alienated the neighbourhood from the City's planning directions.

The City's integrity and trustworthiness were at stake in the neighbourhood. Grandview-Woodland lead planner Andrew Pask acknowledges the mistakes the City made in the local area planning process. Although the City did not hand over a binding mandate ('whatever the Assembly recommends will be implemented') to the Assembly, Pask says that the time and financial investment made by the City reflect the seriousness of its interest in the outcome.[4] The City wouldn't spend $275,000 on engagement processes and put years of work into

[3] "EcoDensity" was a highly controversial policy vision introduced by the previous mayor. The vision used an ecological discourse to justify high-density development (Rosol, 2013).

[4] Citizen empowerment to make binding decisions ('Whatever the Assembly recommends will be implemented') represents the most empowered level of public engagement. The City points out that City Council cannot legally divest themselves of their authority. While this is true, it could in theory offer an assurance to a future Assembly that under a given set of circumstances, it would adopt the resulting plan (e.g. that members engage in a fair and predetermined process and consider all inputs with due diligence).

an engagement process if it didn't want to listen to and consider all the recommendations. "When you put those cards on the table and you are genuine about it, which we are, I think that goes an awful long way to establishing that trust," he said.

Nevertheless, now in the interim period, after the work of the CA has concluded but before any announcement from the City about implementation, skepticism exists that senior City staff and Council may not adequately respect the CA's work. An observer and urban design professional commented that "if the process does not commit up front to implement recommendations, then the process potentially becomes suspicious and citizens rightfully will retract and be more careful."

Community opponent Jak King doesn't believe the CA worked to rebuild trust: "There's very little chance of regaining trust here," he said, insisting that the City didn't take heed of community input into designing the CA.[5] Rachel Magnusson rebuts that claim and said that the design process was fully conscious of the need to repair local government-neighbourhood relations and Charles Campbell, now an independent journalist, agrees that the process itself "did a much better job [than previous engagement processes in Vancouver] of building trust".

[5] There were, in fact, two opportunities to provide feedback into the design, but this was not mentioned by King.

Many recall tension at the beginning of the process but say that the atmosphere quickly calmed. Andrew Pask said, "if you look at the media reports from the CA from the beginning and from before it started, you see that skepticism; you don't see that as it carries on. I'm sure there are always some skeptics but … they're well within the minority now." However one participant declared, following the conclusion of the process, "I still think the City doesn't quite understand the amount of damage in the trust." Another participant said, "There were often times where they'd come in and there'd be a speaker and there was this assumption that they'd be taken at face value because they're from a City government." This participant saw a change in this assumption over the course of the process: it "took a few months for them to clue in" and become more sensitive to the trust that had been broken. The Assembly leadership, on the other hand, points to how multiple speakers were convened on each contentious issue in a format that allowed for interaction between speakers and participants. Several participants cited various instances which were "symbolic of the lack of trust"; for example, they had difficulty in acquiring specific maps from the City.

Community activist Matt Hern cites the socioeconomic precarity of living in Vancouver in 2015 as a significant challenge to the ability of many CA participants to invest trust in the City: "When people tend to feel precarious, they tend to feel less reasonable and less trusting."

Uncertainty whether the commitment was worth it

"I think the overall feeling is: we're holding our breath," said one participant, referring to the expectation of a meaningful response from the City to their final report. This message came through in all of our participant interviews. Trust and process success go hand-in-hand and while he says that trust has yet to be reestablished, this participant praises the openness and honesty of people like Councillor Reimer and Andrew Pask.

Yet participants and observers alike regret that CA members' time wasn't honoured with a stronger mandate. One participant expressed this regret forcefully: "My biggest concern was our mandate, how much mandate did we have? This was just going to be another fluff thing that the City could point to saying, 'We did this,' but they weren't going to be bound by it in any way. I really needed to repair my trust in the City of Vancouver and it was a leap of faith to go into such a big commitment and not really know how it would be treated on the other end."

Matt Hern says he observed, both at the session he spoke at and out in the community, a strong commitment to the process amongst participants: "What I saw was a lot of people being very generous with their time. If I'd been asked to participate, my answer would have been no. Asking people to commit a huge amount of energy and faith and then just say, 'okay we'll consider it' is a pretty degrading exercise for a lot of people." Another professional observer says processes need to at least be aware of the individual costs on particular groups. "It's going to disproportionately impact certain people who are often left out of the process: members of marginalized groups, people who work shifts, women with young children ... these people can be more negatively impacted by the time constraint."

Representativeness and Inclusivity

> *As a whole city or society, we have to look at how do we engage the people who just don't seem to feel that they can engage. How do we do that? That's the biggest problem.* - Community activist

The most discussed theme in our interviews and one of the highest-profile controversies was what a truly representative and inclusive Assembly would look like. A few participants and CA organizers said the GWCA was admirably representative, many said it was a moderate success and half-way towards that goal, and a few called it a terrible failure.

Planner Andrew Pask called the GWCA "very reflective of the community". Although it didn't achieve ideal representation from minority groups, Pask says that it wouldn't have been desirable if the recruitment process required volunteers to further compartmentalize themselves into too many discrete demographic categories. A couple of participants we interviewed were very adamant that the Assembly, regardless of composition, proactively did "as much as possible" to be representative.[6] By their own initiative to compensate for limitations in representation, some participants engaged in extensive supplementary consultation work in order to get as much diverse input from those who weren't at Assembly meetings. Some went door-to-door, canvassed local businesses, conducted surveys, and met with numerous area residents.

Most conceded that the CA membership constitution "did okay in terms of demographic [representation]", recognizing that, in this aspect of process design, "they tried". There "was still a bit missing … but I think it's much superior to people self-selecting." Indigenous participants and representatives of other ethnic groups were among the demographics seen to be under-represented. A participant who is a visible minority said: "In terms of cultural and ethnic and racial diversity, I find that that was highly lacking. … White people are great but they're not the representation of the voice of the neighbourhood and they are not representative of how the neighbourhood's going to look 30 years from now. For me, that was the most important thing, don't just think about now, think about what the community's going to look like 30 years from now and how we can support all aspects of the community and all people of the community within that."[7]

This participant insisted that the GWCA was "overwhelmingly white" in its membership as well as its leadership, the consultancy firm MASS LBP, which they characterized as "entirely white, mainly based in Toronto, very middle-class professional sensibility." Others, like Councillor Reimer, disagree: "It was the first meeting I've ever been at where I looked around, and went, 'Yeah, that feels like walking down the street in Grandview-Woodland' … Compared to, for example, the meetings I was at in January and February,

[6] Research on the GWCA by Beauvais and Warren (2015) speculated "that because assembly members questioned their own representativeness, they compensated during the process by attending to constituencies that were not well represented" (p. 18). The point is important – reflexive participants may do what they can to include other perspectives. This may result in outcomes that are more accepting of diverse views than a strenuously representative process in which each participant is put in a position to fight vigorously for a particular interest group.

[7] This same participant also insisted that the process succeeded in the dimension of openness: "a lot of residents normally feel like they're being told the information way too late and they haven't had the chance to say their piece. I feel like that's typically the response, but in this situation it's a lot of notice given, a lot of opportunity to give your feedback and input, so I really can't see people using that as a complaint like, 'We weren't given enough time. This is too late.' No. We were told about this months in advance, you had plenty of opportunities."

to design the process. They did not feel like walking down the street in my community." The majority still respect organizers for successfully addressing "the primary schism [which] is the owner-renter split" in constituting the CA membership.[8]

A 48-member CA is relatively large, as Andrew Pask and Rachel Magnusson point out. Pask specifically refers to statistically representative sampling as the tool that enables a smaller group to reliably represent a whole neighbourhood. Charles Campbell and Councillor Reimer underline the high-quality, meaningful discussions that only smaller groups can deliver. "The bigger the group, the more contentious the construct, the harder [consensus] becomes," said Reimer.

Yet another perspective expressed on representativeness is that the only inclusive Assembly is one in which no one is excluded: how can 48 unelected people represent some 20,000? In this respect, many complaints were lodged against the Assembly process on the basis of its use of a non-random selection process. Community organizer Jak King, seemingly including himself as a 'usual suspect', believes, "the CA was a way of making sure that the usual suspects didn't get in the way [of the process], frankly." Critics called for an unrestricted number; one community activist who supports greater representativeness suggested the CA should have been expanded to 80. Assembly organizers insisted, by contrast, that the process design permitted the wider community to have an equal chance to participate in the overall planning process: ideas from the pre-Assembly process would be retained, open house community workshops were held parallel to the Assembly's work, and much of the Assembly's learning process was open. Most interviewees disagreed with the sentiment that the Assembly lacked representativeness entirely. One participant put it this way: "[Neighbourhood activist groups are] not necessarily representative, they're just very vocal and have a lot of time for these things." The GWCA balanced an open door for the well-rehearsed voices of these activists with an emphasis upon a process which would put new voices and perspectives in more of a steering role.

Could the GWCA have been more representative, with a different design? One participant and one community observer made the link between the 8-month time commitment and this ideal: "not a lot of people have the time to commit so that just wiped out a huge demographic right there [from participating as full Assembly members]". The process allowed for input from the community with minimal time commitment, but this

[8] This community resident continued: "Anyone who owns their house is thrilled by the rise in housing prices. Everybody who's shut out of the housing market for one reason or another is infuriated. That's the fundamental schism. It's separated neighbour from neighbour. To use a phrase from Plato: some celebrate what others mourn excessively. … So you actually pit neighbour against neighbour in a really fundamental way." Others dissented from this view, maintaining the major landowners are still in a different category of power and privilege altogether than resident homeowners.

input would be filtered through the Assembly. Some hope for a jury-style selection for future Assemblies whereby a representative population sample would be enlisted to participate, just as those selected for a trial jury are obliged to participate; at the very least, a random representative sample could be invited to participate, instead of requiring neighbourhood residents to volunteer. Chairperson Rachel Magnusson says it would be counter-productive not to keep a first stage of self-selection: "this is a huge commitment: 9 months, all those Saturdays. If you simply do the jury-style selection method you aren't necessarily going to get people who want to be there."

In sum, interviewers offered diverse interpretations of the meaning of "representation":

1. An equal chance of participating, or perhaps equal chance with respect to demographic groups residing in the community; and

2. An equal opportunity to participate amongst those with an interest and willingness to do so. Based on the first concept of representation, the goal of the participation process design is to draw out a diversity of voices, whether or not those voices recognize their stake and interest (or even their willingness to express an opinion about the neighbourhood plan). Based on the second idea, the goal of the participation process is to weigh against the failure recognized of "the usual suspects" who are well trained to the participation exercise to dominate citizen input as a whole, and to open up space for other voices to be heard, where these voices exist.

Scope

All of those interviewed agreed that the scope of the Assembly's mandate, to 'plan Grandview-Woodland for the next 30 years', as dictated by the City, was its biggest challenge and simply far too broadly conceived for a sense of success in a job well done in the CA. Within the time and capacity that was at their disposal: "There was too much scope, too many decisions to be made, too many issues to be considered," said Charles Campbell. As a consequence the process felt rushed. At the same time, some issues were unfairly privileged. "The only problem I have with this whole thing is, because of the towers [especially], so much emphasis was put on housing and density that things were getting left behind like culture, health, all that stuff just got left in the dust. I think the CA did spend more time on that,

but when you went to the [public] meetings, all people wanted to talk about was height," said one person.

Councillor Reimer, on the other hand, maintains that the Assembly's mandate was "relatively clear" and congratulates members for how well they did. "To me the fact that they did get the scope so well and really worked to reach that mandate, says something to me about how much they learned during the process." The GWCA was, after all, Vancouver's first attempt at a citizens' assembly and the political leadership was cautious. Councillor Reimer reflected that an excessive scope was the better side on which to err, in this context: "The scope was ridiculously massive. The challenge was, because [an assembly had] never been done before, nobody could go, 'Oh here's what an appropriate scope should look like.' The only alternative then would be to define [a narrower] scope, which is political interference".

Many interviewees challenged the spatial scope of neighbourhood-by-neighbourhood planning in Vancouver. One community activist, while agreeing that the GWCA had a challengingly broad mandate, argued that Vancouver's neighbourhood-by-neighbourhood planning approach has a too narrow scope. Vancouver needs a city-wide plan that moves beyond "these balkanized city-states". "I don't buy this village stuff. I don't buy the East Village, or Commercial Drive as a village. We're part of the city ... that should be a bigger plan bringing people together."

The GWCA process also led some to consider reducing the size of local planning areas like Grandview-Woodland, arguing that this would provide a more reasonable geographic scope so that neighbourhood planning process have the time to address all issues. Yet others speculated about issue-focused CAs specifically on the arts, affordable housing, small housing, or transportation. "Any one of those [issues] could have been an assembly, and any one of those subareas could have had its own assembly process on its own. [The CA] had a lot of territory to cover," said planner Andrew Pask. "If we were doing this anew, perhaps we would take a more constrained point of focus because I think we put a fairly heavy burden of responsibility on the assembly members. But then again, that's hypothetical. We had the situation that we did and we had to deal with it and respond to it."

Empowerment and pride

"Some people feel empowered in their lives already, and that's great," observed chairperson Rachel Magnusson. "But there's some individuals who participated in the CA who have literally never been asked what they thought about anything before, never mattered, and it was absolutely life-transforming for them. And it sounds cheesy and corny, but I can't emphasize enough how magical that is to give that experience to somebody of feeling like they have something of value to contribute and they have a responsibility. It's turned some people's lives around in the Assembly. Forget the community plan! That alone is worth every penny."

The invitation to participate itself was very empowering for many. A participant said: "When the opportunity came to volunteer I felt I had a duty to get involved and really clarify with the City what we wanted as a neighbourhood as opposed to maybe what the City was thinking, because we were obviously thinking two very different things." Another participant said, "it was to me just the wealthier west side of the city dumping on the east side of the city, really dumping massive amounts of development." Though perhaps more of a cynical perspective, both participants shared a conviction in the power of participation to change the outcome.

The process instilled a sense of civic pride, empowerment, and responsibility amongst CA members. "I did take what we did very seriously. I think it's a very important document and I think it sets a benchmark and gives the City, going forward, a good basis of what to aim for," one member said. "I felt like it's so awesome to be able to wear your Citizens' Assembly hat and actually go up there and call people up and say, 'Hi. I'm working on the Citizens' Assembly and I need some information about this,'" said another. Someone else was proud in claiming that the Assembly was "giving a lot of other neighbourhoods hope and the determination to stay involved and feel like they have some kind of say in their cities."

Empowerment was limited, however, in that the Assembly was designed to be an advisory body, not a decision-making body.

Learning and capacity-building

> *In the Assembly, even if it's not the final say, you have [participants] making recommendations, making decisions together. Because of that you have an enormous capacity-building that happens.* - Rachel Magnusson, Chairperson

The learning component is the first stage of a Citizens' Assembly. For many who had little previous exposure to community planning, it was the most important step, without which they wouldn't have felt equipped and confident to participate. As an intensive course in community planning, it opens up the planning process by reducing the knowledge barrier: it is daunting to intervene in a planning process when one doesn't understand the principles, constraints, and the jargon.

Knowledge was imparted primarily by speakers, usually chosen by the Chairperson but participants were able to provide input if they wished. Speakers from the public, private, and non-profit sectors were invited to disseminate knowledge around planning (e.g. what is Floor Space Ratio), speak to their professional experience, and contribute ideas. Various organizations presented their perspective on the needs and values of the community. Thematic panels were held to debate topics like affordable housing. Optional readings and videos were made available and both participants and the public were able to contribute to that pool of resources.

Many observers expressed suspicions about the impartiality of the topics and speakers chosen. Participants themselves largely enjoyed how it was organized. They report that some speakers clearly challenged the City's assumptions, namely around population growth forecasts, and that the learning phase was adequately responsive to their needs, saying:

- "There was the opportunity to influence the choice of speakers. It wasn't just like here, you're being spoon fed this point of view. … There was debate among the speakers that we heard from, which I think is important"
- "The education process was certainly positive. … Certainly I would not have cut back on any of the educational aspects."
- "I think it was well-balanced."

For Rachel Magnusson and Councillor Reimer, the learning phase had value not only for this particular Assembly process but about building

community capacity in the neighbourhood for the long-term so that residents are interested, experienced, well-informed, well-connected with other active community members, and comfortable participating. That said, none of the six participants interviewed said they would personally participate in a future CA, calling this intense contribution of time and energy as an experience one only needs once.

Community-building, consensus, and power

Summing up most interviewees' experience with the deliberations and report-writing process, one participant told us she was "probably 80% satisfied". "I thought it was pretty amazing that that many people could come to consensus on that much." Another highlighted the interpersonal relationships as the best part of the experience. "We built up trust with each other. I think we learned to tolerate and understand, because certainly there were people who I liked a lot, whose lives were very different than mine … but we all worked together. We came to a lot of consensus." Many had moments of being forced to reflect on their long-held views and noticed other Assembly members shift their views over time.

The GWCA, beyond its set mandate of producing recommendations, was a community-building exercise for many. "I thought that it was an excellent way of bringing a community together and educating a lot of people in the community as to what this community actually is, its history," said one participant. Participants report being thanked for their work by area residents. One even recounted a telephone call she received which began with a confrontational rant against the process and concluded with the caller reflecting from what she had told him about the CA: "Wow, I'm really glad you're on the Assembly."

At times, participants felt that their voice and influence were undermined by other participants in struggles for power. One Assembly member, a retired male, said, "there was definitely a lot of bullying. People who are activists, people who were really rude to each other." A Black female participant, who spoke very highly of the experience overall, received an apology at one point for the way someone dismissed her ideas, and experienced what seemed to be racially-motivated process engineering: "at one meeting I was fighting for this wording to be in the documentation ... Then, I missed the next Saturday and then they took it out. … I really had to fight tooth and nail to even get the wording in the final documentation".

While consensus was struck in many aspects of the process, this was not an all-consuming task; dissent was also facilitated into the process. First, the option of writing a minority report into the final report was always held out as "a backup option for anybody who couldn't really live with the specific proposal," explained one participant. Further, process facilitators were recognized by participants for the conscious efforts they made not to force agreement: "the facilitators and Rachel didn't really try and change someone's opinion in order to get an agreement. I think they sometimes try to give more background information, or try to possibly make someone see it from a different perspective."

Still, the dynamics of dominant compared to less dominant voices remained and were a source of concern for many participants. The strongest voices, as per one CA member, were consistently from those engaged with neighbourhood politics for 'a long time,' and not all participants considered this legitimate: "Just because you have a lot of voice doesn't mean you have good ideas," a participant said. According to several interviewees, Assembly members were mindful of the dominance of some voices over others and chose to pay attention to those who were quieter. This practice of inclusivity is not an inherent, built-in feature of the Assembly process, but rather a choice by, and dependent on, individual members.

At least one Assembly member was of the opinion that those who were newer to the neighbourhood or to citizen engagement dominated the recommendations disproportionately because they lacked the depth of knowledge and experience that others had: "I don't think that half the people on the Citizens' Assembly got or understood [a particular issue] because they were so new to the process … . They had such a shallow understanding of the planning process not because they didn't have the capacity to learn the details, because it wasn't sufficient time for them to study it to appreciate the consequences of the recommendations."

The value added of deliberative democracy

Rachel Magnusson and Andrew Pask estimate that the CA contributed 5,000 hours[9] of volunteer time. In recognition of this generosity, CA members were awarded the Vancouver Civic Volunteer Award in 2015. One expert attempted to calculate the value of that time. Even if the City had paid a very low hourly rate of $75 to a consultant for this work, it would have cost $375,000 in labour alone. Of course, the value added by the CA went well beyond the time given by the citizen volunteers to include the

[9] Several participants report to have spent over 1,000 hours each, which leads us to presume that 5,000 hours for the entire group is a very conservative figure. It is likely that many CA members spent more time reading and dialoguing with neighbours than they may have accounted for.

discussions, public events, private seminars and workshops with experts, and recommendations. "There was quite a lot of expertise in that room from very community minded people. If you were to actually pay for that to come, it's a lot of intelligence we got in there", remarked one participant.

The level of dialogue achieved by the CA was sustained, deliberative, and social capital-building. To planner Andrew Pask, the aim was always to hit the 'sweet spot' of dialogue intensity, between dismissively superficial questions and answers and unrealistically deep and broad blue-sky visioning: "Just doing the quick and dirty, 'what do you think about something?' is not going to get you quality material. … The other thing that is very dangerous in engagement processes is going out there so openly, asking 'what do you guys want to see?' and just creating this notion that anything is possible. It's not, it's not."

A strong deliberative process adds value by creating a plan that the community considers its own. In this particular instance, with the recent experience of a plan being rejected by citizens because it did not adequately reflect a genuine deliberative process, effective dialogue was an essential component of the CA. Although the $150,000 price tag for the Assembly may seem steep, good planning costs money. And bad planning can be very expensive, too, as Councillor Reimer quipped to Assembly members.

The value obtained via authentic and experience-based community dialogue held an inestimable value for place-specific planning in Grandview-Woodland. This place-based understanding, accumulated through daily life, cannot be found in books or bought from any consultant. These insights may also be all the more unique and valuable, said one Assembly observer, because the people sign-up who aren't as 'hard-headed' or 'stubborn' about their convictions as those who typically get involved: "there were people who showed up for the CA at the beginning who actually didn't have strong opinions on it, which you don't usually see in these kind of engagement processes. You get the diversity of opinion and diversity of strength of opinion and that makes a big difference in these kinds of processes in terms of people's willingness to negotiate and compromise and really deliberate."

People learnt from each other and appreciated this very unique form of interaction: "I think it's amazing to be thrown into a situation where you meet forty-eight of your neighbours that are likely outside of your regular social circle. It's too easy for us to just inhabit our own comfortable circles

and think everyone thinks the way you do. I think a great value in the Citizens' Assembly is actually saying you can't just walk by those people who think differently, you have to sit down and try to understand them and to some degree negotiate and reach consensus with them. That is a hugely valuable thing," according to a participant.

EXCEPTIONALISM: Several interviewees emphasized their belief that Grandview-Woodland is a highly exceptional case, suitable for a community that felt polarized and marginalized from the planning process by the Emerging Directions. "They needed to have done something; whether a Citizens' Assembly was the only answer, I honestly don't know," said one participant. These interviewees felt that a CA is a drastic solution to a drastic problem and should not become a common practice, either because of the intensity of resources involved or because of the 'exclusivity' of Assembly membership cited by some critics.

ASSEMBLY INDEPENDENCE: Our interviews detected polarized views on the actual autonomy of the CA. One participant feels that while critics "might not have agreed with the conclusions, []there's a general feeling the Assembly was acting independently." By contrast, community observer Garth Mullins feels that the City's assumptions inappropriately defined and overshadowed deliberations. "I'm not saying [the CA] shouldn't have been struck. It should have been allowed to breathe." His critical reading of the final report is that the Assembly's achievement was not making tough choices that lead to a coherent, implementable community plan, but rather that they found "opportunities for developers to do [development] so the City can get [Community Amenity Contributions][10], so then the City can do whatever it decides the thing is going to be."

Saying that the Chair "handled it really well" overall, one participant admitted that the process's need to be "focused" inherently means that not every procedural decision can be debated out. "There's definitely parts of it that felt like we were being pushed along, but at the same time you needed to produce something at the end of it."

HIGH REGARD FOR CA LEADERSHIP: Across the board we found an overwhelming amount of praise and respect for three key actors: Andrew Pask, the lead Grandview-Woodland area planner who served as resource person throughout; Assembly chairperson Rachel Magnusson ("With the wrong facilitator, I think the process could have unraveled," said one participant); and Councillor Andrea Reimer, whose leadership is credited for getting the Assembly off the ground. There were complaints, however,

[10] As defined by the City of Vancouver: "Community Amenity Contributions (CACs) are in-kind or cash contributions provided by property developers when City Council grants development rights through rezoning."

that the City did not send senior planners to attend Assembly deliberations and answer questions. Participants reported that primarily junior-level planners, although kind and helpful, appeared to have little authority. For example, they were perceived as providing responses to questions that they would later retract.

LENGTH OF THE PROCESS: Many reported that the process felt rushed, but perhaps productively so: "You've probably been through it yourself [in different situations]. If it wasn't for the last five minutes, or the last hour, nothing would ever get done," said one participant. Most interviewees warned that a future CA should not last any longer than the GWCA. One participant said, "it was really a lot of commitment. Had I actually understood some of the commitment there was, I don't think I would have volunteered."

"At the beginning I was like, "Oh, it's no problem, it's just one Saturday a month and no big deal." Then, once you get more into it and once you find out what areas of interest you have you just take more time. You're reading more materials, you're volunteering for extra things on different days [such as the subarea workshops and walking tours] other than the assigned assembly meeting days."

Technical Details

VISUALIZATION: Three interviewees had a strong sense that more visualization techniques, such as tangible models or interactive computed-generated modelling, should have been integrated. One pointed out that the only visualization tools were maps, sticky notes, and occasional drawings: "They worked, up to a point. They were of some assistance, but I wouldn't say they were highly successful," remarked one participant.

Insert summary chart of the participatory techniques used in the CA process, expand a bit on what techniques were left out.

WORKING LANGUAGE: Many, but not the majority, of voices called for a multilingual Assembly for the purposes of inclusivity. A retired white male Assembly member said, "We're an Anglo-normative society. Not everybody speaks English, not everybody understands it. We just assume that they do." The counter-argument is that this position is a nostalgic reflection of what the area used to be and that demographics have changed. Magnusson, backing the decision to exclusively use English, cites that 95% of the Grandview-Woodland population has a working proficiency of English.[11]

[11] This statistic appears, to us, to be derived from Statistics Canada's 2011 National Household Survey from the variable, "Language Most Often Spoken at Work". The variable, "Knowledge of Neither English nor French," produces, for the federal riding in which Grandview-Woodland is situated, a result of approximately 90%.

DENSIFICATION & HOUSING

Collaborative design makes for housing that people want, not settle for:

> *"There are creative ways to engage with local community that empower them to shape their own image of place … as opposed to a top-down approach from the City that decides how every community should look. I strongly believe that communities have special insight about how they work"* - Urban design Expert

One of the key questions that marked Assembly deliberations was the extent of population growth that Grandview-Woodland must plan for. One participant complained that their colleagues took on the City's paradigm that assumes significant population growth, despite a small population decline in recent years: "Most of the people in these meetings were convinced that we had to achieve greater density". A particularly prevalent complaint was that the City was unable to tell the Assembly exactly what the area's zoning capacity is and how many new people Grandview-Woodland was expected to accommodate in the next 30 years, corresponding to the lifespan of the new community plan. Population growth predictions are compiled by the regional government and do not specify how much growth is expected in each municipality or neighbourhood. The participant continued: "[the City] didn't know what the numbers were based on and at no point were [we] ever told why we had to accept this density. … This city just had this [attitude that], "they're coming, we have to make space for them regardless of [the consequences]." This is evidence that the City's argument that population growth is inevitable and that the Assembly was required to plan for it was not strong enough.

For insight into Assembly dynamics and housing discussions, read this report of two subarea workshop meetings, written by the GWCA staff writer: http://www.grandview-woodland.ca/leave-grandview-fingers-alone-engage-residents-in-creative-solutions-city-workshops-told/

Indeed, the City's growth projections are not neighbourhood-specific, leaving the Assembly to simply plan for 'more' people. Planner Andrew Pask offered this insight on latent housing demand:

> *"The City is estimating 160,000 people will be coming to Vancouver over the next few decades, and people turn around and say, 'no! That's not true'. That's fine, you can debate the numbers to a certain extent – they're projections after all - but*

denying the upward trend in population growth, or denying that some of this growth should take place in Grandview-Woodland, or suggesting that the idea of accommodating more people in the neighbourhood is a bad thing …is a problem.

"The reality is that there's a whole group of people who want to live [in Grandview-Woodland] and can't. … Likewise, there are current residents who feel they are in danger of being forced out. In both cases, we need to be responsible about the realities that we are facing. The city is growing, and it's important to be proactive about this growth and change. This means doing density well."

Many were concerned that the City was imposing certain assumptions on them regarding this question, for instance that more "aggressive building form" and height was expected. One participant said, "They [the City] want to increase that pace of development. They don't want to just increase the size of certain developments, they want to increase the rate of development and I guess that's what we're all resisting. Nobody was saying freeze it as it is, but nobody wants it to be done at the City's current desire." Disagreement arose about whether there's at all a need to alter existing zoning in order to accommodate growth; some asserted that the area is already zoned to accommodate more density than most sites around Commercial Drive are currently built to.

The final report increased zoning height and density allowances for many areas of the neighbourhood, albeit differently and along different corridors than had been proposed in the failed Emerging Directions report. One community activist sees a lot of compromise on density in the report and a lack of original visioning and decision-making. "There's a lot of throwing around of ideas, but I don't think there's really a consensus from the public per se. I think some of it was compromise, some of it reaction [to the threat of change]. I don't know how much of it was real 'this is what I want to see'. I think there's a protection of this community; I call it a psychologically-gated community. Pull up the drawbridges."

How Was Small Housing Addressed?

Smaller housing has always been part of the political discussion around growth in Grandview-Woodland, everyone told us, and that goes for the GWCA as well. Smaller forms of infill housing, such as laneway houses, are

prized by many as a means of gentle densification: densifying without towers and without really seeing, or perhaps even noticing, that the neighbourhood's housing density is increasing. Community activist and GWCA critic Jak King also showed enthusiasm for gentle densification: "I don't think anyone here is objecting to it. It's not us who objected to infill housing. That's how we would like to see growth. It's that the City doesn't want it. The City wants row houses and towers."

The final report counts numerous recommendations on the topic of mid-rise building height, affordability, and housing issues in general, but speaks little to small housing form. Chairperson Rachel Magnusson believes the vast majority of the Assembly was pro-gentle densification, "however back to the scope question: because you're tackling so many things the Citizens' Assembly remained fairly high-level with its recommendations in this area."

Where it does talk specifically about smaller housing forms, the report says yes to more coach-houses in residential areas, yes to more houses, and yes to more secondary suites generally, including as basement suites. In fact, the report asks the City to revitalize the area's back lanes in multiple ways, including with added street features, small business and studios, and improved aesthetics. One recommendation specifically favours ground-oriented entrances; another requires developers to build two- and three-bedroom apartments and condos to ensure 'small housing' is available to families and not only singles; yet another asks "to draw on examples from Strathcona, Kitsilano, Norquay and other communities to create more flexible zoning that encourages fine-grained infill and creative gentle density in existing neighbourhoods."

Some reasons in favour of small housing cited by different interviewees are that it fits the neighbourhood and, according to some, works around heritage houses. An observer believes that small housing, unlike condos, "can't cost $1 million." Another values small housing as a 'loose-fit': housing that adapts to different stages of life and different people easier than a standard apartment or single-family house. A participant was particularly passionate about infill to serve the needs of the demographic aging-in-place. "There's a lot of pretty creative solutions people have but a lot of the stuff they want to do is currently not legally allowed under City bylaws," they said.

While one person we interviewed was optimistic about the effect of people's distaste for towers on their appetite for smaller infill, another was less positive about the correlation. "I see people saying they're open to those ideas because they don't want to say they're against everything. They don't want to say they're against complete change, when some of them really are. … I don't know if they really have an interest in it because frankly, some of these peoples are homeowners, [some of whom] I know: there's no way they're going to give up their spot, their single-family dwelling with the yard. So I have a hard time with that."

Some felt that opinions reflected individuals' age, or their own home occupancy status. "If you have someone who owns a single-family home and that's their retirement savings, they don't want towers because they want Grandview-Woodland [to become exclusive], they want it to look like Shaughnessy. At the same time, someone who lives on a busy street doesn't want laneway houses because they own a house and already have trouble finding parking. It's not really an information thing or a persuasion thing, it's pre-existing opinions and their relation to the housing market .... and parking."

A challenge cited by a few interviewees was that housing form was construed by some as an either-or choice—towers or gentle density—as if they couldn't go together. One person said that the capacity-building and learning components at the beginning of the Assembly process prepared participants to grasp the trade-offs involved with different housing form choices. However, a few were disappointed by the lack of exploration of housing types. "Without a doubt, more options could have been presented," one participant finds. "[Housing types] came up but it wasn't discussed in detail," recalled an observer.

Purpose-built, ground-oriented housing was indeed considered an easy, unobtrusive strategy to grow the capacity for increased population, but not all agreed that it is especially affordable as some claim.

Many Assembly members had hesitations about purpose-built laneway and cottage-houses from an affordability perspective for homeowners and potential tenants alike. For owners of preexisting homes, it's the economics of it. A participant said, "unfortunately, the price of laneways is not reasonable", citing the costs the City charges in permits and infrastructure upgrades as debilitating.[12] Planner Andrew Pask estimates that, as of summer 2015, no more than 30 laneway houses have been built in Grandview-Woodland (whereas the city's other 21 planning districts boast over 2,500), pointing out, however, that GW has a comparatively limited single-family land base on which to build laneway housing.

[12] According to one builder's experience, the water and sewer upgrades costed $14,000 and the total cost of permits and infrastructure exceeded $40,000; see: www.homesanddesign.ca/communities/lessons-from-my-laneway-house.

See also: "Laneway home dream turns into 'absurd' nightmare" (www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/laneway-home-vancouver-expense-affordable-housing-delay-planning-1.352797)

RESOLVING PUBLIC OPPOSITION

> *"People are very concerned about the immediate area they are living in. … And so, often, when we have a development project, there's typically about a two-block notification area – which means the consultation process tends to focus on gathering input from residents living in the immediate vicinity. Maybe there needs to be the opportunity for some broader perspective – for people who live further away but also feel they have a stake. We've certainly heard people ask for an expanded notification territory … This is one of the tensions in the engagement process."* - Andrew Pask, Grandview-Woodland Lead Planner

There were two opposition camps in the Grandview-Woodland planning context. The first one is the anti-tower opposition.[13] This group was relieved that the GWCA rejected 36-storey towers for the Broadway-Commercial subarea. The Assembly recommended an increase in zoning capacity to permit 8 storey buildings in some areas, and some members expressed disappointment at this outcome due to the recommendation for eight stories where current zoning only allows for four. Building height and density were also approved by Assembly members along other key corridors, with some dissension reflected by the minority reports. The CA process appears, thus far, to overall have had a reconciliatory and positive effect on this controversy.

[13] In addition to the Broadway and Commercial tower proposals (see 'The Height Did it In'), there is a second tower proposition for a potentially 12-storey tower elsewhere on Commercial Drive. Some in the community have been actively organizing against it. See www.novenablestower.com.

The second opposition force organized against the design and make-up of the GWCA. This group carried much cynicism about political interference in the Assembly and City planners' interference in the recommendations and the messaging and information provided to members. To respond to their concerns, the CA was designed with high levels of public participation and input into the Assembly's work. This opposition was not satisfied and continued to feel marginalized and suspicious; they claim the final report confirms their suspicions by it resemblance to the Emerging Directions document.

Notwithstanding critics, the CA appears to have given a sense of ownership over the community's future to many residents. This is especially true for community members who weren't previously engaged. Many members of the CA report that the experience changed many of their views and specifically cite the interactions with other participants as a contributing factor.

OUTCOMES & SUCCESSES

The GWCA achieved the success of producing a consensus-driven report, which, although "there are issues that are unresolved", "provides a really strong baseline for what the community actually thinks," according to Charles Campbell, and "gives City Council a clear path," in the words of Rachel Magnusson.

> *"I would say that the fact that it happened at all is a success. Your first time will always be your first time," said Councillor Reimer. "The fact that it hasn't happened in this context ever, tells you that people are like, "That's just not possible." Right? Well it is obviously, very possible, and it's happened."*
>
> *She says it's an opportune experience to learn from and redevelop.*
>
> *"The Citizens' Assembly deserves to be evaluated based on its merits [of building community capacity, pioneering future Assemblies, and reviving a 'planning process that was flailing'] as opposed to very real challenges in a community that has one of the only declining populations, and declining incomes and declining social outcomes."*

While worry persists that the City may still "manipulate our words and do something crazy again" as one participant expressed, those involved were proud of what they had accomplished. "I think it was done the best possible way I could think of at the moment," said one participant. Nearly everyone involved had moderate expectations and a certain degree of nervousness going into the process, including the leaders. A large amount of cynicism was extinguished and trust built; according to Rachel Magnusson, "it was a matter of giving it time to do that. And it worked. I think that's really really positive." In her experience, Citizens' Assembly members take their role seriously and produce quality content. "They're always extremely sophisticated. You know to expect these things, but it's always a pleasure when they materialize."

A draft community plan is anticipated to be released in spring 2016. Participants are holding off until then to pass judgement on whether the GWCA was a success.

TEN LESSONS LEARNED

Definitive lessons about public engagement that emerge from this case study:

1. FOCUS THE SCOPE (GEOGRAPHIC SCOPE OR SCOPE OF ISSUES). How much work is the Assembly expected to accomplish in the time allocated? Everyone interviewed took issue with the breadth of scope of the GWCA. It was too much. Planning a geographically large community's next 30 years, in the midst of many controversies, didn't come off as a reasonably-sized task for the time allocated. At the same time, no one thought an Assembly could reasonably stretch over a longer time. One participant said: "If we'd had clearer parameters to work with from the very beginning and been forced to make more of the tough decisions and really consider the trade-offs, we would have been less likely to end up with a big wish list of stuff that we want to happen. I guess I feel [the final report is] a little more aspirational than I would prefer."

   The scope could be narrowed geographically (i.e. a smaller area) or to a more specific planning issue. Various informed suggestions were proposed by our expert-interviewees. One is to focus the CA only on the key or controversial issues. In Grandview-Woodland, this would have been height and density along major corridors (Broadway, Commercial, Hastings, and possibly Nanaimo). The Assembly would ideally be the final decision-making body on that matter. Another possibility raised was for a city-wide CA, not fixed to a community plan, that tackles one specific issue like housing affordability or transit-oriented development.

2. ENHANCE THE MANDATE. What assurance do Assembly members have that the work they accomplish will be meaningfully acted upon? The GWCA's designers felt that a level of power in decision making was implicit, but participants were less trusting. Ideally, an Assembly's product would be binding. That there was no certainty that even one recommendation would ultimately be adopted led to frustration and anxiety amongst some CA members. Months after the process, even participants who thoroughly "loved" the experience are reluctant to call it a "success" because the outcome is so precarious. There is real reason to believe, drawing on this process and the case studies we reviewed, that a 'we-will-consider-your-input' mandate has a

negative impact on the process: the quality of the product, the sincerity and dedication of participants, the trust in the process, the morale and pride of participants, and—most crucially—the number and type of people willing to invest their time into a process whose outcome may be overlooked or manipulated. At the first GWCA meeting Councillor Reimer expressed a desire from the part of City Council that the Assembly would not feel inhibited in their deliberations, not censure their recommendations out of fear of Council not approving. "Part of my job was to try and say what Council expected of them. The problem is that Council didn't, the whole point was that we didn't have expectations of them. … We'll decide what we will and won't do, your job is to sit here and come up with the best plan for the community and we'll deal with [it politically]". We have no reason to believe that this wasn't a sincere mandate, but it does not appear to have been effectively confidence-boosting: the Assembly didn't buy into the argument that it was politically free to recommend what it saw as the best plan.

If a binding mandate won't be considered, enhance the confidence of the Assembly that its work will be relevant by mandating it with a Council-approved urban framework plan that lays out just how far the City is willing to go on items like density, road space and parking limits. "Unless you get council-approved regulation in the form of zoning and guidelines that then provide the assurances and implementation, all that investment time could be for naught," said one expert-observer. Citizens step up and are generous with their time when they feel their contributions will be valuable.

A second alternative would be to mandate the Assembly to produce a complete community plan for recommendation. The City would reserve the right to amend it before adopting it, but it would be receiving a document that, in theory, would be adoptable as such. This approach would ensure that the Assembly prioritizes its recommendations, weeds out potentially contradictory projects, and makes difficult choices. The limitation of the GWCA is that it provided some 270 recommendations without communicating to the City which should be prioritized for implementation.

3. INTEGRATE VISUALIZATION TECHNIQUES. Can participants 'see' what they're planning? Policy recommendations are important, but a much greater emphasis needs to be placed on urban design. As one Vancouver urban design expert said, "the look, feel and daily experience of a place profoundly matters to the lives of citizens". They said that co-design and charrette-like processes would have been particularly beneficial to a community where a planning process had just imploded due to the city tabling a form of development not previously shared/discussed. Without visual collaborative design, the City can only "guess" at what the community was trying to articulate for the future look and feel of their neighbourhood; with the 36-story Broadway and Commercial towers as a case-in-point, this surprise image contrasted strongly with the visualization of many in the community. In light of many of the innovations and successes of visualization tools discussed in the literature review, we consider the lack of visual tools such as interactive drawing, computer-based or otherwise, that complement extensive mapping and access to specific spatial information such as zoning capacity to be a flaw of the GWCA.

   Mapping alone does not go far enough in effectively communicating a vision. We agree with Charles Campbell that planning has a "tendency to look down onto a map and say, 'we'll rezone that.' … You need to stand on the street knowing exactly what's there". This kind of approach helps inform "a real understanding of the consequences."

   Visualization can spur participation and establish a common understanding of the outcome desired. Visuals break down language barriers; a picture is worth, and can replace, a thousand words. Grandview-Woodland's subarea workshops came the closest to a visual process, but the map-based work the Assembly went through doesn't provide the same depth and meaning when planning and representing communities. As we explore in the Southlands case study, showing people a potential urban form goes a long way to achieving consensus.

4. SHORTEN THE TIME FRAME. In the words of a participant: "It's just too much. It's too much. I think you could have less overall work, shorter time frame, because one of the things that you lost, we lost, was, 'Oh yeah, what did we do last time?' It requires a certain

intensity that comes with more closely spaced meetings. People were volunteers and it was a Saturday morning. It's not always practical." Designers of future Assemblies don't necessarily need to reduce the total hours of Assembly work, but they should consider two things: shorten the time frame and design it to be less exhausting. The GWCA held 11 Assembly meetings, plus several additional workshops and round-tables, over eight-and-a-half months with an average interval between meetings of three weeks. Future Assemblies should look into experimenting with meetings every two weeks. Diversifying activities, such as using visual techniques, would be one way of reducing participant fatigue, reported by several interviewees.

5. PLAN TO MAKE THE NEWLY ACQUIRED COMMUNITY CAPACITY COUNT IN THE FUTURE. A large amount of community planning knowledge was disseminated, social ties were built, and a group of people, some of whom had little confidence expressing their ideas publicly prior, was empowered. A large amout of social capital and community capacity was achieved, yet the six participants we interviewed say they are unlikely to volunteer to join a future Citizens Assembly. When hundreds of thousands of dollars are spent educating participants and developing their skill set, there should ideally be a plan that looks beyond the end of the process.

We anticipate that the following five design choices will be controversial and best practices will vary from context-to-context.

6. REPRESENTATIVENESS, RECRUITMENT METHODOLOGY, AND ASSEMBLY SIZE ARE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS WITH NO UNIVERSAL SOLUTION. The next case study, Southlands, offers a stark contrast to Grandview-Woodland which shows that how design choices need to reflect whether a community is big or small, urban or rural, and heterogeneous or homogeneous. The GWCA's approach to these questions demonstrates that no solution will please everyone; nevertheless, virtually no one was entirely satisfied with the choices made. Some thought the Assembly was too small to properly represent such a diverse community, some believe self-selection is the only fair and free method. Different communities will have different needs.

7. LEARNING PHASE: WHO DECIDES WHAT GETS LEARNED? ANTICIPATE A STRUGGLE OVER WHO HAS THE ORGANIZING, OR CONVENING, POWER. The curriculum design was a controversial issue and a deal-breaker for those who perceived or assumed that participants were being 'spoon-fed' the Planning Department's worldview. One way to reconcile this disagreement is to have a more participatory approach to choosing which experts speak and what gets studied. Participants are likely to have a different sense of what knowledge they lack to address specific issues. For example, one participant felt that they lacked an understanding of development economics. Some interviewees argued that, despite the Chair's deliberate choice not to have a case study-heavy learning phase, studying successes and failures from other jurisdictions would have been useful. This convening and directional power cannot be handed over to participants at the beginning, but it can be handed over eventually.

8. CONSIDER A STIPEND TO COMPENSATE FOR PARTICIPANTS' TIME, AT THE VERY LEAST AS A BURSARY FOR LOW-INCOME PARTICIPANTS. To ensure this offer isn't exploited, much like in a jury process, the stipend should be smaller during the initial stage of the process to ensure that people stay the course. While the GWCA provided food and childcare, many interviews returned to the barriers marginalized groups face to participation of this sort. If someone risks having to drop a few Saturday shifts to participate, the organizing body should consider compensating them if lost income is a barrier to participation. One person said that the fact that only 500 out of 20,000 residents applied, it is clear that few in the community could make that kind of commitment.

9. FURTHER EXPLORE THE FINE LINE BETWEEN THE INTEGRITY OF THE ASSEMBLY AND THE RIGHTS OF THE BROADER PUBLIC. A determining factor for success in future Assemblies will be the public engagement process that defines and designs the Assembly. Public input should guide the design of the process if public satisfaction with the outcome is the objective. Ironically, the City of Vancouver employed a simple online consultation process ('this is what we are doing, what do you think?', which figures low on the ladder of citizen participation) leading up to a highly elaborate engagement process. The more active segments of the wider community were unhappy with the outcome.

10. START THE PROCESS WITH SHARED VALUES AND RULES OF ENGAGEMENT. The GWCA dedicated time to developing shared values to guide deliberations. Many appreciated this step ("the process allows people to get to know each other and establish a foundation for the decisions that they're going to make that are more specific"), but many found it frustrating and time-consuming. One participant, who said bullying took place, told us that shared values alone don't suffice, but that rules of engagement are a must.

SOUTHLANDS DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

DELTA, BRITISH COLUMBIA

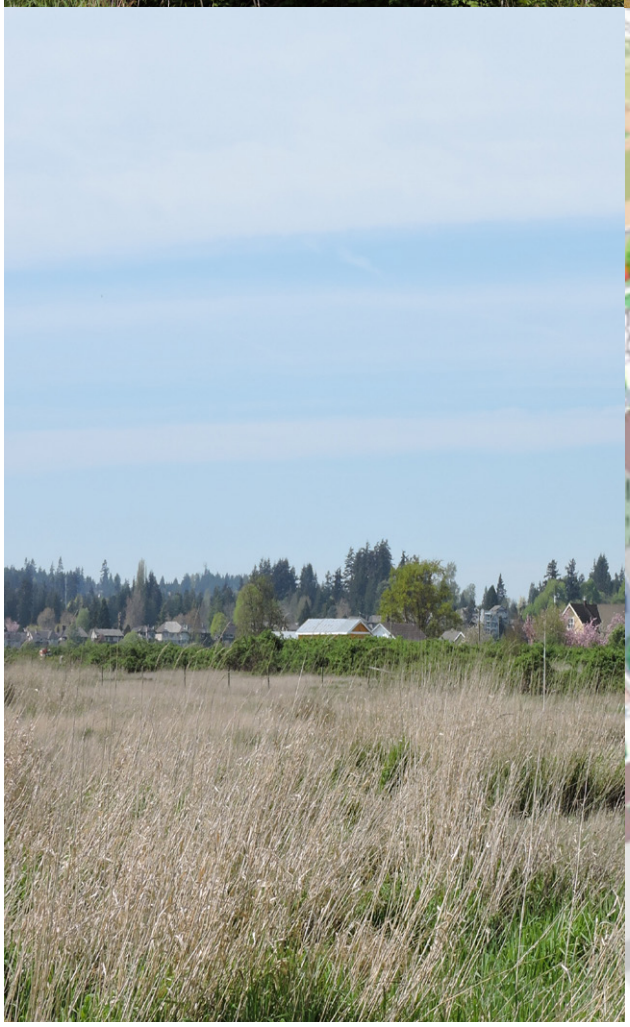


Photo Credit: Anne Murray

Rendering courtesy of Century Group

SOUTHLANDS

CONTEXT & BACKGROUND

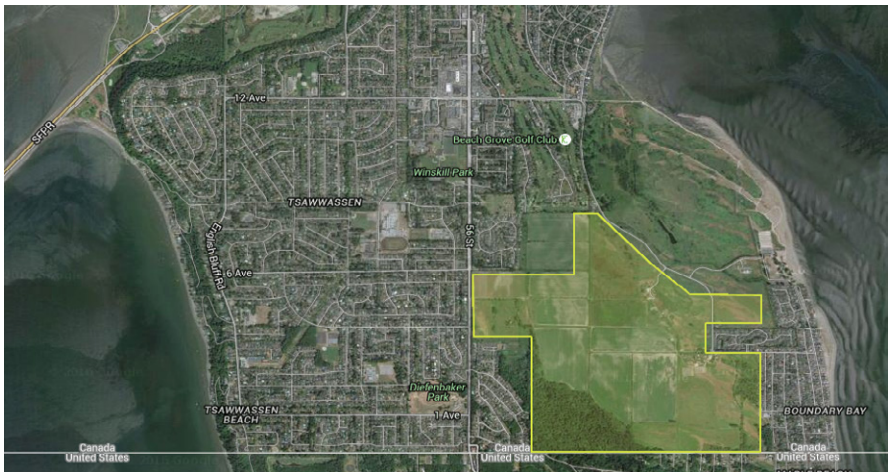
The Southlands, an area of just over 530 acres, has been an important symbol of the Tsawwassen community's agricultural roots as well as the long struggle between development and agriculture here.[1] Once dominated by agricultural work, the communities of Delta have shifted towards being bedroom communities[2] of Vancouver since the opening of the George Massey Tunnel in 1959.

[1] The Delta Southlands are to be distinguished from the area of the same name in the City of Vancouver, which has also been part of the Agricultural Land Reserve.

[2] 75% of employed residents of Tsawwassen do not work in Tsawwassen (Ransford 2010).

Tsawwassen is a subarea of the municipality of Delta, which is distinct from the Tsawwassen First Nation. Tsawwassen is an exceptionally homogenous community in the Metro Vancouver context, in terms of demographic and socioeconomic characteristics, and housing form.[3] Tsawwassen and Boundary Bay are characterized by a large share of 3,000 square feet plus single-family homes and a small share of multifamily housing. One interviewee, Doug Bolen, told us that in Tsawwassen, "everybody's just the same …All houses are worth the same, and everybody has two cars, and everybody works somewhere else. Everybody's just kind of the same. In a normal neighbourhood, you've got an apartment. None of the teachers can live in Tsawwassen because they can't afford it, so they all drive in." Finally, Tsawwassen is one of the slowest growing communities in Metro Vancouver. From 2006 to 2011, this area of some 21,000 people grew by only 70, or just over 0.03%[4]; this is in contrast to a 9% population increase across Metro Vancouver over these 5 years.[5]

[3] http://blogs.vancouversun.com/2011/10/18/ethnic-mapping-european-echoes-in-peaceful-tsawwassen/



The Century-owned Southlands property is marked here. To the west (left of the Century-owned property): Tsawwassen. To the east (right): the community of Boundary Bay (a neighbourhood of Tsawwassen and of Delta). The southern property line is at the United States-Canada border, with Point Roberts, Washington, to the immediate South. Tsawwassen is the southernmost portion of Delta. The City of Vancouver is some 30 kilometres to the North. Map credit: Google Maps

Click on the map to access our online context map, with additional area photos.

Case study history

What is now known as the Southlands was first settled as a family farm in the 1870s and changed hands between a few different families until the 1930s when it was acquired by the Spetifore family.[6] Around 1970, George

[4] http://www.vickihuntington.ca/content/

[5] http://www.metrovancouver.org/services/regional-planning/data-statistics/census-bulletins/Pages/default.aspx

[6] See Century & Cotter (2012)

Spetifore declared that the site was no longer suitable for farming and considered the land better suited for development. In the decades to come, a couple separate development battles took place over this parcel of land, which changed hands in between each development proposal. In the interim, the land was used as a dairy farm and most recently, since about 2006, as the development proposal we discuss in this chapter came to life, it has been lent to the Boundary Bay Earthwise Garden and Farm, a demonstration farm.

In 1973 the Province of British Columbia created the Agricultural Land Reserve (ALR) which established agricultural status for 11.6 million acres of land across the province, based upon soil suitability. The ALR is managed by the Agricultural Land Commission with the mandate to protect designed agricultural land from being developed.[7] Today, the Southlands is Metro Vancouver's single largest undeveloped parcel of land that is not within the ALR.

[7] Criticism of the ALR is discussed by Condon & Mullinix (2010); see also Jackson (2012).

Most of the present Southlands were originally included in the ALR but removed in 1981, two years following an application by the municipality to do so. The removal was justified in terms of helping alleviate Metro Vancouver's housing shortage. By 1985 it was designated for urban development in the Delta Official Community Plan (OCP) and four years later, in 1989, a proposal was made by the Tsawwassen Development Lands (TDL) company for a 2,000-unit suburban single-family housing development interwoven with a private golf course. Residents of the communities of Tsawwassen and the Boundary Bay neighbourhood, to its east, dramatically rose up against this proposal, culminating in the longest public hearing in Canadian history: it spanned 52 days. The Delta mayor and council at the time were defeated at the next election; the explanation offered was that they had considered accepting the Southlands development proposal.

The Southlands property has a history of hotly politicized development debates in the decades leading to the public engagement process reported here.

The proposal was rejected. The public's appetite for development of the Southlands was tainted. Despite most of the Southlands being deemed by its current owner, Century Group, as very poor agricultural land and farmers failing to make ends meet, a vocal public has preferred to see

the land farmed, or preserved as a natural area. In 1990, the year following the public hearing, Tsawwassen-based developer Century Group (owned by the local Hodgins family) purchased 758 acres of the lands, then known as the Spetifore Lands. Two years later, revisions to Delta's Tsawwassen Area Plan resulted in the urban designation for the property changing back to agricultural. A dairy farm which had been operating on the site closed in 1993. In 1995, the Province acquired 220 acres from Century Group to expand Boundary Bay Regional Park.

The political apprehension against reopening the Southlands file left the land in low-intensity agricultural use (cattle feed growing) for 14 years before Century Group began a conversation around developing it. The Metro Vancouver region was growing, suburban housing development was cropping up in the vicinity (the Southlands are bordered by housing development to the north, east and west), and, based on the word of the land owner, local farmers weren't interested in farming the Southlands despite the community's insistence that it be farmed.[8]

Key moments in Southlands' recent history (based on Century & Cotter 2012)

Year	Event
c. 1970	George Spetifore decides that farming is no longer was viable on the land and envisions a residential housing development.
c. 1971	First development application for the Spetifore Lands is initiated.
1972	The Province of British Columbia created the Agricultural Land Reserve (ALR)
c. 1981	Purchased by Spetifore Farms, known as Triple S Farms. Excluded from the Agricultural Land Reserve.
c. 1982	George Spetifore sells his entire 765 acre parcel to Dawn Development Corporation.
c. 1985	Delta's first Official Community Plan designates the Spetifore Lands as "Urban."
1989	Tsawwassen residents challenge the proposed development of the agricultural Southlands.
1990	Southlands is acquired by George Hodgins of Century Industries Ltd.

[8] Interview with Brad Semke, Century Group.

Shaping the public engagement vision

In 2000, ten years after purchasing the Southlands, Century Group began to orchestrate a public discussion about the potential for developing the site. Century Group faced a major impediment: the municipality of Delta refused to talk about the project, let alone to collaborate with Century Group or attend public meetings hosted by Century Group. The meetings were born from an understanding on the part of Century Group that "we needed to have representatives of the community at the table from the beginning of conceiving of the plan." At the same time, Century Group recognized they needed to offer something of a vision. Based on a public poll they conducted, 60% of the community was against Southlands development. Century Group's Vice-President of Development, Bob Ransford, and Century

Group President Sean Hodgins began to lay the groundwork for a public engagement process to bring the community on-board for development. "We knew that if we worked we could move that, but it wouldn't be easy. All the old models I'd seen, I knew weren't going to work. We needed boldness," says Ransford.

Hodgins and Ransford called Bill Lennertz of the National Charrette Institute inquiring into holding a charrette for the Southlands as a way to invite and include the sentiments and ideas of local residents in creating a vision for the development. Ransford recalls Lennertz saying at that time: "you're not ready for a charrette, you have a whole bunch of work to do." From 2000 to 2004, Hodgins and Ransford studied New Urbanism and traveled extensively across North America and Europe to scope out best practices and key advisors.

In 2003, Hodgins produced a 4-page vision document, Imagine Southlands, outlining a vision for a "complete community" and an alternative to traditional suburban development based on sustainability and interweaving agriculture within a residential community. It cites the problem of "erosion of [Delta's] social fabric." The developer produced the following objective for engaging the public in determining future development:

Shape public opinion in the South Delta community so that a majority of residents understand that developing a community consensus plan for the integration of the Southlands into the Tsawwassen community will be beneficial to residents and in the interests of improving local quality of life.

This same visioning document commits Century Group to working with a group of community members "in developing the knowledge base, interest, information and skills to explore:

- Tsawwassen's current strengths/weaknesses/opportunities and threats;
- New trends in community development, urban design and town building and how these might be exploited to build on Tsawwassen's strengths and take advantage of opportunities the community might seize to improve local quality of life;

FROM THE 2003 CENTURY GROUP VISION DOCUMENT

The Southlands is a canvass on which a new suburban community can be created—with a palette that holistically brings together the best in urban design, community building and sustainable development to create a rich artwork that satisfies the needs of a diverse range of lifestyles, where livability is the community's hallmark.

… where the impact of community living is managed in order to protect for future generations a quality of life unmatched.

- Broad options for integrating the Southlands into the Tsawwassen community to create community benefits and improve the local quality of life;
- Obstacles standing in the way of the Southlands' integration into the community.

In 2004, a small focus group of five community residents was privately convened to test the viability of a community-led design process. They were tasked to further elaborate a vision along with the assistance of urban designers Michael von Hausen and Norm Hotson and in December 2004, drafted a set of principles "for a planning and design process that integrates Southlands into the greater Tsawwassen community". These eight principles were:

1. Ensure Active Community Involvement
2. Improve Quality of Life
3. Conserve Natural Assets
4. Create A Complete Community
5. Develop Walkable Neighbourhoods
6. Balance Uses
7. Enhance Cultural and Social Facilities
8. Provide for Lifelong Learning.

By this point the land use vision for Southlands, that originated with Century Group and was elaborated through the engagement process, was one-third agriculture, one-third development, and one-third community recreation and open space.

Early in 2005, Hodgins observed a Smart Growth on the Ground charrette process run by the University of British Columbia's Design Centre for Sustainability. A website was launched and community discussion was initiated around the concept of "Smart Growth", with Century Group sponsoring four Smart Growth BC-led seminars intended to entice residents with the possibilities for development aligned with Smart Growth principles.[9]

In October 2006, Century Group distributed flyers and put an ad in the local newspaper, officially inviting local residents to attend a public event on the Southlands property. Around 200 people came out, most in protest. At the same event, 25 attendees volunteered to take part in the developer-led planning process, called the Southlands Community Planning Team (SCPT).

[9] Smart Growth is a framework based on ten principles of sustainability, community engagement, compact communities, and integrated food systems. See: http://www.smartgrowth.bc.ca/AboutUs/SmartGrowthPrinciples/tabid/133/Default.aspx

In addition to an open recruitment process, the developer himself phoned at least one active community member, who ultimately became Chair of the SCPT, to invite him to participate.

SAMPLE OF THE PROFESSIONALS INVOLVED OVER THE COURSE OF THE ENGAGEMENT PROCESS

- Sean Hodgins & Century Group: Developer
- Bob Ransford (fmr Century Group vice-president): Engagement consultant
- Brad Semke: Southlands Project Manager (major role in public relations)
- Michael von Hausen: Community engagement consultant, began working on the project in 2006 pre-SCPT; charrette advisor
- Michael Ableman: Agricultural consultant
- Mark Holland: Design and engagement consultant specialized in agriculture, worked on charrette design brief
- Janine de la Salle: Design and engagement consultant specialized in agriculture, worked on charrette design brief
- Andrés Duany: Founder of the Congress for the New Urbanism; led the charrette
- Jonathan Frantz: Participatory video producer

THE SCPT PUBLIC ENGAGEMENT MODEL

The model employed by the Century Group, as a developer-initiated process, distinguishes itself by its flexibility and spontaneity: it was able to adjust the budget (in fact, as far as public data shows, there was never a fixed budget for this process) without external accountability for dollars spent, timelines, and the SCPT's parameters and objectives.

Ransford, who had since left Century Group, was retained as the lead consultant for the Southlands public engagement process, designed a framework: "The theory behind it [is]: inspire a vision, build some capacity, have some serious discussions about trade-offs, crystallize some kind of a plan, and then those people become the mobilizing force for the wider community that there's something in it… for them and their fellow citizens."

The process model was one of capacity-building, discovery, deliberation, direction, and then a final plan. A pivotal aspect of this theory was to consistently invite the wider public to attend open houses and participate. Achieving and maintaining a sense of scale throughout was crucial to achieving the objective of planning by design: moving towards planning visually, making the connections between the landscape as experienced by people on the street and the technical abstractions of maps and numbers (e.g. Floor Area Ratio). Visualization and collaborative design were considered instrumental for reaching consensus, building community ownership, and engaging the public in the difficult work of making design trade-offs.

PROCESS AT A GLANCE

- 24 participants (originally 25)
- Over 2,000 person-hours contributed
- Vision statements regularly produced
- Approx. 20 meetings over 18 months
- Subcommittees formed by Team members
- Pre-charrette, 3 open houses held
- Estimated cost $1.2 to 1.5 million, including:
  - $600,000 for the charrette
  - $60,000 for the participatory video

No fixed timeframe was set nor was there a participant cap; the Planning Team would be open to all community members. Targeting demographic representativeness was not a concern for the Century Group, given the relative homogeneity of the Tsawwassen community.

2011 Census and National Household Survey: Metro Vancouver and Tsawwassen in Comparison

	Median age	Rental households	English as first-language	Visible minorities	Households with an after-tax income under $40,000 (2010)	Households with an after-tax income over $125,000 (2010)
Metro Vancouver	40.2	35 %	56 %	45 %	34 %	12 %
Tsawwassen/ Boundary Bay	48.4	18 %	86 %	8 %	24 %	20 %

Photo Credit: Anne Murray

'COMMUNITY PLANNING TEAM': THE PROCESS

The Southlands Community Planning Team (SCPT) ultimately worked together over 18 months. This section presents the SCPT's process step-by-step. The boundaries between steps, in practice, were more fluid than they appear, with some overlap or even backtracking as needed (e.g. bringing in a new speaker to 'build capacity' well after the 'capacity-building stage'). That the team took control over its own work by chairing the meetings likely contributed to the fluidity of the process. With no fixed timeline or budget, the progression from one step of the process to the next was made based on when the team felt ready to proceed.

What motivated SCPT members to join?

Many joined the Team after seeing the flyers or newspaper ad, feeling skeptical about development. Some became acquainted with Century Group through the Smart Growth seminars it sponsored in the community. Those whose own properties directly bordering the Southlands property came to voice their concerns as neighbours.

Others were interested in the potential they saw in the process to create value for the community; and still others saw the process in terms of their own future self-interest: in the community, virtually no small-format housing options existed. As retirees were contemplating downsizing, they were "looking around the community and seeing there really weren't very many choices in Tsawwassen."

> *"Initially, I went in there to see if I could steer it in a direction away from my property. I did go in with a bit of fist-shaking, not in my backyard, kind of attitude, initially. As the thing progressed and we met with all the people, after a huge amount of input and discussion, it just made more and more and more sense. Eventually, I was, 'Yes, let's do this. This is awesome and what it's going to do for the community as a whole and all those things'. I didn't really see that it was a negative impact on my property or my life. If anything it was positive, positive, positive."*

A half-hour video depicting the highlights of the process and participant testimonials can be viewed here:

"I thought it was a good opportunity to have some input into a possible development that might eventually appeal to us."

"I've lived in many different cities around the globe and thought hopefully that I could contribute something valuable to this whole process."

"I also felt … if this is going to be a major development … I certainly wasn't in favour of just paving over 650 acres and so I thought that it would be a good opportunity to bring my values into the process."

Capacity-Building Stage - THREE MONTHS, 5 MEETINGS

The SCPT first met in November 2006 and started meeting every 2 to 3 weeks in a dairy barn on the Southlands property. The first three months, or about five meetings, was devoted to capacity-building: crafting a common goal and vision, establishing themselves as an effective working group, and studying urban design and planning.

Century Group initiated the conversation around the potential of the Southlands parcel by presenting the one-third agriculture, one-third community amenities, one-third development concept that it had previously developed. Some SCPT members initially came with an anti-development agenda but within a few meetings, team members shared the 'one-third' vision and decided to continue to work towards realizing it. A value statement was quickly defined by SCPT members: "The Southlands Community Planning Team shall work towards a plan that integrates the Southlands into the existing South Delta community in a way that increases the sum of human happiness in our community."

The first learning component in fact took place before the process began with the Smart Growth education workshops sponsored by Century Group. The SCPT, once formed, invited numerous speakers to talk about urban design, including Andrés Duany. A library was made available in the barn which included Home from Nowhere by James Howard Kunstler and books on New Urbanism.

Mid-process power shift

During the capacity-building stage, Century Group handed over significant control to the SCPT members themselves. As Bob Ransford recalls, the decision to do so was sudden, but in the long-term this 'power shift' proved

to add significant value to the project by enabling participants to become creators and leaders, and in turn advocates of their own work:

"There was a particular meeting where one of the more outspoken guys said, 'Look, you guys are engineering this meeting. You told us we were going to do this and you're planning the agenda. Yeah, we learned all this stuff but we learned enough now, we want to start getting to figuring out what we want to do. How come you're setting the agenda and not us?'". A member of the SCPT, Howie McLennan, was appointed Chair. "And that was a turning point. They took control of the process then. We had made them very much a part of it but we were still directing it up till then, [so] we said, 'what do you want to do with the next meeting, where do you want to go?' and they started then designing the meetings going forward."

Discovery Stage - ROUGHLY TWO MONTHS

Next, participants "discovered" the design possibilities available to them by hearing what others were doing and making connections between those projects and the SCPT's own vision.

Critical to this engagement project was visually illustrating variations in density and scale (e.g. what does x intensity of density look like from the street) in order for the SCPT to plan for what it wanted to see on the Southlands property. Century Group sponsored the SCPT to take a field excursion to Portland, Oregon, to visit New Urbanist developments. As an exercise in beginning to understand scale, the SCPT brought a measure wheel to record the lengths and widths of the design elements they liked, such as sidewalks.

PROCESS INSIGHT

The October 20, 2007 Open House, entitled "Let's talk about ... The future of farming in Tsawwassen", offered community members a workbook outlining the day's guiding questions:

1. What is missing in Tsawwassen/what could the Southlands provide in terms of meeting community needs?
2. What is the future of education and innovation in our community?
3. What is the future of farming and agriculture in Tsawwassen?
4. What is the future of housing in Tsawwassen -- what type, form, density and character?
5. How can we improve mobility and accessibility locally while growing?
6. How do we protect and enhance our way of life whendeveloping the Southlands -- what are some important principles to follow?

A 1:1,000 plan of the site was ordered—about the size of an office—along with blocks to represent houses of various sizes, townhouses, apartment buildings, and farmhouses. In the same vein of visualization, later on in the process a model cottage house was constructed at the Tsawwassen shopping mall to ease concerns about small housing by showing residents exactly what they had the intention of building: single-storey houses of up to 1,600 square feet; some would have a loft.

Century Group's model cottage house at Tsawwassen Town Centre. Photo courtesy of Century Group.

A water garden demonstration, along with other planned natural features, was also installed. This strategy proved popular—attracting hundreds of people on the first day of the installation—as well as successful in gaining the support of many who were previously skeptical.

Deliberation Stage - ROUGHLY TWO MONTHS

The central question asked at this stage was: "who are we designing for?" The group studied their own community, making efforts to reach out to the wider community through open houses that were not as well-attended as hoped. Century Group continued to provide support but decisions and action in this deliberation and engagement were taken by the SCPT. Various trade-offs were negotiated back-and-forth between the team and Century Group.

There was still much tension in the room: some meetings were loud and passionate. Ransford estimates that about five participants were opposed to any development and that the remaining 19 were "open-minded"; one had dropped out. In an effort to build trust, Century Group hired Ear to the Ground Planning to teach the team how to make a video. This gave the team the ability to document the discussions themselves and to record whatever they wished.

We didn't know; they could have produced something that could have been totally off the wall or could have looked bad for us," said Bob Ransford. "They asked, 'can we include anything that's said in this room in the videos?'. We [responded], 'we're not editing it, it's up to you guys. […]

We're not going to tell you that you can't do it but we'd like to be warned what's in it.' […] That gave them so much power. They said to us, 'you're trusting us, wow, that's pretty impressive.'

The participatory video was released at a Saturday public open house and focused on the transportation and traffic concerns that the Team had discussed emerging from a new development. The prevailing vision called for a walkable, bike-friendly neighbourhood within a community farm setting.

> *"I really feel sad for those who didn't take advantage of this opportunity to learn in depth all the considerations in development or property."* - SCPT participant

Direction Stage: "What do we want to do?" - APPROX. EIGHT MONTHS

The Direction Stage consisted of deciding to go forward with a public charrette process and the concept of a land use mix of one-third agriculture, one-third residential, and one-third community recreation. Ransford and Hodgins suggested to the SCPT that they conduct a charrette to involve the wider community in moving beyond principles to specific design components. Team members were enthusiastic about the prospect of collaborative design. The charrette's vision, principles, and goals were informed by the visioning work of the SCPT. Over 8 months of preparation for the 8-day charrette, the SCPT worked with consultants appointed by Century Group to prepare a design brief. Also leading up to the charrette, numerous sub-committees were formed to study specific issues (e.g. agriculture) or to manage specific tasks (e.g. video and media).

A particular definition of a charrette is "a collaborative design and planning workshop that occurs over 4-7 consecutive days, is held on-site and includes all affected stakeholders at critical decision-making points".[10] Not all practitioners would agree that a charrette cannot be shorter or longer than this; some, like Condon (2008), emphasize that it is a design charrette, and not a planning exercise. Most of the practitioners we interviewed provided a broad definition like this: "a lot of smart people put into a room for a period of time to solve a problem and come up with creative ideas" (Mark Holland's definition). The ideal is to bring together all stakeholders, including the public, with professional designers and artists to arrive at a workable design that meets a given set of requirements, policies, and goals (Condon 2008). Harnessing the power of collaborative design, the charrette's advantages are that it is time-limited (the deadline must be

[10] Bill Lennertz & Aarin Lutzenhiser (2006). The Charrette Handbook. The Essential Guide for Accelerated Collaborative Community Planning, Chicago: The American Planning

met), centred around drawings and other visuals, and rooted in a spirit of consensus rather than rivalry: everyone present forms one team and recognizes a common interest.

Two consultants, Janine de la Salle and Mark Holland (see next section: Agricultural Urbanism) were brought in, along with an artist, to provide expertise on urban agriculture and to assist in preparing a design brief, a foundational document for the charrette. Leading New Urbanist, Andrés Duany, and his team of 20, was brought in to lead the charrette itself.

"There were a number of people who just shrugged their shoulders and said, 'Oh well he's just throwing more money at the project,' and not bothering to absorb the content of that information." - SCPT participant

FURTHER READING

Patrick M. Condon. Design Charrettes for Sustainable Communities, Washington: Island Press, 2008.

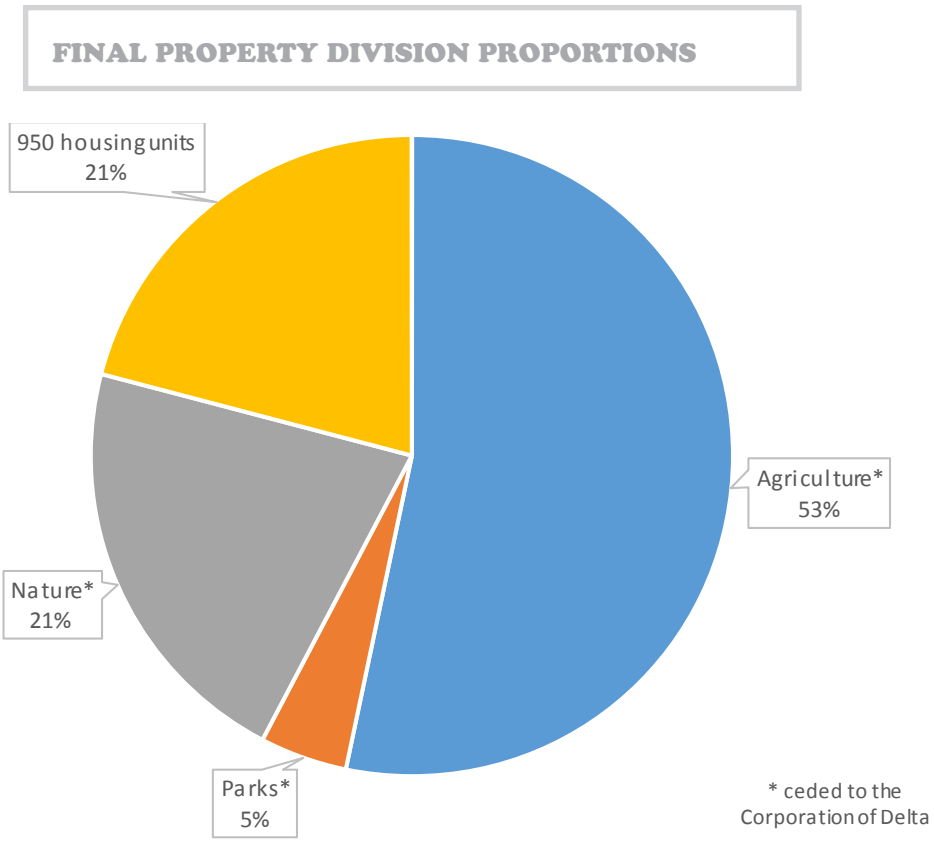
The charrette lasted from May 6th-13th, 2008, and took place on-site at the Southlands barn. A full model of the site was set up as well as workstations for 14 designers. Enthusiasm for the event started high and grew over the course of the charrette: around 200 people attended the opening presentation, growing to 400 near the beginning of the charrette and the final meeting attracted about 600. The SCPT and Century Group invited local politicians and the municipality to participate but all declined; a number of councillors did attend one open house to observe. The charrette culminated in a 226-page document that offered three different layouts for the site.

.*Final Plan*

From of the three plans produced by the charrette one design proposal was selected by the SCPT and Century Group to be put forward as an application to the municipality to rezone the Southlands for development to begin. This application to amend the Official Community Plan was made in March 2009, after the 2008 election. The Corporation of Delta didn't formally review the application at first, but rather, announced its intention to apply to have the Southlands returned to the Agricultural Land Reserve. Partly because this would have meant ceding control over the property to a provincial body, this provoked sufficient reaction from the public that a public hearing was finally held in 2011. This lasted four nights before being called off by the Mayor. Closed-door negotiations between Century Group and Delta were organized by the Mayor. Delta insisted that the original

2,000-some housing units be reduced to 950. It also rejected the one-third, one-third, one-third proposal and asked for 75% of the land to be donated to the municipality. This later became 80%.

Post-charrette, no formal SCPT meetings were held but many SCPT members continued to be active, vocal advocates of the Southlands proposal, some also organizing others in support. The SCPT considered the proposal to be theirs and had an interest in seeing it realized. Being an advocate translated into, for example, signing up as a speaker at the Metro Vancouver hearing (see below) or being involved in the Tsawwassen Area Plan process.



In May 2013 a final Public Information session was held by Delta, attended by 479 individuals. Of the returned comment sheets 72% were in support of the Southlands proposal. In October and November a 5-day public hearing took place during which 42% of the 388 speakers were in favour of the application. Council approved the Century Group's application following the hearing. The application was forwarded to the Metro Vancouver regional government in 2014, because it would contradict the Regional Growth Strategy by developing a town centre in Delta on a greenfield outside of Ladner. Despite a Metro staff report recommending that it vote against the Southlands project, the Board approved it 93 in favour, 31 against. A fourth reading approval by Delta will take place in May 2016, infrastructure installations are set to begin within months thereafter, and the first phase of housing will be ready in late 2018.

What was Metro Vancouver's role with the Southlands project?

Metro Vancouver, officially the Greater Vancouver Regional District, is the regional level of government regrouping the 23 local authorities that make up the Metro Vancouver region with the objective of collectively delivering services, coordinating high-level strategic regional planning, and achieving numerous quality-of-life objectives. It conducts extensive research into planning best practices and organizes regional strategic forums to equip its member municipalities with quality planning tools and to maintain beneficial communication across the region.

According to the Metro Planning staff report, the Southlands application was not consistent with Regional Growth Strategy "Metro Vancouver 2040: Shaping Our Future" goals. From a regional perspective, there were problems with its location (being too far from Delta's designated town centre), significant risks of natural hazards, insufficient transportation alternatives, and the loss of designated agricultural greenfield land. As such, it required an amendment to the Growth Strategy. Although staff submitted a report recommending a "no" vote, it was within the Board of Directors' powers to adopt the amendment to make an exception for Southlands, after a public hearing process. Currently, there is legal uncertainty as to whether Delta could have proceeded with the development regardless of Metro's decision.

Metro Vancouver staff's report can be found here at www.metrovancouver.org.

"Beautiful example of community development. From a local perspective, it makes all sorts of sense. When you measure it up against the regional vision, not quite consistent," concluded Metro Vancouver Director of Planning.

Agricultural Urbanism

Century Group launched its collaborative design process with two particular visions to offer the citizen-participants: New Urbanism and a vision to retain the Southlands' 'agricultural character' in a new development, a legacy Hodgins personally wanted for this property. During the SCPT's pre-charrette design process, the resulting design approach was given the name Agricultural Urbanism and the approach has since spread beyond the Southlands.

Hodgins and Ransford became interested in Edward Porter's 2006 Master's thesis entitled, "Integrating the Urban-Agricultural Edge: An Exploration of New Ruralism in South Delta",[11] which crystallized their ideas about "knitting agriculture and urbanism back together again," as Ransford puts it. The vision that Porter

[11] Edward Robbins Porter (2006). Integrating the Urban-Agricultural Edge: An Exploration of New Ruralism in South Delta. Master of Landscape Architecture Thesis: University of British Columbia.

proposed was ultimately presented to the public as the focal point of the development project.

Well into the process and after the charrette date was confirmed, Janine de la Salle and Mark Holland were hired by Century Group to work with the SCPT. Spread over 8 months, their work was to imagine how the Southlands development could be interwoven with a complete, although not self-sufficient, food system. De la Salle says they saw their role and design approach as necessary to curb some of New Urbanism's tendencies, "so that it didn't end up just being suburban development with community garden plots." The thinking ignited a new approach which de la Salle and Holland called "Agricultural Urbanism".

"Agricultural Urbanism (AU) is an emerging planning, policy, and design framework for integrating a wide range of sustainable food and agriculture system elements into a community at a site-, neighbourhood-, or on a city-wide scale. In short, it is a way of building a place around food." - de la Salle & Holland (2010), p. 9.

The vision for AU is rooted in cities' historical role in food production. Agricultural urbanists advocate for recognition of how cities are home to people who need and love to eat, but who have become alienated from their food which is increasingly unhealthy, unsustainable, and overpriced. There's a need to smooth out the boundaries between city and countryside, food consumption and food production, by reducing distances in the food cycle in a practical, efficient design. Towards the goal of food security it observes as many aspects of a food system as possible, from energy inputs and outputs to the types of urban form that facilitate neighbours convening around food. A food system is more than agriculture, it involves a cycle of six elements bound together by education:

1. Farming & Management
2. Food Processing
3. Transportation & Storage

FURTHER READING

Janine de la Salle & Mark Holland (editors). Agricultural Urbanism: Handbook for Building Sustainable Food & Agriculture Systems in 21st Century Cities, Winnipeg: Green Frigate Books, 2010.

http://agriculturalurbanism.net/

4. Selling & Buying
5. Eating & Celebrating
6. Waste Recovery

De la Salle stresses that AU depends on collaboration between "willing developers," "champions within local governments," and end-users to implement development models that will achieve a sufficient population density to be successful and practical.

Community Opposition and Community Perceptions of the SCPT

Southlands land use had been controversial for decades and the new proposal, including the process that drove it, retained that controversy that divided the community. An opposition group, Southlands The Facts, was formed to oppose any development on the property. It ran a publicity campaign that raised funds, spoke to media and Council, and produced pamphlets. The concerns of the opposition were:

1. The loss of agricultural and natural land. The opposition claimed that the Southlands property is arable land that should be farmed.
2. Increased traffic and pollution and a lack of sufficient transportation infrastructure and parking within Tsawwassen.
3. The Southlands proposal required an amendment to the Official Community Plan only two years after the latter had been approved.

Brad Semke's role, as Southlands Project Manager for the Century Group, was to engage the public at-large and coordinate communications. Semke did not work for Century Group at the beginning of the process and started off opposed until, he says, he "found that they [the opposition] didn't have any arguments" and "couldn't give [him] any quotable sources." Once he was decisively in favour, he took on the job with Century Group to manage community relations and gain community buy-in after the SCPT had finished its work and the final application was facing first reading at Council.

Semke identified four categories of opponents: NIMBYs, environmentalists, those who were strictly anti-development, and birders who sought to retain natural habitat for birds. He sought to find "the best information" pertaining to the Southlands property. For example, he found out that "every farming family that had farmed that property for the last 100 years [was] in support of what Sean was proposing," due to long-standing challenges in obtaining yields. He also published facts such as the area's expected population increase of 7 to 8% once the development was entirely built out. Semke's argument is that opposition was fuelled by a fear of the unknown. "Even now you'll have some people that won't even engage in the process. They'll say, 'Well, you know, we shouldn't have it.' I'll say, 'Why?' 'Well, I don't want to talk about it.' 'Don't you want the information?' 'No.' They just don't want it. They're almost afraid of the information because if it were convincing then they'd have to rethink their position." When opponents rejected the idea that the development could be bike-friendly, on the grounds that it is too distant to bike to, Century Group organized an annual "Bike-In" event to prove to the community the feasibility of cycling to Southlands.

SCPT members report it was "irritating" that opponents weren't willing to come listen not only to their ideas but also to the concerns that much of the land isn't suitable for agriculture. A few participants remember the division in the community to be very personal. "Some people are I would say almost violently opposed to the whole notion. A lot of people really wanted to see that land just left the way it was and probably still do," said one. After hearing that 70% of letters to City Hall were against the Southlands proposal, Semke uncovered that some households were writing up to 12 letters apiece.

Can one process trump another?

For Southlands The Facts co-organizer Richard Kunz, the Southlands experience represents "an utter distortion of democracy and due process." Whereas Southlands supporters felt a Council bias against any development, Kunz and other development opponents feel that Council was pro-developer and anti-transparency. For Kunz, the fundamental problem was Council's readiness to consider amending the Official Community Plan (OCP) just after it had been approved following a five-year community process into which the community had just poured all its effort. "Don't waste people's time and money on a plan that you're going to change the next day," Kunz demands, asking for respect for the efforts and resources that the City and community members contributed to the OCP.

Mayor Lois Jackson, who in 2011 launched a process to reinstate the Southlands in the Agricultural Land Reserve to preclude this or any other development proposal, and who has been mayor of Delta since 1999 and city councillor since 1972, refutes the opposition's notion of a need to adhere stridently to the Community Plan, saying that all plans change:

> *"The community plan is never cast in stone and any plan is only as good as the day it's printed. It will change always, even the next day, and the reason for that is, in Canada, we have property rights and my opinion is that if you own a corner lot someplace and you want to put up a grocery store, it may not be in the community plan. It may not be anywhere that anybody wants it, but you have a right as a landowner in this country to at least come forward and ask."*

Kunz himself claims to not be opposed to developing the Southlands, but to the present circumstances; that is, the scope and exact location of the development. He calls many components of the proposal great "marketing" and "an illusion at best".

Outside perceptions of the SCPT

There is not much evidence to suggest that the community at-large believes in the integrity and independence of the SCPT.

Richard Kunz, representing the community opposition group, rejects the notion that SCPT members were truly self-selected, independent actors, rather calling them very carefully selected "allies and friends" of Century Group. "Whether or not they truly had some influence on the volume of units or the overall design, I highly doubt it," he said of the SCPT, which he further described as "a showcase to present the Century Group as an open, accommodating developer that takes citizen views into the final plan".

Mayor Lois Jackson commented in our interview that the SCPT managed to "open the door for a lot of people to have a much closer look at the detail of the plan and [the developer] did that with this group he has". She did not say anything to acknowledge that she was under the impression that the SCPT envisioned the development and largely produced the application proposal. Her comments on the value of the SCPT reflect the opinion that it was a purely consultative committee for Hodgins.

Mayor Jackson's rebuttal to the SCPT's discontent that Delta did not cooperate with their process is that she is firmly opposed to Council being "in the business of helping developers," saying, "you look at it when it

comes to council and that's the way you really have to approach it or you're going to be chasing your tail 24/7." She is proud of the way the Corporation of Delta handled the development application process: "I think we'd probably do the same if it was another proposal came forward, we would move in the very same direction."

Local journalist Sandor Gyarmati, who wrote most of the Delta Optimist news articles covering Southlands during the engagement process, commented that it was hard for him to say how much the community's ideas were part of the final design, noting that at least the developer got to hear what they wanted. As for the SCPT, he made the critique that although the community was invited to contribute input, it was never given the option of saying 'no development'. Regarding the SCPT's role in the Southlands proposal, Gyarmati believes that it "probably did have some input but just initial input"—for example, to identify what the community perceived its housing and economic needs to be. He doubts that the SCPT truly led the design process.

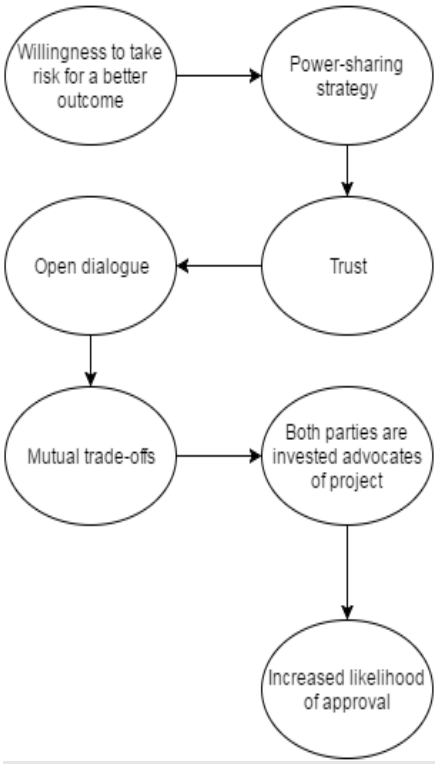
ANALYSIS

INTERVIEW THEMES

Most of our 15 interviewees, including SCPT participants, reported overall satisfaction and enthusiasm with the process itself, and participants particularly were satisfied with their own experience and role in it. Below are the predominant themes and debates that stood out in our interviews.

Trust

> *It's giving up our power to them and deciding that if we do that and we're willing to do that and make trade-offs and identity what each side is making as a trade-off, in the end we'll probably come up with a win-win, we'll come up with something we can actually do.* - BOB RANSFORD, SOUTHLANDS ENGAGEMENT CONSULTANT



Southlands Community Planning Team (SCPT) participants typically joined the project with little trust of the process and the developer; some joined with the expressed intent of opposing any proposed Southlands development. Within the first few months of the process, the 24 remaining members out of the original 25 were all firm believers in the value of the project.

What explains this unusually high level of trust? Firstly, the developer's engagement strategy deliberately assumed significant risk to secure trust by giving the SCPT the chair, with agenda-setting, and design independence and power. In order for participants to be advocates of the final design, Century Group needed to secure their trust.

What this strategy materialized into is, according to interviewees from both parties, a distinctly open, honest dialogue between community participants and the developer. Once it was convinced of the community benefit from certain development alternatives, the SCPT was fully immersed in the tough decision-making process of development trade-offs in the Southlands. Participants came to trust the process because the

developer was frank about what was economically "possible": "we acted as a reality check. At a couple points they came to us and said, 'can we do this or that?' and we said, 'no, it's not going to work for us'," Ransford recounts. [1]

Despite Century's assertion based on polling that, over time, around half of the Tsawwassen population came on-board in support of the development, there is little evidence that SCPT-outsiders understood, let alone trusted, the SCPT process. We will discuss this further below, under Resolving Public Opposition.

[1] An SCPT participant confirmed this approach: "it was pretty free for [us] 24 people to come up with something they thought would be acceptable and appealing. Week after week, we'd go and they'd have some sandwiches. We were free to come up with lots of things. From time to time, Century Group would chime in and say, 'Hey guys, that's way too expensive,' or 'That'll never fly,' or 'It doesn't make sense to put that there from a road point of view.' There was obviously input from Century Group and Sean [Hodgins], and some of the architects, but overall, [we were] pretty free to come up with something."

Uncertainty whether the commitment was worth it

> *We came up with a vision which was exciting,...Unfortunately, it's been so diluted; that vision is gone. We had a vision where this is going to enhance this community. It was going to create a wonderful little centre of activity for organic farming down there and even a cultural centre. We were going to have that open space.* - HELEN KETTLE, SCPT PARTICIPANT

In many engagement processes, participants emerge from the process unsure of whether their ideas will be implemented. Other times, participants are confident in what they've accomplished and perhaps only later on disappointed when the convening organization (typically a municipality) does not implement their work. Exceptionally, even seven years after the fact of the Southlands process and despite significant limitations to their original plan imposed by the local government, the five participants we interviewed report complete satisfaction with the process. They were grateful for the education they received and for the opportunity to be part of planning and design leadership. Most, though not all interviewees said that all things considered—the time commitment, their current life stage, the disappointment and frustration with the municipality for not engaging with their work—they considered their participation to be a once-in-a-lifetime commitment.

Some participants participated either because the Southlands borders their own property or because they wanted greater housing diversity in the community for their own benefit. In either case, these circumstances are unlikely to reoccur to inspire those individuals to participate in a similar process in the future.

The commitment to the Century Group process and the SCPT's collective vision was indeed worth the effort, but participants are disappointed

with the compromise required by the Corporation of Delta—that is, a gift of 80% of the land to the municipality and a halving of the housing units they had allocated. Participants-and expert-interviewees alike don't believe that the amended plan's density will be sufficient for the community, commercial, and urban agricultural dimensions to flourish as planned; "you always need that density to make things happen", says food systems planner Janine de la Salle. The difference from other case studies, therefore, is that participants were proud that their 'sponsor', Century Group, followed through by submitting an application for rezoning based on their work. The Corporation of Delta rejected their plan as submitted, implicitly giving the feedback that this citizen input was unsolicited and unwelcome.

Representativeness & Inclusivity

In the context of the limited demographic diversity within Tsawwassen, the SCPT achieved an acceptable level of representativeness. "There was certainly someone from every category, from mothers, to fathers, to students, to seniors, to business people, to farmers, to everything," says participant Doug Bolen. In terms of age diversity, while several participants were retirees, one female high school student participated. "The initial invitation was just open to anybody. I think it turned out pretty well. It was a pretty good group," he continues.

Photo courtesy of Karel Ley

There was a general feeling amongst participants that the SCPT was representative of the community; but this was not validated through a random stratified selection process. Indeed, opponents to Southlands development did not critique the SCPT on the basis of its demographic representativeness; what they critiqued was its ideological, pro-development bias. It was a design committee for a developer.

The SCPT's representativeness was therefore characterized by its inclusivity. Reflecting on this dimension, consultant-turned-developer Mark Holland questions the normal political criterion of public representation: "there's no such thing as 'the public'", he says. "Particularly how we as planners think about them. I'm not sure it ever existed but it certainly hasn't existed since the 1950s. In reality we have about 20 micro subcultures, a massive economy of generating sub-identities and we're not talking about any

of it." He speculates that by seeking to represent and cater to an abstract, unified, imaginary "public", the typical development process produces uniform neighbourhoods that few find desirable or inspiring. There is a need to "pursue new eccentricities in order to create places that resonate with different kinds of people. And if we have many different kinds, then everyone finds a home that they really love."

Scope

The scope and mandate of the SCPT was logical, appropriate, and well-understood by participants and observers. It was also broad, amenable to adjustment throughout the process according to the emergent needs and concerns of participants, and benefitted from a sense of almost unlimited time and resources. One participant reflected: "We were basically given some parameters. Originally, it was one-third of the property would be housing, one-third would be community amenity, and one-third would be farming. [Hodgins] basically said, 'Go.'"

While planning 538 acres from scratch undeniably constitutes a broad scope,[2] particularly given the underlying thematics of Agricultural Urbanism and New Urbanism, the absence of limits on time or resources for the design process contributed to a sense of confidence that the objective was attainable.

[2] This is approximately half the size of the Grandview-Woodland area in Vancouver; see Grandview-Woodland case study.

Empowerment & pride

> *The most valuable was how Bob Ransford and Sean [Hodgins] set up the community relationship where they got the community to actually take ownership of the project. They were very effective at working that out so that the community was the steering and visioning committee and the developer really did not interfere. I thought that was genius, I don't even know how they did that. That's very rare that that can happen. The citizens' planning committee was just brilliant.* - MARK HOLLAND

The process was designed to empower participants and by all their accounts, it did. It empowered them to understand the complexities of development and land use economics and to make decisions. That said, many participants did not necessarily come from disempowered backgrounds and few, if any, from traditionally marginalized communities.

Participants developed pride in their work and a vision that they see as

community-building, not profit-driven. "I'm just very proud to have been part of it. I think it was a wonderful process and I think it's an example that should be followed in other areas that are planning development of that size," said one participant.

Howie McLennan, chair of the SCPT, emphasizes that the liberty accorded to them resulted in integrity of process and ownership of that integrity. For example, as a non-resident of Tsawwassen (he lives in neighbouring Ladner), he took it upon himself to allow residents' voices more time and space in debates. The Team humbly recognized that they could not accomplish their work without the eventual support of the majority of the community. As such, they saw themselves as researchers who then conveyed their findings (for example, on the agricultural potential of the property) and recommendations to the community for further discussion and elaboration.

> *Most importantly, the committee was allowed to organize the goals of what it wanted to do. There was nothing laid out that you must come to a conclusion within this sandbox. It was left to the committee to build a sandbox to operate in. That was quite an interesting process and took a little while to accomplish, but every step of the way had positive results in it.....We kept and made sure that everything was 100% transparent through the whole process and I think that's really crucial to do that. That's not an easy task to do either.* - HOWIE MCLENNAN, SCPT CHAIR

Capacity-building

The curriculum and other learning experiences offered to the SCPT were engaging, appropriate, and ultimately useful for the site design, as evaluated by participants and experts. Participants particularly appreciated the field trip to Portland, Oregon, as well as the responsiveness of Century Group to their own needs and interests. While the initial curriculum was structured by Ransford and Century Group to provide foundational knowledge both in design and urbanism in general and the New Urbanist, agricultural vision in particular, the developer provided sufficient resources to have seemingly any kind of expert come in to present at the SCPT's request.

One participant said they learned: "All kinds of things on municipal planning, on development, on housing types, on geology, geography,

Filming the youngest SCPT member. Photo courtesy of Karel Ley.

wildlife, the whole thing. If we got to a point where we said, 'Hey, what happens to the water?' He'd say, 'Listen, here's a guy who can come talk to you about water.' The next meeting there'd be a guy there to talk about how the water flow on the property works or how much water you need to supply this many houses. He had architects available to say what's the maximum height and what's the density, and what does all that mean. It was highly educational."

Through the lived experience of the planning process, participants also built capacity in interpersonal relations, consensus-building, bargaining, urban design, development, lobbying, and public relations and education.

Community- & consensus-building

> *For me, it was all positive. I met a whole lot more people. I felt a whole lot more engaged in the community. Being a person who commuted outside of the community for 25 years and did feel other than my kids' soccer on Saturday mornings, I didn't really feel terribly involved in the community*
>
> - PARTICIPANT

Numerous SCPT meetings proved to be quite tense but a firm commitment to consensus-based decision-making was maintained. "It wasn't an easy task when you get that number of people to keep consensus, but we managed to do that," said SCPT Chair Howie McLennan. No one voiced complaints of some voices overpowering others, although about one-half of participants were significantly more engaged in the process than the other.

The prospect of Southlands development led to significant tension in the community and many friends and neighbours of SCPT members disapproved or were dismayed by their participation. While a larger minority ultimately approved, our interviews suggest that participants may not have benefitted from a sense of gratitude from the general community.

Over their 18 months together, the SCPT built community. Many participants cited meeting new people as one of the biggest values of the experience.

Value-Added of Deliberative Democracy

> *I think it's still the typical, developer draws something up in his office, makes economic sense, makes it sell-able, he thinks he can push the official community plan by an extra story and they present that, and there's one information meeting and a public hearing, and a bunch of people show up and say, 'No.' That's what I think still happens and I don't think it's good.*
>
> - PARTICIPANT

The practitioners we interviewed, whether they were involved in the process as consultants or not, agree that the Century Group development would not have achieved the quality, innovation, and likely community and political buy-in it did without the rigorous engagement process behind it. All said in one way or another that the deliberative, collaborative process 'helped' get it approved, whereas a traditional developer-designed proposal would have never seen the light of day. The Mayor of Delta, Lois Jackson, also admitted it was "obviously worthwhile for him [Hodgins] to go out to the community and do that". Elisa Campbell, speaking as a former urban design consultant, finds "the Century Group did a beautiful job of the process and I think their product is slated to be lovely," complimenting it on its agricultural and ecological elements, despite the proposal not fitting the spirit of the Regional Growth Strategy.

Flexibility & Resources

> *I developed this process starting with capacity-building, discovery, deliberation, direction, and then the final plan. I knew we had to go through those steps. I didn't know where the point would be when we move from one to the other. We just had to see that it happened.* - BOB RANSFORD

The Southlands planning process was largely free from the procedural rigidity that leads to disillusionment for some. Plans were able to change as the process moved along, as many speakers could be invited as necessary, and the process timeline extended as needed. More open houses were hosted than originally planned. There was overall praise for the balance between structure (of meetings and subject matter) and this open-ended approach; between rational planning and affective community participation.

Flexibility was also present in the visioning and design stages. In the visioning stage, the developer suggested but didn't predetermine a plan that the SCPT would simply be consulted on. Urban designer Michael von Hausen, a consultant in the early stages of Southlands, agrees that this flexibility ensured that there weren't "predetermined solutions", a problem which is often associated with tokenistic public engagement.

Further on, the charrette process opened up the design process not only to SCPT members but to any community members interested in participating. This meant that the charrette, which cost around $600,000, ceded considerable power to the community at-large: resources were being expended on a process with open participation, whose final product would form the basis of the development application.

Visualization: 'Show, don't tell'

Consultants and other expert interviewees highlighted the successes achieved in showing the community their ideas. When the developer faced criticism that the development would be 'multi-storey' or undesirable aesthetically, he built a model 1,190-square foot cottage home at Tsawwassen Town Centre for public scrutiny. The demonstration site also exhibited other features of the Southlands proposal, including a water feature and a permeable driveway. "Many people came around saying, 'Oh! Isn't this cute?' Meaning, 'Isn't this nice?', 'It's fitting,' 'It's smaller scale,' 'It doesn't impose,'" says one consultant involved in the process. Many of the 900 people who toured the prototype on the first day wanted to buy one then-and-there.

Further visualization techniques appreciated were the New Urbanist field trip to Portland, Oregon, for SCPT participants, the charrette, and the Bike-In event, which challenged the community to realize how easy it would be to cycle to the Southlands.

Ransford's engagement strategy placed emphasis on demonstrating scale and making connections between scale and the design process: "Scale is important to people. So unless you're willing to go that step of actually having people

Photo courtesy of Karel Ley

see and visualize stuff, they're not going to be able to feel it and the way they're best able to visualize it is if they're part of drawing it. If you can give them the pencil. Maybe they're not actually physically drawing it but they're sitting with someone who can draw saying: I want you to try this or that or show what that view looks like."

Mark Holland, who was integral in developing the Agricultural Urbanism program and has since become a developer, provides experience that further backs up the benefits for private sector actors of involving the community in design, even at minimal cost and effort:

> *"I [as a developer] preselect a broad range of forms that I think will work in the marketplace and then I engage the community in a conversation about which ones they like the most. They often calm down a lot when they realize that they really get to choose and jointly shape the buildings and I tend to keep out most of the buildings people consider to be ugly. We build design guidelines together and patterns that surround the cluster of building types that people like."*

EXCEPTIONALISM: Almost all interviewees were of the opinion that nearly everything about this case study is exceptional. The developer himself said, "this is probably not your typical piece of land in terms of its land use history that we had to overcome." The history of the property, having gone through 52 days of public hearings over a 1989 development proposal, Canada's longest public hearing, embittered the community towards development on that land. The community itself, with its largely homogenous, middle-class demographics, and bedroom community character, makes it exceptional politically. In addition, it is a community of large, single-family homes and its unusual lack of housing diversity contributed to the existence of a small community of residents dedicated to expanding housing diversity and choice. "We need a variety of housing and nobody has to say it. The price of housing is absolutely ridiculous," the Mayor of Delta told us. As an aging, educated, middle-class, suburban community of homeowners, area residents demonstrated a strong volunteer spirit and willingness to devote their time to back their convictions—whether as SCPT members or as opponents.

Next, the population of the immediate area, in stark contrast to the rest of Metro Vancouver, had recently declined. Grocery stores were being lost, the courthouse closed, the hospital was under threat of closure, and school enrolment was sinking.

Delta has a political dynamic that is skeptical of population growth and particularly fearful of density. SCPT participants explained: "there is a very strong group of people who are 'anti' any changes in the community and they vocalized very effectively"; "I don't think it could've been any worse. I think that already existed and they were not open to learning about the new concepts that we were offering." In the words of one consultant, "Delta is a hornet's nest politically, so it's a very challenging place to work."

Century Group benefits from an exceptionally good reputation as the local family-operated developer that built much of Tsawwassen. Sean Hodgins himself benefits from this level of respect, some calling him "hugely patient", "selfless", and "a really caring developer". There is speculation that Hodgins' profit margin on the Southlands development will be affected by the $1.5 million cost of the engagement process on top of a drawn-out political battle. Hodgins' expressed motivations are not to make money on this project, but to leave a legacy to the community he is from. One participant said of him: "I don't think he necessarily needed the input from the community in such a degree as he did here. I think genuinely he wanted to do something that the community wanted." Southlands Project Manager Brad Semke, in response to the exemption Delta obtained on Southlands' behalf from Metro Vancouver's Regional Growth Strategy, put it this way: "There's no danger of it becoming a precedent. In fact, if it were to become the new precedent, it'd be the world's best precedent to have in development. Could you imagine 80% of every site being turned back to public for the public use?"

Mark Holland, who was integral in developing the Agricultural Urbanism program and has since become a developer, provides experience that further backs up the benefits for private sector actors of involving the community in design, even at minimal cost and effort:

> *I [as a developer] preselect a broad range of forms that I think will work in the marketplace and then I engage the community in a conversation about which ones they like the most. They often calm down a lot when they realize that they really get to choose and jointly shape the buildings and I tend to keep out most of the buildings people consider to be ugly. We build design guidelines together and patterns that surround the cluster of building types that people like ... People just can't envision what these homes are going to be like.*

The availability of money and patience for public engagement sets Southlands apart. Hodgins himself says that it would be impossible to commit that much effort to each development he undertook. Design consultant Michael von Hausen underscores the "process timing" as the irreproducible element. "It's great as a case study, but be very careful: you won't necessarily get broad applause from a developer when you say, 'This will only take 8 years, but we'll be successful at the end.'"

Interviewees did not claim that there is nothing to be learnt from the Southlands experience, however. Although the $1.5 million and the 18-month engagement process are out of the question for most developers and exhausting for most would-be participants, the steps, the flexibility, the honesty, and the other characteristics discussed in this report form the essence of the Southlands project experiment. Indeed, the length and difficulty of the Southlands process is far more the consequence of its unique political context and history than what is necessitated by authentic engagement. Similar "positive" engagement experiences could be achieved using those design elements in a shorter period of time and with fewer resources.

Charrette Critique

SCPT participants largely enjoyed the "live experience" of a charrette: "Aside from being a little awestruck at the actual process, to be able to walk up to these guys as they're drawing and sketching and just say, 'Hey, what are you working on, what's that? Do you think you could make that …' At one point we were talking about [an amphitheater], and I said, 'What do you think if the stage could turn around and go outside, so you could have an outdoor and an indoor one on the same stage?' Those guys [said], 'Oh yeah, we can do that.'"

Southlands charrette
Photo courtesy of Karel Ley

The practitioners we interviewed were all very much in favour of holding a charrette. The context called for a process that left the design up to the community, giving residents a pen and integrating their design ideas. The charrette strategy is successful because it involves the end-users in the design process, creating a design for which there will be demand. Community support is garnered by making it the community's design, all while heeding the reality of any relevant policy and technical constraints. "Any effective public process cannot stop at the words alone. It's too easy for people to end up in a place of conflict when they are using just words," said one expert-observer. "By the end of a successful charrette, it's not you holding the torch. It's the people who have created it and that's what Sean was able to do in Southlands. He was able to move it from his development project to being one that the stakeholders loved so much because they were co-creators, that they were the ones saying to the municipal council, 'We need to approve this.' That's the masterful part of it."

Many, however, were highly critical of the way the Southlands charrette was carried out. As one pointed out, there is generally a unified definition of what a charrette is but drastically different approaches to carrying one out. The Southlands charrette was run by Andrés Duany, a prominent architect and principal of Miami-based firm Duany Plater-Zyberk & Company (DPZ).

TOP-DOWN

Many recall Duany's personal ego and attitude that his team had the right answers as impediments to an ideal charrette: "He's always listening, but he's listening through the lens of a guru. So people were heard, they got to say what they wanted to say, I don't know how much they felt he truly listened to what they were saying. In some cases definitely a lot, but he was kind of live editing it a lot of it at the time."

TOO MUCH OUT-OF-CONTEXT, TOO LONG AND TOO MUCH AT ONCE

Numerous comments from participants indicated that the American leadership of the charrette was not sufficiently aware of the Canadian planning context. This may have been a significant contributor to the municipality's unwillingness to approve the development as represented in the charrette outcomes.

Duany (standing, left) at the Southlands charrette.
Photo courtesy of Karel Ley

One consultant highlighted the differences in the political planning relationship between the two countries, noting that landowners do not have the same rights as in the US. "With the design that DPZ ended up with, after the intensive eight days, it set a new precedent, and a new vision for what development could look like. Unfortunately, it didn't have the level of due diligence behind it," said one consultant, asserting that the design recommendations emerging from the charrette lacked the modelling, engineering compliance and specificity required in Delta. Parking, sea-level rise, and further bylaw requirements were reportedly overlooked.

The consensus was that an 8-day charrette is "unusually long" and some proposed that the project would have gained more by spreading those 8 days possibly over three different charrettes: a visioning charrette, a policy charrette, and a design charrette. In a highly controversial context like Southlands, this was suggested as a missing link that might have achieved

increased community and political buy-in at each step, and ultimately might have seen the development approved as proposed:

> *"The depth and beauty of the original plan that could have been established as a model for the whole world, literally the whole world, was lost because Delta didn't trust … they never bought into it. […] The original plan is still probably the best food system new development integration that we'll maybe ever see [but] it won't get realized because Delta didn't buy into it. So Sean [Hodgins] spent a lot of money and got something exciting and fantastic but in the end a very good deal of it was wasted because he really can't implement a lot of it because Duany's process was too fast for the BC context."*
>
> – SOUTHLANDS CONSULTANT.

Photo courtesy of Karel Ley

TOO RIGID AND GENERIC

The process ought to have been customized according to the needs and specificities of the community, whereas the DPZ charrette model was perceived as standardized and generic. Some of our interviewees had personally experienced the DPZ charrette in other communities, one saying that "his team has an absolute sequence of what they do" for the "non-stop public engagement process where Duany basically holds court for almost 7 days".

There was also a worry amongst participants familiar with the model that "they essentially come in and Xerox in a little Eastern sea board new traditional town" and some observers were anxious whether the Agricultural Urbanism agenda would be able to infiltrate the standard model of New Urbanism. Ultimately, it did.

What the practitioners appreciated about the charrette was the intensive and well-structured involvement of community members throughout. A strict, predictable schedule—a product of "[Duany's] well-oiled machine"—was respected: "they went through different topics and people were notified that, for example, on Day 2 at 3PM we would be talking about heritage, so all the people interested in heritage would come and be part of that."

DENSIFICATION & HOUSING

> *"You go back to some of these communities and there's a huge community park. You say, 'Where did that come from?' Smaller house, bigger community."* - MICHAEL VON HAUSEN, URBAN DESIGNER

Housing and density were the most important decisions the SCPT grappled with, and small housing was at the heart of the conversation. Participants were mindful of planning not only for current residents; they wanted to do their best for future residents whose interests are not known, or even knowable.[3] The push and excitement for a non-traditional development in Tsawwassen wasn't fuelled by a desire to grow; "they wanted their kids to be able to live in the community they grew up in," Bob Ransford found, and they generally wanted to provide an opportunity for other young families to enjoy the community at an affordable price point, as they enjoyed in their youth. Additionally, seniors, including SCPT participants, hoped that the Southlands would provide them an opportunity to downsize and age-in-place in years to follow.

Small housing per se wasn't explicitly part of Sean Hodgins' initial vision, but he quickly realized that it was essential: "if we were going to be successful, it wasn't about just giving people what they already had in the local community, which is a larger form of housing." As Century Group recognized these hopes for something different in housing options, they began to construct an idea of what to propose to the SCPT:

"I had read about Ross Chapin's project in Langley [Washington] years ago and had gone and looked at it, so I suggested fully detached houses like [those]. We started studying that with them. It just kind of came about. Ross published his book 'Pocket Neighbourhoods' at the very same time and we showed [the SCPT] some of them and they thought it was kind of cool." said Ransford.

Although small housing was well received from the beginning by the SCPT, a session on housing forms was organized, covering designs ranging from 1930s housing to the contemporary "pocket neighbourhood" model. The agricultural component, says then-urban agriculture consultant Mark Holland, was just as integral as the smaller-housing agenda to the development's political viability. A lot of people were interested in how Agricultural Urbanism "could gather the whole community together"

[3] Mayor Lois Jackson's rebuttal to this disappointment is that she is firmly opposed to Council being "in the business of helping developers or helping them change it or anything," saying, "you look at it when it comes to council and that's the way you really have to approach it or you're going to be chasing your tail 24/7." She is proud of the way the Corporation of Delta handled the development application process: "I think we'd probably do the same if it was another proposal came forward, we would move in the very same direction."

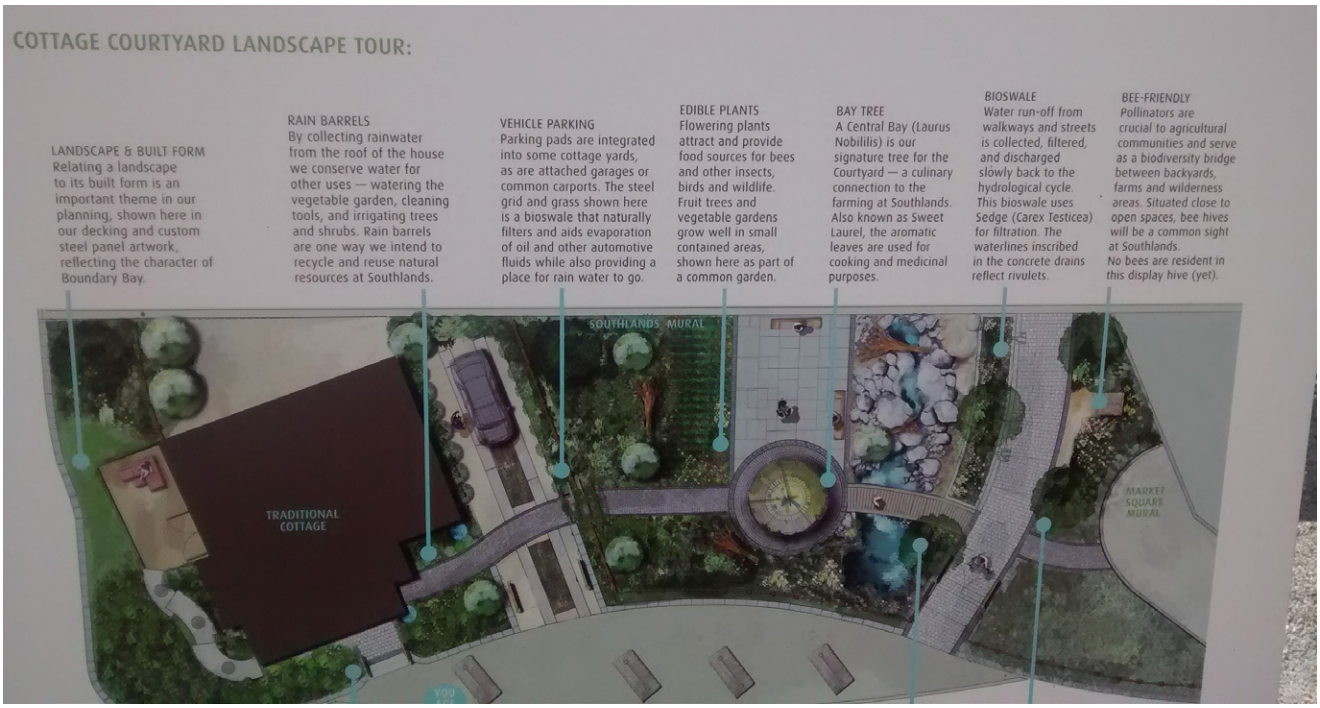
around the shared spaces and enable seniors who cannot live in their former multi-storey homes to continue having gardens, in addition to potential local commercial benefits. "The gist of it was to try to utilize that farmland as best you can, design some housing that incorporated and embraced the farmland, as opposed to saying, 'This is the farmland, I want a big hedge and then I want houses here.' [We wanted to] blend that a little more," recalls participant Doug Bolen.

Pocket neighbourhoods.
Credit: Third Street Cottages, designed by Ross Chapin Architects

Through the learning components of the process, they came to appreciate what a minimum level of density could achieve in terms of a vibrant, social community that can sustain small business. The various forms of housing that would be spread across the Southlands, including single-storey homes of 900 to 1,600 square feet, live-work studios, and a small number of townhouses and apartments, ranged from 10 to 50 dwelling units per acre (post-SCPT, this was halved at the municipality's request). This is a stark contrast to the 3,500 square-foot homes that, according to Mayor Jackson, characterize the community, with some reaching 6,000 square feet. Delta's 2011 population density was 554.4 people per square kilometre; North Delta's single-family residential zoning permits for no more than 7 units per acre.

> Small housing was an easy sell to this community. There was a strong appetite for alternatives to large houses and many SCPT members and seniors wanted to downsize.

Given the omnipresence of large single-family homes in the Tsawwassen community, the small-format housing aspect of the Southlands proposal was extremely controversial in theory. SCPT chair Howie McLennan observed that transportation infrastructure inadequacy, stemming from population growth, and the question of replacing conventional agriculture with urban agriculture formed the more controversial elements. "I don't



Information panel at the Model Cottage House, describing the ecological features of the proposed design.
Photo: Alex Thumm

think the issues surrounding the type of housing was the biggest concern to the community." Carrying a certain bias towards the normative large-lot single-family home model, small housing became more controversial in practice. Century Group's construction of a demonstration cottage house alleviated much skepticism about small housing's practicality.

Some expressed an aversion to the term "affordable housing", although the SCPT appreciated that the housing they planned would be more affordable than what is currently available. When the idea of including "non-market housing" arose, at least one SCPT member threatened to leave the process. Engagement allows for blunt negotiations between the developer and the public that explore what even project supporters' tolerance for change might be.

LOCAL JOURNALIST SANDOR GYARMATI'S 3 KEYS TO SOUTHLANDS' SUCCESS

1. Realization that Tsawwassen has no housing variety
2. The Hodgins family reputation ensured support on a personal level: he's "not just a foreign investor or some outsider"
3. Engagement probably helped him "what does Delta need"

RESOLVING PUBLIC OPPOSITION

> *I never challenged them with it but it just intrigued, appalled, and disappointed me how so many people won't take the time to explore the issues and they will just [say], 'I have an opinion, this is where I stand, I'm not researching anything. I'm not open to any rethinking of anything.' I found that enormously distressing and disappointing in our society with all the options we have to learn about more. Kudos to Sean [Hodgins] and this whole process.* - HELEN KETTLE, SCPT PARTICIPANT

Early polling data from Century Group found that some 60% of area residents opposed Southlands development. From the beginning of Century Group's engagement work to the final public hearing, public support for the project tipped over the 50% mark, according to Century Group's research insights. Community opposition was far from being perfectly resolved, but the process worked just enough to get the application through, at half the original density.

Dialogue between the SCPT and other residents of Tsawwassen was difficult. SCPT members report it was "irritating" that opponents weren't willing to listen not only to their ideas but also to the concerns that much of the Southlands isn't suitable for agriculture. A few participants remember the division in the community to be very personal. "Some people are I would say almost violently opposed to the whole notion [of development in Southlands]. A lot of people really wanted to see that land just left the way it was and probably still do," said one. The SCPT organized three open houses that were well-attended but not by the strongest opponents; several hundred participated over the course of the charrette process. Many SCPT members felt similarly challenged to enter into dialogue with opponents within the local town council at Delta. "What really got me very upset was the fact that our local council refused to come and see, refused to get involved, refused to accept even the informational booklets that had been produced. I found that a real slap in the face to the citizens of this community," said participant Sue Lloyd. By pointing out that opponents in the community and on council didn't listen, SCPT members perceived that their community never understood the depth and scope of their work. Notwithstanding the project's public relations difficulties, our participant- and practitioner-interviewees assert that the SCPT was an effective community diplomacy strategy. Instead of being designed by outside consultants, Southlands' designers were embedded residents of the community. Based on speaking to developers, Janine de la Salle

believes "that's why you really need to engage the people who would be those end users in your design process, so then you have buy-in by the time you're ready to get your approvals and dig in the ground."

The SCPT favoured density, but the proposition of densification didn't catch on across Delta. Many residents were concerned about increased traffic, lack of parking, and a surge of new people. The public relations campaign led by Brad Semke at Century Group sought to disseminate information that would allay these concerns. For example, there was some fear that the Southlands would be dotted with condo high-rises, although nothing over four stories was proposed. At another point, after hearing that 70% of letters to City Hall were against the Southlands proposal, Semke uncovered that some households were writing up to 12 letters. Counter to the demands of some that Southlands remain entirely farmland, Semke found out that all of the property's recent farmers considered the land marginal for farming. The campaign he and other Century Group staff led involved media interviews, meeting with community members, publishing pamphlets, and aggressively purchasing newspaper advertising, ensuring that informational Century Group ads appeared next to any editorial or article critical of the project.

Finally, the birth of Agricultural Urbanism out of the Southlands design process played an extremely important, make-it-or-break-it role:

"Without a big, bold agricultural commitment, there would have been a lot more opposition from the people who actually became some of its biggest champions. It was fundamental to the DNA, to the poetry of the project, to the systems design, to the urban form, how public space and programming open space fit in, and ultimately to its longevity and the broad range of people who supported it," said designer Michael von Hausen.

OUTCOMES & SUCCESSES

> *"It's a visionary plan; it's abnormal. It's not just a bunch of houses. It's agriculture, it's affordability, it's community open space. It's incredibly innovative, and credit that to him. He had to do an innovative process to get to an innovative result, and he was tenacious, because many other developers would've just gone to just housing maybe on 20% of the property, and just called it a day."* - MICHAEL VON HAUSEN, URBAN DESIGNER

The Southlands experience forged innovative ways for developers to collaborate and effectively "share" decision-making and responsibility with the community and produced original thinking and design by spearheading and coining the term Agricultural Urbanism. The SCPT engagement model was a success, a strong and innovative pro-campaign won half of the community over, and a compromised development application was approved. This is a mitigated success, but nonetheless, even this result would have been unimaginable a few years earlier on such a controversy-ridden piece of greenfield land.

The process succeeded in engaging some existing residents and potential end-users. It brokered direct dialogue between the community and expert-designers, two groups whose communication is often mediated by public engagement specialists. It forced the designers to listen directly to the community, interweaving what is often separated off as the 'engagement step' with project design. One consultant told us that, "part of the brokenness [of typical processes] is we have to finish the public engagement step before we [move on to designing the development]." The process creatively harnessed the power of visualization and design-focused consensus: participants made decisions based on what they saw (images and drawings through the charrette and real-life buildings from case studies of compact neighbourhoods and the Portland fieldtrip) just as much as on what they heard and said.

Yet the process did not succeed in engaging the end decision-makers. The Corporation of Delta was not willing to cooperate with Century Group or discuss the application before the application was made. While the final application, at half the original density, is a compromise, there is no clear winner in the outcome: the SCPT won't see the density or the timeline that their work documented was needed for the enriched community life results sought, while opponents will shudder to see the Southlands developed anyway.

Where the on-the-ground public relations work appears to have fallen short is in portraying the SCPT as integral to and independent of the developer during the development design process (see "Outside perceptions of the SCPT" in the previous chapter). The media and much of the community, independent of their support for or opposition to development, appear to be hardly aware of the SCPT's role, believing that Sean Hodgins alone is responsible for the design. One participant speculated that this dichotomy might be a downside of the process. "Is it a

worthwhile use of resources? Not so sure. In this case, I'm glad he did it, for me," they said, reflecting many participants' gratitude for the SCPT. "If you asked and went out and did a survey in the community, how much did the average Jill and Joe learn about that? I'm not sure they would be able to say a whole lot."

Will the Metro Vancouver region ever see a case like the Southlands again? Many observers would say, no: most developers do not go to the extreme of spending over a million dollars on engagement to get a development of 900 units approved. And few contexts are as politically heated. Regardless, Southlands best practices have the potential to be scaled according to local needs. Not all projects will need the Agricultural Urbanist approach to succeed, but many might benefit. The steps, approaches, considerations, and values of the Southlands process can be reproduced elsewhere, benefiting developers, government, and citizens with designed-in-place communities that people want to live in.

EIGHT LESSONS LEARNED

1. FRONT-LOAD THE WORK OF ENGAGEMENT WITH ALL STAKEHOLDER GROUPS. In the case of politically controversial proposals, ensure that the municipality is willing to cooperate before drafting a development proposal. There are limits to what a developer can do independently of government. The Southlands case study's most significant shortcoming was that it went ahead and drew up a development application for a municipality that wasn't interested. Some suggest that, in addition to 'not buying into it', Delta mayor and council might have taken offence to Century Group's independent engagement work and reacted by proposing to reinsert the Southlands into the Agricultural Land Reserve, which would have effectively prohibited development. Century Group and the SCPT needed a more politically-savvy strategy to ensure that this expensive public engagement process engaged the municipality and the community. The SCPT was based on a model of "confronting differences of opinion at the very beginning." It succeeded in confronting and overcoming differences within the SCPT, but it failed to confront differences with the body that ultimately had the power to approve or reject its work, local government.

2. PUBLIC ENGAGEMENT CAN SUCCESSFULLY BE EMBEDDED IN AND INTEGRAL TO A DEVELOPER'S DESIGN PROCESS. In this case, the responsiveness and

independence of the process and willingness of the developer to facilitate participant empowerment in design decisions led directly to participants becoming ambassadors and advocates of the proposed development design.

3. ENGAGING THE COMMUNITY: MEDIA AND PUBLIC RELATIONS MATTER. Participants' fundamental objective should be: bring the wider community on-board. While representative participation in an engagement process is a valuable ideal, the process need not stop there and instead needs to reach progressively further into the community in order to add legitimacy and scope to the decisions reached within the process.

4. CHARRETTES TAKE PREPARATION. In this case, the developer was keen on the possibility of the charrette several years before sufficient preparatory work had been done for the process participants to be ready to host the charrette. Considerable pre-design work was needed, but this did not stall engagement, as the process participants were key to this pre-design work. In hindsight, one consultant's recommendation to split this long charrette into multiple phased events could be preferable to the marathon-style 8-day charrette, and could perhaps diffuse some of the sense of "railroading" by a prominent design leader who was the charrette leader. Phasing may also have allowed a "cooling off" and "testing out" period in between phases, during which time participants would have had the time to gather more perspectives on the results of the work of each phase. Empower participants early-on in the spirit of collaborative planning where all involved are equally invested in and responsible for the final outcome. After the first few meetings, the participants themselves chaired and directed the process. The developer handed over power to a citizens group to chair the design and research process. Participants felt empowered and developed a sense of creative expression and ownership of the design. Century Group leadership, in hindsight, believes that they could have handed over power to participants a number of meetings prior to when they did, before a near crisis in confidence from participants forced this move.

5. DESIGN THE PROCESS IN-PLACE. The engagement process was flexible and designed in-place. However, it borrowed an American charrette model which perhaps generated a great development proposal, but not one that the municipality was willing to work with. While

it didn't overcome all of its contextual challenges, it succeeded in implementing a public engagement model that was designed in-place, adapting general public engagement principles and adapting them to local context and need. Participants and expert-interviewees agree that this exact same approach, timeline, and sequence should not (and is to expensive to) be copied-and-pasted elsewhere.

6. FLEXIBILITY OF RESOURCES WITHIN STRUCTURE. Time and money was made available to educate the SCPT. After the first few sessions, participants acquired the power to command these resources and direct their own learning. Access to resources was key to the patience exhibited in order to connect community hopes and fears to leading edge expert design practice. Beginning with a vision, in this case, one-third, one-third, one-third, helped to structure the process sufficiently to motivate active participation. From this initial structure, flexibility in meeting scheduling, agenda-setting, and ultimate duration of the process was key, along with the resources to guide the process effectively. Resources were made available at the discretion of participants to invite experts, go on a learning field trip, and other activities important to the citizens planning group in the interest of informing a consensual vision and design.

7. BE VISUAL AND DEMONSTRATE WHAT YOU ARE OFFERING TO THE COMMUNITY. Words alone do not convey enough to win over community support, nor should they: citizens deserve to see and even experience the changes being proposed. In the Southlands context, the visual nature of the charrette and the tactical, demonstrative approach of building a model cottage house successfully built community support.

8. ENGAGE PARTICIPANTS IN LONG-TERM PLANNING. Participants gave themselves a mandate to increase "the sum of human happiness in [the] community." This meant anticipating future residents' needs; in other words, planning for those with whom we cannot consult.

LESSONS

STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES

GWCA Strengths

- Deliberative approach over longer term elevates the discussion to higher levels than can be achieved in one session
- CA adds legitimacy to the outcome with a relatively low budget
- CA can be used to start a new process or build on what has already been done
- CA opens dialogue between the community, City staff, politicians, experts, and potentially developers
- All are exposed to new ways of thinking and neighbours they hadn't met, gaining new knowledge and insights
- Random stratified selection allows for jury-like open-mindedness and broad participation
- Participants largely share a sense of accountability to the public interest
- Everyone is brought into the picture and becomes aware of area trends. Participants recognize dominant voices and bias dynamics
- Participants, for the most part, feel empowered by the opportunity to contribute, make decisions, and shape the agenda and learning curriculum
- "The outcome was supposed to be a document made by the community and given to the City, whereas before, the community participated but the City made the document"
- "The community has a better chance to formulate and refine its points of view in a way that's clear for City staff and for politicians" - Charles Campbell

Southlands Strengths:

- Its approach to "public engagement" isn't consultative, it's collaborative
- A precise need was identified: smaller, more diverse housing, balanced with agriculture
- The scope and mandate of the SCPT was clear. No time limit was imposed, allowing participants a sense of freedom to finish their task
- Community support is built from the grassroots up: instead of presenting the community with a development proposal in the hope that a few will be enthusiastic with it (top-down), the developer enabled community members to craft a proposal amongst themselves and then pitch it to their fellow community members
- Flexible steps and no fixed schedule: the process could proceed from one step to the next when participants felt ready to
- A near peer-to-peer relationship between professional designers and participants: both worked side-by-side and this working relationship gave birth to a new design approach, Agricultural Urbanism
- Design, architecture, scale, and visualization were at the heart of consensus-building
- The developer's family's reputation in the community: he was not "not just a foreign investor or some outsider"

GWCA Weaknesses:

- All participants interviewed say they would not participate in a similar process again
- The scope in this case was likely too broad and the Assembly had too much to do: the consensus is that it did not have sufficient time to deliberate equally on all aspects of its mandate
- Many Assembly members, especially at first, felt unclear about what was expected of them and how much population growth they were expected to assume
- A Citizens' Assembly is not a charrette: the neighbourhood planning context required a lot of design choices but no design exercises were engaged
- The process's reliance on volunteer time: a member of the organizing team said they contributed nearly 3 months of unpaid work
- Achieving balanced representation and even choosing a working language are politically challenging; recruitment from underrepresented populations isn't easy
- After six or seven months, participants feel taxed; one said, "it wasn't fun anymore".
- The "usual suspects" in community planning can feel unappreciated and alienated.

Southlands Weaknesses:

- Most participants interviewed say they would not participate in a similar process again
- The charrette may have been too long and broad and was not tailored to the context
- A developer-initiated process, regardless of its own internal success, cannot guarantee support from the municipality. The developer and process participants, on the one hand, and the municipality, on the other, were not on the same page
- Not all communities can sustain an indefinite engagement process like the SCPT. "Engagement fatigue" is a real threat to momentum
- As a public engagement process run outside of government, the process was difficult to legitimize with local government and the public, and failed to garner media attention
- The process itself has hardly been documented publicly: even the local media seem unaware of how the SCPT operated
- Although this $1.5 million engagement process can certainly be scaled to accommodate a developer's budget in less controversial circumstances, holding a charrette is pivotal to the success of this model and a charrette alone typically costs in the hundreds of thousands ($600,000 in this case).

Top principles from …

Literature review	Grandview-Woodland Citizens' Assembly	Southlands Community Planning Team
Draft a charter of public engagement principles and use diverse engagement tactics.	A concise Terms of Reference was established. In addition to the Assembly itself, there were also public sub-area workshops and online engagement.	The SCPT formed subcommittees and held open houses. An active, information-oriented public relations campaign took place.
Acknowledge people's experience of a place and understand their present and anticipated future needs, feelings, hopes, and fears. Ensure a match between public and expert expectations.	The wider community was involved formally and informally, through organized sessions and Assembly members' own sense of accountability and duty to consult.	Access to resources was key to the patience exhibited in order to connect community hopes and fears to leading edge expert design practice.
Empower residents through collaborative, not consultative planning; hand over as more decision-making power than is comfortable to participants. This produces better debate, more trust and more effective results.	Momentum, confidence and interpersonal trust was built over the course of the process, despite pervasive anxiety and uncertainty at the outset.	The developer handed over power to a citizens group to chair the design and research process. Participants felt empowered.
'Front-load' the work of engagement. Involve, educate, debate with and reach for consensus with the public from the very start.	The Assembly's report has been well-received for not containing unpopular "surprises" and building upon the process.	The SCPT was based on a model of "confronting differences of opinion at the very beginning" in order to secure community buy-in come public hearing, but it did not accomplish this with the municipal government.
A fair process is a strong predictor of an acceptable. A publicly-created common vision helps ward off political and business interference into matters of public interest.	The CA was managed independently from the City and Council. The final report also allowed for dissenting minority reports.	After the first few meetings, the participants themselves chaired and directed the process. Participants developed a sense of creative expression and ownership of the design.
Community knowledge can be expressed and captured using visual and virtual techniques and technologies. Resident-driven visualizations can be highly engaging and help reduce fear about change.	The process was centred on face-to-face, versus online, engagement. It focused on dialogue, but participants also called in knowledge and experiential elements e.g. historian-led walking tours.	Show, tell, and listen: visualization and demonstration techniques were employed throughout.

Top principles from …

Literature review	Grandview-Woodland Citizens' Assembly	Southlands Community Planning Team
Honour and incorporate the needs of future residents, through taking a long-term view, efforts to engage children, etc.	Participants were mandated to make recommendations for a 30-year area plan, based on City-wide population growth projections.	Participants gave themselves a mandate to increase "the sum of human happiness in [the] community." This demanded planning for future residents' needs.
Emphasize the accessibility, not just the availability, of information.	Most participants agree that they were presented with the information they needed.	Time and money was made available to educate the SCPT. After the first few sessions, participants acquired the power to command these resources and direct their own learning.
The process needs to be sincere, but also efficient and respectful of people's time. A cumbersome process can further aggravate the community and stall change. A reasonable time frame honours citizens' time and ideas.	The CA had the flexibility to tack on an eleventh meeting. Sufficient, but not excessive pressure, and sufficient elements of fun and passion were generated to propel the process to its conclusion.	The scope and mandate of the SCPT was clear. A precise need was identified early on: smaller, more diverse housing, balanced with agriculture. No time limit was imposed, allowing participants a sense of freedom to finish their task.
Design a context-specific process that builds on best practices while remaining sensitive and responsive to the characteristics of the community (e.g. demographic representation needs).	The Assembly was codetermined by the City of Vancouver and Vancouver-based consultants of a Canadian public engagement firm, with limited community input. Process content remained flexible.	The engagement process was flexible and designed in-place. However, it borrowed an American charrette model which perhaps generated a great development proposal, but not one that the municipality was willing to work with.

MOVING FORWARD

This report has highlighted two examples of public engagement models that proved to help "bring the neighbours into infill", and specifically into smaller forms of housing. Both came about in somewhat exceptional circumstances, but both offer approaches and principles can be scaled and contextualized. The need to foster trust and to engage collaboratively early-on have stood out as the most important lessons for future public engagement; residents need to be shown that they are equal and integral actors in the development process. We conclude with three themes for discussion that emerge from this study.

Inevitability of development and change

Do residents have a right to a static neighbourhood?

How to get the voices of supporters to meet the voices of those opposed?

Strategies are needed for engaging with anti-change groups, approaching residents where they are at in terms of values and priorities, and not immediately seek to refashion those priorities. The role of a design-focused process like a charrette is important, because it can visually portray what a place could look like. Small-form infill tends to defy many pessimistic expectations of it, such as bringing down land values, but neighbourhoods still need more incentive to make infill housing implementable. We need to be careful when talking about NIMBYism - this blames the residents and takes the responsibility away from developers. Homebuilders and municipalities need to reevaluate their own product and plans as developers and politicians. Development approval has unfortunately become a zero-sum game with no meaningful opportunity to propose changes to, let alone co-design a development.

Independence of the process

What does it mean for a participatory process to be "independent"?

Who ultimately has the responsibility to engage the public?

There is generally no shortage of concern about process' independence from the City or politicians: heads shake when task-force members are hand-picked. But can a process be too independent from government, so much so that it becomes irrelevant? As the defenders of the public interest, the onus to engage may be more on government than on private developers and their private interests, even when it can be clearly in a developer's interest to launch an engaging collaborative design process. Additionally, there is the possibility of a process being too independent of other planning processes and other neighbourhoods.

Long and and short planning

Long & short term: must citizens plan for those who do not yet live in the area?

Long & short distance: what is the radius for 'being impacted' by development?

Long & short scope: issue-by-issue or a holistic plan at once? Area-by-area or the whole city?

Long & short participation: Multi-month deliberations or low-commitment, broad-base engagement?

The election cycle is short, participation and the end results are long-term - to reconcile this tension, engagement processes need to be vested with a mandated that transcends the goodwill of individual Councillors or staff.

Promoting small housing certainly takes public engagement work, but developers and public officials must also come to see the need and demand for it.

Affordability, sustainability, and natural capital retention—the other half of the "Bringing the Neighbourhood into Infill" research project—are fundamental components to the infill argument.

Moving forward, our challenge is to articulate these principles as benefits for the widest range of citizens, developers, and decision-makers as possible.

FURTHER READING

Canadian Mortgage & Housing Corporation (2009). "Livable Lanes: A Study of Laneway Infill Housing in Vancouver and Other Growing B.C. Communities", Research Highlight, <http://www.cmhc-schl.gc.ca/odpub/pdf/66642.pdf?lang=en>.

Canadian Mortgage & Housing Corporation (n.d.). "THE CARLINGS AT ARBUTUS WALK", Residential Intensification Case Studies, <http://www.cmhc-schl.gc.ca/en/inpr/su/sucopl/upload/The-Carlings-at-Arbutus-Walk-Vancouver-B-C.pdf>.

Condon, Patrick M. (2008). Design Charrettes for Sustainable Communities, Washington: Island Press.

Creighton, James L. (2005). The Public Participation Handbook: Making Better Decisions Through Citizen Involvement, San Francisco: John Wiley & Sons.

Davidson, Gethin (2011). "An Unlikely Urban Symbiosis: Urban Intensification and Neighbourhood Character in Collingwood, Vancouver", Urban Policy and Research 29(2), 105-124.

Mayhew, Wil & Campbell, Elisa (2008). SuN LIVING: Developing Neighborhoods with a One Planet Footprint, Christenson Publications.

McAfee, Ann (2016). "'People and Plans: Vancouver's CityPlan Process" In: Thomas, Ren (ed.). Planning Canada: A Case Study Approach, Don Mills, ON.: Oxford University Press Canada.

McGuire, Michelle (2014). Kingsway and Knight Neighbourhood Centre Housing Area Plan. M.Urb. Thesis, Simon Fraser University, BC.

de la Salle, Janine & Holland, Mark (eds) (2010). Agricultural Urbanism: Handbook for Building Sustainable Food & Agriculture Systems in 21st Century Cities, Winnipeg: Green Frigate Books.

Swerhun, Nicole & AvRuskin, Vanessa (2012). Discuss. Decide. Do. The value of engagement as a decision support tool, SWERHUN.

Tse, Jack (2012). What's Possible? Ground-Oriented Infill Housing in Vancouver's Single Family Neighbourhoods. M.Sc. Thesis, University of British Columbia.

REFERENCES

Arvola, Anne & Pennanen, Kyösti (2014). Understanding residents' attitudes towards infill development at Finnish urban suburbs. Conference Paper, World SB '14, Barcelona, October 28-30, 2014.

Battles, Robert A.M. (1976). Townhouses in Single Family Areas: An Analysis of Public Attitudes Towards Increasing Density. MA Thesis, University of Victoria.

Bedford, T., Clark, J., & Harrison, C. (2002). "Limits to New Public Participation Practices in Local Land Use Planning", The Town Planning Review 73(3), 311-331.

Beierle, Thomas. C. & Cayford, Jerry (2002). Democracy in practice: Public participation in environmental decisions, Washington, D.C.: Resources for the Future.

Brideau, Lisa & Mitchell, Amanda (2016). "Taking It Online: How the City of Vancouver Became Comfortable with Engaging Residents in Their PJs: Vancouver's Use of Online Crowdsourcing to Engage Residents during the Development of the Greenest City Action Plan", In: Thomas, Ren (ed.). Planning Canada: A Case Study Approach, Don Mills, ON.: Oxford University Press Canada.

Brownill, Sue & Carpenter, Juliet (2007). "Participation and Planning: Dichotomies, Rationalities and Strategies for Power", The Town Planning Review 78(4), 401-428.

Burda, C. et al. (2012). Live Where You Go: Encouraging location-efficient development in Ontario, The Pembina Institute.

Carroll, P. et al. (2015). "Kids in the City: Children's Use and Experiences of Urban Neighbourhoods in Auckland, New Zealand", Journal of Urban Design 20(4), 417-436.

Century Industries & Cotter Architects (2012). Statement of Significance: Southlands Property, Tsawwassen, BC, accessed on 8 February 2016, <http://www.delta.ca/docs/default-source/community-planning-and-development/southlands/statement-of-significance---southlands-property-tsawwassen-bc.pdf?sfvrsn=0>.

Condon, Patrick M. (2008). Design Charrettes for Sustainable Communities, Washington: Island Press.

Creighton, James L. (2005). The Public Participation Handbook: Making Better Decisions Through Citizen Involvement, San Francisco: John Wiley & Sons.

Cubitt, Emma Lea (2008). Laneway Infill: Re-Creating an Urban Housing Typology. M.Arch. Thesis, University of Waterloo.

Davidson, Gethin (2011). "An Unlikely Urban Symbiosis: Urban Intensification and Neighbourhood Character in Collingwood, Vancouver", Urban Policy and Research 29(2), 105-124.

Dupuis, A., Dixon, J., & Lysnar, P. (2001). Medium Density Housing: A Local Strategic Response to Urban Sprawl

Gallagher, Leigh (2013). The End of the Suburbs: Where the American Dream Is Moving, New York: Portfolio.

Gow L. 2000. Curbing the Sprawl: Urban Growth Management in the United States – Lessons for New Zealand. Ministry for the Environment. Wellington. p 93.

Grant, Jill L. & Scott, Daniel E. (2011). Redefining the Canadian Dream? Household life cycles, housing costs, and aspirations for suburban housing. Working Paper, Preliminary Findings from the Trends in the Suburbs Project, Dalhousie University.

Holden, Meg (2011). "Public Participation and Local Sustainability: Questioning a Common Agenda in Urban Governance", International Journal of Urban and Regional Research 35(2), 312-329.

International Association for Public Participation (2007). IAP2 Spectrum of Public Participation, accessed on 15 January 2016, <http://www.iap2.org/resource/resmgr/imported/IAP2%20Spectrum_vertical.pdf>.

Jackson, Jonathan (2012). Sustainable Development Compromise[d] in the Planning of Metro Vancouver's Agricultural Lands: The Jackson Farm Case. M.Urb. Thesis, Simon Fraser University, BC.

Jarvis, Helen (2015). "Community-led Housing and 'Slow' Opposition to Corporate Development: Citizen Participation as Common Ground?", Geography Compass 9(4), 202-213.

Kee, Tris & Miazzo, Francesca (eds.) (2014). We Own the City: Enabling Community Practice in Architecture and Urban Planning, Haarlem: Trancity, 304p.

Knowles-Yánez, Kimberley L. (2005). "Children's Participation in Planning Processes", Journal of Planning Literature 20(1), 3-14.

Kraft, Michael E. & Clary, Bruce B. (1991). "Citizen participation and the NIMBY syndrome: Public response to radioactive waste disposal", The Western Political Quarterly 44(2), 299-328.

McClymont, Katie & O'Hare, Paul (2008). "'We're not NIMBYs!'"Contrasting local protest groups with idealised conceptions of sustainable communities", Local Environment 13(4), 321-335.

McConnell, Virginia & Wiley, Keith (2010). Infill Development: Perspectives and Evidence from Economics and Planning. Discussion Paper, Resources for the Future, Washington, DC.

McGuire, Michelle (2014). Kingsway and Knight Neighbourhood Centre Housing Area Plan. M.Urb. Thesis, Simon Fraser University, BC.

Monno, Valeria & Khakee, Abdul (2012). "Tokenism or Political Activism? Some Reflections on Participatory Planning", International Planning Studies 17(1), 85-101.

Moore, Kelley D. (2012). Participatory Democracy and Land Development: A Case Study of the South Downtown Waterfront Development in Saskatoon. MA Thesis, University of Saskatchewan.

Mouffe, C. (2000) 'Deliberative Democracy or Agonistic Pluralism', Political Science Series, 72, pp. 1-17. [Online] Available: http://www.ihs.ac.at/publications/pol/pw_72.pdf (accessed: 19th July 2012).

Pendall, Rolf (1999). "Opposition to Housing: NIMBY and Beyond", Urban Affairs Review 35(1), 112-136.

Poplin, Alenka (2012). "Playful public participation in urban planning: A case study for online serious games", Computers, Environment and Urban Systems 36(3), 195-206.

Portland, City of (2010). City of Portland Public Involvement Principles, accessed on 1 December 2015, <https://www.portlandoregon.gov/oni/article/312804>.

Quatsel, N., Moos, M., & Lynch, N. (2012). "Sustainability-as-Density and the Return of the Social: The Case of Vancouver, British Columbia", Urban Geography 33(7), 1055-1084.

Rosol, Marit (2013). "Vancouver's "EcoDensity" Planning Initiative: A Struggle over Hegemony?", Urban Studies 50(11), 2238-2255.

Rowley, Steven & Phibbs, Peter (2012). Delivering diverse and affordable housing on infill development sites. AHURI Final Report No.193. Melbourne: Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute.

Ruming, Kristian (2013). "'It wasn't about public housing, it was about the way it was done': challenging planning not people in resisting the Nation Building Economic Stimulus Plan, Australia", Journal of Housing and the Built Environment 29(1), 39-60.

Ruming, K., Houston, D., & Amati M. (2011). "Multiple Suburban Publics: Rethinking Community Opposition to Consolidation in Sydney", Geographical Research 50(4), 421-435.

de la Salle, Janine & Holland, Mark (eds) (2010). Agricultural Urbanism: Handbook for Building Sustainable Food & Agriculture Systems in 21st Century Cities, Winnipeg: Green Frigate Books.

Schatz, Sarah Akua (2013). Neighbourhood Intensification: Attitudes Towards Laneway Housing in the Dunbar Neighbourhood. M.Urb. Thesis, Simon Fraser University, BC.

Schively, Carissa (2007). "Understanding the NIMBY and LULU Phenomena: Reassessing Our Knowledge Base and Informing Future Research", Journal of Planning Literature 31(3), 255-266.

Senbel, Maged & Church, Sarah P. (2011). "Design Empowerment: The Limits of Accessible Visualization Media in Neighborhood Densification", Journal of Planning Education and Research 31(4), 423-437.

Shipley, Robert & Utz, Stephen (2012). "Making it Count: A Review of the Value and Techniques for Public Consultation", Journal of Planning Literature 27(1), 22-42.

Shipley, R. et al. (2004). "Evaluating Municipal Visioning", Planning Practice and Research 19, 195–210.

Small Housing BC (2015). Small Houses: Innovations in Small-scale Living from North America, accessed on 1 December 2015, <http://www.smallhousingbc.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/SMHT_1stEdition_Feb2015.pdf>.

Suchman, Diane R. (2002). Developing Successful Infill Housing, Washington, DC: Urban Land Institute, 175p.

Thomas, John Clayton (2014). Citizen, Customer, Partner: Engaging the Public in Public Management, Routledge, 256p.

Tse, Jack (2012). What's Possible? Ground-Oriented Infill Housing in Vancouver's Single Family Neighbourhoods. M.Sc. Thesis, University of British Columbia.

Vallance, S., Perkins, H., & Moore, K. (2005). The Effects of Infill Housing on Neighbours in Christchurch. Report, Christchurch City Council.

Vallance, Suzanne A. (2003). A Changing Streetscape and Residents' Responses: Infill Housing in Christchurch. Doctoral Dissertation, Lincoln University, New Zealand.

Vancouver Foundation (2012). Connections and Engagement: A survey of Metro Vancouver, accessed on 1 December 2015, <https://www.vancouverfoundation.ca/sites/default/files/documents/VanFdn-SurveyResults-Report.pdf>.

Virtanen, J. et al. (2015). "Customized Visualizations of Urban Infill Development Scenarios for Local Stakeholders", Journal of Building Construction and Planning Research 3, 68-81.

Warren, Charles R. & McFadyen, Malcolm (2010). "Does community ownership affect public attitudes to wind energy? A case study from south-west Scotland", Land Use Policy 27, 204-213.

Wegmann, Jake & Chapple, Karen (2014). "Hidden density in single-family neighborhoods: backyard cottages as an equitable smart growth strategy", Journal of Urbanism 7(3), 307-329.

Wegmann, Jake & Nemirow, Alison (2011). Secondary units and urban infill: A literature review. Working Paper, Institute of Urban and Regional Development, No. 2011-02.

APPENDIX

Key documents: Grandview-Woodland Citizens' Assembly

List of all meetings (with speakers and presentations): http://www.grandview-woodland.ca/meetings/

List of all optional readings/resources suggested/made available to members: http://www.grandview-woodland.ca/additional-resources/

Final report: http://www.grandview-woodland.ca/download/final-report-citizens-assembly%E2%80%A8on-the-grandview-woodland-community-plan-low-resolution-2/

Terms of Reference: http://vancouver.ca/files/cov/terms-of-reference-grandview-woodland-citizens-assembly.pdf

Synopsis of Focus Group Input on the Design of the Citizens' Assembly: http://vancouver.ca/files/cov/synopsis-focus-group-findings-grandview-woodland-citizens-assembly.pdf

"A Citizens' Assembly for Grandview-Woodland: Discussion Paper": http://vancouver.ca/files/cov/Grandview-Woodlands-Citizens-Assembly-Discussion-Paper-2014-01-23.pdf

Summary of Citizens' Assembly Design Choices: http://vancouver.ca/files/cov/design-choices-grandview-woodland-citizens-assembly-2014.pdf

Key documents: Southlands Development Project

Century Group's report to Delta City Council: First and second readings of the rezoning application. July 2013: http://www.delta.ca/docs/default-source/community-planning-and-development/development-application/southlands_20130729_cg_presentation.pdf?sfvrsn=0

Southlands Design Brief (pre-charrette, product of the SCPT), available at www.smallhousingbc.org/publications

Pre-charrette newsletter, available at www.smallhousingbc.org/publications

Charrette schedule, available at www.smallhousingbc.org/publications

Post-charrette newsletter, available at www.smallhousingbc.org/publications

Media Articles

GRANDVIEW-WOODLAND CITIZENS' ASSEMBLY

Vancouver Sun: http://www.vancouversun.com/search/search.html?q=grandview-woodland+citizens%27+assembly&__lsa=4cfc-9b04

Vancouver Courrier: http://www.vancourier.com/search-results-7.6477?q=grandview-woodland+citizens+assembly

Georgia Straight: https://www.google.ca/?gws_rd=ssl#q=site:www.straight.com+grandview-woodland+citizens+assembly

SOUTHLANDS

Delta Optimist: https://www.google.ca/?gws_rd=ssl#q=site:www.delta-optimist.com+southlands+AND+century+AND+delta

Vancouver Sun: http://www.vancouversun.com/search/search.html?q=southlands+delta+century&__lsa=4cfc-9b04

The Tyee: http://thetyee.ca/News/2010/11/26/FarmlandsBrink/

The Globe and Mail: http://www.theglobeandmail.com/search/?q=southlands+delta

small housing
BC

SFU SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY
URBAN STUDIES