COMPREHENSIVE PLANNING IN ACTION:

A CASE STUDY OF THE RIVER-OSBORNE DISTRICT, WINNIPEG

by

Katherine Hendrickson

A Thesis

Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies

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ABSTRACT

        This thesis analyzes the planning process in the

River-Osborne District in Winnipeg, Manitoba, between 1973

and 1976.   It consists of a theoretical critique of comprehen-

sive planning and a case study analysis of the experience in

the District.   The case study identifies the major strengths

and weaknesses of the planning process and analyzes the

factors leading to its failure to achieve the plan's objectives.

It proposes alternatives for planning in the District which

attempt to resolve the planning problems in a deliberative,

strategic manner.

        The thesis concludes that planning in the River-

Osborne District must follow an approach based on public

participation and political involvement to respond directly

to the problems and conditions within the planning area.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The assistance of all who contributed to this thesis is gratefully acknowledged. Particular thanks are extended to Dr. Kent Gerecke, the main advisor, for his direction and encouragement, and to Professor Basil Rotoff and Professor Ian McDonald for serving on the Thesis Committee.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

I. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

    The purpose of this thesis is to study and analyze the
District planning process in the River-Osborne district of
Winnipeg, between 1973 and 1976. It began with the initial
objective of preparing a comprehensive plan to guide develop-
ment and change in the area. This initial objective was not
achieved as the process was disrupted before the plan was
completed; the plan was written, and revised, but the by-law
to implement the plan has yet to be approved by Council. This
thesis, then, looks at how and why this failure occurred.

    The River-Osborne (or East of Osborne) district is an
older, inner city neighbourhood, located in the Fort Rouge
Constituency of Winnipeg. The area contains a broad range of
land-uses (from residential to commercial and light industrial),
a variety of housing types (from single-family homes to high-
rise apartments), and a diverse resident population (the
elderly, students, childless couples, single parent families,
and all income groups). Its location and diversity have made
it very popular, for both residential and commercial activity
as the area continues to develop. Its popularity has had both

positive and negative implications. While attractive as a neighbourhood, the area suffers many problems relating to development pressures, conflicting land-uses, and a highly transitory population.

When planning was initiated in 1973 the objectives were to prepare a District Plan for the preservation of the neighbourhood and the guidance and control of future development and change. The process was initiated in response to resident concern with the area, and directed by the legislative arrangements for planning in the City of Winnipeg Act.

The planning process was intended to be a model for citizen participation and innovative planning and initially gained the support of many residents and (few) local politicians. However, the objectives were not realized as the process regressed and the final product (the District Plan) was weak, ineffective, and defenseless from opposition.

The initial draft of the plan (completed in 1974) was rejected by the Fort Rouge Community Committee. It was subsequently revised by the Planning Group in 1975. Still unacceptable, it was more drastically modified by the Community Committee in 1976 after a bitter battle between planners, resident groups, and some local property owners. Even this revised plan was not accepted by Council until June, 1979 after further revision by the legal department of the City of Winnipeg. As of mid-1980 the By-law (necessary to implement the Plan) has still not passed Council and the Plan is still not in effect,

perimeter

OLD
KILDONAN

WEST
KILDONAN

NORTH
KILDONAN

RIVER-OSBORNE
PLANNING DISTRICT

ASSINIBOIA

Main street

TRANSCONA

CENTRAL
WINNIPEG

Portage avenue

ST. JAMES

Assiniboine River

Floodway

TUXEDO

ST. BONIFACE

CHARLESWOOD

ST. VITAL

FORT GARRY

River

N

Red

MAP 1

THE LOCATION OF

THE RIVER-OSBORNE DISTRICT
IN WINNIPEG

0 1 2 3 4 5

scale of miles
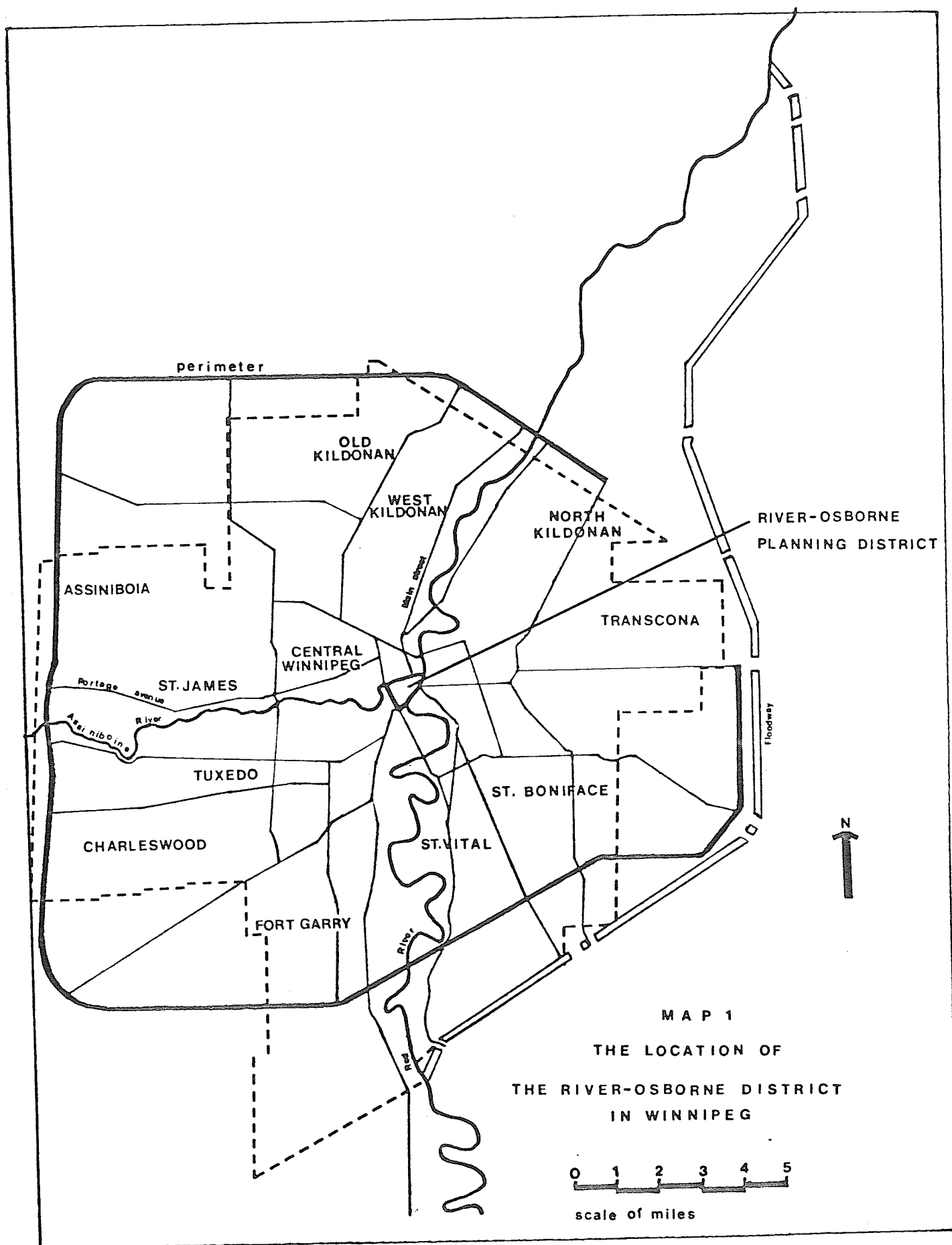
seven years after the planning process began.

The Plan became the subject of civic controversy and debate for years following completion of the initial draft in 1974. In fact, the controversy is still strong in 1980, over the status of the Plan and the corresponding By-law. Meanwhile six years have passed; the Plan has been revised several times and many of its basic policies and objectives have been violated, making it weak, contradictory and obsolete. At the present time, many local councillors are anxious to have the by-law approved. The planners, on the other hand, feel that the revisions have distorted the Plan, delays have disrupted the process, and they would prefer that the Plan be dropped entirely.

Regarding this abortive attempt at planning, one must initially question the reasons for the failure. Planners tend to feel that their plans are not effectuated due to "human frailty, irrational politics, and bureaucratic pigheadedness."[2] This is unacceptable, and as Friedmann suggests,..."possibly the style of planning in which they customarily engage is inappropriate to the medium--the social context--through which planning has to work."[3]

Following this suggestion, the style of planning utilized in the River-Osborne area will become the focus of the research. The style of planning followed in the River-Osborne District was traditional and comprehensive. While the process started otherwise, the objectives for planning, the elements of concern, and the nature and content of the District Plan are characteristic

of comprehensive planning.

This is consistent with the prevalent approach to city planning in Canada at the present time. As observed in a 1977 research investigation by Page and Lang on Canadian Planners, comprehensive planning is still the predominant style of planning used in the country and the main product of the planning process is the comprehensive plan.[4] Like the American experience, "contemporary planning practise...although different in some respects from planning practise of twenty years ago, is not that much different."[5]

The purpose of this study is to analyze the style of planning followed in the River-Osborne District between 1973 and 1976. This will be attempted in consideration of "the social context", or nature of the River-Osborne District, to determine the effectiveness of this style of planning to respond to the needs and problems of the neighbourhood. With this purpose, a basic research design was developed.

II. RESEARCH DESIGN

The research was conducted in a sequence of steps, as follows:

1. Development of Hypothesis

A hypothesis was formulated on the basis of two fundamental "presuppositions"[7] of the author concerning the subject of the thesis.

Presuppositions

a. The River-Osborne District Plan is a Comprehensive Plan by virtue of the approach to planning (the process) and the style and content of the final product—the District Plan: its goals, means, and methods of implementation.

b. The River-Osborne District planning process was a failure in its inability to deal with conflicts from within and outside of the area and its lack of political support and effectiveness.

Hypothesis

The hypothesis can be stated as follows:

> The comprehensive style of planning was unsuitable for the nature of the planning problems in the River-Osborne district. It was manifested in the weaknesses in the process and, finally, contributed to the failure of the Plan.

In this thesis, therefore, the planning process refers to:

> the activity of preparing the River-Osborn District Plan and, following this, to carry out the proposals expressed within it. It therefore consists of two district phases of plan preparation and implementation.

The plan refers to:

> a set of guidelines which can be used by planners, politicians, and local citizens, to coordinate the future development of a neighbourhood,[9] or
> proposals for the development and use of land in the district, and a description of the measures which the council considers should be undertaken for the improvement of the physical, social, and economic environment and transportation within the district.[10]

2. Identification and Review of the Literature

Based on the initial assumption of the author, concerning the style of planning followed in the River-Osborne District Planning Process, the literature relevant to comprehensive plan-

ning was selected and reviewed. The intent of this was to
establish a theoretical framework from which to conduct the
(following) research and analysis. "No observation is purely
empirical--that is, free of any ideational elements--as no
theory is purely ideational... All inferences implicate theories,
in the broadest sense of the term."[6]

The review of the literature was essential to understand
the principles of comprehensive planning--its objectives or
purposes, the style of planning or approach inherent in it, and
its adaptation and use in contemporary planning practise. The
review also presented the major critiques of comprehensive
planning. The purpose of this was, ultimately, to lead to the
analysis of the River-Osborne District planning process to
understand the problems and conditions of comprehensive plan-
ning which were relevant in this experience.

   3. Data Collection

A selective approach was followed in the process of data
collection, corresponding with the outline of the thesis and
the objectives of the research.
The basic sources included the following:

a. Studies, surveys, and selected analyses of the River-Osborne
    area.

    - to study the area for which the Plan was prepared,
      including the social, economic, and physical elements
      of the community which the Plan should be addressing.

b. Planning legislation in the City of Winnipeg Act.

    - to understand the overall approach to planning in the City
      of Winnipeg and its implications for planning in the River-
      Osborne District.

c. Original pamphlets, letters, minutes from meetings (for
    example, of the Fort Rouge Community Committee and Resident
    Advisory Group meetings) and other documents from the period
    during which the Plan was prepared.

    - to understand the local attitudes towards the process and
      the events which occurred during the initial phase of the
      planning process.

d. Interviews with a wide range of people who were actively
    involved in the process or knowledgeable about the area and
    the process itself.

    - to determine the perceptions of participants of the plan-
      ning process, attitudes towards the Plan, and the status
      of the Plan at the present time.

This information was essential to understand the events which

occurred prior to, during, and after the preparation of the

District Plan, the perceptions and attitudes of participants and

the community members, the actual approach which was taken, and

an evaluation, in retrospect, of the planning process. The

purpose of this was to better comprehend the process and

accurately present the strengths and weakness of the planning

process and the District Plan.

4. Analysis

The analysis of the River-Osborne District planning

process was conducted in several stages.

a. The discussion of the events preceding the initiation of

the planning process to understand the response of the planning

group and the orientation of the process.

b. The review and analysis of the planning process: the

stages of the process, the development of the Plan, and the

problems and conflicts encountered in planning.

c.   The identification of the comprehensive elements of the

planning process and the District Plan.

d.   The analysis of the weaknesses of the process, both in its

traditional comprehensive orientation and application to this

particular situation.

   5.   Presentation of Alternatives

      Finally, a chapter of the thesis was devoted to the

discussion of an alternative approach to planning in the area,

based on the weaknesses of the original approach and supplementary

literature dealing with this subject.   It was the contention of

the author that the critique and analysis would be incomplete

without the presentation of some alternatives by which the pro-

blems identified in the original process could be utilized

constructively to propose a more effective planning process.

III.   SYNOPSIS

      The thesis follows an order suggested by the research

process.   Chapter two presents the literature relevant to

comprehensive planning, its attributes and purposes, critiques

and evaluation.   Chapter three looks at the framework for plan-

ning in the city.   Chapter four involves a study and analysis

of River-Osborne District planning process.   It is divided into

four sections dealing firstly with a description of the neigh-

bourhood and its predominant characteristics.   This is followed

by an analysis of the planning process, the Plan and its com-

ponents, and the weaknesses in both of these. These are then summarized as the experience is interpreted and linked to the comprehensive style of planning. Chapter five presents an alternative approach to planning in the River-Osborne District, following from the preceding analysis and the means by which the problems which were identified could be resolved.

FOOTNOTES

1. Dates provided by the Assistant Clerk, City of Winnipeg, Winnipeg, Manitoba, February 8, 1980.

2. John Friedmann, "The Future of Comprehensive Planning: A Critique", Public Administration Review 3 (May-June 1971): 317.

3. Ibid., p. 317.

4. John Page and Reg. Lang, "Canadian Planners in Profile," paper presented at the annual conference of the Canadian Institute of Planners, Toronto, Ontario, 27 June 1977, p. 8.

5. Jerome L. Kaufman, "Contemporary Planning Practise: State of the Art," in Planning in America: Learning from Turbulence, ed. David R. Godschalk (Washington: American Institute of Planners, 1974), p. 117.

6. Abraham Kaplan, The Conduct of Inquiry, (San Francisco: Chanbler Publishing Company, 1964), p. 58.

7. Kaplan defines presuppositions in The Conduct of Inquiry, stating that "We presuppose, in every inquiry...a set of generalizations, both about our materials and about the instruments by which they are to be transformed in the other sciences, from everyday knowledge, from the experiences of conflict, and frustrations which motivated our inquiry, from habit and tradition...Presuppositions are brought to the problematic situation." Ibid., p. 87. These were derived from personal experience with the area as a resident and previous member of the Fort Rouge Resident Advisory Group; from study and evaluation of the area and of the District Plan itself.

8. Ibid., p. 88.
The hypothesis is a "test hypothesis" as defined by Kaplan in The Conduct of Inquiry.

The test hypothesis is a conjecture or surmise which may emerge as the solution to the problem...This is what we think may very well be the truth of the matter, and we then organize the inquiry so as to facilitate the decision on whether the conjecture is correct...When the test hypothesis has been established, it is said to constitute a fact or law, according to whether it is particular or general in content. We quite literally reach a conclusion. The inquiry and the process of deliberation as to its outcome have been concluded.

9. City of Winnipeg, Planning Division, District Plans Section, "Roslyn East; A District Plan Concept, paper distributed to the River-Osborne District, Winnipeg, Manitoba, March 1974.

10. City of Winnipeg, Department of Environmental Planning, "River-Osborne District Plan," Winnipeg, Manitoba, May, 1976, p. ii.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

I. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to establish the theoretical framework for the study and analysis of the River-Osborne District planning process. The literature which concerns comprehensive planning -- its principles, purposes, strengths and weaknesses -- will be reviewed to provide a basis for the empirical study.

II. THE COMPREHENSIVE STYLE

1. Philosophy

While originating (in concept) in early Utopian thought, the comprehensive style of planning was formally proposed by Frederick Olmstead (1911) and Alfred Bettman (1928) in the terms of the General Plan for American city planning.[1] The General Plan was intended to be a "master design" or broad policy statement to guide the physical growth and development of the city. It was general, long-range, and comprehensive, encompassing working and living areas, community facilities, and the circulation system of the city as a whole. It attempted to coordinate these elements to optimize departmental planning and

engineering projects.[2]

> Comprehensive planning is correlation at the top, the
> integration of particular objectives and courses of
> action...organized...into an overall strategy and plan
> of action for the organism as a whole.[3]

Ultimately, the comprehensive plan was a clear and firm

"constitution"-like document to which lay decision-makers

(lay in the sense of technical expertise) could refer in matters

of physical development. With it, they could relate immediate

projects to the larger scheme of long range growth and develop-

ment of the city.[4]

> The local government needs an instrument which establishes
> long-range, general policies for physical development of
> the community in a coordinated, unified manner, and which
> can be continually referred to in deciding upon the
> development issues which come up every week.[5]

The comprehensive style was later refined by Edward

Basset in The Master Plan (1928) in which seven "mapable"

elements, which must be dealt with, were listed. These, in-

cluding streets, parks, public building sites, public reser-

vations, public utility routes, harbour links, and zoning dis-

tricts for the city as a whole, were of a strictly physical

nature and limited to areas of public jurisdiction.[6] Private

development was involved only to the extent that overlaps may

occur (for example, directing development through zoning) or in

the provision of the city's infrastructure to accommodate

private development.

The plan was general in the sense that it outlined

desirable future development, by presenting the official poli-

cies of the municipal legislative body. Detail was limited

to those policies concerning the arrangement of physical
elements. "It is the clarification of land-use goals of a
generalized nature which, when adopted by the legislature,
will become the broad framework for further implementation."[7]
The plan was comprehensive to the extent that it encompassed
the entire urban area, integrating the physical elements and
interpreting goals for their development in a systematic,
rational manner.[8]

The plan's claim to legitimacy was its representation
of the goals of the council as well as those of the community
(who were represented by the council). Consequently, goals
were broad and general, stated in terms such as "health,
safety, morals, order, convenience, prosperity, and general
welfare" on which everyone in the community could agree.[9]

2. Evolution

From the initial style of comprehensive planning
developed the notion of a "true comprehensiveness".[10]

> The new city planner will be concerned with physical
> planning, economic planning, and social planning...
> An expanded scope reaching all matters of public
> concern will make planning not only a more effective
> administrative tool of local government but will also
> bring planning practise closer to the issues of real
> concern to the citizens...[11]

This expanded scope was the result of two principal
phenomena. Firstly, was the basic misinterpretation of the
notion of comprehensive planning from comprehensively planning
the physical elements of the city, to one of comprehensively
looking at all elements of the city. It became both general

and specific in focus, long-range and short-range, physical
and socio-economic.[12]   This has continued to determine the
application and use of the comprehensive method of planning
to the present time. As the first (and perhaps only) scien-
tific approach to planning it has become the most widely used
model, applied in a variety of planning contexts from the
neighbourhood to the city or urban region.

Secondly, the scope of planning increased as the social
and economic problems within the city intensified and required
recognition by policy-makers and planners. Physical planning
had failed to create the ideal city, free of social and economic
problems. An alternative dealing with these issues became
imperative.[13]   However, due to the strong physical orientation
of the comprehensive process, inherited from the original
interpretation, the objectives, analyses, and programs of the
non-physical realm were only indirectly approached in the plan-
ning process. The arrangement of physical elements became
integrated with the design and management of institutions
directly involved with problems of an economic or social
nature.[14]

True rational comprehensiveness, then, came to involve
the identification and consideration of all goals of the com-
munity, from the broadest to the narrowest of the alternative
policies and programs to achieve these goals, as well as those
external variables which could affect these policies or
goals.[15]

3. Process

The process of comprehensive planning reflects the attempt at scientific rationality and comprehensiveness in the preparation of plans.[16]

Initially all data relating to physical, economic, and social conditions must be collected and analyzed to formulate the goals and objectives which ultimately provide the framework for planning. This involves a thorough look at all issues and elements within the planning area to determine the problems and opportunities for planning with consideration to community values or the public interest, in defining these problems.[17] The development, evaluation, and selection of alternative policies and programs was directed toward the achievement of community goals in the most efficient manner. The process should be conducted in the most scientific, rational manner in the sense that all information has been reviewed and analyzed, all relevant variables have been considered, and the best choices have been made.[18]

The plan is implemented through the utilization of legal and administrative tools available to planners. This traditionally means the enforcement of zoning by-laws.[19] The process is intended to be a continuing one in which continual feedback, updating, and refining of the plan was conducted in response to new data or conditions in the area, changing goals concerning its future development, and as new methods and techniques of analysis and implementation are developed. The

intent is to maintain, within the process, the optimal policies and programs for the planning area at any point in time.[20]

III. CRITIQUE

Comprehensive planning has continually been redefined and modified to apply to a wider range of planning problems within the city. It has also been critically reviewed as, even in its new forms, it continually proves unsuccessful in many of these situations. This section reviews these critiques, focusing on the "new comprehensiveness" in contemporary planning practise.

1. Goals

The goals of comprehensive planning are broad and long-range. While sufficient for dealing with the entire ubran infrastructure (as the initial comprehensive plan entailed) they have proven inadequate for the purposes of planning today.

Goals of this nature retained their popularity while comprehensive planning was evolving. Planners were aware that their plans were, in large part, based on the representation of community goals. They attempted to maintain those goals which were general or broad enough to be agreed upon by all members of the community.[21] For example, goals involving beauty or efficiency can be easily agreed upon by the community, even while notions or expectations of both may vary.

The advantage of this was the simplification of the planner's task in attempting to understand and represent a diverse community of interests.[22] However, the problems are

more significant. In his analysis of comprehensive planning,

Farbman refers to comprehensive goals as vague and easily

agreed upon statements which are usually indisputable but

meaningless as well. He refers to an interview with John

Dyckman who states that these broad goals create a "tension

in the plan between land-use prescriptions which are plural-

istic and detailed and behavior goals which are kept in a

very grey and hazy state."[23] A gap or incongruity thus

appears in the plan which is supposedly bridged by the plan-

ner who attempts to keep the relationship hazy to obscure

the inconsistencies. Thus the translation of human values and

goals to land-use prescriptions remains unclear and dependent

on the planner's own judgment.

Criticisms of comprehensive planning have emphasized

the failure to reduce these goals to meaningful and operative

levels, to effectively instruct daily, weekly, monthly, or

even annual planning endeavors.[24] Problems of a specific

nature, relating to specific physical, social, or economic

issues require "low level" goals which respond to the immediate

local context.[25]

> The logic of comprehensive planning is inconsistent
> with the imperatives for action. Societal actions
> tend to be focused on limited objectives and are
> resource mobilizing as well as resource using, short
> range in conception (although informed by long range
> purposes), opportunistic, and dependent upon tem-
> porary coalitions for accomplishing their ends.[26]

At the local level, the nature of the problems and issues war-

rants the consideration of politics of decision-making and the

formulation and implementation of growth and development strategies to bring planning to a more relevant and useful form.[27]   Once the planner realizes this, he can participate in the process of decision-making. He can propose s strategy for development which encompasses limited objectives, re-cognizes political realities and differentiates between and among people and areas.[28]

2. The Rigid Prescription

Comprehensive planning has traditionally been noted for its rigidity as the goals reflect ideal futures and the means to achieve these are explicitly stated and intended to be fol-lowed as stated. T.J. Kent, an early analyst of the compre-hensive process, stated that policy must be rigid and a flexible plan is not a plan at all. The single, authoritative comprehensive plan established specific rules to guide depart-mental planners and decision-makers.[29]

Critiques of the rigidity of the comprehensive process state that the attempt to control outcome, in advance, and suppress undesirable change, should be replaced by more creative, flexible planning which is less deterministic.[30] However, when planners realize that unforeseen circumstances or external variables could prevent the achievement of goals or politices (stated in the plan), they attempt to protect the process from disruption by reverting to comprehensive planning.

A very rigid, completed plan or series of plans would only inhibit response to unforeseen circumstances, however. This could intensify the severity of the problem (with an inappropriate response or none at all) or disrupt the plan altogether if a piece in the puzzle was removed. The changes in the external planning environment thus require a flexible, adaptive, and strategic planning process.[31]

3. The Myth of Rationality

The comprehensive process implies that planners must propose the effective, efficient policies and programs to achieve the goals detailed in the plan. Basically, the rationalistic model suggests that the planner "becomes aware of a problem, posits a goal, carefully weighs alternative means, and chooses among them according to his estimates of their respective merit, with reference to the state of affairs he prefers."[32] In reality, this process is neither so rational nor direct, however.

Initially, goals are usually determined as a result of complete interaction among elected officials, administrators, planners, and various formal and informal interest groups. Consequently, the weighing of effectiveness or preference by the community is a very complicated endeavor. As values and goals vary, conflicts may develop among members of the community; as the impact (positive or negative) of programs or policies are not uniform, different groups may approve or object more strongly

than others.[33]

Additionally, planners encounter serious difficulties in weighing, evaluating, and selecting among abstract values and alternatives.

> Social decision-making centres...frequently do not have a specific agreed upon set of values that could provide the criteria for evaluating alternatives. Values, rather, are fluid and are affected by, as well as affect, the decisions made.[34]

In order to understand the nature of the system in which planning takes place and make the most rational decisions on programs and policies, planners require all the information (called the "life blood" of planning[35]) is essential because the accuracy of response depends chiefly on the accuracy of the preceding diagnosis. The right questions must be asked and the information obtained filtered through the system without major distortion.[36]

However, experience has proven that this is impossible. The public, which is the principle source of information, is a non-rational and non-scientific source. The failure, then, to obtain the current and meaningful information required to make rational decisions prevents the achievement of true comprehensiveness and questions the notion of rationality.[37]

4. The Diversity of the Public Interest

Comprehensive planners attempt to interpret and priorize public values into a single hierarchy of community goals, to create a "blueprint of values"[38] to guide the planning process.

This has proven impossible in a highly complex turbulent environment (socially, economically and politically). This type of environment creates "major uncertainties, nullifies some decisions, renders others incapable of implementation, and turns still others back upon themselves so that their consequences are not intended."[39]

Planners have attempted to deal with the conflicts inherent in a pluralistic society by priorizing conflicting goals, and calculating trade-offs among them in constructing their hierarchies. However, Friedmann warns that:

> ...special interest groups predominate and where the planners' values threaten powerful and self-regarding groups, the latter are generally capable of frustrating the intentions of the plan.[40]

The ability of planners to represent the entire community, then, is questioned when these compromises occur.

Initially, values and goals may vary among different geographic areas or communities within the city. While this may be based on different population characteristics (ethnicity or socio-economic status, for example) it also results from their location within the city, their relationship with and vulnerability to external phenomena.[41]

Even within a defined geographic area, values and goals will vary, and it is erroneous of planners to assume a consensus at this level. The same conflicts in value positions and personal goals which exist among neighbourhood are apparent within them, leading one to question even the concept of neighbourhood.

> ...we must cease to look at community in holistic
> and dichotomous terms. This is as true of its spatial
> as of its social characteristics...When the world of
> telemobility has impinged upon every household, the
> desire to create comprehensive, self-contained, in-
> timate, face-to-face communities...is an illusionary
> quest because it misreads the scale of life...42

How, then, can it be assumed that a single statement of goals

can be formulated for any neighbourhood by comprehensive plan-

ners who are often independently interpreting and compromising

public values?

5. Humam Limitations

Comprehensive planners are expected to deal with all of

the information they obtain in a thorough, efficient manner.

They should identify, understand, interpret, and evaluate the

signals from the public, the data pertaining to the planning

problems, the alternative and conflicting points of view and

the priorities amongst goals. And, they must do this according

to the principles or directions of comprehensive planning. This

is impossible; "mature judgments will always be too scarce, and

the limitations of human intellectual capacities will never

permit adequate comprehension of the urban system's complexi-

ties."[43]

In addition, planners are inevitably influenced or

biased by their own value positions, despite the attempt to

maintain objectivity in planning rationally and scientifically.

In fact, Friedmann suggests that planners often investigate

public attitudes and goals only superficially to prevent the

disruption of their own process, by unresolvable conflicts or

differences in goals.[44]   Other times, they may have already

developed a set of planning or design principles which will

predetermine the goals of the plan and substitute for community

goals.[45]

6.   Communication: The Public

The process of comprehensive planning aggravates the

difficulties in accurately identifying and representing public

goals. Friedmann refers to the barriers to effective communica-

tion between planners and their clients (the public) in a critique

of comprehensive planning. Foremost among these is the elitist

and defensive attitude of planners. He states that most planners

who believe in their superiority, rationality and knowledge

projects this self-image to their clients in an effort to re-

inforce their purpose and role. While people are alienated by

this image they also trust experience more than rational objec-

tivity and seek to avoid contact and communication with planners.[46]

Webber attributes this barrier to communication and

cooperation to the sheer efficiency and inflexibility of com-

prehensive planning. When the process has been initiated, its

momentum or continuity could easily disrupted by unanticipated

or undesirable interjections. These are subsequently avoided

by consciously projecting a condescending attitude toward the

primary source of these interjections -- the public.[47]

Rationality implies that direct participation by the

public is not always desirable. This is especially true when

decisions are very serious, have numerous and serious implica-

tions, and where technical expertise and professional opinion
is felt superior.[48]

Because of this elitist attitude, a common feature of
the comprehensive process is the interpretation and formulation
of planning goals from information from the public by planners
alone. These are then presented to the community for reaction
and approval when the plan is nearly complete. This both
alienates and overwhelms the public because of their ignorance
of technical and professional documents, and because of the
broadness of the goals themselves. The plans, written in
general and abstract terms are often meaningless to the public,
especially when the impact of policies or proposals is impossible
to detect.[49] The plans are subsequently ignored until goals are
reduced to more specific proposals; the lack of response is
attributed to either consensus of approval or apathy on the
part of the community.[50]

Critics suggest that this is one of the greatest weak-
nesses of the comprehensive style of planning. They advocate
the benefits of effective participation, within or outside the
context or comprehensive planning. For example, Friedmann
proposes the replacement of the traditional means of communica-
tion (through formal documents) with a continuing series of
personal and verbal contacts.[51] Planning should become man-
centred and decentralized, reaching down into the streets to
allow the public to express their concerns to planners in a
cooperative, egalitarian process.[52]

7. Communication: The Politicians

The discord which often exists between planners and the public is similar to that between planners and decision-makers. Comprehensive planning has traditionally been detached (purposely) from politics.[53]

It should initially be emphasized that the political process is vital to the planning process. Planners rely completely on the legislative powers of local politicians for the implementation of their recommendations in the comprehensive plan. "Implementing powers are, to a large extent, determined by the distribution of power in a system...the capacity to plan is linked directly with the implementing process."[54] This has unfortunately been overlooked or ignored. Comprehensive planners, in their attempt to be rational, have excluded politics from the process because of its irrational, incremental qualities.[55]

This negative attitude has been reciprocated by decision-makers who cannot understand the purpose of plans containing long-range, esoteric goals. They have gradually lost confidence in planning and planners themselves. Kaplan states that comprehensive, two-dimensional design schemes are doomed to failure because they are not attuned to the politics of mutual adjustment, bargaining, and compromise.[56] Decision-makers prefer to concentrate on issues of direct, immediate concern which they can observe, evaluate, and which are politically popular and reflect positively on the council. When presented with com-

prehensive, long-term plans, then, their immediate reaction is one of skepticism and rejection (especially if these plans are controversial in nature).[57]

8. Data, Models, and Techniques

Comprehensive planners attempt to gather and analyze information in a rational, scientific manner, corresponding with the objectives of the planning style.[58] Friedmann summarizes the implications of this orientation:

> ...the method of system-wide balances has led to an over-emphasis on stability; quantitative modeling has encouraged the neglect of the actual conditions govern-ing policy and program implementation; and the claim to functional rationality has made planners insensitive to the value implications of their work...[59]

Techniques of data analysis and projection, borrowed from the physical sciences and intended for quantitative data, have been applied to qualitative information in the comprehensive process. Comprehensive planners, many of whom lack the training and ex-ertise to use mathematical models correctly, are faced with this task. The most common result is the making of subjective probability judgments to rationalize the translation of values to physical objectives to conceal the gaps which may occur in the process. Models are simply not equipped to perform many of the functions involved in working with value based, qualita-tive informaton.[60]

Friedmann and Hudson suggest that the problem starts long before planners actually attempt to analyze data, in the stages of information gathering. They state that information systems

are problematic in terms of the falsification of data, the loss of information in the process of aggregation, and the transformation of knowledge into mathematical models.[61]

Planners also rely heavily on census data (to supplement their own surveys) to understand the social and physical characteristics of the environment in which they are planning. Muhlin and Milcarek, in their analysis of census information, warn against the use of census data which is very selective and often based on poor enumeration to misrepresent the situation in reality.[62] This warning extends to the technique of forecasting which is utilized to predict the future. Projection, based on probability models, uses empirical data and historical evidence, and replicates static or existing conditions. It thus fails to accommodate for unanticipated phenomena which may alter the situation drastically, but unfortunately cannot be predicted mathematically.[63] With the exception of very short periods of time, then, projections tend to be highly inaccurate in dealing with the uncertainty which the future bears. Michael observes that "mathematical models have never been successful at representing the properties of turbulent environments and emergent systems whose characteristics, by definition, are not specifiable."[64] Considering that the goals of comprehensive planning are very long-range in nature and are directed at the contemporary city with these very properties, the utility of these models must be questioned.

9. The Physical Bias

Comprehensive planning has an inherent physical bias, originating in the first interpretation of the planning style. Haar, in his analysis of the Master Plan, states that Basset was too narrow in his limitation to physical elements of the city, especially in the modern, complex city. Furthermore, the approach outlined by Basset has been interpreted far too literally by urban planners, despite changing conditions in the city.[65] Hanson attributes the physical bias in comprehensive planning to legislative and administrative guidelines for planning which focus on land-use controls. He also blames traditional planning schools which have perpetuated this orientation by teaching the principles and techniques of comprehensive planning.[66]

Comprehensive planners have traditionally relied on land-use controls for purposes of policy implementation. This was a basic principle of the original "Master Plan" and remains an integral part of the comprehensive process today. The zoning ordinance which was one of Basset's seven mapable elements is still the principle means of implementing comprehensive plans.[67] This is in spite of recurring proof of its obsolescence in older, built-up areas of the city. In these areas, the problems are more urgent than the separation and designation of land-uses and despite its modifications, the zoning ordinance is simply not adequate. This applies to most land-use controls which, useful in certain situations, cannot begin to deal with the complex social, economic, and political elements with which

contemporary must deal.[68]

The notion of physical determinism has traditionally been noted in comprehensive planning. It was originally believed that the physical environment was a major determinant of social behavior and a direct contributor to human welfare. Consequently, the resolution of social and economic problems was through the manipulation of the physical environment.[69] But,

> buildings don't have problems, only people...The focus of attention is being redirected from the city's real estate to its social and economic conditions; and urban renewal and city planning show signs of shifting from the traditional concentration on land-use to conditions of urban life.[70]

However, planners are resistant to change despite the many challenges to the traditional, comprehensive approach to planning.[71]

> The general plan as we know it is urgently in need of complete restructuring to respond to a different set of purposes...We cannot preach a doctrine that planning should reflect social and economic needs if we are bound by physical plans that do not permit us to respond to shifts in those needs over short term intervals...if social and economic needs...are to be construed as of only limited importance, we can be content "to relate" to them in the design of our cities. If we consider them to be truly important, it is necessary to go beyond "relating" to them and start responding to them.[72]

IV. CONCLUSIONS

Comprehensive planning today is a derivation of the general or master planning concept formulated in the 1920's and 1930's in the United States. It has been revised, updated, and adapted to contemporary planning problems as time went on and

circumstances necessitated, but without satisfactory results.
Accordingly it has become the subject of review and critique
in the recent literature on planning.

The outstanding theorists referred in the critique of
the comprehensive style of planning are T. J. Kent, John
Friedmann, Alan Altshuler, and Melvin Webber.[73] The following
is a summary of the basic critiques of comprehensive planning
as represented in the literature review.

1. The goals of comprehensive planning are long-range,
   broad, and vague. They simplify the situation (or
   planning problems) in an attempt to represent the
   entire population.

2. Comprehensive goals, in representing an ideal end
   state, fail to lead to action in direct terms.

3. The comprehensive process is rigid, authoritative,
   and non-adaptive to changing goals, circumstances,
   and interferences.

4. The principles of efficiency and rationality are
   unrealistic with human values, uncertainty, and
   qualitative data; information is never complete.

5. In a complex, pluralistic society it is impossible
   to establish a true consensus of planning goals,
   as attempted in comprehensive planning.

6. Humans lack the intellectual and technical capacity
   to deal with all the information and variables re-
   quired to achieve comprehensiveness. Planners are
   naturally biased despite attempts to be value-free
   and objective.

8. The comprehensive process creates barriers to com-
   munication with the public and political representa-
   tives.

10. Comprehensive planning has been misinterpreted and
    misused. It has been applied to situations for which
    it was not intended, without sufficient modification
    or adaptation.

In theory, the comprehensive style of planning leaves much to
be desired. It is neither as comprehensive nor as effective
as its principles would suggest. In addition, when utilized
in situations for which it has not been intended or adapted
its weaknesses are magnified. The critique developed in this
chapter identified these problems and weaknesses. In doing so,
it established a framework for the analysis of planning in the
River-Osborne District, to illustrate the comprehensive process
in practise.

Godschalk (Washington: American Institute of Planners, 1974), p. 64; Lawrence E. Susskind, "The Future of the Planning Professor," in Planning in America: Learning from Turbulence, p. 140.

15.   Grabow and Heskin, "Foundation for a Radical Concept of Planning," p. 106; John Friedmann, Retracking America: A Theory of Transactive Planning, (New York: Anchor Press, 1973), p. 53.

16.   John Friedmann and Barclay Hudson, "Knowledge and Action: A Guide to Planning Theory," Journal of the American Institute of Planners 40 (January 1974).

17.   Alan Altshuler, "The Goals of Comprehensive Planning," in A Reader in Planning Theory ed. Andreas Faludi (Oxford: Pergammon Press Ltd., 1973).

18.   Charles M. Haar, Land-Use Planning: A Casebook on the Use, Misuse, and Re-use of Urban Land, (Boston: Little, Brown, 1976), p. 80; Andreas Faludi, Planning Theory, (Oxford: Pergammon Press, 1973), p. 94; Amatai Etzioni, "Mixed Scanning: A 'Third' Approach to Decision-making," in A Reader in Planning Theory, ed. Andreas Faludi (Oxford: Pergammon Press Ltd., 1973).

19.   William Goodman and Jerome Kaufman, City Planning in the Sixties, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1961), p. 5.

20.   Branch, Planning: Aspects and Applications, pp. 304-305; Haar, Land-Use Planning: A Casebook on the Use, Misuse, and Re-use of Urban Land, p. 80; Faludi, Planning Theory, p. 94.

21.   Faludi, Planning Theory, p. 133.

22.   Marshall Kaplan, Urban Planning in the 1960's: A Design for Irrelevancy, (New York: Praeger Publishers, Inc.,1973).

23.   David Farbman, "A Description, Analysis, and Critique of the Master Plan," prepared for the Institute for Urban Studies, n.p., 1970, (mimeographed), pp. 36, 57.

24.   Martin Meyerson, "Building the Middle-Range Bridge for Comprehensive Planning," in A Reader in Planning Theory, ed. Andreas Faludi (Oxford: Pergammon Press Ltd., 1973), p. 129; Ira M. Robinson, "Beyond the Middle-Range Bridge," in A Reader in Planning Theory, ed. Andreas Faludi (Oxford: Pergammon Press Ltd., 1973), p. 171; Susskind, "The Future of the Planning Profession," pp. 141-142.

25.   Kaplan, Urban Planning in the 1960's, p. 19; Rachelle Alterman and Morris Hill, "Implementation of Urban Land-Use Plans," Journal of the American Institute of Planners 77 (July 1978): 282; Herbert J. Gans, "From Urbanism to Policy Planning," Journal of the American Institute of Planners 36 (July 1970): 241.

26. Friedmann, "The Future of Comprehensive Planning: A Critique," p. 317.

27. Susskind, "The Future of the Planning Profession," pp. 141-142.

28. Kaplan, Urban Planning in the 1960's, pp. 18-19; Peter H. Oberlander, ed., Canada: An Urban Agenda, (Ottawa: Community Planning Press and ASPO Press, 1976), pp.107-108; Robert W. Rider, "Transition from Land-Use to Policy Planning: Lessons Learned," Journal of the American Institute of Planners 44 (January 1978): 33.

29. Kent, The Urban General Plan, p. 20.

30. Grabow and Heskin, "Foundation for a Radical Concept of Planning," p. 108; Robinson, "Beyond the Middle-Range Bridge," p. 172; Alterman and Hill, "Implementation of Urban Land-Use Plans," p. 280; Branch, Planning: Aspects and Applications, pp. 30-33.

31. Friedmann, "The Future of Comprehensive Planning: A Critique," pp. 317-318. Kent also refers to this critique as one frequently made by social scientists in The Urban General Plan, p. 50.

32. Etzioni, "Mixed Scanning: A 'Third' Approach to Decision-making," pp. 217-218.

33. Darwin G. Stuart, "Rational Urban Planning: Problems and Prospects," Urban Affairs Quarterly 5 (December 1969): 161-162.

34. Etzioni, "Mixed Scanning: A 'Third' Approach to Decision-making," p. 218.

35. Branch, Planning: Aspects and Applications, p. 308.

36. Friedmann, Retracking America, p. 161.

37. Robinson, "Beyond the Middle-Range Bridge," pp. 171-172; Friedmann, Retracking America, pp. 122-123; Charles E. Lindblom, "The Science of Muddling Through," in A Reader in Planning Theory ed. Andreas Faludi (Oxford: Pergammon Press Ltd.,1973): 150-151.

38. Altshuler, "The Goals of Comprehensive Planning," p.194; Friedmann, Retracking America, pp. 122-123; Haar, "The Content of the General Plan," p. 359.

39. Harris, "Planning Method: State of the Art," p. 64.

40. Friedmann and Hudson, "Knowledge and Action: A Guide to Planning Theory," p. 8.

41. Kaplan, Urban Planning in the 1960's, p. 18.

42. Suzanne Keller, "Planning of Communities: Anticipa-
tions, Hindsights," quoted in Haar, Land-Use Planning: A Casebook
on the Use, Misuse, and Re-use of Urban Land, p. 1042-1043; also
see Kaplan, Urban Planning in the 1960's, pp. 18-19; and Herbert
Gans, People and Plans, (New York: Basic Books, 1968), pp. 22-23.

43. Melvin Webber, "Comprehensive Planning and Social
Responsibility," in A Reader in Planning Theory, ed. Andreas
Faludi (Oxford: Pergammon Press Ltd., 1973), p. 103.

44. Friedman, "The Future of Comprehensive Planning: A
Critique," p. 317.

45. Farbman, "A Description, Analysis, and Critique of
the Master Plan," p. 75; Grabow and Heskin, "Foundation for a
Radical Concept of Planning," pp. 107-108; Webber, "Comprehen-
sive Planning and Social Responsibility," p. 107.

46. Friedmann, Retracking America, pp. 175-176; Grabow
and Heskins, in "Foundation for a Radical Concept of Planning,"
p. 108, state that planners would rather manipulate than co-
operate; and Faludi, in Planning Theory, p. 133, refers to the
"heavy-handedness" of planners.

47. Webber, "Comprehensive Planning and Social Responsi-
bility," p. 107.

48. Harris, "Planning Method: State of the Art," p. 63.

49. Gans, People and Plans, pp. 23-24.

50. Ibid., pp. 23-24; Altshuler, "The Goals of Compre-
hensive Planning," p. 197.

51. Friedmann, Retracking America, p. 176.

52. Gans, People and Plans, p. 242; Grabow and Heskin,
"Foundation for a Radical Concept of Planning," pp. 109-112.

53. Hansen, "Metropolitan Planning and the New Compre-
hensiveness," p. 295.

54. Friedmann, Retracking America, p. 70.

55. Meyerson, "Building the Middle-Range Bridge for
Comprehensive Planning," p. 209; Farbman, "A Description, Analysis,
and Critique of the Master Plan," pp. 24-24; Harris, "Planning
Method: State of the Art," p. 62.

56. Kaplan, City Planning in the 1960's, p. 19.

57.   Altshuler, "The Goals of Comprehensive Planning,"
p. 201; Faludi, Planning Theory, pp. 100-103, 151.

58.   The original work done on fact gathering and pre-
diction was by F. Stuart Chapin, Urban Land-Use Planning,
(New York: Harper & Bros., 1957).

59.   Friedmann, Retracking America, p. 59.

60.   Harris, "Planning Method: State of the Art," p. 194;
also see Susskind, "The Future of the Planning Profession,"
p. 158; Dennis A. Rondinelli, "Urban Planning as Policy Ana-
lysis: Management of Urban Change," Journal of the American
Institute of Planners 39 (January 1973): 13; and Stuart,
"Rational Urban Planning," pp. 156-157.

61.   Friedmann and Hudson, "Knowledge and Action: A Guide
to Planning Theory," p. 8.

62.   Gregory L. Muhlin and Barry I. Milcarek, "Urban
Analysis and Planning: A Cautionary Note on the Utilization of
Census Data," Urban Affairs Quarterly 10 (December 1974).

63.   Stuart, "Rational Urban Planning," pp. 157-159;
Branch, Planning: Aspects and Applications, p. 301.

64.   Donald N. Michael, "Speculations on Future Planning
Process Theory," in Planning in America: Learning from Turbulence
ed. David R. Godschalk (Washington: American Institute of Plan-
ners, 1974), 51.

65.   Haar, "The Content of the General Plan," p. 70.

66.   Hansen, "Metropolitan Planning and the New Compre-
hensiveness," p. 295.

67.   Farbman, "A Description, Analysis, and Critique of
the Master Plan," p. 16; Basset, The Master Plan.

68.   For a thorough analysis of zoning, see Kent Gerecke,
et al., "Toward a New Canadian Zoning," paper prepared for the
School of Urban and Regional Planning, University of Waterloo,
Waterloo, October 1974 (mimeographed).

69.   Webber, "Comprehensive Planning and Social Responsibi-
lity," p. 96; Herbert J. Gans, "The Need for Planners Trained
in Policy Formulation," in Urban Planning in Transition,
ed. Ernest Erber (New York: Grossman, 1970), p. 242.

70.   Robinson, "Beyond the Middle-Range Bridge," pp. 184-185.

71. Kaplan, City Planning in the 1960's, p. 97; Webber, "Comprehensive Planning and Social Responsibility," p. 96; Bernard J. Frieden, "New Roles in Social Policy Planning," in Urban Planning in Transition ed. Ernest Erber (New York: Grossman, 1970), p. 282.

72. Isadore Candeub, "New Techniques in Making the General Plan," in Urban Planning in Transition, (New York: 1970), pp. 218-221.

73. The critiques of comprehensive planning have largely been extrapolated from Carles Lindbolm's theories on incrementalism developed for planning in administrative theory. No attempt has been made, in this research, to represent these theories because of its focus (administrative theory) which is beyond the scope of this research.

CHAPTER III

THE LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK

I. INTRODUCTION

The Directions for planning are provided in the City
of Winnipeg Act under "City Plans". In the following chapter,
planning legislation will be reviewed and interpreted to
understand the approach taken in the City of Winnipeg, es-
pecially at the neighbourhood level. The intent of this is
to provide a context for the subsequent study of the planning
process in the River-Osborne planning district.

II. THE LEGISLATION

The legislative directions for planning in the City of
Winnipeg Act provide for three levels of planning in the city
(and additional zone). The Greater Winnipeg Development Plan
(formerly the Metropolitan Development Plan) encompasses the
entire city and the additional zone. The District Plans are
intended for specific districts (designated by council) in the
city, and Action Area Plans are prepared for smaller neighbour-
hood size areas within the Districts. This hierarchy of plans,
with increasing specificity as the lower levels, treats the
city in a very thorough, comprehensive manner. This is apparent

in the legislation.[2]

> "Greater Winnipeg development plan" means a statement of the City's policy and general proposals in respect of the development or use of the land in the city and the additional zone, set out in texts, maps or illustrations, and measures for the improvement of the physical, social and economic environment and transportation;

> "district plan" means a plan for a district within the city or the additional zone which consists of text or illustrations formulating in such detail as the council think appropriate, proposals for the development and use of land in the district, and a description of the measures which the council considers would be undertaken for the improvement of the physical, social and economic environment and transportation within the district;

> "action area plan" means the statement of the city's policies and proposals for the comprehensive treatment during a period prescribed in it of an action area as a whole or part of the area, or by the establishment and implementation of a social development program, or partly by one and partly by another method, and the identification of the type of treatments selected, and may be expressed in texts, maps or illustrations;

This framework for planning predominated until 1977 when amendments to the City of Winnipeg Act eliminated District Plans and replaced them with Community Plans. This correspondingly modified the purpose of the Action Area Plans.

The Community Plan was to apply to a whole community, of which there are six under the revised legislation.

1. City Centre - Fort Rouge
2. St. Boniface - St. Vital
3. Assiniboine Park - Fort Garry
4. St. James - Assiniboia
5. Lord Selkirk - West Kildonan
6. East Kildonan - Transcona

The Community Plan was defined as:

> a plan for the whole area of a community or all that part of a municipality that is within the additional

zone, within the framework established in the Greater
Winnipeg Development Plan and which consists of text
and maps or illustrations formulating in such detail
as council considers appropriate, proposals for the
development and use of land in the community or all
that part of the municipality that is within the
additional zone and a description of the measures
which the council considers should be undertaken for
the improvement within the community or within all
that part of the municipality that is within the addi-
tional zone;[3]

The function of Action Area Plans was still not clearly

defined in the legislation, but open to interpretation as their

use warranted.[4]

II. INTERPRETATION AND IMPLICATIONS

1. The Greater Winnipeg Development Plan

The Greater Winnipeg Development Plan holds the most

authority in planning in the city. It implies that the interests

of the whole take precedence over the interests of any part,

group, or neighbourhood within the city.[5] Lower level plans

(district, community or action area) must therefore consider

the objectives and policies in the Greater Winnipeg Development

in the formulation of policies and programs for planning within

these areas.

This is most significant for planning in the River-

Osborne area as the Metropolitan Development Plan states

specific objectives for the development of the neighbourhood.

Considering the authority of the Development Plan, these objec-

tives should also direct planning at the neighbourhood level,

so that the plans for the River-Osborne area maintain the same

objectives as the Development Plan. The Metropolitan Develop-

ment Plan[6] designated River-Osborne as a Group "C" living area.

It identified this area on the basis of several characteristics.

- located on the fringe of downtown,
- contain very few single family dwellings,
- the choice of persons who wished to be close to the
  centres of downtown employment, central shopping,
  and entertainment,
- contain a large number (increasingly so) of people who
  are likely to use public transportation,
- had a predominance of one-bedroom and bachelor units
  with some two-bedroom units in multiple accommodation
  dwellings,
- had a limited number of more spacious accommodation for
  families with children,
- were lacking in open space,
- spot development without adequate provision for open
  space intensified this deficiency, and
- densities varied from those of central area districts
  but were higher than those areas further out from the
  centre.[7]

Based on these observations, and its goals for the overall develop-

ment of the city, the Plan stated the objective for development

in Group "C" areas.

as redevelopment to higher densities takes place, provision
must be made for additional space as well as for other uses
and services which the increasing concentration of people
will require.[8]

In stating this objective, the Plan acknowledged the nature of

development which was prevalent in the area; its aim was to

accommodate that development in the most efficient manner rather

than to control it or direct it in any other manner.

The Plan stated its policy objectives for riverbank

areas (including those in the River-Osborne area). It states

that, with the exception of the Fort Rouge Park (River Avenue

at Lewis Street) which extends to include a portion of river-
bank land, the rezoning of riverbanks would reflect prevailing
densitites, indicating high density development in these areas.[9]

The Plan also acknowledged the function of major trans-
portation routes which were disrupting the River-Osborne
neighbourhood. In stating that planning in the area must be
in accordance with the overall goals of the city, it places the
development of the regional transportation routes before the
concerns of the community through which these run.

The Plan also suggested the development of lower level
plans or "detailed area plans", the purpose of which was to
satisfy the objectives and policies within the Metropolitan
Development Plan. It states that the "Plan is a general
statement of policy...the next stage in the planning process is
to apply these general policies to specific parts of the
metropolitan area...",[10] thus establishing the importance of
maintaining these policies and objectives in planning at the
neighbourhood level. Consequently, when the planning process
was initiated in the River-Osborne District, planners should
have maintained these objectives to direct the process and
the content of the District Plan.[11]

The Greater Winnipeg Development Plan established the
comprehensiveness of plans in the city by referring to the
physical, social, and economic environment and transportation
as within the context of plans in the city. These were sub-
sequently included in the terms of the District Plans, as well

as in the terms of Action Area Plans in reference to policies and proposals for the comprehensive treatment of an action area. This was less certain in Community Plans in which reference was made to the use of land in the community and other measures for the improvement of the community. This suggests that the comprehensive treatment of community elements should be maintained at lower levels of planning.[12]

2. District Plans

The District Plan for the River-Osborne area must comply with the directions in the legislation in the City of Winnipeg Act. Consequently, it should be comprehensive, including measures for the improvement of the physical, social, and economic environment and transportation in the district. A "plan" under the legislation refers to a "document consisting of texts and maps or illustrations...formulating proposals for the development and use of land...and a description of the measures which the council considers should be undertaken for the improvement of the physical, social and economic environment and transportation within the district."[13] Thus the plan becomes a static document describing the planning which should occur subsequent to the preparation of the plan. This reflects the approach which was taken in the River-Osborne District when the planning process was started.

The plans were to be established, altered, amended, or repealed by a By-law.[14] This is significant in establishing

the scope and emphasis of the District Plan, as the legislation states that a by-law includes "only those portions (of the plan) which relate directly to land-use controls...the "bulk" of the plan...should be adopted for information only."[15] Thus the District Plan must be concerned with the physical or land-use elements of the planning area as these are the only enforceable elements within the plan. This indicates a physical bias in the planning process as although the social and economic components of the environment should be included in the plan, implementation would focus on the land-use policies contained within the plan and represented in the by-law.

3. Changes in the Legislation

The River-Osborne area was designated as a "district" when the planning process started in 1973. It maintained this status and the plan was initially read as a District Plan so that its status would not change even with the amendments to the legislation in 1977.[16] Had this not been done, the area would have formally become an Action Area and the plan, an Action Area Plan. Despite these amendments, then, the changes in the legislation had no significant effect on planning in the area.

4. The Authority of Council in Planning

The decision-making role of the City Council in any planning in the city is established in the legislation, referred to in the terms of the Greater Winnipeg Development Plan,

District Plans, and Action Area Plans. Under "District Plans", Council is given the power to dictate the detail of text and maps or illustrations formulating proposals. It also directs and approves the nature of the measures which will be undertaken for the improvement of the physical, social and economic environment and transportation within the district.[17] This is generally carried out when Plans are presented to the City Council for approval, prior to implementation. In practise, Council has little direct involvement in the planning process as it is conducted at the present time.

The power of Council in planning in the city is significant because planners are completely dependent on this decision-making body for giving legal effect to the plans which are prepared for any planning area. The objectives or biases of council therefore take precedence to those of the planners or community, in the final analysis. Planners must either represent these objectives in their plans, or convince the Council of the advantages of policies or programs which may be be contrary to these biases. Alternatively, Council (or members thereof) could become more directly involved in the process to develop policies which are directly responsive to the community, and support these if they do not correspond completely with the traditional objectives of the Council.

III. SUMMARY

      The major points made in the preceding analysis are
stated below:

    a.   The approach to planning in the City of Winnipeg is
       clearly comprehensive.[18]

    b.   Planning at the District (or action area or community)
       level must be in compliance with the objectives of the
       Greater Winnipeg Development Plan, as the goals for the
       city take precedence over the goals for individual parts
       of the city.

    c.   A physical bias is inherent in the legislation, in re-
       quiring the implementation of (District) plans with a
       by-law.

    d.   The authority for planning is held by the Council of the
       City of Winnipeg. Planners must gain the approval of
       this body to undertake a planning process and to implement
       their plans.

      The approach which was taken to planning in the River-
Osborne district was, in a sense, predetermined by the legislative
arrangements for planning in the city. However, the legislation
was still open or vague enough in many areas to allow planners
some discretion in undertaking a planning process.[18] The implica-
tions for planning at lower levels (specifically the district
level) are stated in the preceding analysis. The study of the
planning process in the River-Osborne District will illustrate
the effect of these legislative directions on the district plan-
ning process.

FOOTNOTES

1. This is not intended to be an exhaustive review of
the planning legislation, but concerned with that which is
considered to be directly relevant to the problem at hand.

2. The City of Winnipeg Act, Part XX, The Environment,
City Plans, Definitions, S.M. 1971, c. 105, Section 569 (f) (d)
(a). This is not intended to be an exhaustive review of the
legislation, but only those sections directly relevant to the
case.

3. Bill 62, An Act to Amend the City of Winnipeg Act,
and Bill 85, An Act to Amend the City of Winnipeg Act (2),
Winnipeg, Manitoba, 1977.

4. Sheila Vanderhoef and Jackie DeRoo, "A Study of the
Community Schools Concept," prepared for the Institute of Urban
Studies, The University of Winnipeg, Winnipeg, Manitoba, March
1978. (mimeographed), p. 99; Action Area Plans have been better
defined for other jurisdictions, intimating that for Winnipeg's
case. In a document by the Ministry of Housing and Local Govern-
ment in London, England the action area plan was intended to
"provide guidance for change that is to commence in the short
term (over the next ten years) in a specific area (such as city
centres, old and new residential areas, recreation areas, major
traffic intersections, etc.) for the purpose of informing the
public about municipal intentions, of advising property owners
how they will be affected, and to indicate to developers where
the opportunities are." quoted in Vanderhoef and DeRoo, "A
Study of the Community Schools Concept," p. 99; from Development
Plans: A Manual on Form and Content, (London: Ministry of Housing
and Local Government, 1970).

5. Community Planning Association of Canada, "Planning
and Land-Use Under the Planning Act and the City of Winnipeg
Act," report of the Provincial Planning Conference, Winnipeg,
Manitoba, 23 February 1976. (mimeographed).

6. The Metropolitan Development Plan was the original
title of The Greater Winnipeg Development Plan, prior to the
implementation of the City of Winnipeg Act in 1971. It contained
the major policies of the city, most of which are still followed.

7. Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg, The
Metropolitan Development Plan, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 1968, pp. 44-45.

8. Ibid., p. 45.

9. Ibid., pp. 66 - 67.

10. _Ibid._, p. 106.

11. However, the Planning Group was directly opposed to these policies; many of the River-Osborne District Plan's original objectives and policies were politically unpopular for contradicting these policies.

12. _The City of Winnipeg Act_, S.M. 1971, c. 105, Sec. 569 (a) (d).

13. _The City of Winnipeg Act_, S.M. 1971, c. 105, Sec. 569 (d)

14. _Ibid._, Sec. 569 (e).

15. City of Winnipeg, Department of Environmental Planning, _The River-Osborne District Plan_, Winnipeg, Manitoba, May 1976, p. i (By-law).

16. Interveiw with June Westbury, Member of the Legislative Assembly (Province of Manitoba) and former City Councillor, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 21 January 1980.

17. _The City of Winnipeg Act_., S.M. 1971, c. 105, Sec. 569 (d).

18. This conclusion also represents the opinions of Peter Taraska, Chairman, Committee of Review, The City of Winnipeg Act, and Avram Regenstrief, Assistant Manager of the City of Edmonton Planning Department and lecturer in the Department of City Planning, University of Manitoba; obtained in telephone interviews on 26 February 1980 and 16 March 1980, respectively.

CHAPTER IV

THE RIVER-OSBORNE DISTRICT PLAN

I. INTRODUCTION

In his analysis of the city planning process, Alan Altshuler makes the following observation:

> Planners do not risk charged with socialistic or dicta-torial tendencies when they propose alterations in street patterns, purchases of parkland, construction of sewer facilities, and the like. Clear threats to public safety and health are likewise recognized as proper public concerns. But when planners propose novel or expensive projects that cannot be justified by their benefits to property owners, they run afoul of several powerful social mechanisms. Among these are:
>
> 1. the necessity of gaining support from politicians who avoid controversy and cooperation from officials in the operating departments who are jealous of their powers;
> 2. the legal and financial restraints upon the city government, which operate to prevent even some activities in which politicians and agency heads are willing to engage; and
> 3. the lack of executive authority within the planning agency itself.[1]

The River-Osborne planning process did become controversial for threatening the rights of local property owners and challenging local political authority. Accordingly, it encountered pressure and obstacles, including those listed above, which disrupted the process. Chapter four examines this planning process, analyzes the problems which it encountered, and the response by planners to the same.

This chapter consists of four sections. In section two, the River-Osborne District is analyzed in terms of its basic elements or characteristics. Consideration is accorded to the historical processes of development, political influences, community organization (voluntary), and the effect of planning in the area.

The third section introduces the planning process by providing a brief chronology of the events which dominated the process. It states the major conflicts and problems which were encountered in planning, and explains the status of the plan today. It also includes a description of the District Plan -- its purposes and contents.

In section four, the planning process is analyzed, based on its objectives, approach, and major components. The major weaknesses are identified following the framework established in Chapter II (comprehensive planning) and analyzed in terms of their implications for planning in the area.

Section four summarizes the analysis and links it directly to comprehensive planning. This explains the factors which led to the failure of the process, in relation to the comprehensive style of planning in the district.

II. THE DISTRICT

  1. Development

The River-Osborne District is one hundred and sixty acre area, located in the north-east tip of Fort Rouge in Winnipeg.

53

MAP 2

THE RIVER-OSBORNE PLANNING DISTRICT
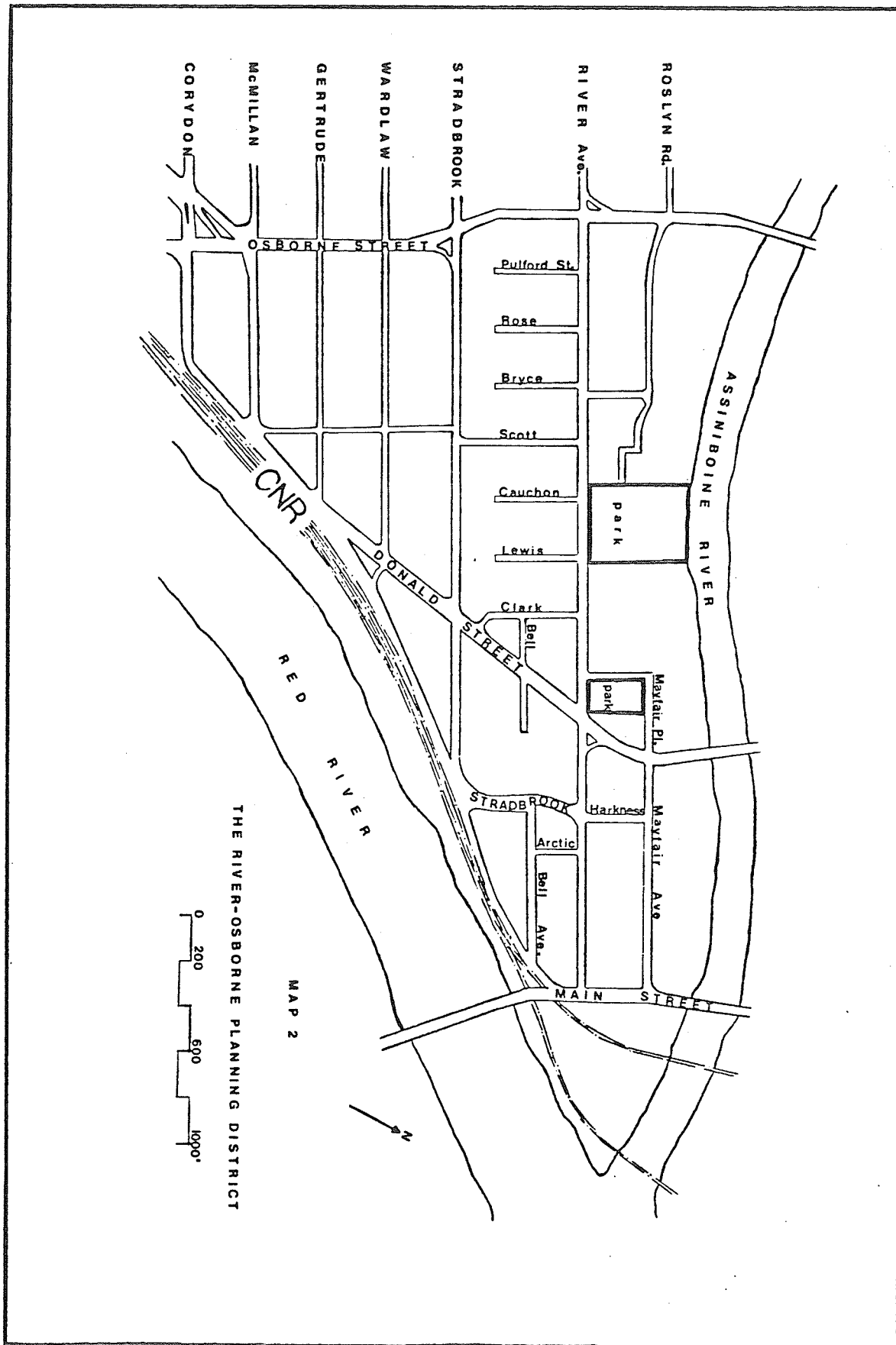
It is bounded by the Assiniboine River on the north, the Red River on the east, Corydon Avenue on the south, and Osborne Street on the west.

The history of the district stems back to the 1880's with the development of the Roslyn Road area as an upper class residential neighbourhood.[2] The wealthy elite of Winnipeg, seeking to escape the rapidly growing city built large, grand homes across the river from the built up portion of Winnipeg. The Roslyn Road area, close to the Assiniboine River, was an ideal location for residential development because of both its natural amenities (trees, riverbanks, etc.) and accessibility to the city just across the river. In addition to the large estates, a few high priced aapartment blocks (three to four storeys) were constructed for those with no families or who preferred smaller accommodation in the same area.

Later, the Depression and the war reduced the socio-economic viability of the properties, leading to the demolition of some homes and the conversion and re-use of others. Consequently, there was a gradual decrease in both the number of large homes used for single family purposes, and in the nature and quality of construction -- lower cost, higher density apartments. As the population density increased and the status of the area decreased, the wealthy began to move to the suburbs. The nature of the population changed from predominantly wealthy families to more students, elderly, and low income families and singles.

The East of Osborne area was still an ideal location for residential development, but the demand for apartments gradually exceeded that for single family homes. This is attributable to several factors: the proximity to downtown (geographically and functionally), the rising demand for more housing, the natural amenities of the area, its historical prestige, and especially the ease at which large parcels of land (previous estates) could be assembled for development purposes.[3]

The process of property conversion was intensified as the area was designated a "Conversion District" by the city in 1954.[4] The zoning changes, in fact, were central to these trends. As early as the 1940's the city studied areas suitable for apartment development, selecting the Roslyn Road area among others near the central city for this purpose. When high density zoning was subsequently implemented, the speculative value of the property increased, making it more profitable to sell land for redevelopment to high-density apartments.[5]

The predominance of apartment development became apparent in the early 1960's, when many of the older properties (still existing) were demolished and replaced by medium to high density apartments. Vincent describes the decade from 1961 to 1971 as one of a "new equilibrium" because of this rapid transition.[6] The conversion of low to high density residential uses continued even after this period. It has been accompanied with the redevelopment of residential to commercial and office uses, especially near the major transportation routes.

These processes of change have created a unique situation in the River-Osborne area. The gradual and piecemeal process of zoning changes has resulted in a wide range of zoning and density categories in the area, reflected in the diversity in housing types, as well as in the population (in both age and socio-economic status).[7] This has had both positive and negative implications for the area, however. The housing has been allowed to deteriorate as speculation has increased and the incentives to maintain property have decreased. This has resulted in a high proportion of housing in poor condition. According to a housing study done for the Winnipeg Development Plan Review, 80% of the housing is "old" and approximately 25% is in poor condition.[8]

The population is characterized by a high proportion of special need groups including the elderly, single parent families, students, and young singles, most of whom are renters (90%) and many of whom (approximately 33%) have housing affordability problems.[9]

2. Transportation

The issue of transportation presents serious problems to the District, owing primarily to its location. The area is bounded by two regional transportation routes (Main Street and Osborne Street) and bisected by another (Donald Street), all of which lead to major bridges to the centre of the city. It is further fragmented by two major one-way streets (Stradbrook
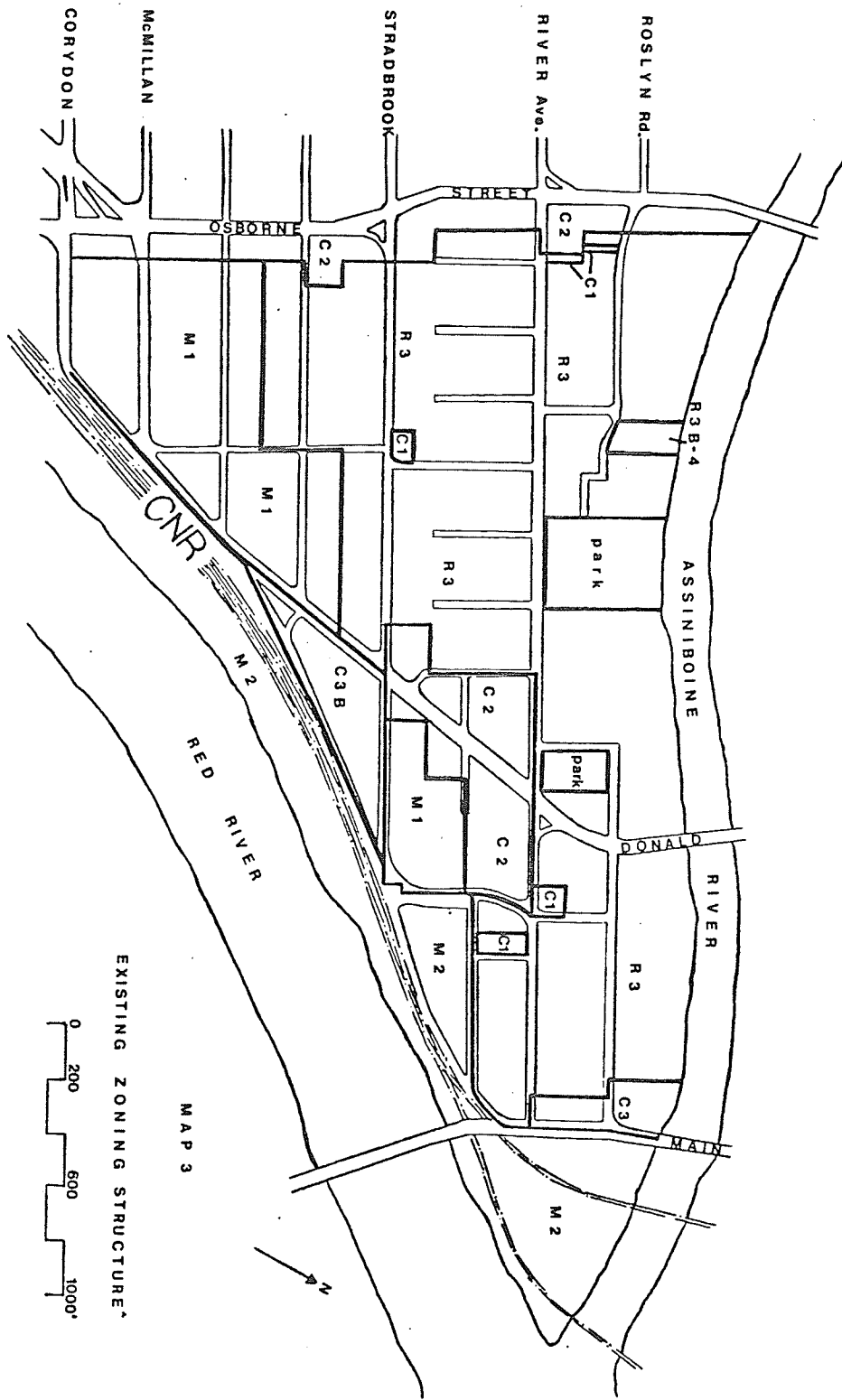
MAP 3

EXISTING ZONING STRUCTURE*

* see appendix 1.

Avenue and River Avenue) which run directly through the residential community, and local streets which are increasingly overused by regional traffic.

The effect of this is noted firstly in the patterns of local movement. Local vehicular and pedestrian movement is impeded by regional traffic; cars must often taken indirect routes to enter or leave the area and pedestrians are always intimidated by the heavy traffic. Many houses on or near major streets and intersections have deteriorated as their value has decreased (due to noise, vibrations, etc.) and owners prefer to hold out for sale for redevelopment. Additionally, the proximity of the expanding commercial district has both generated additional traffic and created a demand for additional parking space. This demand has been unmet by private and public lots and has spilled over onto local streets to aggravate the existing shortage of parking facilities.

Like the situation with development, the transportation problems can be attributed to several basic factors.[10] The area's location makes it vulnerable to regional traffic, destined to and from the central business district, which must pass through or by the River-Osborne District. Osborne Street was not developed to accommodate traffic from Fort Garry, St. Vital, and other suburbs to the south-west. In addition, the lack of a clear, consistent transportation policy in the area has aggravated other problems. For example, changes in the traffic regulations have been made in an ad hoc and unorganized

manner, when the severity of a problem demanded it. This is true of conditions on Donald, Osborne, and at the junction at their intersection, as well as on once local streets such as River and Stradbrook. Improvements to the street system have generally been made to increase their capacities, usually at the expense of the local community.

3. Community Organization

An examination of the River-Osborne District should not be limited to negative or problematic elements, however. The District has a strong network of community organizations and institutions which have developed gradually over the past two decades to meet service needs of the population. These have generally been made available through the voluntary efforts of community members. Even where public or private financial support was provided, the voluntary contribution was significant and the local initiative and support were strong.

This can be largely attributed to the nature of the population in the area. The historical trends of development and change, the accessibility to the downtown area and both universities, and the proximity to popular urban amenities (such as the commercial activity on Osborne Street, major recreational facilities; and cultural centres) have resulted in a high concentration of young, intellectual, politically involved people, compared to the rest of the city. These people have contributed to the high level of social concern and political awareness which has become characteristic of

the neighbourhood. Their involvement was instrumental in the establishment of the locally initiated organizations discussed below. It was also one of the primary components in starting the District Planning Process in 1973 (this will be discussed later in the chapter).

a. Fort Rouge Community School Project

An example of this is the Fort Rouge Community School Project which represents an attempt to increase the quality of community services by using existing facilities; a logical response to a serious deficiency in the area. The project was initiated in 1976 (through funding from the Federal Local Initiatives Program). It had three staff members and several volunteers to establish a Lunch and After School child-care program as well as those for Adult Education and Senior Citizens. The intent was to provide certain services relating to education which allow the school and the community to develop in complementary ways.[11] It involved the use of school space on evenings and weekends, by the community for uses which the community deemed necessary to supplement a lack of the same in the neighbourhood.

The project was slow in starting and received only a weak response from the community. It initially found itself competing with other community groups or resource facilities for senior citizens, recreation, and day care, for example. Consequently, it focused more on strengthening links between existing community organizations and identifying and responding

to weaknesses in the community service network.

While the project terminated before it was fully
developed, it was successful in contributing to an evolving
process of community development and organization.[12] In
retrospect it was also important in identifying the existing
network of community services, which have the capacity for
improvement and expansion to better meet community needs.

b. The "Joint-Use" Program for Recreation

In another example, the deficiencies in recreation
facilities were responded to (by the Fort Rouge Recreation
Association) by the "joint use" of existing recreational and
educational facilities in the area. The program attempted to
combine and develop the recreation facilities at Gladstone
School and the adjacent River-Osborne Recreation Centre. Re-
creational activities are now provided jointly between the two
facilities, with the school open five nights during the week
for children's activities and programs for adults.[13]

Like the Fort-Rouge Community School Project, the
"joint-use" program represents an attempt from within the com-
munity (with outside assistance) to develop and increase
community services by using existing facilities.

c. Religious Institutions

Another element which warrants note is the network of
religious institutions in the River-Osborne area. In the River-
Osborne planning district, the only church is Augustine United

Church, located near the corner of River and Osborne. The church has two small gymnasiums, one large auditorium, and operates a large daycare centre. It has also offered counselling and recreation activities for Senior Citizens in the surrounding community. The church hosts community meetings and has recently been named the "Village Church" reflecting its high profile in the community.

On the west side of Osborne are located six churches including Crescent Fort-Rouge United Church (Wardlaw and Nassau), Holy Rosary Catholic Church (570 River Avenue), Trinity Baptist Church (Nassau and Gertrude), St. Luke's Anglican Church (130 Nassau Street), The Gospel Mennonite Church (232 Nassau Street), The Church of Christ (Osborne and McMillan), and The First Church of Christian Scientists (511 River Avenue).[14] With the exception of the latter three, the churches have been very active in community organization and service provision, relying on volunteers from within the community for assistance. They all have large meeting rooms and/or auditoriums for use by community groups. They also have ongoing programs for children and adults (recreation and social), with day-care facilities at Crescent Fort Rouge and St. Luke's churches.

d. The Community Ecumenical Ministry

The Community Ecumenical Ministry (C.E.M.) is perhaps the best example of community organization and development. Established in 1966, the C.E.M. was "concerned with the development of services and resources...primarily in the fields of health

and welfare...in activity leading to the provision of a social
program or system of resources to meet a defined need situation
or social problem."[15] When started, the C.E.M. assisted in the
development of programs for child-care, recreation, apartment
dwellers, senior citizens, and youth. A Community Information
Centre, later replaced by the Fort Rouge Informaiton and Re-
source Centre, was formed to provide better access to social
services which were available in the community. It also pro-
vided information and reference to appropriate agencies when
these were not locally provided.

The programs established by the C.E.M. have expanded
and strengthened since their commencement. This is evidenced
by the system of day-care facilities in the community (in
churches), the River-Osborne Recreation Committee which is
still active in the area, and the Senior Citizen's apartments
on Stradbrook Avenue.

III. THE PLANNING PROCESS

1. From Innovation to Conformance

The River-Osborne District planning process was initiated
in the fall of 1973 by a small group of local residents through
the "City Plans And What Do You Think" Shop, a community in-
formation service sponsored by the Fort Rouge Resident Advisory
Group (with a Young Canada Works grant). A group of residents,
concerned with local problems and several proposals for re-
development in the area (mainly involving applications for

THE DISTRICT PLAN PROCESS
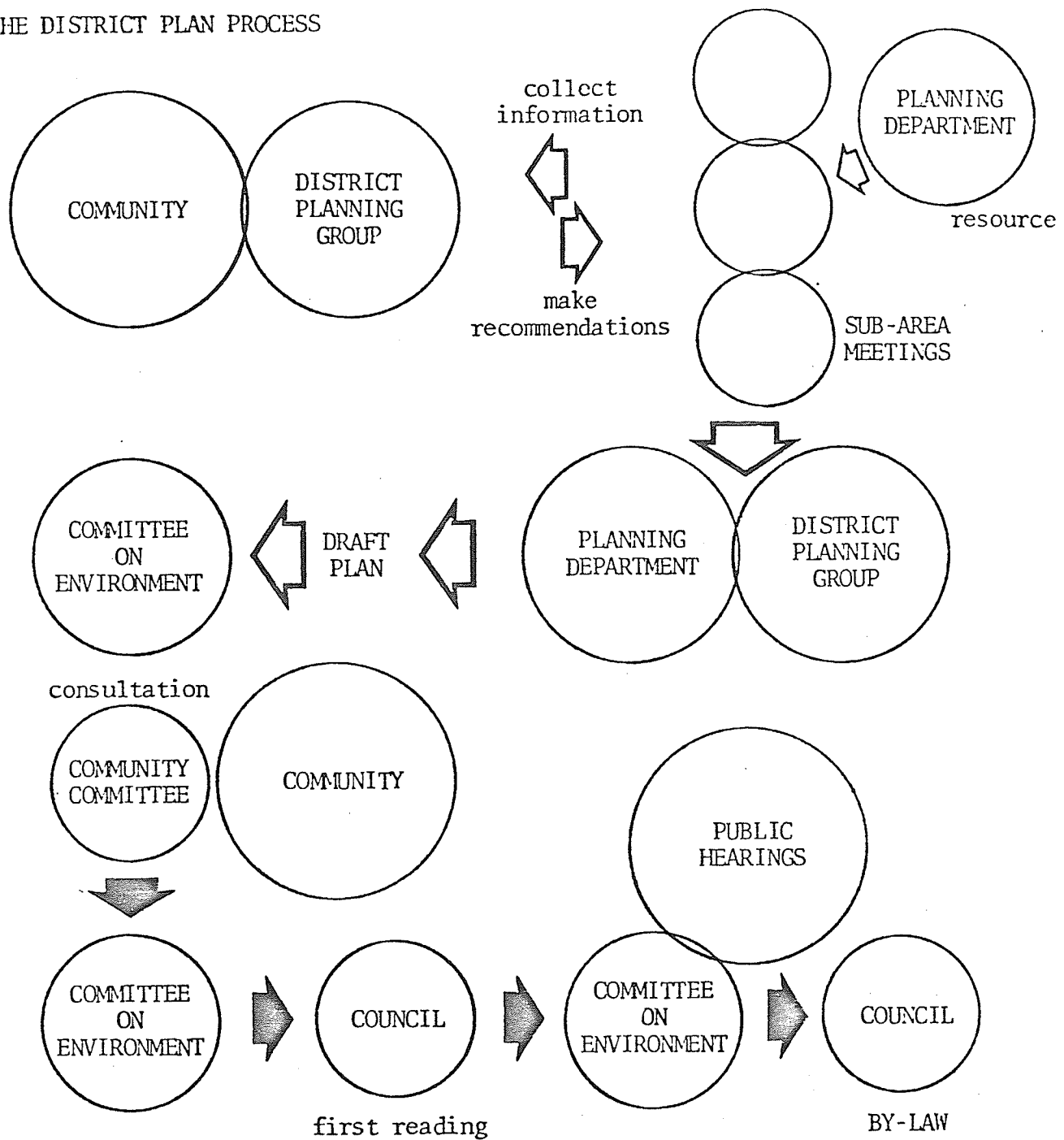
rezoning to higher densities) requested and received civic

approval to initiate a district planning process. The Department

of Environmental Planning was to serve as their resource.[16]

The East of Osborne District Planning Group (comprised

of these local residents and city planners) was assisted by the

"City Plans" shop and the Fort Rouge Resident Advisory Group,

in a campaign to involve residents in the identification of

neighbourhood problems and to participate in the planning

process, which was only in its initial stages. The participa-

tion of residents was advocated because it was considered

"necessary to give the process credibility, to make certain

that the views of all groups are considered and that the outcome

of the planning process is viewed as the result of neighbourhood

involvement rather than a process that is intimidating to the

ordinary citizen."[17] The group organized community meetings,

conducted telephone surveys, distributed pamphlets, and went

"door-knocking" to publicize the process and involve residents.

Finally, they distributed a detailed questionnaire to residents

to supplement the information acquired on a more informal basis.

The initial phase of the process was intended to last

for a six month period of time, corresponding to the limit on

the zoning freeze, enforced by the City during the preparation

of the Plan (mid-December, 1973 to mid-June 1974). Consequently,

the process was rushed; it became dominated by professionals

for purposes of efficiency and many of the basic steps in

planning were skipped through. In fact, the planners indepen-

dently drafted the first set of recommendations; this had been intended to be done in cooperation with residents. These recommendations were, in turn, presented to the community (in the form of a questionnaire) for discussion, evaluation, and ratification. They were approved unanimously by residents.[18]

However, the perceived consensus of approval by community members was incomplete. A strong interest group in the area (a group of local property owners, both resident and non-resident) opposed the recommendations and their control of land-uses, especially those relating to the control of high-rise development in the area. Since they became aware of the process after it was well underway, they lost the opportunity to intervene during the formulation of policies. Angry and threatened by the land-use controls proposed in the plan, they went to the Fort Rouge Community and obtained the support of some of the local councillors.

Despite this opposition, the first draft of the East of Osborne District Plan was completed in 1974, at which time preparations for the corresponding by-law were being made. The Planning Group intended the Plan to be an initial step, or one product of a continuing process. It was to be followed by the implementation of policies, in a second phase. The group stated that "the provisions of the Plan will prove inadequate to control development as the situation changes and it must be updated constantly in order to meet the needs of residents in the future."[19] Therefore, the process would be ongoing, with the

continual updating and revision of the Plan to continue the implementation phase indefinitely. They realized the importance of a continuing planning group or "liason structure" made up of community representatives, to support the process on an ongoing basis. The involvement of residents was essential, then.

The initial objectives for planning in the River-Osborne District were never achieved, however. Instead of the establishment of a continuing planning process, the District Plan became the only product of the planning process. This occurred for several reasons.

At the onset, the Plan lacked the support of all community members as a rift developed between the property owners and the other residents who were more active in the process. This was coupled with a lack of political commitment to the Plan (by councillors on the Fort Rouge Community Committee and on the City Council). Even the need for a Plan was questioned.[20]

After the initial draft of the District Plan was complete, certain compromises were made by the planning group to accommodate the interests of the community members who opposed certain of its recommendations. These were listed in the amendments to the District Plan By-Law.[21] These changes were of minor significance and failed to satisfy the property owners who still felt that the Plan violated their interests. Major changes were thus made to the Plan by the Community Committee which actually rewrote sections of the Plan to favour these interests. For example, portions referring to the tradi-

tional development objectives for the area and the goals of the Plan relating to these were removed. One of these was a statement criticizing the "existing land use controls which militate against rehabilitation by encouraging higher development." Also removed were residents' complaints of zoning in the area which, allowing maximum rather than existing land-use densitites, had unnecessarily increased the property taxes, contributed to the pressure for redevelopment, and made the maintenance of lower density dwellings difficult.[22] This made the plan somewhat contradictory in sense.

The process also encountered administrative barriers. The Legal department of the City of Winnipeg, following city policy, delayed the Plan for several months at a time while changing its sense to make it less binding on the city's part. For example, the Plan was made non-committal by changing "will do's: to "should do's" and inserting phrases to make it more of a tool for recommendation than enforcement.

The revisions to the Plan were significant in weakening the commitment of planners to the District Plan (and to the implementation stage of the process). They also alienated many residents and community groups which had contributed to the preparation of the Plan, thus disrupting the "liaison structure". It therefore hindered the continuation of the planning process even had the District Plan By-Law been passed and the Plan implemented. The revisions also contradicted the basic goals and principle of the Plan as, for example, the diversity of

the area is threatened as the lower density uses are less

protected from the encroachment of high density development

under the revisions made to the Plan They have thus weakened

the planning process by weakening the District Plan, drawing

conflict from within the community, and opposition from local

politicians and administrative departments.

2.   The District Plan

The River-Osborne District Plan (1976) is the revised

draft of the Plan initially prepared in 1974. With the revisions,

the Plan contains a series of amendments made to the original

draft (in 1975), as well as those changes made by the Community

Committee (in 1976). These are included in the Plan to illus-

trate the changes which were made, to contrast with the original

approach taken in the document.[23]

The Plan presents the policies formulated by the District

Planning Group for the direction of future development in the

area. The policies were developed in response to the problems

in the neighbourhood (identified by participating residents)

and thus represent the goals for its development.

The Plan adopts the point of view of the residential

community. It acknowledges that the conflict was initially

perceived by this group and the improvements and developments

proposed in the Plan are intended for their satisfaction.

The District Plan firstly summarizes the initial phase

of the planning process, including the events which preceded

the preparation of the Plan, and the purposes of the Plan it-

self. It also suggests the objectives of the planning process
(both entirely and the phases thereof). The two basic phases
were those for the preparation of the Plan and for the im-
plementation of the policies contained within it. The Plan,
then, was the product of the first phase of the process and
the guide for the second phase.

The District Plan was divided into three principal parts.
Part I categorizes the district issues for convenience and
clarity in discussion and policy development. These issues,
represented by sections in Part I are:

      Neighbourhood Character,
      New Development,
      Transportation,
      Recreation Space, and
      Municipal Services.

Each section contains a series of policies, developed for resol-
ving problems identified in each of these areas and based on the
goals for the development of the area. The policies are accom-
panied in the Plan by a series of programs suggested to guide
the process, when the Plan was approved and the implementation
phase in process.

In Part II, the Plan divides the area into ten sub-areas.
Each of these has a unique character and is therefore subject
to a differing degree of impact of local problems. Therefore,
each one must be approached with different (types of and inten-
sities of) policies, as developed under District Issues. In this
way, the diversity of the area, created as a composite of the
differing sub-areas will be maintained and protected through

MAP 4

DISTRICT SUB-AREAS

0 200 600 1000'

2 -sub area
Rh -rehabilitation
Rd -redevelopment
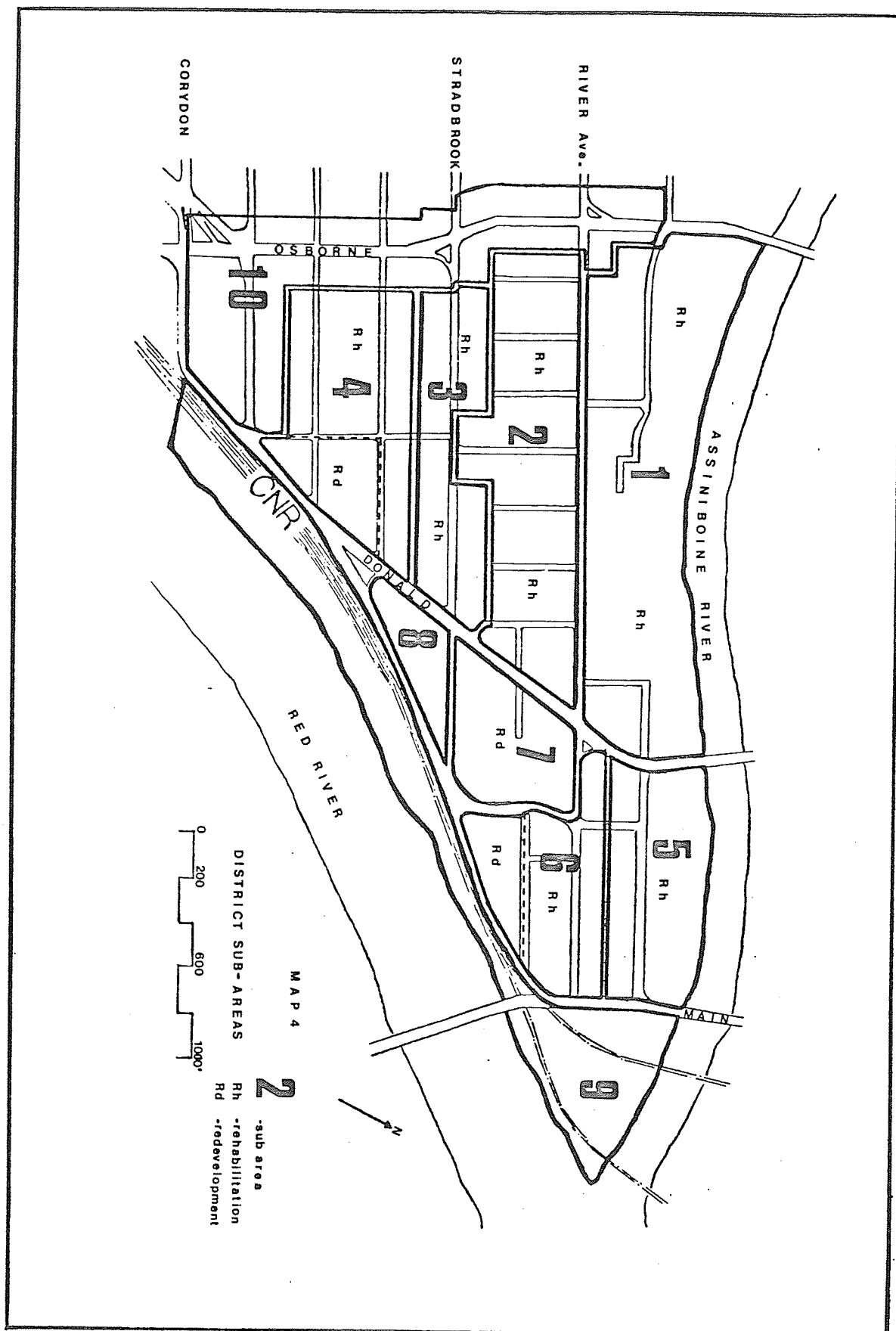
planning.

Two basic approaches are taken in applying policies to
sub-areas in the District. These are based on conditions of
development in the sub-areas and the preferred development
(redevelopment or rehabilitation) to enhance the sub-areas
as part of the District. The policies for rehabilitation and
redevelopment are addressed in terms of changing or maintaining
the existing zoning by-laws in the sub-areas (building density
and height).

Part III of the Plan is the District Plan By-law, through
which the Plan must be implemented.* The By-law contains those
portions of the Plan relating directly to land-use controls,
and consists of selected policies from the previous sections.
The By-law is accompanied by a map which illustrates the basic
policies for the sub-areas. The map is included as a schedule
for the implementation phase of the planning process.

The first draft of the Plan was completed in 1974, at
which time it was presented to the Community Committee (Fort
Rouge) for initial reading. Prior to this time local politicians
had had little involvement in planning, with the exception of one
whose interest in a plan was instrumental in starting the process
in 1973. The Community Committee rejected the first draft and
returned the Plan to the District Planning group for revisions.
While these were subsequently made, the revised Draft was also
rejected and the Community Committee decided to take matters in
hand and make the appropriate changes. The product of this

*See Appendix 2.

DISTRICT POLICIES

MAP 5

45u -units/acre
7s -storeys
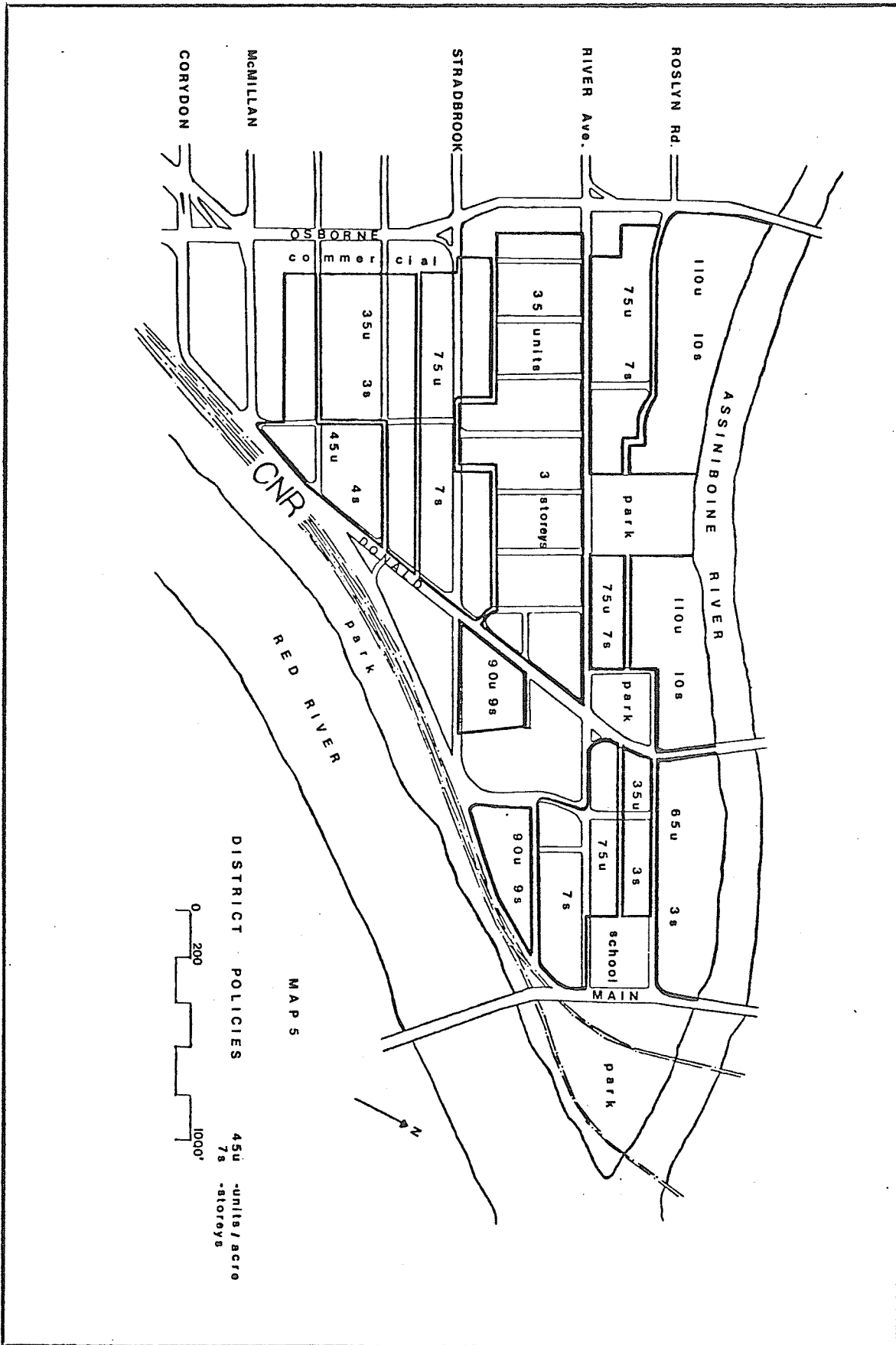
is the River-Osborne District Plan (1976).

IV. ANALYSIS

   a. The Goals

        In the River-Osborne District Plan, the issues and
problems identified by residents were divided into five basic
areas of concern: neighbourhood character, new development,
transportation, recreation, and municipal services. Corres-
ponding to these issues and reflecting neighbourhood concerns,
were basic goals for the District. These goals were formulated
to guide policy development and recommendations for planning
in the area. These goals were stated in paper describing
the District Plan.[24]

1. Population: - to maintain the current population mix
                  (age, sex, ethnicity)
                - to maintain existing densities

2. Housing: - to maintain the current housing mix
                - to protect and improve good housing
                - to minimize the adverse effects of new
                  development

3. Transportation: - to prevent any increase in traffic levels
                    - to minimize adverse effects of traffic
                    - to encourage the use of public transit
                    - to expand off-street parking facilities
                    - to allow easy walking and bicycling through
                      the area

4. Participation: - to improve the role of residents in the
                     design and development of the neighbour-
                     hood.

5. Services: - to improve the provision of services such as
                  daycare, health-care, and education in the
                  area.

6. Recreation: — to improve and increase parks, open spaces, and recreation facilities
    — to improve and increase public access to and beauty of riverbanks

7. Land-use: — to remove or buffer the land-uses detrimental to the character of the neighbourhood.

8. Heritage: — to maintain the architectural character of the area
    — to preserve buildings of historic value

9. Commerce: — to improve the function and appearance of Osborne Street.

The goals are broad, ideal statements of the quality of the area, sought to preserve and enhance. Accordingly, they serve to guide the planning process, determining the nature of the policy statements and proposals for the area as well as planning action which would occur subsequent to the completion of the Plan.

The goals were formulated by planners on the basis of information from the residents of the area, collected in a series of community meetings and through a questionnaire which was circulated throughout the District. The goals were intended to represent a consensus of neighbourhood goals, as planners sought to "compromise conflicting stands in order to serve all neighbourhood groups to some degree, and permit all groups to continue to enjoy the district."[25] As an initial step in a continuing planning process, then, they would draw upon community support and commitment to planning to derive these goals and foster ongoing participation in the planning process.

According to the comprehensive process, these goals were reduced and specified to address more directly the issues and

problems within the community, in the form of policies and

(finally) programs which became the means to achieve the area's

goals. This was done for each of the issues or subjects con-

tained within the Plan. For example, the housing goals are:

- to maintain the current housing mix
- to protect and improve good housing
- to minimize the adverse effects of new development.

In the Plan, the issue of housing is addressed under both

"neighbourhood character" and "new development" in the form of

a series of policies which correspond to these goal statements.

Under "new development" for example, policies with respect to

the (rehabilitation of) housing include:

The city shall designate rehabilitation areas, and shall
encourage the rehabilitation of existing dwellings with-
in these areas, where feasible, and
The city shall ensure that necessary new development
within rehabilitation areas will conform to the existing
scale, and to design standards which reinforce the
desirable aspects of neighbourhood character.[26]

These policies state the means by which the goals for housing

in the District will be achieved. Although still general, in

terms of directing action, they are further reduced in the form

of programs for their implementation. While the programs would

have no legislative effect (as they are included for information

only) they represent an application of policies to resolve

certain problems in the area. They would be most useful in the

implementation phase in providing more specific directions to

carry out proposals. For example, programs for "the designation

of existing residential areas in which neighbourhood character

will be preserved" and "the definition and regulation of conform-

ing residential development through the provision of a zoning by-law" specify how these policies would be implemented.[27]

This type of ends-means hierarchy of goals in planning is typical of the comprehensive process, in linking each action at the lowest level (program, for example) to the achievement of the highest level goal for the community (or end).

> Consider a set of outcomes ordered along one or more scales. Each outcome is closer to the final one that those which preceded it. Each of these outcomes can be a goal in some time period after the preceding goal has been obtained, leading eventually to the attainment of the last outcome.[28]

The danger of this type of goal statement is that it creates too rigid a process if interpreted literally by planners. In the case of the River-Osborne District Plan, the effect of such a hierarchy cannot be directly observed because the Plan has not yet been implemented. Consequently, it cannot be evaluated in terms of effectiveness or efficiency in resolving district problems. However, the nature of goal identification and reduction in such a manner could have been a factor in the failure of the process because of the absence of alternatives in the structure.

The flexibility which is necessary in planning, especially for long term goals, contradicts the basic premises of comprehensiveness. But, it is sometimes desirable, even necessary, to change or modify goals. Predictions of the future aren't always accurate and new values, new opportunities, and unforeseen events keep emerging to prompt a change in the goals which they initially represented. Modifications of basic societal goals, or any other in the hierarchy, would disrupt the entire

structure with no process to modify means goals to conform
to alternative end goals, and vice versa.[29]

This is precisely what occurred in the River-Osborne
planning process. The inability of the process to adapt to
interferences and conflicts from within the community led to
its ultimate failure. Without alternatives to adapt the
process to accommodate these conflicts, the linkage was broken
and the goals were simply not achieved as lower level policies
were nullified. For example, the goal of maintaining the
existing housing mix was important to many residents of the
area and was expressed in the Plan in the form of policies to
protect existing housing through rehabilitation, where feasible.
Where not feasible, it should be replaced with new development
which conforms to the existing ranges of scale and density.[30]
This was further specified in a series of programs for the
implementation of these policies when the Plan was approved.
The most effective of these read:

> The establishment of density controls which will permit
> the replacement of structures beyond rehabilitation
> within reasonable economic limits, but which will not
> permit the economic removal of structures which can be
> maintained or rehabilitated.[31]

This program would have given effect to the corresponding
policies but was removed from the 1976 draft. This left a gap
in the "hierarchy" of goals and means. Because of the absence
of an alternative program, to accommodate the property owners
while maintaining these objectives, the most direct link in
the achievement of the goal for housing was eliminated.

b. A Guide for Planning

The District Plan was intended to represent a guide or
framework for planning in the area. This is stated in the
terms of reference for the Plan, in the purpose of a District
Plan. It should contain "proposals for the development and
use of land in the district, and a description of the measures
...for the improvement of the physical, social, and economic
environment and transportation within the district."[32] The
Plan was interpreted by planners to be a "problem solving tool
when improvements are necessary in the environment of the
district" or "a set of guidelines which can be used by planners,
politicians and local citizens, to coordinate the future develop-
ment of a neighbourhood."[33] It stated general goals for the
area and policies to achieve these goals. While proposing
directions for action, then, it deferred these until the prepara-
tion of the Plan was completed. Consequently, the Planning
Group failed to initiate immediate action in response to pro-
blems, leaving this until the Plan was approved and the im-
plementation phase in progress.

In theory, the comprehensive plan as a guide to the
development of the planning area, was intended to encompass
the city as a whole (as was the purpose of the Greater Winnipeg
Development Plan). The application of this style of planning
to small units within the city (such as the River-Osborne
District) made the corresponding plan ineffective as a problem
solving tool. In this case, deliberate strategic actions were

required to deal with both the urgent problems of the community
and those intervening variables which disrupted the process.
This is one area where the planning process fails the River-
Osborne area. All of the effort put into the planning process
was directed toward the preparation of the Plan. During this
phase, problems which were identified were not responded to
but filed into the appropriate category in the Plan for adddress
at a later time. Since the Plan was never implemented, this
did not occur; the time and effort were essentially wasted, as
the problems identified in the Plan and represented by goals
and policies continue to affect the quality of life in the
River-Osborne District.

c. The Physical Bias

The directions for planning at the neighbourhood level
(district or action area) indicate a physical bias in the
planning process. While the Plan should address social,
physical and economic elements, it is implemented in the form
of a by-law which includes "only those portions of the plan
which relate directly to land-use controls."[34] The River-
Osborne District Plan conformed to these directions in its
emphasis of physical elements of the community. This is
apparent in the identification and separation of issues under
the headings of neighbourhood character, new development,
transportation, and others which refer to physical elements
of the neighbourhood. It is also evident in the focus on
land-use controls to implement the policies contained within

the Plan.

The physical bias is emphasized in the translation of those elements of a social nature (where they are addressed) into physical terms in the Plan for purposes of policy formation. The most outstanding example of this is in the section of the Plan concerning neighbourhood character. In this case, the social diversity of the area is identified as a very positive attribute of the neighbourhood. This is, in turn, related to the diversity of activities and lifestyles pursued by various groups within the district, and finally to the physical elements required to sustain this diversity. Thus, the focus shifts from the social characteristics of the area to the physical characteristics sustaining diversity such as the variety of dwelling types, transportation modes, and municipal services.[35] Accordingly, policies which should have responded directly to population diversity (which has negative as well as positive implications) focus instead on "the disruption by non-residential influences, of the physical and social attributes of the area, and the loss or reduction of diversity in the area."[36] The policies involve the protection from encroachment by incompatible uses and the retention and rehabilitation of existing residential buildings to accommodate the housing needs of a diverse population. Furthermore, programs which correspond to these policies propose the implementation of land-use controls for the protection or enhancement of the physical elements within the community.

The limitation to physical components of the district has created a major weakness in the Plan, in not responding to problems of a socio-economic nature. The underlying implication reflects the notion of physical determinism in assuming those problems of a socio-economic nature will be resolved in the appropriate environment.

d. Public Participation

The district planning process was not conducive to public participation despite the initial objectives of planning. The process was initiated by a group of local residents and a major effort was made by planners to include residents in problem identification and maintain their involvement throughout the process. However, several factors prevented this objective from being achieved. Briefly, these were:

1. the time constraints in planning,
2. the quality of recommendations in the questionnaires presented to the residents,
3. the conflicts within the community, and
4. the implementation techniques (land-use controls) which excluded the public from direct involvement.

First, the Plan had to be completed within six months, corresponding to the period of time that the zoning freeze was enforced by the city. During this time, planners spent considerable time and effort on the preparation and distribution of a questionnaire, to supplement the information collected from the community on a more informal basis. This reduced the time which should have been spent on goal formulation, involving both planners and the local residents. Subsequently, the

questionnaire was interpreted by planners alone and policies were formulated independently of community involvement. The recommendations (reflecting these policies) were thus presented to residents in the form of another questionnaire, distributed to community members for their comments and ratification. However,

> ...community goals could in the final analysis be discovered only through public discussion. Planners might propose alternative articulations, but goal statements could have no claim to represent the community thought unless the community (or its legitimate representatives) ratified them after serious discussion and deliberation.[37]

Second, the questionnaire was very long and detailed, with technically worded questions involving items such as minimum maintenance by-laws, N.I.P. area designation, the details of demolition permits, and the like.[38] These recommendations were extremely difficult for the average resident to understand and respond to. Consequently, most people agreed with everything or ignored the questionnaire altogether.[38] Altshuler describes this problem in his analysis of the planning process.

> No one showed any interest in discussing (it) however. The reason seemed to be that the Plan's stated goals were too general. No one knew how the application of these goals would affect him in practise. Those who were not completely uninterested in the Plan had learned (long ago) to be suspicious of high-sounding generalities... As a result, non-planners decided with uncoordinated unanimity to ignore the plan until someone proposed specific application of it.[40]

In the River-Osborne process, what was interpreted to be a consensus of approval (or apathy, on the other hand) was actually

confusion and dismay.

Third, the planners failed to represent the goals of all community members   The planning process formally began in 1973 when a group of young, idealistic, anti-development residents requested that a process be started. This group had a primary influence in the first draft of the Plan. When other residents became aware of this, many were shocked and outraged that their interests could be violated so outwardly. This started a major conflict within the community, which local politicians were eventually drawn into to defend the interests of these upset residents.

Fourth, the conduct of the planning process in this manner turned the planning authority over to planners. They did the planning; residents offered information, opinions, and their support as required. This was most clear in the implementation phase of the process which was to follow the preparation of the plan. The proposals for implementing the policies stated in the Plan were expressed in terms of land-use controls to which residents could have no direct contribution. While it should be noted that planners were directed, in this case, by the terms of the District Plan By-law, the fact remains that public participation was not a priority in planning, despite the initial objectives of planning. What participation did exist, was destroyed by the time the District plan was completed in 1974.

e. The Political Process

The District Planning Group discouraged the involvement of local politicians on more than a superficial level. The politicians were not directly consulted or considered in the planning process, but "coopted" to ensure their support of the Plan when it was sent to Council for approval. However, the process failed to gain the support of the local councillors (those on the Fort Rouge Community Committee) and was defeated even before the Plan made it to Council. This occurred for several reasons.

1. Many of the local residents were not involved in planning opposed the District Plan, and influenced politicians to do the same,

2. the policies and recommendations in the plan were broad, vague and failed to relate to decision-making at the local (political) level, and

3. the politicians were not involved in preparing the plan.

First, the majority of councillors supported the local property owners who opposed the Plan because of its threat to their rights to sell or develop property in the district. The process was supported by a relatively small portion of the community; these were residents who were more likely transient and less important to politicians in terms of getting votes in the next election. The other residents opposing the Plan, and especially the property owners, represented the large portion of the residents and, therefore, got the support of the councillor who represented the area.

Second, the politicians were overcomed and angered by

the broad, all-encompassing policies within the Plan. The

vague and broad goal statements (and corresponding policies)

provided no basis for policy analysis and decision-making

in immediate terms. Politicians therefore were hesitant to

become committed to comprehensive goals which provide no real

input to the decision-making process as they perceive it.

Politicial decision-making is usually done on an incremental

basis, in accordance with short range, popular, and measurable

action. Comprehensive planning has therefore been intentionally

separated from the political process (because of its attempt to

be rational and scientific) and its products are equally foreign

to politicians.

Third, if the plan was approved by Council and given

legal effect (as was the intent of the Planning Group), poli-

ticians would have lost substantial power and discretion in

decision-making in the area. They were unwilling to support

the Plan, then, for fear of this loss. This feeling was

particularly strong when they had not been involved in the

formulation of goals, policies, and programs and therefore

lacked any commitment to them. The plan also contradicted

the basic objectives (for the area) of the Greater Winnipeg

Development Plan for high density development and of the

City Council which had traditionally supported the popular

high density development in the area.[41]

The opposition by councillors was inevitable, then.

They did not wish to approve such controversial policies,

speculation. The Plan was not approved in its original form and the corresponding by-law is still under consideration, four years after the completion of the second draft. The continuity of the process had thus been destroyed and the basis of local support had been lost. The Plan has been reduced to an ineffective, contradictory document because of the unguided changes made to it by both the District Planning Group and (especially) the Community Committee, and because of its opposition at the Community level, in Council, and in the civic bureaucracy.

At this point it would be useful to refer back to the initial hypothesis of this thesis.

> The comprehensive style of planning was unsuitable
> for the nature of the planning problems in the
> River-Osborne District. It was manifested in the
> weaknesses in the process and, finally, contributed
> to the failure of the Plan.

The intent of this analysis was to verify this hypothesis in consideration of the facts and details of the experience with planning in the River-Osborne District.

The comprehensive style of planning suggests an approach which is rational and scientific, looking towards professional expertise and direction, and discouraging active public and political involvement. It specifies how goals are identified, how policies are formulated and the means by which these will be achieved, in a sort of "blueprint" for planning. The approach to planning in the River-Osborne District was analyzed in terms of this (comprehensive) style of planning. Several

observations should be made in regards to this.

The River-Osborne District planning process initially represented a divergence from the traditional method of planning. In fact, participants (planners and residents) had hoped that it would become a model of planning and citizen participation for other communities attempting to start a planning process on their own.[42]

The process started with a high level of interest and involvement by district residents, with planners essentially acting in an advisory capacity. Public participation was strong in the initial stages of problem identification and goal formulation. The process was intended to be a continuing one; the Plan represented only an initial product of the ongoing process. The Plan was intended to be a dynamic, broad guide for planning, revised and updated as the situation changed, as problems were solved and new ones emerged, and as community goals changed to be continually relevant and responsive to the needs of the neighbourhood.

Despite these attempts to create an innovative and effective planning process both the approach to planning and the Plan itself were characteristic of comprehensive planning. This was apparent in the methods of data collection and analysis to create a community profile, in the identification of problems, and in the formulation of goals and policies to guide the ensuing process. It is also apparent in the structure of the Plan in its separation of issues for more effective policy formulation,

and in the reliance on traditional land use controls to

implement the policies contained within the Plan. In fact,

the process closely reflects the original comprehensive

plan, defined by Alfred Bettman in 1928.

> A city plan is a master design for the physical
> development of the territory of the city. It
> constitutes a plan for the division of the land
> between public and private uses, specifying the
> general location and extent of new public improve-
> ments, grounds and structures, such as new, widened
> or extended streets, boulevards, parkways or other
> public utilities and the location of public buildings
> such as schools, fire stations, police stations, and
> in the case of private developments, the general
> distribution amongst various classes of uses, such
> as residential, business, and industrial uses. The
> plan should be designed for a considerable period
> in the future, twenty-five to fifty years. It should
> be based, therefore, upon a comprehensive and detailed
> survey of things as they are at the time of planning,
> such as the existing distribution of existing develop-
> ments, both public and private, the trends toward re-
> distribution and growth of population and industry,
> and business, estimates of future trends of growth
> and distribution of population and industry, and the
> allotment of the territory of the city in accordance
> with all such data and estimated trends, so as to
> provide the necessary public facilities and the
> necessary area for private development corresponding
> to the needs of the community, present and prospective.[43]

Correspondingly, the adherence to comprehensive planning

principles and techniques weakened the process in dealing with

the "intervening variables" or problems external to the pro-

cess, leading to its ultimate failure. For example, opposition

from residents, politicians, and the administration was neither

considered nor accommodated in the process and therefore, it

lacked the means to deal with these when they surfaced.

The traditional comprehensive process is neither equipped

nor adapted for use in older areas of the city where conflicts

of interest and political and administrative interventions must be incorporated into the process or dealt with directly and strategicially. In the River-Osborne District, the public and local politicians were only involved on a superficial basis; the Plan was politically unpopular, alienating many residents (the property owners) and local politicians, and threatening in terms of the binding legal effect it would have if and when implemented. Obstacles such as these were not considered by the Planning Group, and the District plan was defenseless against them. It was hoped that the process would be exempt from conflicts of this sort, and that when the Plan was approved for implementation, it would have the legal effect to be immune to these interferences. This clearly was not possible, as the experience demonstrates.

The time, energy, and resources which were expended accomplished little but the education of participants on the procedures of traditional city planning. These resources would have been much more productive in educating and involving re- sidents in the process, and resolving district problems to provide legitimacy to the planning process by proving, to politicians and the public, the effect of planning. The Plan could have been represented by a less comprehensive statement of what the area was attempting to achieve in taking a specific course of action, to represent the process instead of a guide for implementation.

Alternative approaches were available as will be demonstrated in the following chapter. For example, Harry Lash, in an experimental approach to planning in the Greater Vancouver Regional District, states that "the plan is the process...(it is) the sum of what you have decided to do at any given moment in time."[44] Its utility, then, lies not in describing all planning action which will take place in the next five, ten, or fifteen years, but representing the stage which the process has reached. It would state what is being done in the area and how this contributes to the achievement of the area's goals. Thus, "the process does not produce a "plan" but a sequence of strategic actions that deal with a range of time horizons from tomorrow to the long term."[45]

The advantages of this approach are readily apparent in the experience in the River-Osborne District. Initially, the process had the support of many residents, planners, the City administration, and councillors. This support could have been channelled in a more positive constructive direction to attempt to solve problems in the area and deal with conflicts as they surfaced. A strategy for planning in the area could have been developed, utilizing this support, recognizing and dealing with the real opportunities and limitations to planning.

A strategy, in fact, was exactly what the area required, in view of the problems which were encountered in the planning process. Altshuler identifies three "powerful social mechanisms" with which planners must come to terms.

especially when their support lay with the residents who were
in opposition to the Plan. Consequently, the modifications
made to the Plan (by the Community Committee) were also
inevitable. The Community Committee and the Legal Deaprtment
of the City of Winnipeg revised the Plan to make it less binding,
legally, and more popular, politically. While this destroyed
the process, it established the power of the local councillors
in the decision-making process in the area.

V. DISCUSSION

The River-Osborne District Plan represents the product
of the planning process, starting in 1973 and ending in 1976
when the revised draft of the Plan was completed. While the
intent was to prepare the Plan as a first step in planning in
the district, external circumstances disrupted the process so
that it did not continue beyond the initial phase of plan
preparation.

This approach reflects both positively and negatively
on the process. The Plan was perceived as a first step in a
continuing planning process; it would have been utilized as a
binding, comprehensive tool for reference and direction in the
implementation phase of the process. The intent was that plan-
ning would not be random or sporadic but would systematically
deal with all of the problems in the neiahbourhood. Had the
Plan been implemented in its original form, it would have been
successful in this respect. However, this remains as only a

1. the necessity of gaining support from politicians who avoid controversy and cooperation from officials in the operating departments...,

2. the legal and financial restraints upon the city government..., and

3. the lack of executive authority within the planning agency.[46]

The restraints create obstacles to the planning process. In this regard, Altshuler continues that "restraints make strategies necessary...the modern planner, therefore, when he reaches positions in which he bears responsibility for formulating the political strategy, must decide his general approach to the problems posed by politics."[47] In the River-Osborne district, the major obstacles to planning can be related directly to the politics of the situation. The absence of a strategy with which to overcome these obstacles led to the ultimate failure of the process.

The planning process indicated both positive and negative elements. The positive elements mainly involved the initial objectives of planning in supporting public participation, the preparation of a Plan to guide neighbourhood development and change, and the establishment of an ongoing process with a Plan which would be regularly revised and updated to remain relevant and responsive to the needs of the community. These objectives reflect a positive approach to neighbourhood planning but were never achieved because of the weaknesses inherent in the process.

The process encountered problems because of its failure

to involve the majority of local residents and politicians in planning. Without the involvement of these groups, the Plans did not represent the interests of all those people who would have been affected by it. In addition, the process followed a rigid model of goal identification, policy formulation, and program development. It subsequently lacked a strategy to deal with conflicts of interest and to adapt to unanticipated restraints (created by time and resource limitations and the intervention by local politicians). The weaknesses, then, became apparent as planning progressed, and were instrumental in the defeat of the Plan.

The case study is important in illustrating that the process, rather than the plan, was the fundamental part of planning. The comprehensive style of planning followed in the River-Osborne District indicated two primary components: the planning process and the District Plan. However, the Plan was a product of the process. In fact, in this particular case, the Plan became subordinate to the process and most problems and conflicts arose over the conduct of the process. In the final anlaysis, the importance lay in how the Plan was prepared, who contributed to it, who supported it, and how it represented the attitudes and interests of all affected. A plan prepared under the Comprehensive process may not vary markedly in form or content from one prepared under any alternative process. However, the failure of the process to deal with certain neighbourhood problems and resolve resident

and political conflicts predetermined the attitudes and perceptions of the Plan. The obstacles which the Plan encountered at the neighbourhood, Community Committee, and Council levels were inevitable considering these weaknesses.

On the basis of these observations the hypothesis is proven. In River-Osborne, the process embodied in the comprehensive style of planning could not deal with the problems and conflicts in planning and therefore contributed directly to the failure of the District Plan.

VI. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Chapter four reviews and analyzes the River-Osborne District planning process, interpreting the experience in the context of comprehensive techniques and principles. Several basic conclusions are therefore in order to complete the analysis.

1. The development of the River-Osborne District reflects the complex interaction of historical phenomena, public involvement (planning and political influences), private development, and a strong, voluntary community effort. These influences continue to pervade at the present time.

2. The planning process encountered problems due to:

        - time constraints
        - resource limitations
        - resident conflict and withdrawal from the process
        - administrative opposition, and
        - political pressures.

These created obstacles to planning which could not be dealt

with in the context of comprehensive.

3. The planning group attempted to develop policies and

programs for planning independently of public and political

involvement. This method of policy formulation was detrimental

to the process as it led directly to resident conflict and

withdrawal and administrative and political opposition.

> Policies result from the interaction of a variety
> of interests, and their formation cannot be
> centralized within a single plan, agency or body
> of government. It is not realistic to expect
> strategic and operational policies governing the
> complex functions of city government to be formally
> articulated within a single plan.[48]

4. The process lacked a strategy for making choices among

alternative policies, dealing with conflicts within the com-

munity, preventing political opposition (and dealing with it

when this occurred), and adapting to unforeseen circumstances.

In reference to this weakness, Altshuler observes that "re-

straints make strategies necessary", and "men develop strategies

in order to chart paths of least resistance toward their ob-

jectives".[49] With a strategy,

> sensible choices can be made at the level of individual
> policies and the way they fit together into a strategy.
> In such a process, it is possible to test each decision
> against the factual, technical, and political criteria.
> This process can produce a scenario, but is the result,
> the illustration of all decisions being made during the
> process.[50]

5. The greatest weakness in the planning process was its

intentional detachment from politics and incapacity for public

participation. These were both detrimental in identifying goals

and resolving the conflicts thereof, and in guiding the process toward more positive, realistic objectives and policies. The neglect of these components was most important in leading to the failure of the planning process.

FOOTNOTES

1. Alan Altshuler, The City Planning Process: A Political Analysis, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1965) p. 362.

2. Davis B. Vincent, "The Development of the High-Rise Apartment Complex in the Roslyn Road Area of Winnipeg" (Master's thesis, University of Manitoba, 1974), p. 34: Vincent focuses his study on the west side of Osborne, but the initial development was similar on both the east and west sides of Osborne.

3. Garry Haggerty et al., River-Osborne Study Area: An exercise in Community Action Area Planning, (Winnipeg: The Department of Urban Affairs, 1973), p. 10.

4. Vincent, "The Development of the High-Rise Apartment Complex in the Roslyn Road Area of Winnipeg," p. 115.

5. Ibid., p. 102; Sheila Vanderhoef and Jackie DeRoo, "A Study of the Community Schools Concept," study done for the Institute of Urban Studies, University of Winnipeg, Winnipeg, Manitoba, March 1978 (mimeographed), pp. 6-8.

6. Vincent, "The Development of the High-Rise Apartment Complex in the Roslyn Road Area of Winnipeg," p. 102.

7. City of Winnipeg, Department of Environmental Planning, River-Osborne District Plan, Winnipeg, Manitoba, May, 1976, pp. 3-10.

8. Institute of Urban Studies, "Inner City Housing Study," study done for the Greater Winnipeg Development Plan Review, City of Winnipeg, Winnipeg, Manitoba, August 1978 (mimeographed), p. 2.

9. Institute of Urban Studies, "Housing: Inner City Type Older Areas," prepared for the Greater Winnipeg Development Plan Review, City of Winnipeg, Winnipeg, Manitoba, July 1979 (mimeographed), pp. 23, 18-19.

10. Katherine Hendrickson and Harold Henning, "Osborne Street Parking Study," paper prepared for the Fort Rouge Resident Advisory Group, Winnipeg, Manitoba, August 1977 (mimeographed).

11. Vanderhoef and DeRoo, "A Study of the Community Schools Concept," p. 19.

12. Ibid., p. 58.

13. Fort Rouge Recreation Association, "Recreation in Fort Rouge: A Solution," Winnipeg, Manitoba (mimeographed).

14. These churches, as well as many of the other community
facilities, are situated on the west side of Osborne Street.
However, due to the proximity, the lack of similar facilities
on the east side of Osborne Street, and the close interaction
between the two neighbourhoods, many community facilities and
resources are shared by the residents of both neighbourhoods.

15. David Vincent, "An Analysis of Four Social Planning
Interventions in the Fort Rouge Area of Winnipeg," paper pre-
pared for the Institute of Urban Studies, University of Winnipeg,
Winnipeg, Manitoba, 1971 (mimeographed), p. 9.

16. River-Osborne District Plan, 1976, p. ii;

R. Grant Carphin and Joe Sybom, "District Plans and
You," paper prepared for the Fort Rouge Resident Advisory Group,
Winnipeg, Manitoba, 1974. (typewritten), pp. 12-14; specifically,
these issues included:
1. The Metropolitan Development Plan "wrote the area off", plan-
ning regional traffic routes through the area and showing re-
sidential character comparable to that of downtown Winnipeg.
2. The Downtown Development Plan proposed a bridge at Kennedy
and Edmonton Streets, connecting to Scott Street. Truck routes
were planned for River and Stradbrook.
3. A local restaurant requested approval to demolish three
houses for a parking lot.
4. An application was made to construct a 17 storey apartment
on Roslyn Road where the existing structures were 3 to 11 storeys
high.
5. An application was made to construct a 9 storey, 81 unit
apartment block on River and Bryce, with less than 60% parking
provided and at densities equivalent to that of 55 Nassau.

17. Fort Rouge Resources Group, Minutes of the Meetings
of the Group, 1974-1975, meeting of 17 February 1975 (typewritten).

18. However, there were a large number of recommendations
to read and evaluate. Many people did not understand the im-
plications of all of these and did not even respond to the
questionnaire. Others agreed with everything on the question-
naire. One must question the actual consensus of community ap-
proval, then. Carphin and Sybom, "District Plans and You," p. 24.

19. City of Winnipeg, Planning Division; District Plans
Section, "Roslyn East, A District Plan Concept," paper distributed
to the residents of the River-Osborne District, Winnipeg, Manitoba,
March 1974, p. 9.

20. Interview with Don Pentland, Environmental Planning
Department, City of Winnipeg, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 22 January 1980.

21. River-Osborne District Plan, 1976, preface.

22. Ibid., pp. 11-12, 32.

23. Ibid., preface.

24. City of Winnipeg, Planning Division; District Plans Section, "Roslyn East," p. 8.

25. River-Osborne District Plan, 1976, p. iii.

26. Ibid., p. 13.

27. Ibid., p. 14.

28. Russell L. Ackoff, "Towards a System of Systems Concept," Management Science 17 (July 1971): 667.

29. Richard S. Bolan, "Community Decision Behavior: The Culture of Planning," Journal of the American Institute of Planners 35 (September 1969): 234.

30. River-Osborne District Plan, 1976, p. 13.

31. Ibid., p. 13.

32. Ibid., p. ii.

33. City of Winnipeg, Planning Division; District Plans Section, "Roslym East," p. 1.

34. River-Osborne District Plan, 1976, By-law i.

35. Ibid., p. 5.

36. Ibid., p. 5.

37. Ibid., p. 306.

38. East of Osborne District Planning Group, "District Plan By-law; Proposed Recommendations of the East of Osborne District Planning Group," questionnaire distributed to the residents of the River-Osborne District, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 10 June 1974, (mimeographed).

39. Carphin and Sybom, "District Plans and You," p. 24.

40. Altshuler, The City Planning Process, p. 306.

41. Altshuler also discusses this problem in "The Goals of Comprehensive Planning."

42. Interview with Philip Wichern, Member and Chair-person of the Fort Rouge Resident Advisory Group, 1973-1975, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 24 January 1980.

43. Kent, The Urban General Plan, p. 30.

44. Harry Lash, Planning in a Human Way, (Ottawa: The MacMillan Company of Canada, 1976), 46.

45. Ibid., p. 46.

46. Altshuler, The City Planning Process, pp. 361-362. This is repeated for purposes of emphasis: these "mechanisms" were powerful in the River-Osborne District planning process and directly led to the defeat of the Plan and the end of the process.

47. Ibid., pp. 354-356.

48. Dennis A. Rondinelli, Urban and Regional Development Planning: Policy and Administration. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975), p. 33.

49. Altshuler, The City Planning Process, pp. 354, 375.

50. Peter H. Oberlander, ed., Canada: An Urban Agenda. (Ottawa: Community Planning Press and ASPO Press, 1976), pp. 107-108.

CHAPTER V

ALTERNATIVES

I. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of Chapter five is to explore some
alternatives for planning in the River-Osborne District.
While an analysis of the District Planning Process was done
in the previous chapters, the thesis would be incomplete with-
out the exploration of some alternatives for planning in the
area.

The chapter initially reviews two successful planning
experiments in the Greater Vancouver Regional District and in
Inglewood (Calgary). These are both significant in dealing
with problems and obstacles similar to those encountered in
planning in the River-Osborne District. It then presents the
model developed by Ruth Mack for planning for uncertainty, useful
for planning in River-Osborne. These are followed by a statement
of basic principles for planning, derived from these experiences
and tailored to the River-Osborne situation. Following this, a
series of alternative actions will be proposed which could have
meant the difference between success and failure in the acceptance
of the River-Osborne District Plan and which could serve as
suggested guidelines for any future District Plans in the City

of Winnipeg.

II. PLANNING IN A HUMAN WAY: THE GREATER VANCOUVER REGIONAL
     DISTRICT

     The experience with planning in the Greater Vancouver

Regional District (G.V.R.D.) represented a search for a more

effective means of participation and communication in planning.

It began with four basic convictions of the planners.[1]

> There must be a better way for planners to work with
> politicians than the traditional stand-off, where the
> "expert" presents take-it-or-leave-it solutions whose
> workability he leaves up to the politician, while the
> politician wonders why the damn planners (SIC) never
> seem to produce anything that really works.
>
> There must be a way to relate what people want to the
> plan so that people can understand how their lives
> will be affected.
>
> There must be ways of coming to grips with people's
> real problems that work better than the zoning game.
>
> There must be a way to avoid confrontations and
> violent clashes between the citizenry and the municipal
> and regional governments, some way to use conflict
> constructively to produce better plans.

     In seeking the answers to these problems, the planners

found a new process involving a different kind of planning. It

is based on the concept of human relations in planning. Lash

presents this as a "six-sided triangle" incorporating the public,

the politicians, and the planners linked by a system of inter-

action and dialogue.[2]

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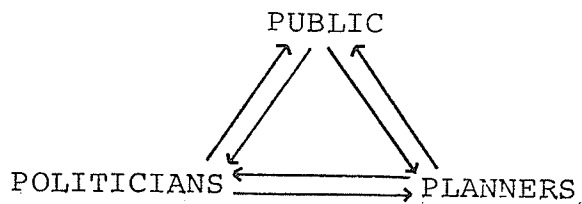
This structure protects the process as each group contributes
equally throughout the process; a weakness in one (to live up
to its commitment in planning) becomes quickly apparent, leading
to a change then -- before the communication system breaks down.
Each group expresses its goals, expectations, and proposals for
planning. These are discussed and any conflicts are resolved
before they become problematic, resulting policies are more
likely to have the support of all groups.

The effective use of the six-sided triangle led to
superior results in planning in the G.V.R.D., in improving the
chances for implementation of plans and policies. The conclu-
sions of the exploration affirmed the initial convictions of
planners as the ways to resolve these problems were discovered.

III. EVERYMAN THE PLANNER: INGLEWOOD

Everyman the Planner is an account of an experimental
planning process in a deteriorating, inner city neighbourhood
in Calgary. The purpose of the experiment was to demonstrate
the differences between traditional and participational community
planning. It provided a model for shifting the traditional role
of the planner and his responsibility from the planning depart-

ment (or city hall) to the citizens. According to the model,
the planner becomes the "facilitator of the process of com-
munity planning" rather than the "creator of the plan".[3]
Every member of the community (who so wishes) becomes a
planner.

> Participational planning is a process that must be
> rooted in the community, and a process that must be
> funded at the community level, independent of planning
> processes that occur at larger scales of urban, regional,
> and national planning.[4]

The process requires financial and professional assistance in
its initial stages to support the education of residents for
effective participation and commitment to planning.

The thesis states as its theme that "a community planning
process is a very different thing from the process of creating
a community plan."[5] This process (a moving process) has major
advantages over the more or less static plan. It is more able
to accommodate the modern phenomenon of rapid environmental
chnage while being continually responsive to the "values and
desires of the planned-for" as these evolve.[6] A continuing
planning process, when set in motion with the assistance of
professionally trained planners, can be maintained indefinitely
under the responsibility of the community.

IV. PLANNING FOR UNCERTAINTY

The decision-making model developed by Ruth Mack is based
on the theory that the process must be tailored specifically to
the nature of the planning problem. She states that most urban

problems are highly unstructured and require a participative, human-oriented approach (as opposed to that taken in the comprehensive style of planning). The process is defined as DOSRAP (Deliberative; Ongoing; Staged; Recursive; and Administrative; P is for process) and developed in response to uncertainty in the planning environment.

> A type of alternative frequently slighted under uncertain conditions is one that tends to be advancive. Behavior that generates advancive alternatives is discontended with routines; it is inventive, seeking, learning; it features innovation, attention to motivation, and to the growing edge of know-how. It is not risk-avoiding; it tends to extend the world of the actual toward further reaches of the possible.[7]

Briefly, DOSRAP represents a process of decision-making which is based on five principle features.[8]

1. Deliberative:
   - involves thoughtful consideration and striving, interpersonal strategies of a broadly political nature.

2. Ongoing:
   - perception of and effort to solve problems take time and reveal new problems (spatial and time dimensional).

3. Staged:
   - the process runs through five stages:
     problem recognition
     formulation of alternatives
     decision proper
     effectuation
     correction and implementation

4. Recursive:
   - continuous (staged) cycle starts over after initial completion.

5. Administrative:
   - activities are closely related to other administrative procedures.

The process is most effective in qualitative analysis, focusing on human judgment and political involvement in decision-making, to make it useful for planning in River-Osborne. It has become

a popular model for decision-making in numerous situations
(usually involving administrative bodies) and has had highly
successful results.

V. PRINCIPLES FOR AN ALTERNATIVE PLANNING SITE

        This section proposes some basic principles for an
alternative planning style. These principles have been derived
from the lessons learned in other experiences with planning
(discussed above) and respond directly to the problems encoun-
tered in the River-Osborne District Planning process.

    1. Local politicians must be involved in the planning
process. Politicians should be active in the process from the
beginning to represent community interests, articulate political
biases and expectations, and guide the process toward a more
positive reception by the City Council (to defend it if necessary).

        There must be political commitment to the general goals
        if the public is to believe anything will happen and
        if the planner knows what he ought to do next.[9]

    2. The members of the community must be encouraged and
assisted to take a more active, influential role in the planning
process. Their contribution is fundamental in problem iden-
tification, goal formulation, and especially program or policy
effectuation.

    3. The role of the planner must change correspondingly to
accommodate the involvement of the public and the politicians.
In these terms, the human relations model, expressed by Lash's

six-sided triangle, should again be referred to. The development
of effective communication links between the planners, the
politicians, and the public is essential in the planning process.
The planner becomes the primary facilitator of this sytem, to
guide the process of community planning.[10]

4.   The purpose of goals should be expanded to include "tar-
gets" or specific day-to-day planning goals which are capable
of immediate implementation with little cost or effort.
These are more politically expedient, more realistic in terms
of their achievement, more popular to the community members who
can see the results of planning, and provide credibility to the
planning process when action is taken and improvements are made
in the community.

5.   Corresponding to the formulation of "targets" for planning,
the process should concentrate more on immediate action to re-
spond to planning problems as they emerge. Direction is still
provided by a statement of community goals or expectations so
that early action is in accordance with basic strategies. This
convinces the public of the strength in the planning process
and the politicians of the advantages of supporting the planning
process. Essentially, the achievement of positive, constructive
action draws more commitment (public and political) to planning
to truly facilitate an ongoing process.

6.   The programs and resources within the community must be
identified and developed to facilitate the planning process.
For example, a network of community organizations is a basic

resource which should neither be overlooked nor underrated in the planning process. The organization of residents is essential to facilitate strong participation in the planning process and fully utilize the communication network (as proposed by the six-sided triangle); the existing level of organization provides great potential for effective participation if directed in the proper manner.

7. The process of community planning should be clearly distinguished from that of preparing a community plan. A moving, continuous process of decision-making (such as that represented by DOSRAP or in Inglewood) better accommodates changing environmental circumstances, local conflicts, and changing goals than does a static plan. Accordingly, the process should be directed at resolving problems, creating action programs, and achieving a strong system of communication and organization as opposed to producing a traditional plan. The plan should represent the process itself.

8. The resources and assistance of both local and senior levels of government are essential to support the development of a planning process with the above characteristics. While promising more positive results, the process requires more time, organization, and commitment than does the traditional process. This is especially important in its initial stages to develop the strong participational element required for its sustenance.

VI.   ELEMENTS OF AN ALTERNATIVE PROCESS FOR RIVER-OSBORNE

On the basis of the above principles, the planning process for the River-Osborne District should embody the following steps. They are expressed in terms of three basic phases:

       1.   Community Organization
       2.   Involvement of Politicians
       3.   Community Planning

1.   Community Organization

The process of community organization involves the establishment of interaction between planners and the community and the development of effective communication both between these groups and within the community itself. Planners must gain the confidence of residents through these means, to facilitate the process. The initial objective is the education of residents or the development of their awareness and understanding of planning techniques, the purposes of organization, and of the focal points of decision-making power -- the Council and Community Committee, therefore, the politicians.

Several means are proposed to achieve these objectives.

a)   A permanent community planning office should be opened to establish the planning process in the neighbourhood. It would be in a highly accessible location and open both during the day and in the evenings for the convenience of residents. Information on the planning process and community events, and advice on matters relating to planning would be provided.

b)   Contacts with various community organizations should be made to draw them into the planning process and directly reach a broad spectrum of community members. Formal Organizations include:

              - Church groups
              - Daycare-Cooperative

- Senior Citizens groups
- Tenants Associations
- F.R. Recreation Association
- Osborne St. Bus. Association

c) The process should be very well publicized to inform all
    residents of the initiation of a plan, the approach being
    taken, and the means by which to participate in it. This
    calls upon the various agents of the media, both local
    and metropolitan.

d) Frequent and regular meetings should be held, both at the
    community level and through smaller organizations which
    have specific interests.

The objective of this is to draw a large proportion of the

community into the process and to develop the organization

which presently exists on a smaller scale. The existing

organization within the neighbourhood is a fundamental resource

in the process of community organization and represents the

predominant means by which this can be developed.

The experience in Inglewood, Calgary should be noted

for its method of community organization. This involved several

basic steps, including the following:

- community definition (identification of the
  basic elements of the community -- physical,
  social, political, and economic),

- analysis of community definition,

- awareness of community definition, and

- value decisions about community definition
  (the positive and negative aspects of the
  community).

These were discussed at community meetings, at which the entire

community was represented, so that residents were able to work

out their objectives for the neighbourhood and reach a consensus

on their goals for planning.

Through these means planners become more familiar with the basic elements of the neighbourhood, begin to understand local residents, and identify with them. By gaining their confidence, the planners are better able to contribute information, specialized knowledge and skills, and convince residents of their cumulative power. Residents, on the other hand, contribute information gained through experience in the area, their values, and goals for the area. The process involves intense communication between planners and residents, as well as among residents themselves. Basic conflicts within the community will surface and should be resolved through discussion, deliberation, and compromise.

Through this process, the residents understand the role of the community in the planning process and the role of the formal decision makers in planning. They should form a Neighbourhood Planning Group which represents the community, and develop a strategy to involve the local politicians in planning. Finally, the community "acts".

2.   Involvement of Politicians

The involvement of local politicians is the most important ingredient in planning and the most difficult to obtain. It depends on a high level of community organization and cohesion. The media for communicating with local politicians (in the Fort Rouge Community Committee), especia-ly the councillor representing the River-Osborne planning district, include the Neighbourhood

Planning Group, the Fort Rouge Resident Advisory Group, planners, specific community groups, and individual residents.

Several means are proposed to draw politicians into the planning process.

a) The most effective of these is the utilization of the electoral power of residents to make demands on local politicians, leaving them no choice in participating in planning. Simply stated, if these councillors will not support planning and participate actively in the process, others will. Other less direct means may supplement or precede this action.

b) Politicians should be invited to chair community meetings, sit on boards, committees, and to become members of the Neighbourhood Planning Group; their involvement must initially be directed by the community. The objective of this is to establish interaction between politicians and residents through direct contact.

c) Planners should refer to the planning legislation in the City of Winnipeg Act which states the role of politicians (Council) in the planning process. This suggests more involvement than simply approving the plans.

d) The Resident Advisory Group has direct links with the Community Committee (according to the legislation) and should utilize this to represent the neighbourhood through continual contact with the Community Committee.

e) Finally, individuals in the neighbourhood should approach councillors on an informal basis.

A unified effort is inherent in this process. If councillors respond to these "invitations" or contacts, their role in planning should be firmly established by the community. If they remain skeptical or opposed to actively participating in planning, residents must state their electoral power, as initially proposed.

The expectations of residents towards the local politicians should be clearly communicated to the latter. They must be active

in planning, interacting with residents and planners on an
equal and consistent basis to be completely aware of the
objectives of the community and guide the process towards
positive reception by council and the civic administration.
Their support is essential at both of these levels, as they
form the link between the neighbourhood and the city. Thus
local politicians must also represent the interests of the
metropolitan area as a whole, as seen by Council, so that
local planning goals are realistic in terms of the broad
interests of the city. Councillors contribute ideas, advice,
and information on planning in this capacity; their support of
planning recommendations or proposals should follow from
this involvement.

When political involvement is ensured, the process
should proceed to the third basic phase.

3. Community Planning

While this phase is not a distinct, segmented one,
having been initiated in the preceding phases and adapting to
changing circumstances as they arise, it follows a basic
pattern as represented below. It largely follows the model
developed by Mack (DOSRAP) for decision-making and draws from
the experience in both the G.V.R.D. and Inglewood, Calgary.
It should initially be stated that the process is "deliber-
ative", involving close, interpersonal communication and
cooperation between the principle actors -- the residents,
politicians, and planners. It is also "ongoing" in that new

problems are constantly identified and incorporated into the
process as it progresses. According to DOSRAP, it is also
"recursive" or starts over after initial goals are achieved
or as the initial cycle is complete. Thus it becomes con-
tinual as planning never ends; the problems or the situation
may change as time goes on but the process continues to adapt
to accommodate these.

1. <u>Problem Recognition</u>: Problems in the community are
   identified by planners, politicians, and residents,
   all of whom have slightly different perceptions of
   the neighbourhood and its basic elements. This largely
   follows from community definition and valuation during
   community organization.

2. <u>Goal Identification</u>: The perception of neighbourhood
   problems implies the identification of goals. This is
   primarily done by the community and politicians on an
   equal basis. It involves compromise among various
   interest groups in the neighbourhood, and of local
   interests with metropolitan interests. Choices must be
   made in this case to deal with conflicts which will
   inevitably arise. These should be made in the context
   of a strategy for neighbourhood development, worked out
   between politicians, residents, and planners. Goals
   will be of two principle types -- targets or operational
   goals, and long-range goals -- corresponding to the
   nature of the problem they address.

3. <u>Policy Formulation</u>: This stage involves the develop-
   ment of alternatives or policies to translate neigh-
   bourhood goals into proposals for action. Once again,
   the principle actors are the residents and politicians;
   the politicians who have the ultimate decision-making
   power in regards to these policies contribute valuable
   advice and information in their formulation. Again,
   choices which must be made will correspond to the
   general planning strategy. Policies will be of two
   principle types. Those relating to targets will imply
   immediate action and should be directed to the appro-
   priate administrative department, service agency, or
   local group which has been formed to deal with specific
   problems. Those relating to long range goals will be
   presented to Council for approval.

4. Decision Power: The Council of the City of Winnipeg has the authority to approve or reject the policies proposed by the Neighbourhood Planning Group. Those policies approved will be implemented in the neighbourhood; those rejected must be modified, redefined and presented a second time for approval.

5. Implementation: Those policies approved by Council will be translated into programs and directed to the appropriate agency, administrative department, or local group for implementation. The formation of local working groups or Neighbourhood Development Corporations is important in implementation as many programs will require local initiative when suitable departments or agencies do not exist or do not consider these a priority, despite political support.

Again, these stages will not be as distinct as represented above. At any point there may be unanticipated defeats or achievements which will take the process back to the initial stage or, conversely, cause it to move more quickly through subsequent stages. The point is that the process must be flexible or adaptable to follow these stages only as a basic procedure. New problems should not disrupt planning according to this model, but be dealt with in the above manner even while progress is made in other areas. Major conflicts which disrupt the process will be avoided as long as the communication links are maintained, and cooperation and compromise are understood.

VII. LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS

The following are a series of proposals which could be presented to Council to establish the planning process (described above) in the River-Osborne Area, under the existing legislation.

1. The City shall open a community planning office in the River-Osborne neighbourhood.

   - it shall be staffed with one full-time and two part-time employees for receptionist and secretarial purposes;
   - two planners (the number depending upon demands) shall work, on a full-time basis, in the planning office;
   - the office shall be provided with resources for printing and other functions relating to planning;
   - the office shall maintain planning records, information for the public, and any other details of the planning process;
   - funds shall be provided for these functions.

2. Community meetings shall be held on a regular basis (the times and locations agreed upon by planners, politicians, and residents) for developing community participation and organization and other planning purposes.

   - all interests (planners, politicians, and community groups) must be represented at meetings for decisions to be made regarding planning;
   - records will be kept on the progress of the meetings concerning attendance, public participation, and specific planning endeavors; these will be reported to council on a regular basis;
   - a Neighbourhood Planning Group will be established as a result of these meetings, comprised of residents, the local councillor, and planners (8-10 members, elected by a procedure agreed upon at meetings);
   - the Neighbourhood Planning Group will represent the interests of the entire neighbourhood and shall be recognized by Council as such; it shall be considered a legitimate planning body with the authority to make recommendations to Council and to make decisions on programs where these do not require Council approval (to be referred directly to the appropriate implementing body).

3. The role of the local councillors in planning shall be agreed upon by the community and these councillors. If necessary, councillors shall be allotted special time and resources to attend community meetings, to be available for discussion and consultation, and provide information and assistance to residents and planners.

4. According to the amendments to the City of Winnipeg Act, the River-Osborne area shall be designated an Action Area and follow the directions in the City of Winnipeg Act which correspond to Actions Area Plans.

Action Area Plan means the statement of the city's policies and proposals for the comprehensive treatment during a period prescribed in it of an action area as a whole or part of the area, or by the establishment and implementation of a social development program or partly by one and partly by another method, and the identification of the types of treatments selected and may be expressed in texts, maps, or illustrations.

This will be interpreted as follows:

- the "plan" or "statement of the city's policies and proposals" shall be flexible and represent the planning process as it progresses, thus subject to constant updating and revision;
- "social development program" shall include community organization which is a basic objective of planning;
- "types of treatments" selected for the development of the area shall be decided upon by the Neighbourhood Planning Group;
- no final date shall be set for the completion of a plan;
- the planning process will start with or without a Community Plan for the area which includes the River-Osborne neighbourhood;
- a traditional by-law will not be necessary to "establish, alter, amend, or repeal" the plan; the purpose of the by-law shall be to establish the planning process and the details and procedures thereof;
- the River-Osborne District Plan will be regarded as information only; it will otherwise be divorced from the planning process.

5. Any decisions concerning development applications, zoning changes or amendments, or others which affect the River-Ozborne area shall be deferred until the community (the Neighbourhood Planning Group) reaches agreement on policies for the development of the neighbourhood and has the opportunity to study and discuss the proposals in reference to these policies. Any subsequent applications for development, zoning changes, etc., shall be referred to the Neighbourhood Planning Group for a period of 30 days during which the community shall discuss the proposals, receive consultation, and reach a decision concerning the same.

6. The Neighbourhood Planning Group shall be allowed 30 days to appeal the decisions made by Council involving recommendations or proposals, if it so chooses.

- a special committee shall be established by Council to consider the appeals made by the group, if it takes this recourse;

- amendments shall be made to the Greater Winnipeg Development Plan if proposals cannot be compromised without violating the interests of the neighbourhood, and if the appeal committee agrees to the same.

7. The Council shall designate the area a special planning district in order that a portion of the local tax revenues may be allocated to the community to support the planning process. The terms of this shall be agreed upon by Council and the Neighbourhood Planning Group.

8. The procedure for planning in the area will be as follows:

   1) a process of community organization will be conducted, with the establishment of a Neighbourhood Planning Group,
   2) councillors shall become involved in the planning process,
   3) goals will be defined by the community, concerning the development of the neighbourhood,
   4) policies will be formulated on the basis of these goals (by residents, planners, and politicians),
   5) working groups and/or a Neighbourhood Development Corporation (affiliated with the Neighbourhood Planning Group) may be formed for purposes of administering specific programs,
   6) policies requiring legislative approval will be referred to the Council for this purpose,
   7) programs which reflect these policies will be developed by the Neighbourhood Planning Group, with Council approval, for implementation by an appropriate body.

VIII. CONSIDERATIONS

The action described in these recommendations can only create a framework for resident involvement and community action. Public participation cannot be legislated, as the experience with Resident Advisory Groups in Winnipeg (created under the legislation for Unicity) demonstrates; neither can be political representation in planning. However, they can be facilitated under an approach to planning which is committed to these objectives. The comprehensive land-use model utilized in plan-

ALTERNATIVE PLANNING PROCESS
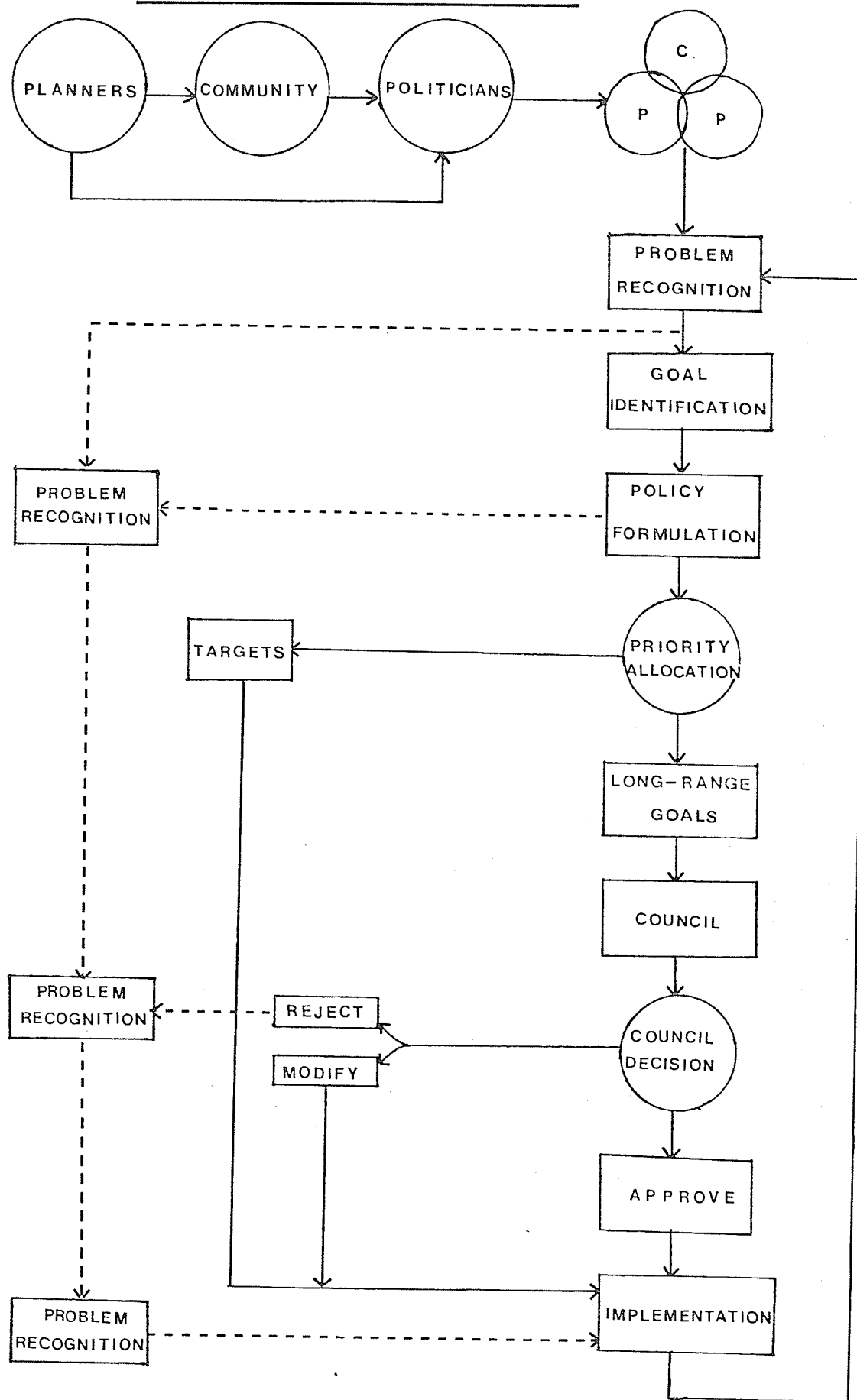
ning in River-Osborne could not inspire the public or political
involvement which was required to sustain the planning process
between 1973 and 1976. Therefore, the present approach is most
important in facilitating this component to a greater extent
than had the previous one, by making it a primary objective
and dedicating a major part of the process towards its develop-
ment.

In River-Osborne, active public and political participa-
tion depend upon a number of conditions which can neither be
predicted nor guaranteed under existing or alternative legisla-
tion in the City of Winnipeg. It will be dependent upon the
political culture of the area or the propensity of the community
for progressive action and change.

The personalities and groups are crucial to the progress
of planning in the District. They will determine the contri-
bution of each group of participants, the communication and
cooperation between them, and the general atmosphere or climate
for planning. First, the commitment of planners to these
objectives will be essential to stimulate public interest and
involvement, and to monitor the process on an ongoing basis
(especially the activity of the politicians and local residents).
Second, the attitude of politicians will be reflected in their
receptivity to planning, their cooperation with planners and
residents, and their ongoing support of the plan.

Third, and most important, is the willingness of the
public to become involved in planning the community. A high

level of politicial consciousness is a fundamental component in planning and will either make the process, or see it regress to a traditional one, directed by planners because of apathy or disinterest of the public. This consciousness results from cultural and historical factors and is unique to each city in Canada and within each area of these cities, as history has shown.[12] In River-Osborne, the interest and involvement of the public is high, relative to the rest of Winnipeg. This may be attributed to the large concentration of young, socially concerned, and politically active individuals, many of whom are associated with the Universities and many others who have, over the years, shown a recurrent interest in the area's development. This is evidenced by the commitment to community development (through voluntary contribution to local service organizations) as well as by the interest in the District Plan, both the supporters and the opposers of the Plan.

Thus while participation cannot be predicted with a high degree of accuracy, the potential does exist within the neighbourhood and should be developed in a positive, deliberative manner. The action proposed by these recommendations will not guarantee a planning process with public participation and political involvement. The proposals serve to facilitate this process; its success will depend upon the community consciousness involving individuals and groups: their attitudes and commitment to planning.

ELEMENT	TRADITIONAL APPROACH	ALTERNATIVE APPROACH
Goals	− broad, long-range − formulated by planners	− targets and long-range goals − formulated by community
Objectives	− development and land-use control	− develop planning process − achieve community goals
Process	− segmented − inflexible	− spontaneous − ongoing
Plan	− static − guides implementation	− flexible and changing − represents the process
Communication	− weak − directive (top-down)	− strong between public planners and politicians
Conflicts	− compromised by planners − disruptive	− resolved through communication and compromise by public politicians and planners
Planner	− directs planning process	− facilitator
Public	− peripheral role − consultation	− active participants
Politician	− separate − little involvement	− actively involved

FOOTNOTES

1. Lash, Planning in a Human Way, pp. 11-12.

2. For a more detailed explanation of this approach, see Planning in a Human Way by Harry Lash.

3. John W. Long, "Everyman the Planner," paper documenting the planning process in Inglewood, Calgary, Alberta, 1973. (mimeographed), p. 1.

4. Ibid., p. 102.

5. Ibid., p. 8.

6. Ibid., p. 8.

7. Ruth P. Mack, Planning on Uncertainty, (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1971), p. 8.

8. Ibid., p. 148.

9. Lash, Planning in a Human Way, p. 82.

10. Long, "Everyman the Planner," p. 1.

11. Lash, Planning in a Human Way, p. 82.

12. For further information on this subject, see Gilbert A. Stelter and Alan F.J. Artibise, The Canadian City (Toronto: McClelland an Stewart Limited, 1977). Stelter and Artibise compare urban development and reform in major Canadian cities and discuss Urban Society in detail, to present the human element of urban development and change. They also provide a thorough bibliography of books and articles on Canadian cities, categorized according to the major regions in Canada, for further research on this subject.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this thesis was to study and analyze the planning process in the River-Osborne District of Winnipeg. In undertaking this, a basic hypothesis which specified the objectives of the research was initially constructed. The hypothesis stated that:

> The comprehensive style of planning was unsuitable for the nature of the planning problems in the River-Osborne District. It was manifested in the weaknesses in the process and, finally, contributed to the failure of the Plan.

The research had both theoretical and practical components. It began with a literature review which stated the dominant theories of comprehensive planning to provide a framework for the study and analysis of the River-Osborne District planning process. The practical part of the thesis consisted of the study and analysis of this process to identify the strengths and weaknesses of the approach to planning in the area and analyze it in terms of the comprehensive style of planning.

The research confirmed the basic hypothesis of the thesis. The comprehensive model prescribed the wrong approach to planning in the River-Osborne District because of its lack of flexibility to adapt to the restraints encountered in plan-

ning and its incapacity in effective public participation and political representation. It intensified conflict within the community, drew opposition from the public and local politicians and was completely inept in dealing with both.

The analysis of the experience in the River-Osborne District was most useful in suggesting that the planning process must be developed in response to the problems and conditions within the planning area, to deal with these directly and strategically. It also demonstrated the importance of public and political involvement in planning by illustrating the problems encountered without it.

The alternatives proposed in Chapter V suggest the means by which planning could become more effective in the River-Osborne area. They are based on the conclusion that the comprehensive process cannot be successfully adapted to planning in inner city neighbourhoods with characteristics of the River-Osborne area. It must be replaced entirely by an alternative approach to planning based on community organization and participation, and political involvement. In this case, experience has proven that:

> There are ways for planners to work with politicians
> that satisfy the needs of both, yet do not subvert
> the public interest; there are ways to plan with
> people in ways that they can understand, and more
> ways than the zoning game to solve the people's
> problems. Conflicts can be used constructively.[1]

These ways have been explored to propose a more effective approach to planning in the River-Osborne planning district which attempts to deal with neighbourhood problems in a strategic, participative process.

FOOTNOTES

1. Lash, <u>Planning in a Human Way</u>, pp. 87-88.

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APPENDIX I

ZONING CATEGORIES IN RIVER-OSBORNE DISTRICT

"R3" Multiple-Family District

This District is intended for multiple dwellings, group and row dwellings, court apartments, apartment hotels and hotels, and other uses such as private schools, hospitals, fraternity houses, etc. which are compatible with such multiple-family residential uses. In addition, all "R1" District and "R2" District uses are also allowed. The minimum lot area required is 4,800 square feet and the minimum lot width 40 feet. The minimum lot area per dwelling unit is 800 square foot and per bachelor unit is 400 square feet. The density produced by these requirements could vary from approximately 6 dwelling units per acre where there are single-family dwellings to 55 dwelling units in apartment buildings containing dwelling units only to 109 per acre in apartment buildings where there are bachelor units only. Generally speaking, the approximate density in apartment areas, because of the mix of dwelling units and bachelor units, is 70 units to the acre.

"R3B-4" Multiple-Family District

This zoning is intended for high density apartment buildings in areas located near the Central Business District or other major centres of commercial activity. A limited range of retail and personal service uses are permitted within the larger apartment buildings primarily to serve the occupants of these buildings.

Assuming an average of 1,000 square feet of building space per suite, the density of suites in this District can vary between 77 per acre with 30% usable open space to 142 per acre with 100% usable open space.

"C1" Limited Commercial District

This District is intended to provide areas for commercial uses serving the day to day needs of persons living in adjoining residential areas. It also permits the same type of residential uses allowed in "R3" Multiple-Family Districts and at the same densities. There is a height limitation of 35 feet.

"C2" Commercial District

This District is intended to provide for general retail uses not permitted in "C1" Limited Commercial Districts and includes all of the commercial uses usually found in central shopping districts, e.g. amusement enterprises, hotels, automobile service stations, commercial clubs, medical and dental clinics, office, etc. It also permits all of the "C1" uses and the "R3" Multiple-Family District uses at the same densities. There is no height limitation on buildings.

"C3" Commercial District

This is identical to the "C2" District except that the multiple family residential densities permitted are the same as the "R4" District.

"C3-B" Commercial Planned Building Group District

This District is intended to stimulate the construction of improved kinds of commercial development by providing greater freedom of choice in the grouping of the various types of commercial buildings and by permitting maximum flexibility in site planning. It is intended primarily for the development of regional shopping centres. There are no stated area, width yard and height, etc. requirements, but plans are subject to the approval of Council. Thus development is by compromise and agreement.

"M1" Light Industrial District

This District is intended to provide for light industrial uses which are carried on within a building or where any outside storage is enclosed by a wall or fence. This District will be used to ensure that industrial areas present an orderly appearance when seen from adjoining thoroughfares, highways and residential areas. All of the uses permitted in the "C2" District are also permitted including the residential uses. There is a height limitation of 45 feet. The lot area requirements for residential uses are the same as the "R3" District.

"M2" Light Industrial District

This is a general light industrial district and is intended to provide for very much the same uses as those in the "M1" District but enclosure within a building is not required. Other similar uses are permitted providing they are not

obnoxious or offensive. No residential uses are permitted
except living quarters for the use of watchmen and their
families employed upon the premises of an industrial establish-
ment. There is a height limitation of 85 feet.

APPENDIX II

THE DISTRICT BY-LAW

In order to permit proper implementation and enforcement of the River/Osborne District Plan, only those portions which relate directly to land use controls would be adopted in a District Plan By-law. The bulk of the report, showing background information and the development of policies, should be adopted for information only.

There follows a consolidation of the policies developed within the text, which together with Map 2 "Policies" would form the By-law.

Non-residential Encroachment

The City shall preclude encroachment by incompatible uses upon the residential environment and shall preclude the expansion of existing incompatible uses in the River/Osborne District.

The City shall ensure the provision of buffers between existing incompatible uses and adjacent residential development, where feasible, and shall require the provision of buffers as a part of new residential development adjacent to these incompatible uses.

Diversity

The City shall make provision for the retention and rehabilitation of existing residential buildings, where feasible, in an effort to retain neighbourhood character and to continue to accommodate the existing population mix.

Rehabilitation Areas

The City shall designate rehabilitation areas, and shall encourage the rehabilitation of existing dwellings within these areas, where feasible.

The City shall ensure that necessary new development within rehabilitation areas will conform to the existing scale, and to design standards which reinforce the desirable aspects of neighbourhood character, encouraging innovative design to achieve this conformity within realistic economic limits.

Redevelopment Areas

The City shall designate redevelopment areas, and shall encourage the replacement of existing incompatible uses within these areas, where feasible.

The City shall ensure that new development within redevelopment areas will be compatible with adjacent development in terms of height, bulk, set-backs, and yards, or other aspects of site coverage and configuration, in an effort to maintain the overall spatial quality of the District.

Congestion

The City shall ensure that any new development in the district will not aggravate existing congestion, nor create congestion visually, or in any support services.

Local Circulation

The City shall, through its transportation planners, consult with local residents in defining improvements to the local circulation systems to facilitate ease of movement for pedestrian, cycle, and local vehicular traffic, and bring forward to the council a comprehensive transportation program embodying these improvements.

Parking

The City shall regulate both on and off-street parking to better accommodate resident, guest and service parking needs.

Non-local Traffic

The City shall investigate means of reducing through traffic on River and Stradbrook Avenues, recognizing their status as essential components of the local circulation system and the increasing effect of through traffic as a disruption of district integrity.

The City shall maintain Osborne, Donald and Main Streets as important connections linking local traffic with the rest of the City.

The City shall make provision for the improvement of access to non-local facilities, as required, for pedestrian, cycle, bus and automobile modes.

Recreation Space

The City shall maintain the existing public recreation space in the District, shall acquire such additional space as may be nece-sary, and shall convert appropriate public spaces to recreation from other uses.

The City shall develop the riverbanks for public use, shall ensure public access to the riverbanks at reasonable intervals, and shall preserve and enhance views of, and from, the rivers.

The City shall ensure the provision of adequate useable open space as a part of any new development in the District.

The City shall provide additional recreation facilities within the District to meet the diverge needs of the population.

Municipal Services

The City shall provide an adequate level of service in the District, including the necessary operations and maintenance associated with such services, reflecting the higher density nature of the District.

It may be considered that certain specific program intentions should be included in the District Plan By-law, if there is not another, more appropriate, means to adopt such provisions. Further, the designation of Rehabilitation and Redevelopment Areas may require the inclusion of Map 1 "Sub-areas" as a Schedule.