THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

AN EVALUATION OF PROVINCIAL PLANNING SERVICES TO LOCAL GOVERNMENTS IN MANITOBA

by

DAVID C. HICKS

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1. FOREWORD

FOREWORD

My first reaction, when faced with the task of selecting a thesis topic acceptable to myself and to my examiners, was to attack certain obvious inadequacies in the practice of city and community planning. Because of an initial personal bias towards rational and logical processes, the often obtuse, contrived techniques of the 'professional' planner tend to be repulsive. At the same time, however, brief exposure to the pragmatic, problem-oriented world of the engineer had terminated, for me, in disillusioned retreat from technocracy and had precipitated a growing respect for those who prophesied universal greyness as the inevitable end of a society bent on realizing the rationalist-scientific ideal.

Planning was a discipline dedicated, in theory at least, to the service of people and their communities; a discipline whose leading spokesmen had recognized the social irresponsibility of planning 'for' people, had clearly understood the intrinsic multiplicity of the 'public interest', and were hotly debating the necessity of involving people in the planning process. Here were men who were burying outmoded ideals, abandoning the incredible egocentricity of the 'grand co-ordinator' multi-discipline theory in favor of an interdisciplinary[1] approach to the problems of

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[1] In recognition of more recent evaluation of the interdisciplinary approach, it is necessary that my use of the terms 'multi-disciplinary' and 'interdisciplinary' be better defined. Within the body of planning theory of my experience, the term 'multi-disciplinary' was first used to describe an approach to planning education founded on the notion of highly-trained individuals embodying a knowledge of the critical aspects of all those disciplines relevant to community planning, and thereby equipped to be the co-ordinator of the entire multi-faceted process. The term 'interdisciplinary' was developed to describe the subsequent evolution of the multi-disciplinary approach. Its basis was continued recognition of the validity of involving many disciplines in the planning process, coupled with tacit admission of the impossibility of any one man being trained to effect this task.

urban life. The impact of this revelation, that others were tackling these enormously difficult problems in an innovative and radical fashion, led naturally to my study of planning.

But the student must eventually leave the cloister. He must abandon the shelter of academic mentors and the wonderland of learned journals to come to grips with the world of the practitioner, an atmosphere of technical inadequacy, and the harsh political realities of a discipline dedicated to bettering the quality of life.

From my first exposure to the field, I had been aware of certain shortcomings in the practice of city and community planning. It would be impossible for anyone to study planning theory without encountering the existence of beliefs and methods counter to one's personal background and philosophy. In fact, it was this awareness which led to further research of these supposed inconsistencies and, inevitably, to the study of less learned, more technical papers and specific cases of planning practice in order to find examples which would buttress my original hypotheses. Unfortunately, this latter research led rapidly to the further insight that the 'leading spokesmen', responsible for the original hypotheses, were vastly outnumbered by other, less advanced thinkers. Here were planners who championed utopian solutions to human problems but disguised their insights in such indecipherable jargon that the affected citizen could hardly hope to understand them, or even less likely, to comment on or criticize them. Here were men, schooled to believe that a half-course introduction to sociology and seven other fields of study qualified them to co-ordinate the activities of skilled

specialists in these fields ... these same men, now apparently raging inwardly at the fact that society has awakened to the need for interdisciplinary co-operation but had not automatically vested the planners with the responsibility of leadership. Here also were men frustrated by years of futile attempts to raise budgets for their research and their programs, now masquerading as objectively-oriented scientists in an effort to cash in on the success of their computer-assisted counterparts in the cost-benefit world of tangibles. Finally, and perhaps most disheartening, here were the physical planners, capable practitioners of an important art, but too insecure in the simplicity of their skills relative to a complex problem. Their answer to the difficulty of attaining public recognition for the profession was to adopt the loftier generic label 'planner'.

The inescapable fact is that city planners, recognizing their failure to provide a comprehensive physical interpretation of urban needs, have opted simply to expand their terms of reference. They have interpreted city planning, which was essentially a methodology ... a means to an end ... as incorporating the whole means-ends continuum of human life. The knowledge that other disciplines have also recognized the limited nature of their individual contributions has been ignored. Perhaps because the lexicon of their profession leans heavily on use of the term 'planning', city planners have come to equate 'city planning' with 'planning', to equate methodology with process. While other disciplines participate in the development of a satisfactory interdisciplinary approach, which would

maximize the value of their individual contributions, many city planners continue to seek the role of grand co-ordinator.[2]

Where is their mandate? How can one interest group, whose authority to implement is defined by legislation and directed by the political process, justify attempts to usurp that process with its own interpretation of social justice? Attempts to answer this apparent paradox do exist. The advocacy planning movement[3] in the United States provided a useful mechanism whereby planners could offer a technical service to the public and, at the same time, circumvent the political difficulty of defining the public interest. This is effected simply by representation of individual interest groups ... in particular those groups whose rights have often been neglected by the vested interests accused of controlling our political structure and government planning agencies. Unfortunately, only some communities of interest have progressed even to the level of self-recognition. Here, obviously, exists a heavy (and potentially dangerous) responsibility for the advocate planner in terms of public education. Too many of our citizens have been conditioned by years of

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[2]This is not to say that all planners share this attitude. One of the 'leading spokesmen' referred to earlier has clearly outlined the problem. John W. Dyckman, "The Practical Uses of Planning Theory", Journal of American Institute of Planners, (September 1969, Vol. XXXV No. 5), pp 298-301, recognizes conflict among planners in agreeing on the 'rules of the game', specifically, difficulty in discerning the 'public interest' and the related difficulty in obtaining 'concensus', and concludes, "Given these impediments to application of planning-style decision-making to the world of affairs, two alternatives are immediately suggested. One is to retreat from the present basis of professionalism to find other such bases in expertise, such as architecture, engineering, or urban studies, giving up any pretension of offering a superior mode of public action and emphasizing some instrumental technical action. The other alternative is to modify the model of normative public action."

[3]Davidoff, Paul; "Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning", Journal of the American Institute of Planners, (November, 1965, Vol. XXXI, No. 4) pp 331-338.

zoning conflicts and expropriation squabbles. These people view planning as a negative process. Few have recognized the full potential of an idea identified only with control and regulation.

Where does this leave the practicing city planner, employed typically as a staff member of a government-financed planning agency? Is he guilty of ignoring local interests in favor of his own personal prejudices? Have his technical skills become hopelessly intertwined with value-ridden concepts of efficiency and purpose? Or is he striking a delicate balance between satisfying his direct supervisors, the political decision makers, and serving his ultimate clients, the people within the jurisdiction of his agency? There are no obvious answers to these questions.

Though earlier inclined to seek the answers through research of planning methods and techniques, experience in the field has taught me to understand the flaws in the methodology as merely symptomatic of an underlying problem. In every phase of planning, we must recognize two basic concepts; operational efficiency and objective efficiency. The first refers simply to the adequacy of our programs in satisfying established objectives. The second more fundamental test is the adequacy of those objectives in solving the problem discerned. The technician may satisfy himself through the relatively uncomplicated pursuit of operational efficiency. This is not an attitude to be lightly dismissed. Many of the tools contained in city planning methodology are in sore need of technical improvement. In fact, were city planners to concentrate on the tangible benefits of their undertakings, the profession would be in a far better position to contribute to interdisciplinary progress.

The preceding should not be construed as favoring abandonment of objective efficiency. Certainly city planners should continue to question the validity of the objective framework within which they operate. However, they must understand their contribution to this aspect of the planning process as nothing more nor less than the contribution of every other affected individual. Value judgements and personal bias are a natural input of any socially-oriented process. Harm develops only as a result of some uniquely equipped group's effort to install itself as an overriding authority.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

INTRODUCTION

The evaluative thrust of this thesis is based in the concepts of systems analysis. As outlined earlier, this entails a distinction between operational efficiency and objective efficiency and a recognition that comprehensive evaluation of any system must entail the assessment and measurement of both.

This chapter of the study will outline the theoretical framework by introducing some basic models of the systems involved in dealing more specifically with operational and objective efficiency, by discussing some basic concepts relating the role of the planner to the systems models available in the context of municipal planning, and by dealing with certain probable criticisms of the systems approach selected. In addition, and of direct relevance to the evaluation of objective efficiency, a brief outline of historical development stages and components of planning critical to the thesis is provided.

"EFFICIENCY OF OPERATION" VS. "EFFICIENCY OF OBJECTIVE"

If planning were not so inextricably bound up with notions of social good, public interest, community betterment, etc., it would be relatively simple to evaluate the operation of a planning agency. But planning is so complicated and, accordingly, the issues at stake in evaluation of planning efforts extend well beyond quantitative concepts of efficiency into the realm of effectiveness.

The nature of the evaluative problem has been neatly stated by Neil Jessop;[1]

"Clearly, operational research might well be applied to the execution

[1] Jessop, W. N. and Friend, J. K., Local Government and Strategic Choice, (Tavistock Publications, London, 1969), p. xii.

policies and plans and produce good effects in terms of economy. But how could more understanding and more conscious control be brought to bear upon the interplay of diverse and often intangible objectives? How did one relate technical management, as expressed in the specialist and co-ordinative activities of officials, to policy management, the responsibility of part-time unpaid lay persons who were nevertheless held accountable by their local electorates?"

The Municipal Planning Branch of the Manitoba Dept. of Municipal Affairs is charged with responsibility of advising communities on the use of town planning techniques in the solution of local problems. Clearly, this entails a concern with the efficient implementation of programs, programs which reflect a desire to achieve objectives. If we can know the objectives, we can measure the success of the programs utilizing operations research techniques and can, therefore, make some evaluative statement about the operational efficiency of the Branch. In fact, if the co-ordinative and specialist activities referred to by Jessop were readily divorced from policy management, (as might, theoretically, be the case) such a statement would be a useful and acceptable means of evaluating the planning branch, if not the planning process in which it is involved.

If, on the other hand, the objectives implicit or explicit in existing legislation, in branch or departmental policy statements, in requests from clients, etc., have been neither developed nor defined and if, as a result, the Branch has found itself, by design or by default, playing some role in the definition of objectives or in making assumptions about them, then we are faced with the problem not simply of evaluating

performance in the operational sense, but also evaluating performance in the less tangible sense of policy management, in the selection and definition of objectives.

OPERATIONS RESEARCH TO SYSTEMS ANALYSIS

Without becoming involved in a lengthy review of systems theory, it is useful to understand certain of the basic concepts involved. Essentially, systems theory offers a means by which real world processes may be modelled to facilitate analysis and change. Three of the processes regularly referred to in systems literature are policy-making, decision-making, and planning. These are, of course, generic terms whose use is common to a variety of disciplines involved in a vast range of theory and practice. Whether or not the processes are the same, whether they merely overlap, or whether there exists some finite hierarchical or linear relationship between them is largely a matter of context. Clearly, the municipal "planning" branch is, in some way, concerned with planning. Equally clearly, the liaison of the Branch with local government, and its function within the provincial government, somehow involves the Branch with the policy-making process. Similarly, the internal operations of the Branch and the impact of its actions on external operations entail the making of decisions.

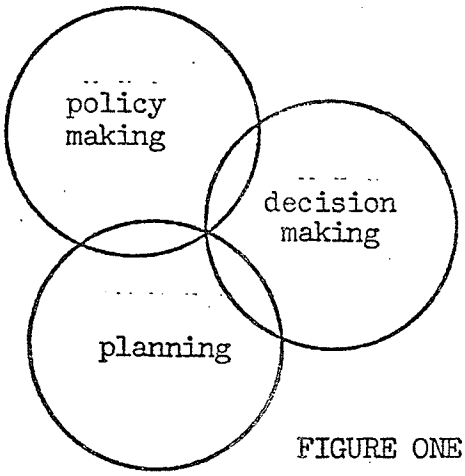

FIGURE ONE

The whole concept of adding the analysis of objectives to the research of operational efficiency is a description of the shift from Operations

Research to Systems Analysis. Operations Research theory stems from one basic mathematical model;[2]

$$E = f(x_i, y_j)$$

where E represents the effectiveness of the system.

x_i represents the variables of the system which are subject to control.

y_j represents the variables of the system which are not subject to control.

Clearly, the success with which the operator may establish "E" is dependent upon the ability to develop supplementary models defining the ranges of value for x_i and y_j and accounting for their variation within those ranges. As long as the system can feasibly be analysed in this manner, operations research techniques will provide a valuable tool for its analysis and evaluation. If, however, we begin to understand municipal planning as being a system which consists of a number of related processes incorporating variables which are not only "not subject to control" but are, in fact, unknown and uncontrollable, the rules of the game are considerably complicated. Evaluation of the system is no longer a function of known variables. Rather it becomes a function of performance related to ill-defined, often arbitrary and value-laden, objectives. What was once an appealingly simple problem in applied mathematics is transformed into an enormously complicated problem in philosophy, the solution of which is dependent upon the analyst's assumptions with respect to objectives and his ability to clarify and defend these assumptions in the presentation of his findings.

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[2] Churchman, Ackoff, and Arnoff, Introduction to Operations Research, (John Wiley and Sons, New York, 1957), p. 13.

The transformed problem and the tools developed for its solution have been the subject of numerous articles and publications. C. E. Lindblom[3] sees planning as "analysing the interrelations of policies". More specifically, he refers to "town planning" (for which we may read municipal planning) as analysing policies pertaining to land use. But Lindblom has suggested that planning is clearly only a facet or, alternatively, a way of understanding the larger policy-making process. More specifically, he indicates that if policy-making is understood as a species of decision-making, then:

(1) operations research is a collection of techniques for "appraising the relative merits of alternative policies".

(2) systems analysis is the extension of operations research required by the fact that costs determined by operations research analysis of alternative policies are sometimes so excessive as to throw suspicion on the original objective and means "formal analysis of objectives as well as to means of their attainment".

(3) planning-programming-budgeting systems are a means of calculating the input costs of governmental outputs and involve the translation of policy into budget terminology.

(4) planning is an overlapping, related, interest involving the analysis of the interrelations of policies.

Lindblom's relegation of planning from the status of process to that of analytical tool is troublesome only if we understand planning as something that planners do as opposed to a process in which they are involved.

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[3] Lindblom, C. E., The Policy-Making Process, (Prentice-Hall Inc., 1968, Foundation of Modern Political Science Series), pp. 9-10.

This semantic difficulty has been alluded to in the introduction to the thesis but requires full definition if the subsequent theory is to be understood in the intended manner.

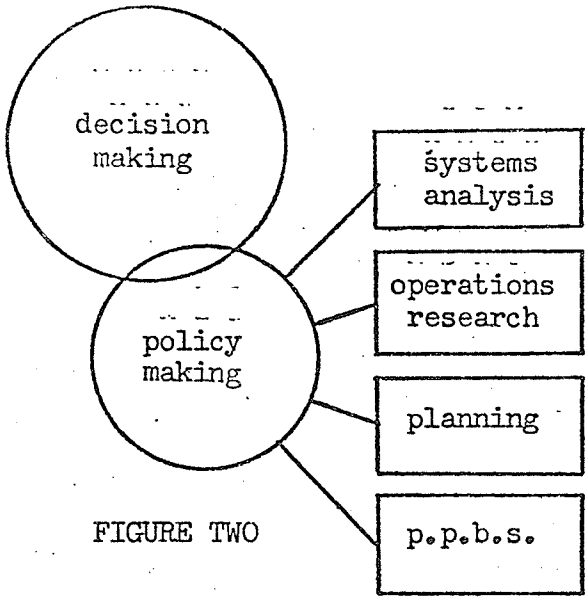

FIGURE TWO

PLANNING AND PLANNERS

As already established, the primary thrust of this research is the evaluation of a particular government agency's contribution to the environment in which it operates. That environment or "system" will be more specifically defined in succeeding sections but, for the moment, may be best described as a policy-making process. In the context of this study, then, we have redefined the relationship of the planning process to the policy-making process in accordance with Lindblom's suggestions (see fig. 2).

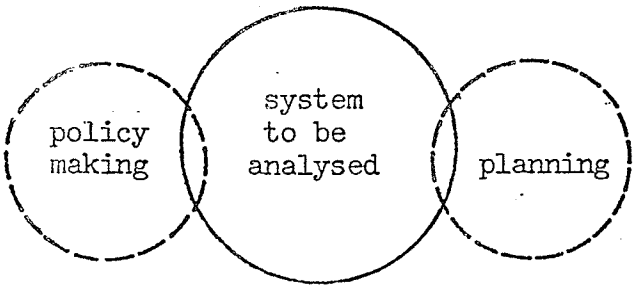

FIGURE THREE

1. Policy-making is understood as a species of decision-making.
2. Planning is understood as one of a number of tools utilized in the analysis of policy-making.

Unfortunately, many planners, and many people who deal with the Municipal Planning Branch, do not clearly understand the role of the planner in the sub-system relating planning to policy-making. Typically, the planner is seen as more than an analyst and is assigned, or assumes, some responsibility in the area of policy-making itself. This, of course, means a shift away from the simplicity

of Lindblom's model[4] towards the complexity of Fig. 1 and re-establishes the need to apply systems techniques to analysis of the relationship between planning, as practiced by the Municipal Planning Branch, and policy-making. (see Fig. 3)

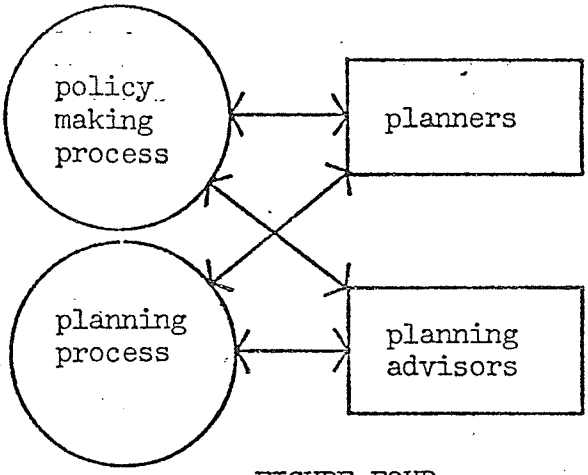

FIGURE FOUR

If we understand policy-making to be the process by which our governments seek to achieve the solution of social and economic problems, then the dichotomy between planning as the analytical technique described by Lindblom, and as the overlapping species of decision-making it so often becomes in practice, may be seen as stemming directly from the semantic difficulty previously encountered in distinguishing between planning, as something done by planners, as opposed to a process in which "planners" are involved. The alternative linkages between the two process options[5] and the two action options or role options are illustrated in Fig. 4. The two roles on the right side of the matrix

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[4]Lindblom, throughout The Policy-Making Process (ibid.) goes well beyond the relegation of planning to the status of an analytical technique. In fact, his basic thesis is the inadequacy of planning and other analytical techniques when applied to the policy-making process. The criticism is based on an alleged overemphasis on pure rationality and will be dealt with in more detail in subsequent sections. However, it is not considered so extensive as to refute the validity of the systems approach and has not, therefore, been considered as preventing the application of systems analysis to that particular system involving planning in its relation to a specific area of policy-making.

[5]Because the model has been developed specifically to represent the process options available to the Municipal Planning Branch, only policy-making and planning have been considered. Application to the general case would require a far more extensive breakdown of the many species of the overall decision-making process.

represent the two basic courses of action available to the employees of the Municipal Planning Branch. They must function either as "planners", the doers in an essentially technocratic process replacing participation by prescription, or as "planning advisors", the technicians identified by Lindblom as assistants in the policy-making process. The two processes identified on the left side of the matrix are the two most readily apparent means of modelling the environment in which the Branch operates. The alternative linkages differ drastically in their theoretical basis but all will be seen to figure in the actual operations of the agency. For the purpose of this study, it is intended that the four alternatives be interpreted as follows:

1. PLANNERS in a POLICY-MAKING PROCESS - the active and authoritative involvement of the planning branch in specific areas of their environment. (eg. control over land-use and settlement patterns).
2. PLANNERS in a PLANNING PROCESS - the active and authoritative involvement of the planning branch in a wide range of government activities. (eg. the grand co-ordinators).
3. PLANNING ADVISORS IN A POLICY-MAKING PROCESS - the active but advisory involvement in specific areas of the system. (eg. emphasis of planning service to responsible authorities).
4. PLANNING ADVISORS IN A PLANNING PROCESS - the active but advisory involvement in a wide range of government activities. (eg. the planning secretariat approach).

DEFINITION OF THE SYSTEM UNDER STUDY

Figure 3 has illustrated the basic intent of this study...to evaluate the Municipal Planning Branch as a prime component in a sub-system linking our governmental process to some activity called municipal planning. It has

been further established that, to effect this evaluation, a systems analysis approach will be utilized.

To clarify the extent of the sub-system under study, one needs merely to be aware of the various constraints affecting the activities of the Branch. Consider the overall system to be the totality of social and economic interrelationships which comprise society. The application of the relevant geographic and political constraints then focusses our interest on Manitoba society outside Winnipeg. Training and experience constraints affecting the staff of the agency may be seen to further condense the sub-system to involve only that particular species of policy-making variously referred to as town, city, or regional planning and the contribution of the Municipal Planning Branch to that process.

THEORETICAL SHORTCOMINGS OF THE SYSTEMS APPROACH

By defining the research problem in the preceding fashion, certain assumptions about a highly debatable area of theory are implied. Firstly, it is implied that planning (and municipal planning) is a species of, or a tool for, the analysis of policy or decision making. We must, therefore, recognize the basic concepts identifying the policy and decision-making processes and, in so doing, are tacitly recognizing a rationalist-scientific interpretation of the overall environment. Lindblom's reaction to such an interpretation has already been introduced. It is not an uncommon one.

Planners are increasingly paranoid about their "professional" role. The paranoia is normally manifested as a result of a failure to cope satisfactorily with an ever-growing body of planning theory. The internal inconsistencies of that body of theory, which are undoubtedly a prime factor in the

problem, are best illustrated by treating it as a continuum, the polar extremes of which are readily defined by the various characteristics attributed to them;

OBJECTIVE		SUBJECTIVE
RATIONAL	vs.	EMOTIONAL
SCIENTIFIC		INTUITIVE

or, alternatively, by the ability to perceive or measure their components;

QUANTITATIVE		QUALITATIVE
TANGIBLE	vs.	INTANGIBLE
CALCUABLE		INCALCUABLE

or, alternatively, by the concepts associated with them;

COLLECTIVISM OF PUBLIC INTEREST		PLURALISM OF PUBLIC INTEREST
DETACHMENT	vs.	INVOLVEMENT
COMPREHENSIVENESS		ISSUE ORIENTATION

Such polarization of the theory has not prevented some theorists' retaining a reasonable perspective on the entire continuum and structuring their hypotheses accordingly. Unfortunately, this same breadth of perspective is not always characteristic of the planning process in practice. As a result, the classical decision theory models and the societal action models are often seen as mutually exclusive rather than as related states in the same continuum.

The systems approach is typically understood as a variation on the classical decision-theory model, heavily reliant on rationalist-scientific tradition. This interpretation leaves the use of a systems approach in this study open to a variety of criticisms.

As already established, C. E. Lindblom has identified systems analysis as merely a technique for the analysis of the policy-making process. As such, he has outlined four basic limits[6] to its application:

1. the difficulty of defining and formulating the policy problem.
2. the impossibility of completing analysis in the context of the availability of complex information, research time, and funds.
3. the difficulty of organizing goals and values given the problems in achieving concensus on definition of the public interest.
4. the resistance to analysis because of inherent irrationality and resistance to manipulation.

Similar criticism has been made by John Friedmann; "The problem is no longer how to make decisions more 'rational', but how to improve the quality of the action."[7] His concern is basically that the rationalist model has overemphasized the preparation of sound plans to the detriment of plan implementation.

It is apparent, then, that use of a systems approach will be valid only in the event that recognition is made of the risks in overemphasizing rational analysis of an irrational process. (to the detriment of irrational but human values and aspirations and to the continuation of the unwarranted distinction between planning and implementation.)

AVOIDING SHORTCOMINGS IN THE SYSTEMS APPROACH

While it can be expected that emphasis on a systems approach will invite the criticisms outlined above, it can nevertheless be established that

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[6] ibid. Lindblom, C. E. The Policy-Making Process, pp. 12-20.

[7] Friedmann, John, "Notes on Societal Action", Journal of the American Institute of Planners, (September, 1969, Vol. XXXV, No. 5), pp. 311-319.

that the approach is a valid one. Even Lindblom and Friedmann admit the applicability of rationalist analytical techniques to irrational or subjective problems. In other words, one can rationally and objectively consider and utilize intuitive or emotional inputs in the policy-making process. Lindblom goes well beyond his identification of limits of analysis to detailing strategies for avoiding them.[8] Friedmann goes on to state that "Planning in the sense of a scientific-technical intelligence may be joined to both adaptive and developmental actions".[9] (the two types of anti-classical societal action models identified by him.)

The effort to avoid criticism should not, however, be overextended in an attempt to answer the more typical interpretation of the weaknesses in the systems approach. While overemphasis on rationality is admittedly a risk, so is overreaction to the rational-emotional paranoia described earlier.

Planning, as a process or as an analytical technique, must always be understood as distinct from trite "professional" considerations of the role of the planner. Planning theory is too important a field of study, too intertwined with other even more generic processes, to be bastardized to the point of being little more than a vehicle for justifying some kind or level of involvement by "professional" planners. Friedmann has recognized the risk; "Planning in the narrow scientific-technical sense may or not be present in those activities that make societal action

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[8] ibid. Lindblom; C. E., The Policy-Making Process, pp. 21-27.

[9] ibid. Friedmann, John; "Notes on Societal Action", p. 313.

deliberate."[10] He is simply stating a fact sometimes forgotten or ignored by practicing planners...that everyone plans, that planning, even in the most physical sense, is not the divine province of some professional body. To define and study the planning process need not even involve the definition of a role for planners.

THE IMPORTANCE OF PLANNING THEORY IN EVALUATION

The degree to which staff members in a planning agency accept or apply their concepts of planning theory must clearly affect the manner in which they execute their functions. If, as has been hypothesized, staff members play a role in definition of their function, then clearly the impact will be even more significant.

The attitude of practicing planners to planning theory is influenced by education, by experience, and by expedience in the job framework. Dyckman[11] has suggested that the typical attitude, that of pragmatism or professionalism, denies the need for planning theory.

> "...there is a great deal of implicit or explicit social theory underlying planning activity, and from this theory-or upon it-we should be able to distinguish a theory of planning. The fact that operating planners shy away from the identification of a theory of planning is a real one, however."

The context of Dyckman's statement is critical. He has identified the orientation of operating planners towards pragmatism and has used this

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[10] ibid. Friedmann, John; "Notes on Societal Action", p. 312.

[11] Dyckman, John W., "The Practical Uses of Planning Theory", Journal of the American Institute of Planners, (September, 1969, Vol. XXXV, No. 5) p. 298.

orientation to explain their desire for "professionalization", for the institutionalization of planning. He uses the same orientation to explain the reluctance to define a theory of planning, attributing it basically to the difficult technical content of rational decision-making models and to the problem of knowing those social goals so critical in the guidance of the models.[12] At the same time, however, he insists that public acceptance of professional, institutionalized planning will, in fact, be dependent on the identification of theory.

> "When planning is invoked, or when it is institutionalized as it is in the planning agency of local government, it is expected to make use of rational technical means of arriving at decisions. This is particularly true of institutionalized planning, for then it becomes a kind of centralized decision-making, in contrast to the relatively atomistic market and the largely intuitive politics. The offer of superior rationality then means the promise to buttress rational decisions with technical information."[13]

Admittedly, Dyckman leans heavily towards the classical model of decision-making and emphasizes the concept of comprehensiveness as the key justification for the planner's intervention. Considered in light of the matrix developed in Fig. 4, earlier in this chapter, it is apparent that this approach relates primarily to the second linkage, PLANNERS in a PLANNING PROCESS.

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[12] ibid. Dyckman, John W.; "The Practical Uses of Planning Theory", p. 299.

[13] Dyckman, John W., "Planning and Decision Theory", Journal of the American Institute of Planners, (November, 1961, Vol. XXVII, No. 4), p. 336.

Dyckman's key contribution to my theoretical framework is not, however, his own theoretical bias. What is more important is his clear presentation of the necessary relationship of theory and practice and the resultant ability to evaluate one in light of the other. Whether one accepts the pragmatist's null hypothesis - that the theory of planning need be no more sophisticated than institutionalized common sense; whether we prefer a mathematical model in the rationalist-scientific tradition; or whether we opt for the implementation-oriented societal action theory...we are assuming a model of the planner's involvement and, in so doing, we facilitate the comparison of our operations to that model as an accepted ideal.

A systems approach to evaluation demands the consideration of objectives. The operating planner may be evaluated in terms of his own (implicit or explicit) objectives, objectives determined by his understanding and acceptance of planning theory. Viewed in isolation, measurement of the planner's performance in terms of his own objectives is of questionable relevance. Viewed in terms of a system characterized by political delinquency in the establishment of objectives and by the planner's intervention in definition of objectives by default, this particular measure of performance acquires a new level of relevance.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PLANNING THEORY

It has already been implied and will later be established that the Municipal Planning Branch has played a role in the definition of objectives governing its operation. At the same time, public and private opinion have had their influence. One might suggest that such opinion has been shaped by the influence of planning technocracy. Conversely, it might be suggested that the development of planning theory was determined by external

opinion. In any event, it will be clearly demonstrated that the practice of municipal planning has been significantly influenced by public and private opinion and that shifts in the latter can be expressed through an understanding of the historical development of planning theory.

Utilizing the work of Dyckman[14] and Perloff,[15] the development of planning consciousness in Manitoba (in terms of the role of the Municipal Planning Branch) will be related to the historical development of planning theory. Five stages in the latter will be recognized:

1. Chicago World's Fair (1897) to World War One: characterized by a concern with the "city beautiful", and by the themes of gradualism, optimism, and pragmatism.
2. World War One to late 1920's: characterized by concern with the "city practical" and with the emerging doctrine of comprehensiveness.
3. Late 1920's and the 1930's: characterized by the loss of optimism associated with the depression, a growing recognition of social problems and by increasing federal government involvement in urban affairs. (eg. U.S. 'new deal' legislation)
4. World War Two to the 1950's: characterized by the emergence of centralized economic planning, an increase in the scope and extent of planning activities, and by increasing attention to human problems and the behavioral sciences.

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[14] Dyckman, John W., "Introduction to Readings in the Theory of Planning: The State of Planning Theory in America". (source unknown)

[15] Perloff, Harvey S., "Education of City Planners: Past, Present, and Future", Journal of the American Institute of Planners, (Fall, 1956, Vol. XXII, No. 4) pp. 186-217.

5. 1960's to the present: characterized by the growing multiplicity of divergent planning theory-the interdisciplinary approach, societal action and advocacy planning models, growing environmental concern and the ecological approach, etc.

A careful review of the history reveals a distinct lack of any identifiable linear progression in the theory. Sequential as development may have been, it is nevertheless clear that the rule has been continual reversal of direction within the quantitative-qualitative continuum rather than a steady progression. In fact, the most recent stage in development clearly represents a digression from a sequential model to a branch model including concurrent activity in widely divergent areas of theory.

To demonstrate the continuum, and the reversals of direction within it, one need merely look at the similarities between the still developing concept of Davidoff's[16] advocacy in a pluralist society and the role played by planning consultants in the pre-World War One civic reform movement. While the former is typically applied on behalf of economically or socially underprivileged minorities in our society and the latter was the creation of a powerful elite of "leading citizens", there can be little doubt that both concepts involved the unapologetic definition of objectives by specific self-recognized segments of society and the use of professional assistance in an implementation-oriented framework to achieve those ends.

[16] Davidoff, Paul; "Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning", Journal of American Institute of Planners, (November, 1965, Vol. XXVII, No. 4) pp. 331-338.

3. EVOLUTION OF THE RATIONALIST MODEL
-THE EVALUATIVE MODEL INTRODUCED-

INTRODUCTION

Many practitioners in the field of planning view the relationship between the rational and the emotional as less a continuum than a dichotomy. Whether they be "professionals" secure in the comprehensivist ideal, or "activists" committed to the qualitative end of participatory planning, they perceive little or no overlap between the two extremes.

The professional planner sees himself as the rational co-ordinator of efforts aimed at achievement of the public interest. Advocates and animators see him as hopelessly means-oriented, an unfeeling technocrat, unable to distinguish the plurality of needs and objectives in our society. The activists perceive themselves as playing one of several roles. Advocates or animators, however, they share an emphasis on ends, a focus which has caused their dismissal by the professional planners as costly but harmless idealists at best, subversives and anarchists at worst.

This extreme divergence of means and ends orientation among practitioners could alternatively be described as follows: different professionals are distinguished by their approach (means), different activists are distinguished by their cause (ends). The dichotomy in practice has characterized developments in the field since theorists first began to define the limits of the comprehensivist ideal. It must be stressed, however, that none of the important theorists in the field have failed to distinguish between the concepts of continuum and dichotomy as applied to the rationalist-emotionalist relationship.

The rationalist-scientific tradition is the intellectual heritage of western culture. Even the most radical of planning theorists have been bound, by its component themes of pragmatism and gradualism, to deal with

corrections to the classical decision-making model rather than with its replacement. If students in our planning schools were required to devote more time to understanding the impact of this restriction on the development of planning theories, and less time on the characteristics of the theories themselves, it would not be unreasonable to expect graduate practitioners to appreciate that even the most activist of the ends-oriented approaches have evolved only incrementally from the synoptic ideal. Unfortunately, the one insight currently shared by those practitioners still encumbered by their perception of a dichotomy in approach, is a predilection to dismiss the theorists, who could correct their perceptual error, as ivory-tower academics. This latter phenomenon has been ably described by Abraham Kaplan:

> "Pragmatists have been persistently and widely misunderstood by reason of the impossibly narrow sense given to the key word 'action'. There is a vulgar pragmatism in which 'action' is opposed to 'contemplation', 'practice', to 'theory', and 'expediency' to 'principle'."[1]

It is the presumed superiority of this vulgar pragmatism over the true pragmatism of the leading theorists in planning that has permitted the persistent failure of practitioners to advance their understanding and knowledge of the models they utilize beyond the introductory and biased level achieved through personal planning training[2] and field experience.

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[1] Kaplan, Abraham, The Conduct of Inquiry, (Chandler Publishing Co., San Francisco, 1964), p. 43.

[2] planning training is here contrasted with the planning education offered by a small but increasing number of schools and professors.

THE RATIONALIST-BASED MODEL AS AN EVALUATIVE TOOL

I have attempted to clearly establish the rationalist-scientific approach, the so-called classical model of decision theory, as the one acceptable basis for analysis of the operation of a planning agency. This chapter will illustrate the evolution of this basic model to overcome the various criticisms levelled at it and the modifications necessary to permit its application in evaluation of municipal planning.

Three stages will be involved. The first will review the classical model and its inadequacies if applied in the purest terms. The second and third will describe the contributions of two of whom I consider to be important contributors to its evolution and development; Charles Lindblom and Yehezkel Dror.

On the basis of criticisms and suggestions made in the publications of these authorities and, particularly, on a related model developed by Friend and Jessop,[3] I will proceed with the development of a model specifically adapted to evaluation of the performance and objectives of the Municipal Planning Branch.

THE PURE RATIONALITY MODEL

In its purest sense, the rationality model would best be described as behavioural. If this study was concerned specifically with using a model to reproduce the system under investigation in order to better describe it, then perhaps the behavioural approach would be suitable. However, the prime thrust of the thesis is evaluative, and in order to provide the necessary guidelines, it is important that our examination of

[3] see Jessop, W. N. and Friend, J. K., Local Government and Strategic Choice, (Tavistock Publications, London, 1969)

the classical model of rationality be focussed on its evolution as a normative model, on its treatment as an ideal of the comprehensivist approach to planning. To quote Dror, "The normative model must, therefore, also be idealistic enough that it can stimulate consistent, thorough-going proposals for innovative improvements based on the best available knowledge."[4]

The rationalist process of decision-making has been described by Lindblom as comprising four basic steps:[5]

1. identification, examination, and consistent ordering of those objectives and other values that are believed should govern the choice of solution to the problem: This interpretation is distinctly normative. The more usual description of this step, in the field of public policy-making, conceives of the decision-maker or his advisor, studying the decision field with somewhat more 'scientific' detachment in an attempt to identify problems in light of the available range of resources and in response to an externally determined system of objectives. The distinction is admittedly esoteric, Lindblom's approach being the more realistic approximation, and the key issue in any event being the identification of goals in the context of scarce resources and the resultant application of relative weights to the selected goals.

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[4] Dror, Yehezkel, Public Policymaking Re-examined, (Chandler Publishing Co., San Francisco, 1968) p. 130.

[5] Lindblom, C. E., The Intelligence of Democracy, (The Free Press, New York, 1965) p. 137.

2. comprehensive survey of all possible means of achieving those values: This is a highly condensed version of the step which, for most planners, is the primary, if not exclusive, focus of their efforts. Dror, for example, sees this operation as itself entailing three discrete components;[6] inventory, preparation of alternatives, and prediction of costs and benefits for each of the alternatives.

3. exhaustive examination of the probable consequences of employing each of the possible means: Dror specifically defined this operation as "calculating the net expectation for each alternative by multiplying the probability of each benefit and cost for each alternative by the utility of each, and calculating the net benefit (or cost) in utility units."[7]

4. choice of a means — a particular policy or combination of policies — that will probably achieve a maximum of the values or reach some acceptable level of achievement: This is the actual making of the decision. In Lindblom's synoptic ideal, the process would then revert to step one. In theory, there are two generally recognized intermediate steps; implementation and evaluation. In the case of the Municipal Planning Branch, we shall see that Lindblom's simplified model is more nearly accurate and that the decision is very often the end of one round of the process.

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[6] ibid. Dror, Yehezkel, Public Policymaking Re-examined.

[7] ibid. Dror, Yehezkel: Public Policymaking Re-examined, p. 132.

As has been previously discussed, the typical criticism of the rationalist model is its inadequacy in description of an essentially irrational process -- the real world context of policy-making and planning. Before proceeding to an analysis of the criticisms and of the resultant alternative models presented by their developers as somehow differing or evolving from the rationalist ideal, it must be clearly recognized that many theorists continue to use the pure rationalist model. This is generally effected by suppressing the ideal of comprehensiveness, acknowledging the existence of qualitative values and objectives, and proceeding to investigate alternative solutions to only those objectives that can be attained, (ie. those for which evaluative criteria can be quantitatively defined or tritely defined in the qualitative case).

The PPBS process (as diagrammed in Fig. 5) appears to exemplify this approach. The concept of rational behaviour, as characterized by commitment to the comprehensivist ideal, is redefined to be merely conscious accounting for as many objectives as may be satisfactorily measured.

CRITICISMS OF THE PURE RATIONALITY MODEL

The enormous inertia of a concept rooted so firmly in our cultural traditions has dictated that criticisms of the rationality model could deal only with its operational inefficiencies. Only a very few serious investigations of irrational or extrarational concepts have been undertaken and even these in the hope that the research would reveal new approaches for improvement of the rationalist process. In other words, excursions of this kind, which question the objective efficiency of the classical model, have tended to focus very specifically on explaining and

A PPBS STRUCTURE

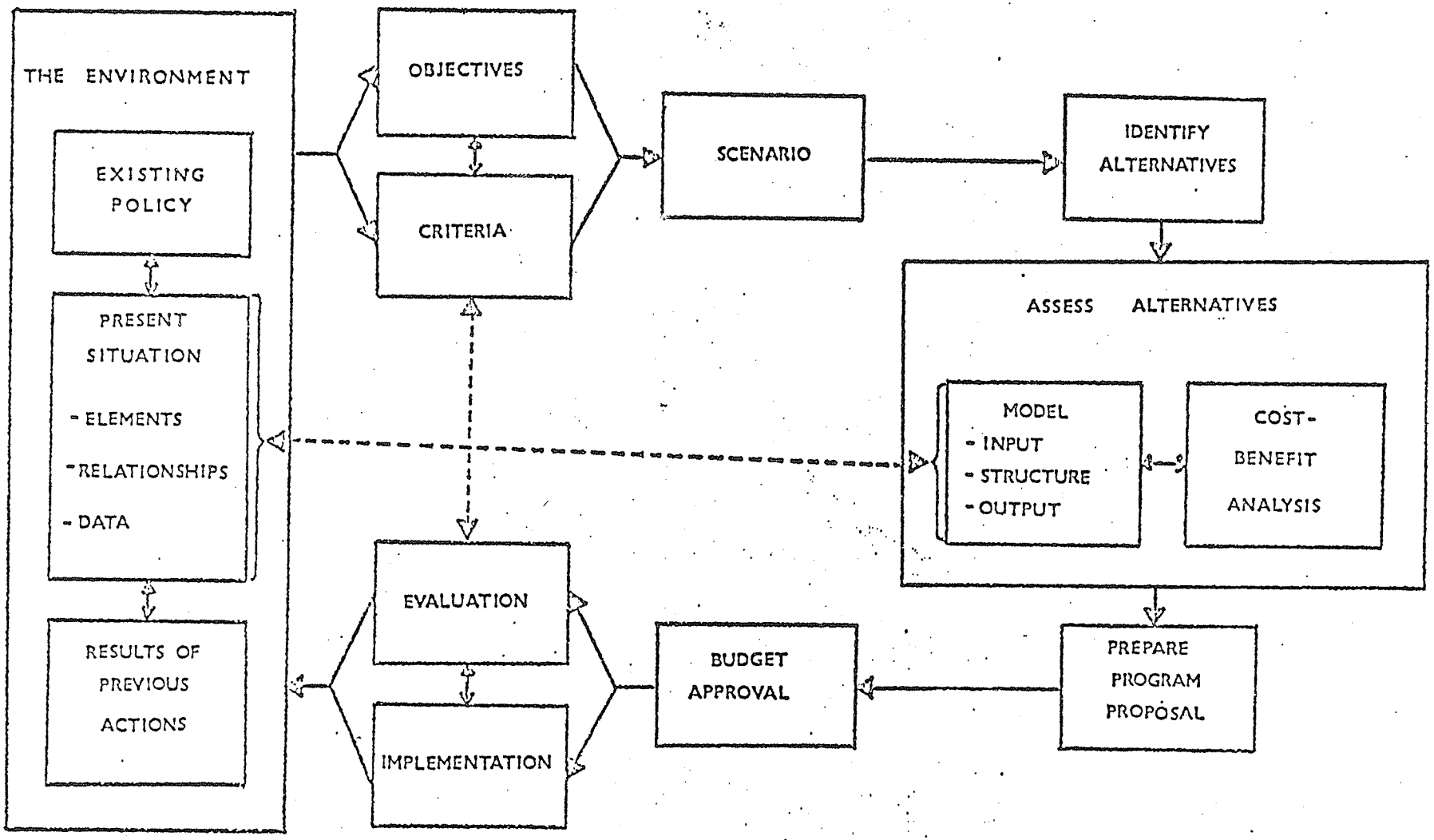

FIGURE FIVE

KATES, PEAT, MARWICK & CO.

correcting its operational deficiencies through a more thorough understanding of the counter-processes. That the rational model could be used in this way to investigate its own shortcomings is irrefutable testimony to the powerful influence of the three dominant themes in our society ... optimism, pragmatism, and gradualism ... and is clearly the basis on which the variations discussed in this study have evolved.

Bolan[8] has developed a very useful analysis of the classical model identifying five sets of variables within the context of which operational inadequacies of the model may be readily categorized.

1. process steps: These are the steps discussed in the preceding section as identified by Lindblom and Dror. Problems here fall into two categories; objective selection and design of alternatives. In the area of objective selection, there are four critical shortcomings:

   a. It is often difficult to distinguish between problems and symptoms. Goal selection is based on response to perceived shortcomings and, in our complex society, it is sometimes possible to perceive a symptom as a problem, develop a policy to eliminate it and still be left with the problem itself. A relatively recent example of this was the now recognized failure of an urban renewal policy which sought to correct a complex social problem through bulldozing of the slums so symptomatic of it.

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[8] Bolan, Richard S., "Community Decision Behaviour: The Culture of Planning", Journal of the American Institute of Planners, (September, 1969, vol. XXXV, no. 5), pp. 301 - 311.

b. The objectives of the various constituencies of interest in a pluralist society are likely to be incommensurate. Even though it may prove feasible to obtain a concensus on a statement of objective, the impact of values in assessing the objective and its implementation may create insurmountable obstacles to development of acceptable policy. This is particularly true when the policy-makers are forced to resort to vague general statements of objective in order to guarantee concensus. Many groups might agree that the physical development of a community should be of good, attractive design but the attempt to pin this concept down to operational goals will rapidly uncover such startlingly incommensurable interpretations of 'attractive' as subdued natural beauty vs. unique and striking design.

c. The incommensurability of goals may also be understood as relating to the difficulty of achieving concensus. Even if it is feasible to describe goals in commensurable terms, the net result is likely to be wider recognition of more basic disagreements on ends, otherwise disguised by the generalities devised to facilitate comparison, and a corresponding loss of concensus.

d. Even where the problem can be defined and the corresponding objective described and agreed upon, it may prove impossible to delineate criteria by which achievement of the objective

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[8] Bolan, Richard S., "Community Decision Behaviour: The Culture of Planning", Journal of the American Institute of Planners, (September, 1969, vol. XXXV, no. 5), pp. 301 - 311.

may be measured. This is the problem of quantifying the qualitative, a very real difficulty greatly complicated by our society's fondness for the tangible and the resultant tendency to deal only with measurable variables.

In the design of alternatives, the shortcomings tend specifically to the operational type. The ideal of comprehensiveness, combined with the information explosion of recent time, and a growing awareness of the interrelationship of variables, have rendered it impossible to provide either the time necessary to research the multitude of available alternatives or the funds necessary to uncover the range of data involved.

To analyze the model strictly on the basis of inadequacies in implementation of the process steps would ignore certain critical deficiencies related less to the theory, itself, than to its application in an irrational real world situation. Bolan, as illustrated in Figure 6, recognizes these problems as developing when the model is extended, from use by an individual in a relatively narrow focus, to use by a community of individuals in the context of public policy-making. The four additional variable sets are described in the following.

2. process roles: This set of variables recognizes the problems inherent in the pursuit of concensus and comprehensiveness, but extends the perceived complication of simple pluralism to one of skewed pluralism dependent on an inequitable ability of individual actors or groups to influence the process. Bolan saw this ability as dependent on motivation, opportunity, and

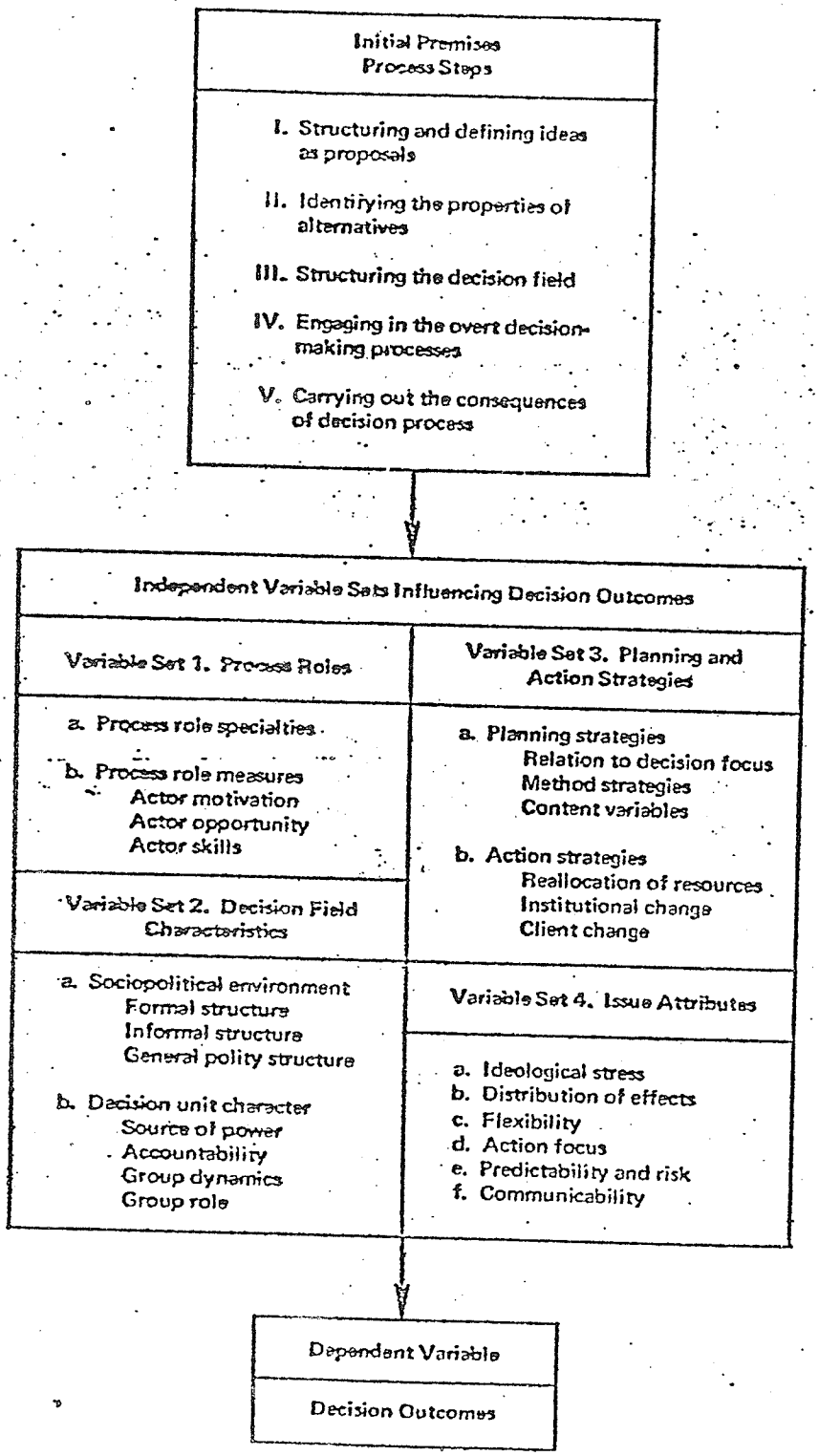

FIGURE SIX[1]

[1]Bolan, Richard S., "Community Decision Behaviour: The Culture of Planning", Journal of the American Institute of Planners, (September, 1969, vol. XXXV, no. 5), p. 302

skills. Lindblom[9] sees it further complicated by the vagaries of those with high or ultimate influence.

3. decision-field characteristics: As reviewed by Bolan, the likelihood of the rationalist model resulting in positive action is largely dependent on the nature of the decision environment. Highly formalized, structured, or homogeneous communities are much more likely to act positively in the rational selection and implementation of policies. Similarly, but at the actual decision-making level, the action orientation of a group of actors will be affected by the nature of their source of power (eg. whether appointed or elected) and by such internal group dynamics as social cohesiveness, incentives of reward and punishment, role differentiation and group role identification.

4. planning and action strategies: The likelihood of positive action resulting from the process is further dependent on the proximity of the actors to the decision-makers, on the planning strategy involved in terms of method and content (eg. classical model vs. incremental or ad hoc response; comprehensivity vs. focussed, short-term, means orientation), and on the extent to which the implementation strategies selected will disturb the status quo.

5. issue attributes: Bolan's final variable set points out the effect of the problem or issue, as understood by society, in influencing the success of the process. Easily accomplished

[9] Lindblom, C. E., The Policy-Making Process, (Prentice-Hall Inc. 1968, Foundations of Modern Political Science Series) pp. 18-19.

proposals with an obvious outcome and a time-variable but focussed impact are more acceptable.

LINDBLOM: DISJOINTED INCREMENTALISM

Lindblom's approach[10] is sometimes misunderstood as the antithesis of rational decision-making. In fact, the model of incremental change, provocatively described by him as "muddling through",[11] is only a very short step down the evolutionary chain from the classical ideal and retains many of its basic concepts.

In terms of the process steps of the classical model, Lindblom was primarily concerned with the earlier described difficulties in achieving comprehensiveness and the likelihood of encountering incommensurable values. He saw the rationalist model as an ideal of science transferred to the field of values. The degree of interrelatedness associated with the system, combined with the limiting factors of man's intellect, inadequate information, and the costliness of analysis, obviated achievement of the synoptic ideal.

At the same time, Lindblom tacitly recognized many of the factors described in Bolan's sets of independent variables; particularly, the influence of process roles and issue attributes.

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[10] see particularly two references:
Lindblom, C. E., and Braybrooke, David, A Strategy of Decision (Free Press of Glencoe, Collier MacMillan Ltd. London, 1963), and ibid. Lindblom, C. E., The Intelligence of Democracy.

[11] Lindblom, C. E., "The Science of 'Muddling Through'", Public Administration Review (XIX 1959) pp. 79-88.

He did not, however, deny the importance of rationality although he did redefine the pursuit of its achievement as deriving from a concept of policy-making through mutual adjustment.

> "The contribution of partisan mutual adjustment to rational decision-making can best be understood in light of the fact that complex decision-making is not synoptic but is fragmented, disjointed, and incremental in such a way that multiplicity of 'independent' decision makers is itself a source of rationality, as is also the form of their interaction."[12]

The preceding quotation clearly demonstrates Lindblom's model as developing from a behavioural view of the process. Its normative aspects are assigned through the addition of several new tactics to the classical model, the resultant total being a 'strategy' and, in that sense, a way of coping with but not a method of solving problems. The tactics initially described were as follows:[13]

1. comparison and evaluation of increments only: This was intended to reduce the range of investigations required by the synoptic ideal, thereby decreasing the significance of limits on intellect, time, and cost, and increasing the likelihood of defining commensurable goals.
2. consideration of a restricted number of policy alternatives: This has the same benefit as the incrementalism ploy and is justifiable given an understanding of political feasibility and its effect of discarding unfamiliar solutions.

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[12] ibid. Lindblom, C. E.: The Intelligence of Democracy, p. 331.

[13] ibid. pp. 144-148.

3. consideration of a restricted number of important consequences for any given possible policy alternative: This admits the narrow focus of real world decision-making and the resultant perceived irrelevance of many consequences. Like the previous tactics, it is defended on the grounds of reduced importance of the limits of comprehensivity.
4. reconstructive analysis: This permits redefinition of a problem to eliminate insoluble aspects and to permit further progress. The tactic is, in effect, a corollary of incrementalism.
5. serial analysis and evaluation: The process is viewed as a circular one with the approximations and errors introduced by the preceding tactics being minimized by successive attacks on the problem over time.
6. remedial orientation: the remedial approach, though anethema to the 'prevention vs. cure' school, is seen as an efficient means of making progress even when concensus on specific objectives is not feasible.

By 1968, Lindblom had added the concepts of "satisficing"[14] vs. "maximizing", and the conscious inclusion of feedback mechanisms in policy design, to the tactics of reconstructive analysis, serial analysis and evaluation and, in conjunction with the remediality ploy, was describing the process as "continual nibbling".

Lindblom has, himself, neatly summarized the strategy of incrementalism:

> "The decision maker makes an incremental move in the desired direction and does not take upon himself the difficulties of finding a solution.

[14] ibid. Lindblom, C. E., The Policy-Making Process, pp. 24-27.

He disregards many other possible moves because they are too costly (in time, energy, or money) to examine; and, for the move he makes, he does not trouble to find out (again, because it is too costly to do so) what all its consequences are. He assumes that to the extent that his move was a failure or was marked by unanticipated adverse consequences, someone's (perhaps even his) next move will attend to the resulting problem. If policy-making is remedial and serial, his assumptions will be correct."[15]

SHORTCOMINGS OF THE INCREMENTALIST MODEL

Lindblom, himself, suggested two sources of error in use of the model. Firstly, the bottleneck approach to limiting the study of policy alternatives and possible consequences may result in unanticipated adverse consequences and policy failures. To alleviate this, he merely stresses the tactics of remediality and seriality, thereby correcting the errors as they appear. Secondly, adverse policy consequences or failures might be partly anticipated but not sufficiently so to exercise influence on policy choice. By remediality and seriality in this case, the policy maker could, however, also anticipate ways of solving the consequent problems, should they arise, but do this in a successive approximation to his primary solution, thereby avoiding the difficult task of developing an integrated solution on the first run through.

He further identified the value of a multitude of policy-makers in improving the performance of the model as practiced by individuals. If we understand this multiplicity of decision-making as a behavioural

[15] ibid., Lindblom, C. E.: The Intellegence of Democracy, p. 148.

description of the real world system in which incrementalism is a close approximation of the policy-making process, it can be seen that this observation is, in fact, a warning about the adverse affect which centralization of the decision-making process could be expected to cause and is, therefore, a shortcoming of the use of a normative incrementalist model in centralized processes.

Lindblom further anticipated the reaction of critics to his model in the following;

> "On superficial examination they (strategies or dodges) are often dismissed as irrational. For they are seen as indecisiveness, patching up, timidity, triviality, narrowness of view, inconclusiveness, caution, and procrastination. But we have seen them to be useful devices for stretching man's analytic capacities. Man has had to be devilishly inventive to cope with the staggering difficulties he faces. His analytical methods cannot be restricted to tidy scholarly procedures. The piecemealing, remedial incrementalist or satisficer may not look like an heroic figure. He is nevertheless a shrewd, resourceful problem-solver who is wrestling bravely with a universe that he is wise enough to know is too big for him."[16]

The superiority of the incrementalist model, over the classical theory, as a behavioural model is obvious. Given the cultural themes of gradualism and pragmatism, its appeal as a normative model is understandable. However, the third cultural theme we have discussed is optimism and it is

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[16] ibid., Lindblom, C. E., The Policy-Making Process, p. 27.

the obvious lack of that quality in the incremental approach that has led to its criticism on the basis correctly anticipated by Lindblom.

Insofar as the next model under discussion will be that of Yehezkel Dror, it is his criticism of the Lindblom approach which is most relevant here.[17] Timidity is seen as the telling shortcoming in the face of explosively accelerating social change. What is the virtue of incremental, serial change if past policies have been unsuccessful?

Dror sees the built-in emphasis of the incrementalist approach on previously inadequate policies being modified to deal with newly developing and changing problems as clearly inferior to significantly innovative change. Recognizing the growing importance of radical groups in society, and the increasing regularity of refusals to accept piecemeal solutions, at least some credibility must attach to these criticisms.

DROR: THE OPTIMAL QUALITATIVE MODEL

Dror's presentation of the optimal qualitative model clearly illustrates its evolution from the classical model of rationality, through Lindblom and other variations on the rationalist approach, and the incorporation of certain aspects of the extrarational approach. The inclusion of the latter has been effectively justified by Dror on the basis of the known influence of intuition and judgement in policy-making and on growing documentation of extrasensory perception and subception. In the context of this study, however, it is more important to distinguish between a rejection of rational policy-making in deference to or in favor of irrational behaviour and Dror's inclusion of extrarational concepts in a

[17] ibid., Dror, Yehezkel; Public Policymaking Re-examined, pp. 144-147.

rationally-based model. This latter approach retains the rationalist ideal. In fact, the choice of the term "extrarational" to describe presently incomprehensible phenomena does not eliminate the possibility that such subconscious behaviour, when fully understood, may be proven quite rational.

Dror has outlined the five major characteristics of his model as follows:[18]

1. Qualitative - not quantitative.
2. Rational and irrational components.
3. Basic rationale is to be economically rational.
4. Metapolicymaking phases.
5. Extensive feedback phases.

Like Lindblom, Dror has identified the incommensurability of values and the impossibility of comprehensiveneness as the critical faults of the pure rationality model. Lindblom dealt with the former by emphasizing seriality and remediality and, with the latter, by his use of incrementalism — abandoning comprehensiveness in favor of rationality. Dror's approach is only marginally dissimilar. In fact, his choice of an economically rational rationale coincides with his label of incrementalism as a special case of the economically rational model.[19]

The dissimilarities of Dror's approach may be simply described as a shift from the conservative themes of gradualism and pragmatism to the more innovative optimist theme. While Lindblom utilizes seriality and remediality

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[18] ibid., Dror, Yehezkel: Public Policymaking Re-examined, chap. 13.

[19] ibid., p. 144.

to cover for possible failures in the area of goals and values, Dror has opted for a more positive approach. The basic obstacle in the way of understanding values is recognized to be the problem of concensus in a system of incommensurable objectives. A primary component of this obstacle is the dichotomy between the qualitative and the quantitative. Lindblom sidestepped the issue. Operations researchers (and PPBS proponents as in Fig. 5) have responded positively, but in a naive fashion, attempting to quantify everything in sight. Dror favors the opposite tack — utilization of a qualitative model wherein nonquantifiable factors would neither be ignored nor artificially analyzed in numerical terms, but would be consciously studied and considered in anticipation that the resultant influence would improve the process and hasten the corrections which would otherwise be dependent on seriality.

Dror's inclusion of the extrarational further reflects the optimist theme. Evidence is available to demonstrate the existence of effective extrarational processes. Is it rational to ignore the possible shortcuts which might develop if these are studied and incorporated in the model where feasible? The inclusion of the extrarational clearly establishes the output orientation of the optimal qualitative model. While classical rationality would reject the extrarational as incomprehensible and, therefore, efficiently irrelevant, the more effective net output model specifies little as to the origin of inputs, stressing only the possible effectiveness of their inclusion in the process.

The response of the optimal qualitative model to the ideal of comprehensiveness, the second major drawback of the classical approach, resembles incrementalism insofar as it favors analysis of a restricted

number of alternatives. However, while Lindblom characterizes the alternatives by their incremental nature, Dror insists on the inclusion of at least some innovative "best" alternatives, thereby retaining a positive focus and the opportunity for significant change.

We have, so far, considered only three of the five components of the optimal model. To understand the meta-policymaking (policy-making on how to make policy) and extensive feedback phases, it must first be understood that Dror draws a clear distinction between policy-making knowledge and policy-issue knowledge. Like most policy analysts and scientists, he appears quite willing to recognize and accept such concepts as Bolan's independent variable sets as behavioural characteristics of the system. He does not, however, offer any normative response beyond the assertion of richness, variety and self-adjustment being characteristic of a system comprising a multiplicity of decision-makers. The normative thrust of the optimal model is confined essentially to policy-making rather than to policy issues. Accordingly, its use as an evaluative tool must be clearly understood to exclude the "goodness" of municipal planning policies as opposed to the optimal rationality of their development.

PHASES OF THE OPTIMAL QUALITATIVE MODEL

The following outline of the process patterns described by Dror as comprising the optimal qualitative model has been taken directly from Appendix B of his book:[20]

A. Metapolicymaking:

1. processing values.
2. processing reality.
3. processing problems.

4. surveying, processing, and developing resources.

5. designing, evaluating, and redesigning the policymaking system.

6. allocating problems, values, and resources.

7. determining policymaking strategy.

B. Policymaking:

8. suballocating resources.

9. establishing operational goals, with some order of priority for them.

10. establishing a set of other major significant values with some order of priority for them.

11. preparing a set of major alternatives, including some "good" ones.

12. preparing a set of reliable predictions of the significant benefits and costs of the various alternatives.

13. comparing the predicted benefits and costs of the alternatives, and identifying the best ones.

14. evaluating the benefits and costs of the "best" alternative and deciding whether it is "good" or not.

C. Post-policymaking:

15. motivating the executing of the policy.

16. executing the policy.

17. evaluating the policy after executing it.

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[20] ibid., Dror, Yehezkel: Public Policymaking Re-examined, pp. 312-318.

D. Feedback:

18. communication and feedback channels multiply interconnecting all phases.

AN EVALUATIVE MODEL FOR MUNICIPAL PLANNING

The preceding chapters have outlined the development of a normative model for the evaluation of public policymaking. It has been considered essential to trace this evolution, rather than merely introduce the optimal qualitative model as an accomplished fact, because the modification of the model for use in this report will be heavily dependent on the concepts and criticisms involved in its original design and on my understanding of its relationship to the planning theory concepts also reviewed.

In the subsequent chapter, the internal and external structures relevant to the operation of the Municipal Planning Branch will be analyzed in detail, utilizing certain optimal characteristics of Dror's model for comparison, and developing the optimal model for its specific application to the municipal planning process.

4. DEVELOPMENT OF A MODEL FOR POLICY-MAKING AT THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT AND MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT LEVEL: THE MUNICIPAL PLANNING BRANCH FUNCTION

INTRODUCTION

The optimal qualitative model, outlined in the preceding chapter, describes the process steps of idealized policy-making. Dror has, himself, provided several criteria for assessing the degree to which a real process approximates the ideal. The intent of this thesis, however, is not to analyze Manitoba policy-making in general but to evaluate the contribution of one specific government agency to those aspects of policy-making over which it exerts some influence.

The use of Dror's evaluative techniques has, therefore, been limited to those criteria developed by him specifically for application to the process. In terms of the agencies and the structures involved, it has proven more relevant to utilize criteria closely related to the independent variable sets identified by Bolan[1] and also introduced in the preceding chapter. This means the analysis of process roles, decision fields, planning and action strategies, and issue attributes. To facilitate the analysis a behavioural model, not of the policy-making process but of the involvement of Municipal Planning, was required. Development of this model has relied very heavily on the work of Jessop and Friend[2] and, accordingly, it is necessary that a number of basic concepts be reviewed before proceeding to the actual evaluation.

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[1] Bolan, Richard S., "Community Decision Behaviour: The Culture of Planning", Journal of the American Institute of Planners, (September 1969, vol. XXXV, no. 5) pp. 301-311.

[2] Jessop, W. N. and Friend, J. K., Local Government and Strategic Choice, (Tavistock Publications, London, 1969).

THE MUNICIPAL PLANNING FUNCTION INTRODUCED

One of Bolan's independent variable sets was that of process roles . . . the influence of an actor's characteristics in shaping the policymaking process. Individual planners within the Municipal Planning Branch represent a variety of undergraduate backgrounds but, with very few exceptions, possess some postgraduate training in Canadian schools of urban and regional planning. Their personal skills naturally differ in number and in degree and, to the extent that they deal individually with clients, clearly affect the performance of the Branch. In addition, the aggregative impact of the staff may be evaluated by treating the Branch itself as an actor in the process.

Municipal Planning currently operates as a branch of the Manitoba Department of Municipal Affairs. Headquartered in Winnipeg with small field offices in Brandon and Dauphin, the Branch comprises nearly 40 employees divided on a roughly even basis between "professional" planners and support staff.

The function of the Branch may be simply described as the provision of a staff planning service to two levels of government[3] — provincial and municipal. The training and experience qualifying the staff to undertake this function could, from the political viewpoint of the governments involved, be understood as a means to an end. Ideally,

[3]This description is offered only on a preliminary basis. In fact, individual Branch staff, their employers, and their clients each understand the Branch function in different ways. As an example, the Branch function is legislatively defined to include public education but the actual program involved can alternatively be interpreted as an inherent part of the planning service program or as a unique and independent undertaking.

the end could be understood to coincide with the goals of the constituency of interest represented by the particular government. However, difficulties encountered by both interest groups and by elected representatives, in perception and definition of ultimate and operational goals, lead me to a more cynical view . . . that the ends are either rarely defined, are defined by the vested interests of the authorities, or are defined by the 'professional' planners, directly or by their unwarranted intervention in the process.

THE STRUCTURE OF MUNICIPAL PLANNING IN MANITOBA

Corresponding to Bolan's decision field characteristics and their importance, the success of the Municipal Planning Branch is, in large measure, defined by its place in the process. In general terms, the process of concern to us is dependent on the linkages between three interests; the public, the provincial government, and local or municipal government.[4]

In its simplest form, the unit of policy-making in this process entails recognition by one of these interests of a problem, an approach to the appropriate external interest to request a solution, the selection of action by that interest, and the implementation of that action. Under normal circumstances, it is the participation by the Municipal Planning Branch in facilitating the choice of action that is the primary subject of my evaluation. In addition, however, it will be necessary to assess the Branch's role in influencing the perception of problems.

[4]In theory, the federal government plays an important role in the process. In practice, however, excepting major Canadian urban centres, the federal impact is filtered through the influence of the provincial governments.

Many of the actual linkages involved are highly formal and are easily recognized. For example, in the case of zoning, the status of each level of government, the rights of individual citizens, and the responsibilities of the Municipal Planning Branch are clearly spelled out by legislation. Other facets of policy-making are not so formalized, however, and to facilitate their description the basic dialogue model developed by Jessop and Friend[5] will be expanded and modified for use in the Manitoba context.

LAND-USE PLANNING DEFINED

In figure 4, the concept of four role alternatives for municipal planning was defined. Of the two process options, it should now be clear that my personal bias strongly favors acceptance of involvement in a policy-making system as opposed to a planning system. The specific area or issue content of policy-making that concerns municipal planning will herein be referred to as land-use planning.[6]

Land-use planning, for the purpose of this study, is defined to be the planning of the physical arrangement and interpretation of our environment to optimize social and economic change. Activities which fail to recognize the full scope of this definition or extend beyond it, will be considered to conflict with this basic assumption of the extent of the municipal planning interest and to detract from the effectiveness of the Branch.

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[5] ibid., Jessop and Friend; Local Government and Strategic Choice, fig. 22, p. 103.

[6] and therefore the legislative and competence basis of the Branch.

LEGITIMACY OF ENDS: THE PRINCIPLE OF DEMOCRATIC CONTROL

The two role options illustrated in Figure 4 necessitate a second basic assumption. Municipal planning is advisory — under no circumstance should the authority[7] of the Branch extend beyond its legislatively defined jurisdiction. My personal bias in this regard extends to the belief that a prime goal of the Branch should be the reduction of whatever authority it presently exercises in favor of a purely advisory role.

The justification for this assumption is acceptance of the principle of democratic control. Our democratic system of government provides for the election of provincial and local representatives to the status of policy-makers. Any attempt by professional groups, planners or others, to assume responsibility in this area clearly abrogates this basic principle.

To understand the importance of this assumption, consider the two alternatives open to the elected policy-maker. He may consider himself either a representative or a delegate. In the first instance, emphasis will be placed on opinion within his constituency and the planning advisor may be expected to assist in eliciting that opinion as well as in the preparation of alternative responses to it. In the second, the attempt to recognize 'public' opinion in the definition of goals will be de-emphasized. Insofar as our optimal qualitative model stresses the careful formulation of objectives and the use of constant feedback, as opposed to the incisive but infrequent process of election and re-election,

[7] not the interest

it is clear that the first alternative is the preferable one and that municipal planning activities should, ideally, result from this kind of political interpretation.[8]

The evaluation of operational efficiency is feasible only to the degree that the ends of society are defined. To the extent that municipal planning has been institutionalized in the democratic framework, the Branch may be legitimately required to participate in the identification of ends and its operations will, therefore, be subject to considerations of objective efficiency. However, any move to participate in the formulation of objectives beyond simple identification will be considered to conflict with the democratic control principle and will, therefore, detract from Branch effectiveness.

One exception to this assumption will be considered. Branch involvement in public education is legislatively sanctioned but involves some particularly delicate interpretation of the democratic control principle. As a general rule, any educatory Branch program which infringes on the area of attitudinal modification will be considered permissable only if it seeks specifically to encourage general acceptance of the optimal qualitative ideal of policy-making and does not stress or encourage

[8] This is, admittedly, a very simplistic representation of a very complex problem. If the elected policy-maker acts so parochially as to analyze issues of area-wide consequence solely on the basis of effective opinion within his ward, then the advantage is lost. It is necessary, therefore, to expect our elected representatives to identify the appropriate constituency of interest in respect to any given policy and to exercise their authority accordingly. Simply put, we should not vote for 'leaders', we should vote for candidates with the perceptive ability and understanding necessary to correctly represent those affected by the policy process.

acceptance of judgmental principles or beliefs. In other words, acceptance of the classical rationalist model as an ultimate ideal[9] is considered value-neutral and, therefore, an acceptable basis for a program of public education.

THE CONCEPT OF UNCERTAINTY

Jessop and Friend have described planning as a process of strategic choice, of decision-making under uncertainty, and have identified three basic classes of uncertainty encountered in the choice between alternatives.[10]

1. UE: "uncertainties in knowledge of the external planning 'environment' including all uncertainties relating to the structure of the world external to the decision-making system. (In the local government context this can be seen to include the entire physical, social, and economic environment of the local authority concerned)[11] and also all uncertainties relating to expected patterns of future change in this environment, and to its response to any possible future interventions by the decision-making system." According to Jessop and Friend, the typical response to perceived uncertainties in this area is "we need more research" and results in a focus of the policy-making process on departmental inputs. This is the typical source of requests to the Municipal Planning Branch and relates closely to the Branch's presumed technical competence in the area of land-use planning.

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[9] The classical model is here understood as it has evolved to include the rational allowance for extrarational inputs or for the various shortcomings discussed in the previous chapter.

[10] ibid., Jessop and Friend; Local Government and Strategic Choice, pp. 88, 89, 95, 97.

[11] bracketed reference mine.

2. UR: "uncertainties as to future intentions in 'related fields of choice' including all uncertainties relating to the choices which might in future be taken, within the decision-making system itself, in respect of other fields of discretion beyond the limited problem which is currently under consideration." The response to this class of uncertainty is "We need more co-ordination". Involvement of the Municipal Planning Branch in this area may be requested or volunteered and is typically based on the Branch's knowledge of external situations (eg. in dealing with one municipal government the Branch, by virtue of its provincial government status, may advise on related provincial policy or, by virtue of its breadth of local contacts, may advise on related municipal policy elsewhere). A common subclass of UR might be called UL, uncertainties as to the legal implications of alternative policies, and typically results in requests for legal advice or for Branch interpretation of related land-use planning legislation.

3. UV: "uncertainties as to appropriate 'value judgments' including all uncertainties relating to the relative degrees of importance the decision-makers ought to attach to any expected consequences of their choice which cannot be related to each other through an unambiguous common scale — either because the consequences are of a fundamentally different nature, or because they affect different sections of the community, or because they concern a different period of future time." The typical response to uncertainty of this type is "we need more policy guidance" and

generally drives the decision upward into the political process. The Branch receives requests for assistance in this area only rarely. The more common involvement occurs when the Branch itself perceives a problem in choosing between alternatives (where it is legitimately faced with responsibility for an external decision or where internal policies are involved) and must approach its political masters for guidance.

THE DIALOGUE MODEL

Adapted for application to the problem at hand, the Jessop and Friend model[12] appears in its basic form in Fig. 7. Note the three interfaces between the primary participants in the process. In theory, the action circuits linking the participants across these are similar. In reality, the action circuit (3) is considerably less significant due to the lack of answerability. The resultant one-sided dialogue may occasionally be balanced in the case of larger, more powerful municipalities but generally the municipal government will be considered as a creation of the province and this particular interface will be ignored. Action circuits across (1) and (2) are the critical components. In both cases, the government system is the policy or decision-maker; the community system for (1) is the provincial population at large, and for (2) is the population of the municipality involved. The particular segment of the population, or constituency of interest, is in both instances dependent on the specific issue requiring attention. The issue is, of course, the critical factor in terms of Bolan's issue attributes.

[12] adapted from Friend and Jessop, Local Government and Strategic Choice, ibid., Fig. 24, p. 103.

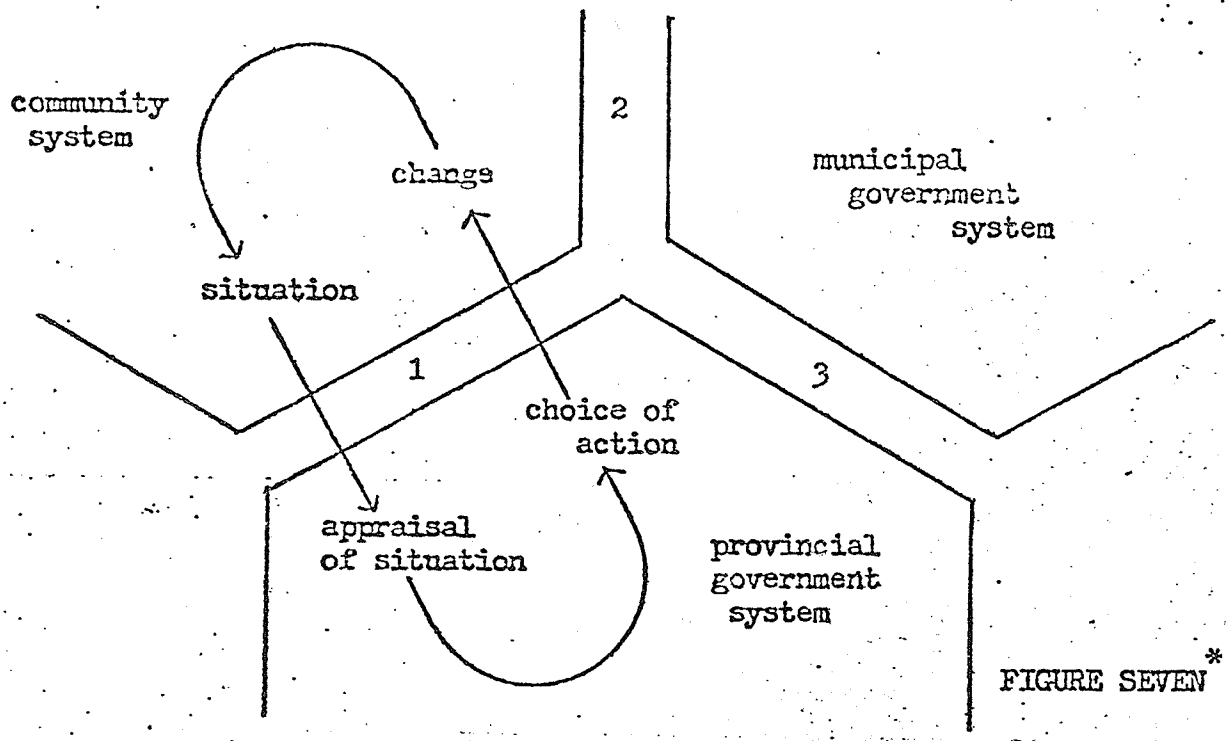

FIGURE SEVEN*

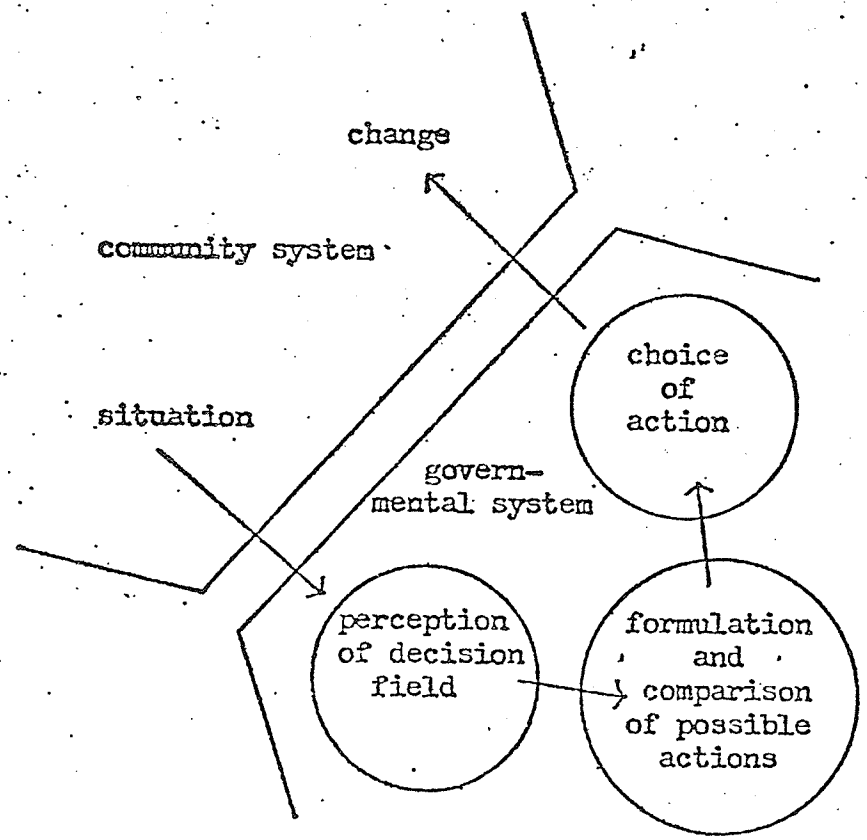

FIGURE EIGHT**

* adapted from Jessop and Friend; Local Government and Strategic Choice, p. 103
** ibid.; p. 104

SELECTION OF RESPONSE

That portion of the action circuit which occurs within the provincial government system or municipal government system actually comprises three distinct stages as outlined in Fig. 8. These, combined with the implementation and feedback phases of a given action circuit correspond to the process patterns of the optimal model.

Given the assumption of democratic control, the staff function of the Municipal Planning Branch will focus on assistance in the formulation and comparison of possible actions. This ideal situation occurs, however, only when the issue has been publicly or politically initiated. Where the situation has been perceived by the "professional" planner in relation to his own values, the equivalent of a short circuit will develop and the relevance of the resultant policy in terms of its issue attributes may be forfeited. A similar short circuit may develop, depending on the context of operations, if the political perception is clouded by a lack of precedent or of existing meta-policy and the planning advisors are inserted earlier in the response circuit or are permitted to make the choice of action themselves.[13]

THE CONTEXT OF OPERATIONS

As suggested previously, the context of operations may be a prime factor in determining the point and level of involvement of municipal planning in the action circuit. Friend & Jessop have identified[14] three considerations here;

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[13] Where meta-policies do exist, (as for many administrative decisions) such short-circuiting of the response may be fully legitimate.

[14] ibid. Friend and Jessop; Local Government and Strategic Choice, p. 24.

1. the current view of how situations should be classified.
2. the current operational policies.
3. the current objectives and appreciation of constraints.

From the viewpoint of the Branch, its process role and the decision field for any issue are factors of the degree of formalization of the operations context. If, as in the case of a straightforward zoning variance, the context is clearly structured, the response may be a straightforward administrative decision wherein the entire governmental system may simply be represented by the Branch, itself. If, on the other hand, the issue requires an innovative response in some currently non-structured policy area, the municipal planning input might be a cabinet submission outlining alternatives (or, alternatively, nothing at all).

THE EVALUATIVE MODEL: AN AGENCY-CENTRED VIEW

In introducing the dialogue model, the policy-making system under consideration was described as comprising action circuits across three interfaces (see Fig. 7). Elaboration of that basic behavioural model has incorporated the context of operations factor and the concept of short circuits affecting the quality of the action circuit in its response phase. More detail is required, however, to explain the way in which Municipal Planning Branch involvement in the model may be diagrammed.

Retreating to a simpler schematic, the specific addition of Municipal Planning to the dialogue model, as indicated in Fig. 9, illustrates the existence of six discrete policy linkages which can involve an input from the Branch. Some are direct, some indirect. Some occur regularly,

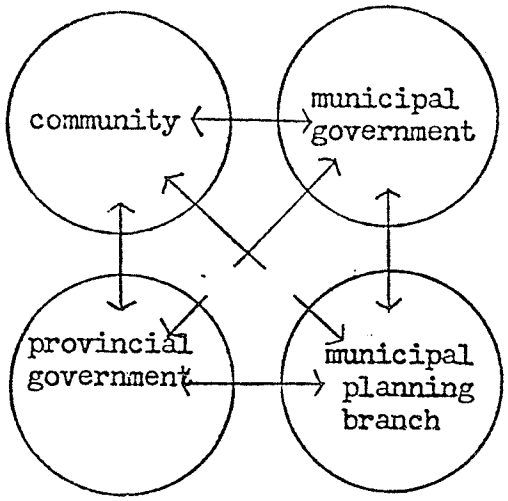

FIGURE NINE

some rarely. And some are characteristic of effective involvement, others may represent a serious abrogation of the optimal process:[15]

1. The linkage between the provincial government and the municipal planning branch is a common and direct category of involvement. It is normally initiated politically or administratively and involves a wide range of policy areas, from governmental and departmental administrative considerations to provincial planning issues like policy or the co-ordination of programs. On occasion, the Branch may initiate the linkage, generally to request financial support or policy clarification.
2. This is the linkage normally described in the Branch lexicon as the "planning service" and is the source of Branch inputs at the municipal government level (ie. the municipal equivalent of (1)). The relationship may be complicated by the municipality's perception of the Branch staff as provincial employees and by the legislatively sanctioned involvement of appointed advisory planning commissions. As in the case of (1), initiation and response are interchangeable.
3. Direct contact between the Branch and the Community system is legislatively defined by the Branch responsibility for public education and for certain administrative processes. It may also

[15] These linkages receive more detailed attention in Chapter 9, which describes the functions of the Municipal Planning Branch.

occur on referral of inquiries or complaints to the two government levels or in response to the need to satisfy responsibilities determined in linkages 1 or 5.

4. Linkage 4 is the basic relationship between the public and the provincial government described previously by the dialogue model. When the issue is perceived publicly or politically, the need for indirect Branch involvement will normally be identified by the government in response to uncertainties encountered in its perception of the decision field. The reverse of this linkage, requiring a decision from the community system, is the election or referendum process. These do not involve the Branch.
5. Linkage 5 is the local equivalent of 4.
6. The relationship between the provincial government and the municipalities has already been deleted from this evaluation. Occasionally, the fact of the Branch's liaison with local authorities may encourage its indirect involvement in this linkage, but the input is not considered sufficiently significant to warrant further assessment.

RESPONSE TO UNCERTAINTY

The six linkages, described in the preceding, may be assigned three classifications, each of which is subject to certain evaluative criteria based on previously outlined assumptions.

1. Direct involvement: Linkages 1 and 2 involve direct Branch inputs. Assuming a clear cut legislative or political directive to justify the bureaucratic short-circuit which develops, and assuming the government involved to have developed its

understanding of the situation through linkages 4 or 5, the direct input is justifiable. Fig. 10 diagrams the specific modification of the dialogue model involved. The choice of action phase is not true policy-making but merely a sub-species of decision-making based in existing policy. If uncertainty is encountered in the formulation and comparison phase, the correct

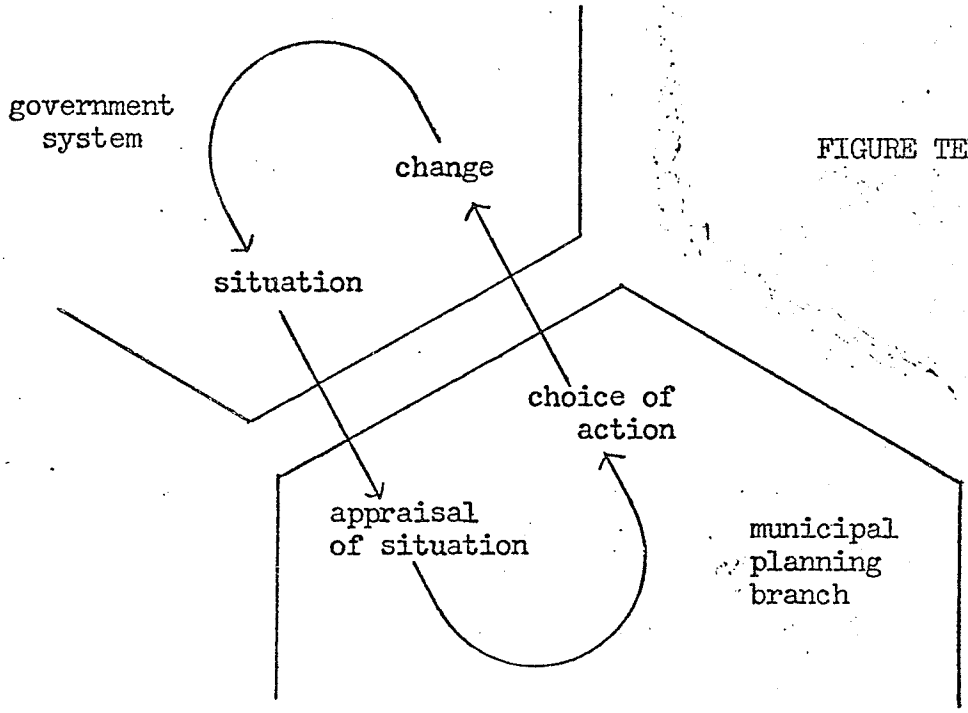

FIGURE TEN

response is one of the 3 outlined earlier; more policy guidance, more research, or more co-ordination. Caution is required, however, as two problems may develop:

(a) default by the government system in referring policy issues to the Branch for choice of action in the absence of legislative guidance or of sufficient community involvement in the political process.

(b) overwillingness of the branch to assume unwarranted responsibility (ie. the failure to recognize and respond

to uncertainty) or the technocratic initiation of action with the public and/or government review of the situation short-circuited.

2. Indirect involvement: Linkages 4 and 5 may require indirect involvement of the Municipal Planning Branch. This corresponds to the ideal of PLANNING ADVISORS in a POLICY-MAKING PROCESS and occurs at the formulation and comparison phase in response to the elected policy-maker's identification of uncertainties in related fields (UR)[16] or in the immediate decision environment (UE). The primary risk here relates to the degree

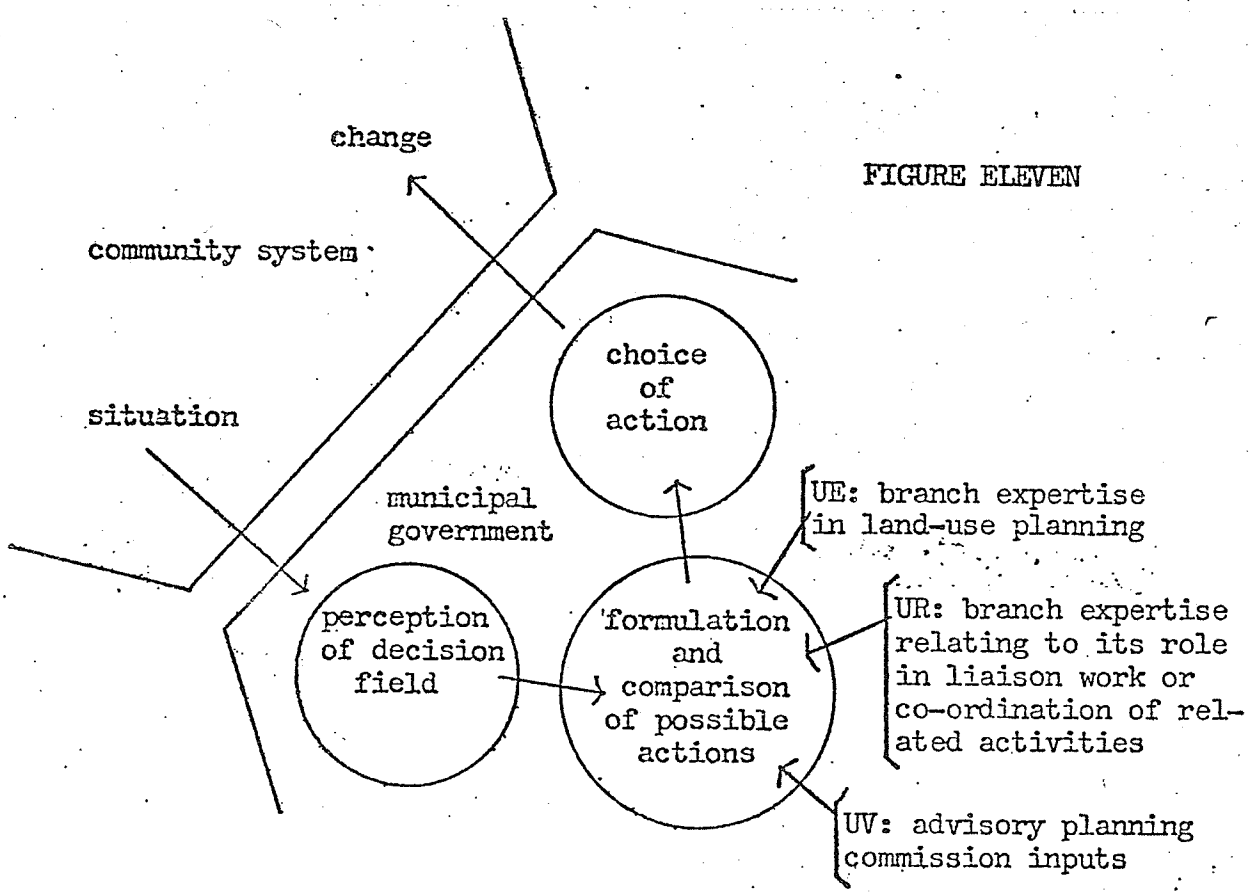

FIGURE ELEVEN

[16] In Fig. 11, Branch involvement occurs through UE or UR. The former input relates directly to the staff's expertise in the field of municipal land-use planning. The latter relates to the Branch's participation in interdisciplinary or multidisciplinary endeavors. This is particularly significant to municipal governments who perceive the liaison planner as a provincial employee who should be competent to clarify uncertainty with respect to a wide range of related provincial policy.

of Branch correspondence to the optimal ideal in terms of process patterns. Secondary risks involve the basic linkage between the community and its government and do not necessarily respond to Branch efforts towards improvement. The one significant exception to the latter is the Branch's direct involvement with local Advisory Planning Commissions. These organizations reflect an attempt to provide a mechanism for relieving uncertainty in the area of policy guidance. As such, they are responsible, in part, for maintaining a perspective of representative public opinion and, in their direct relationship with municipal planning, are subject to the same risks previously outlined for "direct involvement".

3. educational involvement: Linkage 3 is a special case. Although current involvement here is generally direct and subject to the technocratic risk, the role of the branch in public education is quite unique. Generally speaking, this role is not well defined, either legislatively or politically, and is accordingly vulnerable to technocratic initiative by the Branch. However, the importance of public education, in developing planning consciousness and in encouraging the application of optimal policy-making techniques, tends to override this risk. The basic assumption has been stated earlier. Educative efforts which encourage use of rational process patterns as defined in the optimal model are considered value neutral, legitimate undertakings.

The preceding description of risks in the various alternatives for branch involvement will be seen to relate most directly to Bolan's independent variable set of the decision field. The evaluative criteria assigned to

them will be categorized accordingly. In the case of direct or indirect involvement, effective efforts will be those which maximize the planning advisor role options and which minimize the degree of technocratic or autocratic risk. In the case of educational involvement, the preferred programs will be those which encourage acceptance of the optimal model, minimize the technocratic risk, and which demonstrate potential for minimizing future branch involvement (ie. development of planning competence in the public-at-large).

5. THE EVALUATIVE MODEL

EVALUATIVE CRITERIA

Recapping the theory to this point, we have identified three relevant models, the combination of which is the evaluative model to be applied to the Municipal Planning Branch.

1. Dror's model of optimal qualitative policy-making; for our purpose, a normative model, including criteria and standards for the evaluation of the policy-making process in general.
2. Bolan's behavioural model of community decision-making which breaks down the policy-making process into process steps, corresponding to Dror's process patterns, plus four additional sets of independent variables. The addition of the latter permits the focus of our evaluation to shift more specifically into municipal planning and the performance of the Municipal Planning Branch.
3. Friend and Jessop's local government model of strategic choice, a behavioural model which relates primarily to Bolan's independent variable set entitled decision field characteristics.

In addition, several assumptions have been stated which introduce an additional normative theme to the assessment.

1. that performance is dependent not merely on efficiency of operation, but also on efficiency of objective.
2. that, of the available process roles, the only acceptable involvement of the planning branch staff is as planning advisors and that, irrespective of the importance of efficient output, any abrogation of this role will reduce the quality of performance.

3. that the skills, the motivation, and the legislated function of the Branch staff confine its potential contribution to the land-use planning process, as opposed to the policy-making process. It follows, therefore, that any involvement of the Branch which tends to focus on land-use planning will be more effective than assistance in non-related or less related fields.[1] Any effort to expand involvement beyond this focus and its related variables (eg. to assume the role of "grand co-ordinator") will be considered to detract from the quality of performance.

4. that any decision-making by the Branch, beyond its assigned authority, is an abrogation of the principle of democratic control and will nullify net effective output.

5. that any assignment of responsibility which tends to directly involve the Branch in a technocratic short-circuit, or any contribution to a process which abrogates the principle of democratic control, will reduce the quality of Branch performance.

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[1]The principle hypothesis, here, is that branch staff members are competent in the area of land-use and, to a lesser degree, in the myriad of related factors. The fact of their limited experience in co-ordinating these factors to produce alternative land-use policy recommendations is merely coincidental to the general policy-making process. Co-ordination skills are not necessarily an innate characteristic of university-trained land-use planning advisors. In fact, a case could be made that such skills are as much a function of personality as of training. The preferred approach is the interdisciplinary method, wherein the emergence of co-ordinative competence to chair the group effort will not formally be limited to 'planners' but will develop as a function of the make-up and personnel of the group involved. Efforts by the Branch to assume co-ordinative responsibility for issues not directly focussed on municipal land-use planning are neither legislatively sanctioned nor theoretically justifiable.

6. that involvement of the branch in public education programs, provided the value neutrality of these is ensured by a focus on development of the optimal qualitative model as the normative guide for land-use planning, will improve the quality of Branch performance.

For any given issue, requiring the development and implementation of land-use related policy and involving the participation of the Municipal Planning Branch, the combination of the three component models with the six normative assumptions yields a formula for evaluation of the Branch contribution. The following table illustrates that combination.

TABLE 1, INDEPENDENT VARIABLES OF PERFORMANCE

INDEPENDENT VARIABLE (after Bolan)	EVALUATIVE FOCUS		PRIMARY EVALUATIVE CRITERION
	ORIENTATION	CRITICAL FACTOR	
issue attributes	issue	RELEVANCE	Does the issue relate to land-use planning and what is the nature of the concensus of its perception.
decision field	agency	AUTHORITY	What is the nature and source of municipal planning Branch authority for participation in the issue response.
process role	agency	CREDIBILITY	What is the external perception of Municipal Planning Branch competence for dealing with its role in the issue response.
process patterns	process	RATIONALITY	Does the response pattern respect the requirements of optimal qualitative policy-making.
planning & action strategies	policy	IMPACT	How relevant is the proposed response to the issue attributes and how efficient is its implementation potential.

For any Branch program or instance of Branch involvement, the net effective output of that participation is dependent on the aggregate value of the independent variables;

net effective output (N.E.O) = f (relevance, authority, credibility, rationality, impact).

In deference to the qualitative thrust of the optimal model, no rigorous attempt has been made to quantify the values or relative weights of the independent variables. However, the application of secondary criteria does permit a tangible, if not entirely objective, measure of their individual influence. The major problem, that of weighting the variables to produce a meaningful composite of their aggregate influence, is minimized by application of the six basic assumptions postulated earlier, and by faith in the reader's ability to draw an independent conclusion based on his own biases. The value of the model, in this respect, is its categorization of the process to permit the application of individual assumptions in assessing overall performance.

Application of the net effective output test to each of the planning branch objectives, programs, and contacts as well as to the internal dynamics of the organization, itself, produces an estimate of the quality of branch performance;

(ie) QUALITY OF PERFORMANCE = $\sum$ net effective outputs.

STANDARDS OF QUALITY

The model, as described to this point, offers a basis for a focussed measure of performance against the standard of an assumed ideal. In order that a broader, more optimistic, evaluation be permitted,

additional standards for comparative analysis are included. Seven types of standards suitable for this purpose have been identified by Dror.[2]

1. past quality: This standard introduces a temporal frame to the evaluation (ie. Has Branch performance improved over time). However, considerable caution is required as the net effective output concept incorporates a very specific issue orientation which tends to freeze time relevance. While the preparation of 150 plans of subdivision in 1920 might indicate a highly efficient operation at that time, the preparation of only 15 plans in 1950 might very well indicate less a reduction in performance than a decline in demand for rural area plans.
2. quality of other systems: In our situation, the obvious comparison would be other provinces in Canada. Application of this standard also requires caution, as the incidence of regional planning progress in Alberta and Ontario, in terms of the decision field involved, may relate less to the relatively poor performance of the municipal planning branch than to the different legislation available or the different applicability of regional concepts in Manitoba.
3. desired quality: This standard is quite applicable to our evaluation. Desired quality may be readily identified by polling the individuals expressing the desire;
   a. In the case of the provincial government, the obvious course is to examine the desires as expressed in the

[2] Yehezkel, Dror, Public Policymaking Re-examined, (Chandler Publishing Co., San Francisco, 1968), p. 28.

relevant legislation and to compare current performance accordingly.

b. In the case of municipal government, an examination of the Branch performance in terms of client satisfaction has been undertaken through a survey of advisory planning commission members, including both councillors and citizens.

4. professional standards of quality: The basic problem here is the current lack and difficulty of identifying professional standards for municipal planning. The continuing machinations of the Town Planning Institute of Canada and its regional equivalents towards this end are, in fact, particularly distressing to this author. They are strikingly symptomatic of the paranoia described in the foreword to this thesis. How any discipline, whose prime motivation should clearly be to improve public and political performance in planning-related aspects of the policy making process, can ignore increasing public disenchantment with existing professional societies and growing incidence of citizen involvement in an attempt to break down technocracy, is hard to understand. How that same discipline can seriously seek to duplicate existing professional associations in their formalization of professional mystique, unabashed self-interest, inconsistently policed and self-annointed technical skills, lack of answerability, and monopolistic fee schedules, particularly in light of its admitted failure to define even its own nature, is utterly incomprehensible. Suffice it to conclude that this evaluation will not rely on comparison to professional standards.

5. educative quality: Dror developed his standards in the context of policy-making at the national level. The relevance of the survival standard, in cultural, economic, and military terms, though evident on the international scale, is much less evident interprovincially, and virtually non-existent in terms of the Municipal Planning Branch. In fact, the culmination of this thesis will be a recommendation to adopt an educative model for planning and, therefore, it is proposed that the survival standard be reversed. A well developed educational approach would seek to achieve greater public awareness and involvement in the process. If successful, the need for planners (as opposed to planning advisors) would be reduced to a relatively low level. To the extent that the Branch is assigned or assumes authority for planning, then, any reduction in the need for Branch involvement will be considered an improvement.

6. Planned quality: The standard of desired quality relates to external demand on the Branch. The standard of planned quality is an index of performance relative to the internal development of goals and objectives, the equivalent of sales targets in private business. The obvious constraint is that the targets be consistent with the external objectives. Otherwise, the development of an operational focus or of planned pessimism could well result.

7. Optimal Quality: The preceding standards reflect the themes of gradualism and pragmatism . . . . is performance as good as it was, as good as it can be? The concept of optimal quality

revives the theme of optimism so critical to Dror's normative model . . . is performance of the Municipal Planning Branch as good as it could possibly be?

6. SECONDARY EVALUATIVE CRITERIA

INTRODUCTION

The preceding chapter outlined the framework proposed for evaluation of the Branch performance. It remains to apply the test and to develop a recommended response to the assessment. To effect this, however, it is necessary to fill in the framework with very specific questions designed to clarify the degree to which the primary criteria are being met. These are the secondary criteria of evaluation and are listed in the following.

ISSUE RELEVANCE[1]

Does the issue relate to land-use planning and what is the nature of the concensus of its perception? There are three aspects to relevance; the issue itself, the perception of problems related to it, and the perception of proposed response to the problems.

ISSUE

1. Does the issue fall within the physical scope of land-use planning as defined?
2. Is the issue free of any significant ideological factors?
3. Can the issue be defined in tangible, though not necessarily quantifiable, terms?
4. Has the issue been defined publicly, politically, or technocratically?

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[1] The basic reference for secondary evaluation of relevance is Bolan's description of issue attributes (see R. S. Bolan, "Community Decision Behaviour: The Culture of Planning, Journal of American Institute of Planners, (September 1969, Vol. XXXV, No. 5) combined with the assumptions concerning the land-use planning focus and the principle of democratic control.

CONCENSUS

5. What proportion of the constituency involved perceive the issue to be a problem?
6. To what degree does the concensus attach priority to solution of the problem?
7. Is the problem currently receiving policy or legislative attention and to what degree?

SOLUTION

8. Is the probable impact of the proposed response predictable and measurable?
9. Is the distribution of solution benefits and costs focussed in scope and limited in scale?
10. Is the solution time-flexible and reversible?
11. Is the solution action-focussed and does its impact relate clearly and communicably to the concensus?

AGENCY AUTHORITY

As detailed previously, decision-making authority can rest with any of three agencies; the provincial government, the municipal government, or the planning branch, itself. The strategic implications of this in designing the evaluative process suggest that the most effective approach would be to evaluate each of the three decision fields independently, then apply the relevant evaluation in assessing individual Branch programs. This overlap leads to the development of two types of secondary criteria. The first, modelled directly after Bolan's[2] decision environment and decision unit characteristics, enables an assessment of the decision-making

[2] ibid Bolan; "Community Decision Behaviour: The Culture of Planning", p. 304-5, especially Figure 3.

authority in its own environment. The second, reflecting the principle of democratic control and based on the dialogue model, permits a normative evaluation of the decision pattern as it would apply to a specific activity.

ENVIRONMENT

12. To what extent is the decision authority centralized?
13. How competent is staff assistance to the decision authority?[3]
14. Are decision patterns well articulated?
15. To what degree is the constituency organized in terms of political partisanship and interest groups?
16. Is the constituency homogeneous?
17. Is the constituency tradition-free?
18. Is the constituency striving or marginal in the economic sense?

AGENCY

19. Is the authority appointed?
20. Is agency accountability determined by a large constituency or a long term of office?
21. Do the internal dynamics of the agency feature social cohesiveness, reward-punishment incentives, and internal role differentiation?
22. Does the authority see itself as focussed or comprehensive in its scope of endeavours?

[3] It will be recognized that, for many issues, staff assistance is restricted to the Planning Branch, the competence of which is detailed under AGENCY CREDIBILITY.

ISSUE

23. What is the nature and source of planning branch authority or involvement in the process?

24. Is the principle of democratic control respected; are the short circuits restricted to those of the administrative or bureaucratic variety?

25. If administrative short circuits exist, is the Branch authority defined publicly, politically, or legislatively?

AGENCY CREDIBILITY

Agency credibility, corresponding to Bolan's "process role" variable, is an agency oriented criteria which lends itself to categorization by program involvement. Like agency authority, however, the characteristics of the decision role are best evaluated by assessment of the agency first and then by application of the findings to specific program assessments. The primary criteria is that the agency demonstrate competence for dealing with its role in the response process. It is not enough that the Branch be technically skilled. The key word is credibility and the emphasis must be on the client's recognition of competence.

MOTIVATION

26. Are Branch staff members well motivated to participate in the process?

OPPORTUNITY

27. Are Branch staff members given sufficient opportunity to participate in the response process to the full extent of their motivation and their skills?

SKILLS

28. Is the educational background of staff members adequate to serve the Branch functions?

29. Is the educational background of staff members updated on a regular basis?

30. Are branch members skilled in communications, interpersonal as well as oral, written, and other available media?

31. Are branch members trained in the relevant legislation, policies, and history of their function?

32. Are professional contacts in the related planning fields well maintained?

CREDIBILITY

33. Are the clients and the employers of the Branch convinced of its competence?

PROCESS RATIONALITY

The secondary criteria for ascertaining the rationality of the response process are those developed by Dror for application to the process pattern phase of the optimal qualitative model.[4]

METAPOLICY

34. How much research is being undertaken about the policy alternative formulation and policy-making endeavours of the Branch?

FEEDBACK

35. What is the extent of learning feedback, formal and informal, in response to implementation or

[4]Dror, Yehezkel; Public Policy Re-examined, (Chandler Publishing Co., San Francisco, 1968), pp. 50-52.

the lack of implementation of Branch formulated policy?

STRATEGY	36.	To what extent does the Branch examine the strategic implications of alternative policy recommendations?
GOALS	37.	How much detail is provided or sought out in the operational goals on which Branch formulation of alternatives is based?
ALTERNATIVES	38.	To what degree are alternative policies searched out and developed?
IMPACT	39.	To what extent are the time and breadth of impact of the various alternatives researched?
RATIONALITY	40.	To what degree are rational techniques utilized in the preparation and comparison of alternatives?
EXTRARATIONALITY	41.	To what degree are extrarational techniques utilized in the formulation and comparison of alternatives?

POLICY IMPACT

How relevant is the proposed response to the issue attributes and how efficient is its implementation potential? The secondary criteria listed below correspond to Bolan's "planning and intervention strategies."[5]

[5] ibid. Bolan; "Community Decision Behaviour: The Culture of Planning", p. 306.

POSITION	42.	To what extent does the policy response represent a direct, frontal, initiative on the part of the critical decision-makers?[6]
INITIATIVE	43.	To what extent does the response reflect a pragmatic concern with an incremental focussed response, as opposed to a theoretical concern with the classical demands of comprehensiveness?
INTERVENTION	44.	What is the extent of physical or social disruption involved in implementation of the response?
	45.	To what extent do the benefits of the policy apply to those immediately affected by the costs and disruptive effect.

[6] Bolan used the position variable to account for the proximity of the planning agency to the source of authority. This has been modified to reflect the relatively fixed status of the planning branch in this respect, and to redirect the position focus in terms of the critical, or most relevant, power base regarding the issue at hand.

7. EVALUATIVE STRATEGY

INTRODUCTION

The structure of the evaluative model was developed, consciously and unconsciously, over a period of 5 years, from April, 1968 to June, 1973. During this period, the author was employed by the Municipal Planning Branch, initially as a junior planner, later as head of a small section dealing with urban projects. Like most other employees, he was responsible for branch liaison with a variety of communities ranging from small rural municipalities and villages, to urban centres of 5000 to 30,000 population, and including planning districts comprising both rural and urban municipalities. Additional experience included a number of special reports and studies conceived under the aegis of the branch's provincial planning function, appearances for the Branch in its relationship to the quasi-judicial Municipal Board, participation in the public education program, and a degree of responsibility for internal administration. This variety of experience, covering in effect the full range of Branch activities, has been an invaluable assist in preparation of the thesis.

The theoretical background was developed over the same period and owes its initiative to course work undertaken in the University of Manitoba Master of City Planning program during 1966-67, and 1967-68, in particular to course work in the area of Planning Theory. As will be clear to the reader, the major sources for the literature research were Lindblom, Dror, Friend and Jessop, and Bolan. Certain of these and the related references are now several years old. However, recent trends in the discipline have tended to downplay the former emphasis on research of the role of planning institutions in the policy-making process in favor of a less-structured, more action-oriented focus.

In the minds of some planners,[1] the "municipal planning myth" has been long since exploded. Fortunately, or unfortunately, municipal planning agencies continue to exist; to staff, to plan, to influence the process. In light of this, the evaluation is not merely relevant but, also, overdue. However, the shortage of directly related research has rendered it necessary to rely heavily on the experience described above and on the willing co-operation of the Branch administration and staff.

Unfortunately, the combination of theoretical research, experience, and access to Branch files, did not completely solve the problem. One of the major weaknesses in the Branch performance, which I will assert here and further reference in the course of the evaluation, is a serious lack of organized, objective, research of its effect and influence. Judgment of the clients' perception of Branch credibility and performance has been entirely intuitive or based on such dubious operational data as the small number of municipalities cancelling their planning service contracts.[2] Because of this and because of the large number of secondary criteria, the assessment of which would benefit from an appraisal of client satisfaction, it was decided to undertake a questionnaire survey of the Branch clients. Branch staff and administration offered their support and co-operation in this regard.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

As has been indicated, the three external contacts of the Branch are the provincial government, various local authorities, and the public.

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[1] Page, J. E., "The Municipal Planning Myth", unpublished paper, 1968.

[2] Though admittedly the number is small, the fact is hardly surprising in light of a heavy provincial subsidy and resultant low cost to the municipalities.

Evaluation of the operational efficiency in dealing with direct employer-employee relationships between the government authorities and the Branch responds well to standard appraisal techniques. The questionnaire was seen as more important in developing an understanding of the less tangible aspect of the Branch role . . . how successful was the educational program in terms of developing a public awareness of and commitment to the planning process?

The obvious choice of respondent would be the public. However, it is considered doubtful that improved planning consciousness in the public at large could be classified in such a way as to permit an assessment of the specific influence of the municipal planning effort in developing that consciousness. A more feasible alternative would be to question someone whose community involvement would enable him to assess public impact, and whose direct involvement with the Branch would permit his own evaluation of its programs. There are over 400 advisory planning commission members in Manitoba, local citizens chosen to represent their communities in advising on and administering those aspects of land-use planning governed by the province's Planning Act. It is those citizens who are the most frequent liaison contact of the Branch staff in its planning service program.

Response[3] from Advisory Planning Commission members, nearly 30% of whom are municipal councillors, was expected to yield a reasonably clear analysis of the Branch performance in responding to local needs and in developing local awareness of the planning process. In addition,

[3]Details of the questionnaire design, distribution, and response are contained in Appendix 1.

it was considered possible that the Advisory Planning Commission concept, itself, would be subjected to the kind of objective scrutiny long overlooked in the multitude of subjective analyses of it.

INFORMATION SOURCES

The evaluative strategy evolved from an examination of four potential sources; personal experience and observation, the questionnaire response, institutional inputs from the Branch staff and files, and the theoretical framework developed in the preceding chapters. An examination of the secondary evaluative criteria in relation to these available sources suggested that personal inputs plus access to the Branch files and staff would be the primary source in most cases. The questionnaire technique would be most helpful in dealing with criteria related to external perception of Branch performance, notably issue relevance and agency credibility.

STRATEGY

The basic foci of the five primary criteria were issue, agency, process, and policy. The latter two may be considered to overlap the issue orientation as an examination of either is most effectively made on a program by program format. However, the agency focus of the authority and credibility variables does not permit a similar approach. These variables are, in fact, constant for certain categories of programs and are better assessed independently.

The evaluative strategy emerged accordingly:

1. an assessment of agency authority as affected by the provincial and municipal decision fields. This provides an evaluation of

the agency authority variable by decision-maker (ie. provincial government, municipal government, and municipal planning branch).

2. an assessment of municipal planning branch credibility in playing its appointed role.

3. a program by program assessment of issue relevance, process rationality, and policy impact given the applicable evaluation of the authority and credibility variables.

To background the evaluation, a detailed account of the development of municipal land-use planning in Manitoba is provided.

8. THE DEVELOPMENT OF MUNICIPAL LAND-USE PLANNING IN THE PROVINCE OF MANITOBA

INTRODUCTION

A review of the history of municipal land-use planning in Manitoba suggests the existence of at least five relatively distinct periods of development:

1. 1910 to 1916: the rapid growth of public interest in town planning, particularly in Winnipeg, culminating in the 1916 adoption of the provincial Town Planning Act.
2. 1917 to 1928: the gradual emergence of planning activities in Manitoba outside Winnipeg, featured particularly by the development of several new resource-based communities. The Town Planning Act was augmented in its application by the establishment of administrative machinery.
3. 1929 to 1942: the reflection of the great depression in very limited advances in town planning. The application of land-use controls in the establishment of new mining townsites and resort communities is the one indication of continuity during this period.
4. 1943 to 1959: The introduction of Advisory Planning Commissions. The emerging federal involvement in housing and town planning, and the focus of the provincial Postwar Reconstruction Committee[1] on future planning and development activities, for the first time, suggests independent consideration of planning concerns at the provincial level and outside the City of Winnipeg. The 1956 Carrothers report[2] recommended the appointment of provincial

[1] Town and Community Post-War Planning: A Report Prepared for the Post-War Reconstruction Committee of the Government of Manitoba (King's Printer, Winnipeg, June 1944).

[2] G.A.P. Carrothers; Planning in Manitoba, (Winnipeg 1956)

technical staff to assist in the development of provincial and local planning, and planning administration.

5. 1960 to present: the establishment of the Municipal Planning Branch, its continued evolution, and its contribution to the current status of municipal planning in Manitoba.

The similarity of these periods to those identified in chapter 2, under the heading "The Development of Planning Theory", is neither contrived nor coincidental. Rather, it is clear testimony to the close relationship of Manitoba's planning progress to efforts elsewhere, and to the overriding influence of three major historical events . . . two world wars and the depression.

1910 to 1916: THE BEGINNING

Carrothers identified the first Manitoba evidence of "embryonic official functions with respect to local planning"[3] as having occurred in 1906 with the Legislature's adoption of an Act "Confirming the Preparation of a 'Town Plan' for Whitemouth".[4]

A far more significant event occurred at the national level with the 1909 appointment of the federal government Commission of Conservation. This organization, and the staff people attached to it, were to play a lead role in the development of town planning legislation, not merely for Manitoba but for virtually the whole of Canada.[5] In the same year, a

[3] ibid. G.A.P. Carrothers, Planning in Manitoba, p. 20.

[4] The Act concerned was chapter 94 of the Statutes of Manitoba, 1906.

[5] See Alan H. Armstrong; "Thomas Adams and the Commission of Conservation" in L. O. Gertler (ed.), Planning the Canadian Environment, (Harvest House, Montreal, 1968).

growing concern with the relationship between the physical structure of the community and the health of its residents precipitated the adoption of a City of Winnipeg tenement house bylaw.[6]

The developing Winnipeg interest showed further indication of becoming formalized with the 1910 organization of a discussion group to study the "objectives and principles of town planning".[7] This group and a similar committee of the Winnipeg Industrial Bureau were apparently instrumental in prompting city council's appointment of Winnipeg's first City Planning Commission in 1911. The make-up of that Commission included representation from Winnipeg Council, honorary representation from the adjacent 'urban' municipalities, and membership from a variety of local interest groups (architects, builders, real estate people, the trades and labor council, the board of trade, the industrial bureau, the university, the provincial board of health, the park board, and the electric company) and the provincial Municipal Commissioner (forerunner of the Minister of Municipal Affairs). The physical bias of these appointments, and the implied recognition of related interests, is strikingly similar to the make-up of present-day planning commissions in Manitoba and to the kinds of advisors involved in the subdivision approval process.

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[6] Thomas Adams, Housing and Town Planning in Canada, Extracts from 6th Annual Report, Commission of Conservation of Canada, 1915, xerox report prepared by the Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg for the University of Manitoba, January 1962: Adams, in reviewing the Commission's involvement in town planning to 1915, refers to a report prepared by an early Commission researcher, Dr. Hodgett, which in turn cited the Winnipeg tenement house bylaw as a very early example of Canadian town planning.

[7] ibid. G.A.P. Carrothers; Planning in Manitoba, p. 13. This entire section leans heavily on Carrothers' account of Manitoba planning history.

It can be further noted that 1911 saw the publication of Dr. Hodgett's paper[8] drawing attention to slum conditions and unsanitary housing in Manitoba and other provinces and advocating the application of town planning to correct these situations. The important points during this phase, however, are the demonstrated concern with a variety of factors relating to physical development and the spirit of cautious co-operation evidenced by honorary representation of the adjacent authorities.

Throughout this period, up to the beginning of the war, the pace of town planning development in Winnipeg and Manitoba was, to an enormous extent, accelerated by dramatic growth rates relating directly to the influx of immigrants to the West, and by the resultant optimism of local society. Evidence of the 'think big' syndrome, generated by linear growth projections that saw Winnipeg as the new Chicago, is still apparent in the Winnipeg River power developments and the Shoal Lake Aqueduct. These contemporary heritages are of a scale unchallenged in the context of current municipal undertakings. It is not surprising, given this context of optimism, that in 1913, supported by the City Planning Commission and the Industrial Board, Winnipeg hosted the first Canadian Housing and Town Planning Congress, featuring some of the leading town planners of the day. F. L. Olmstead, the famous landscape architect, had been previously involved with local planning in his 1910 layout of the Town of Tuxedo. Raymond Unwin and Thomas Adams represented a rather innovative British input. Unwin, later to become an extremely influential

[8] ibid. Thomas Adams; Housing and Town Planning in Canada.

practitioner and "formative writer" on town planning,[9] had been a co-planner of Letchworth, the first real world application of Ebenezer Howard's garden city theory. Adams, now referred to as the father of Canadian town planning, was also a Howard supporter as early as 1901 and had been secretary to the Garden City Association.

The year 1913 also marked the revision of Public Health legislation by a number of the provinces (including Manitoba) and the adoption of tenement housing legislation in others. While the evidence is by no means clear, these actions, which distinguish public health concerns about housing from the more general town planning relationship, may have heralded the recognition by other disciplines of their responsibility for factors involved in planning and resulted in the eventual erosion of town planning responsibilities to the residual physical concerns typical of current municipal affairs departments.

The first report of the city planning commission, submitted to council in 1913, was similarly indicative of the growing influence of pragmatism in planning and the developing shift from the aesthetic ideal of the 'city beautiful' to the 'city practical'. Recommendations included higher standards of construction, more efficient health inspection, and improvement of the transportation system. A further recommendation resulted in the 1914 appointment of a Greater Winnipeg Planning Commission, composed of the mayor and four citizen members and funded to permit the

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[9] See F. J. Osborn's 1946 introduction to Ebenezer Howard, Garden Cities of Tomorrow, (M.I.T. press 1965); (an adaptation of Howard's original 1898 text).
See also Lubove, Roy, Community Planning in the 1920's, the Contribution of the Regional Planning Association of America, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1963, pp. 49-50.

the employment of technical staff. Their budget appropriation was later cancelled with the outbreak of World War One.

In July, 1914, Thomas Adams was appointed secretary to the Commission of Conservation. This was an important year for the Commission and for Canadian town planning generally. Lieutenant-Colonel Jeffrey H. Burland prepared a draft "Town Planning Act for Canada" for presentation to a Toronto conference in May. Burland, and the committee on legislation which he served, may also be credited with outlining the need for public education with respect to town planning and with favoring the establishment of provincial departments of Municipal Affairs and associated Town Planning and Housing Boards.

Delegates to the Toronto conference accepted the draft Act in general principle. By February 1915, assisted by Adams, the Greater Winnipeg Town Planning Commission had submitted a revised version of the draft to the Manitoba legislature.[10] On March 10, 1916, Royal assent was given to "An Act relating to Planning and Regulating the Use and Development of Land for Building Purposes".[11] Ministerial authority for the new provincial legislation was assigned to the Municipal Commissioner. Administration became the part-time responsibility of a member of the Provincial Good Roads Board.

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[10] ibid. Thomas Adams; Housing and Town Planning in Canada, p. 160.

[11] "An Act Relating to Planning Regulating the Use and Development of Land for Building Purposes"; Statutes of Manitoba, 1916, chapter 114.

THE 1914 TORONTO CONFERENCE[12] AND THE BURLAND DRAFT

The Duke of Connaught, in the Governor-General's opening address to the Toronto delegates, raised three points for consideration;

1. provision of ample park and playground space.
2. creation of main arteries of communication in cities.
3. securing of proper and adequate housing conditions for the increasing urban population.

The focus of the conference was highly optimistic. Canada was a land of opportunity. Her cities, and her population generally, were enjoying dramatic growth . . . slums and the other recognized ills of urban development were still so limited as to be feasible of correction. Presentation topics included waterfront development, municipal finance, progress in city planning, protection of residential districts, the Garden City movement, rapid transit, and the size and distribution of urban park and recreation facilities. Contemporary planning conferences are strikingly similar in theme and content - a full sixty years later.

No less familiar was the delegates' response to Burland's draft legislation. Westerners expressed the opinion that "their conditions differed from those in the East, and required different treatment, and also that municipalities should have larger powers of jurisdiction under the proposed Act". The point was raised that none of the committee drafting the Act were from west of Ottawa. Concerns were raised about potential conflict between the proposed local planning boards and other authorities and about the difficulty of estimating changes in value resulting from

[12] ibid. Thomas Adams, pp. 161 & 236.

planning schemes. Suggestions were made that planning be compulsory and that housing and railways be referred to in the legislation. Recognition was made of the boards' dependence on local Councils for financial support of their plans.

A brief summary of the Burland draft, which precipitated the preceding comments, follows:[13]

1. Provincial administration of the Act was to be under the Dept. of Municipal Affairs, through an appointed interdepartmental town planning board representing financial, medical, architectural, engineering and legal interests and chaired by a full-time town planner. The latter would be the sole paid member and would be titled the provincial "town planning comptroller".
2. Municipal authorities were to be permitted to appoint "Local Housing and Town Planning Boards". Membership was specified to include the Mayor (ex-officio), the engineer, the medical health officer, and at least two ratepayers, preferably an architect and a financier. In the absence of council initiative the provincial board could, on receipt of a petition, appoint a local board. This local board was to be a corporate body, staffed by a skilled town planning officer whose removal would be subject to approval by the provincial authority.
3. Local boards would be empowered to prepare town planning schemes for existing or future development "with the general object of securing suitable provision for traffic, transportation, proper sanitary conditions, amenity, convenience in connection with

[13] ibid. Thomas Adams; pp. 247-258.

with the laying out of streets and use of the land, and of any neighboring lands for building or other purposes." The lands covered by such schemes could, subject to provincial board approval, extend beyond the municipality involved.

4. Once approved by the local board, ratification at the Provincial level was required to bring a scheme into full force and effect and to permit its implementation. To vary or revoke an approved scheme required a subsequent scheme.

5. The provincial board would be required to make regulations governing local preparation and adoption procedures as well as implementation and enforcement. Specific reference was made to the need for securing the advice and co-operation of land-owners and other interested parties.

6. Subject to approval of the appropriate municipal authorities and of the provincial board, funds for the purpose of implementing a scheme were to be raised by any of the available means established for local improvement or general purposes. Costs of preparing the scheme were to be charged to current municipal revenues, to a maximum of 1/10 of one mill in the case of municipalities under 200,000 population.

7. Boards were to be empowered to have the local assessment department review increases in value attributable to improvements made under the planning scheme. Where increases were found to exceed 10% of the otherwise expected value, the municipal authority would be required to collect a double rate of taxation on that increment for so long as it might persist. One-half of the proceeds of such tax were to be paid to the local planning board.

8. The local town planning board was to prepare and maintain a "comprehensive plan" of the area with specific reference to improved sanitation, transportation, conservation, and beautification.

9. The local board would be empowered, subject to notice, to remove buildings, or to execute work for others and to charge accordingly. Appeals were to be referred to the provincial board.

10. Subject to certain conditions, owners of property injuriously affected by a scheme were entitled to compensation. On the other hand, local boards were to be entitled to one-half any increase in value resulting from a scheme. In the case of disputes, the provincial board would appoint an arbitrator to establish change in value and the amount and manner of payments due. Specified exceptions to injurious affection included issues relating to requirements as to yard size, building density, height or character of buildings, and the dedication of land for park or open space; all subject to approval by the provincial board.

11. Local boards were to be given the power to expropriate, subject to conditions including arbitration and legal appeal.

12. The provincial board was to have the power to require local board action if dissatisfied or if in receipt of local representation.

13. The local board was to be empowered to appropriate lands within 200 feet of the boundaries of streets or parks and open space and would be required to resell these. Proceeds would be devoted to town planning purposes.

14. New streets or subdivisions were to require local and provincial approval or, in the absence of a local board, provincial board approval.

15. Schedule A prescribed "matters to be dealt with by general provisions prescribed by the central board". Schedule B outlined certain of the procedures to be involved in preparation and adoption of schemes.

In review of the Burland draft, some of the more relevant considerations are its very centralist commitment to provincial authority, the urban focus,[14] the multi-disciplinary "comprehensive" base of schemes, the near autonomy of local boards from local municipal authorities, and the inclusion of both compensation and betterment features in addition to dedication and other similar concessions to the primacy of the public interest.

THOMAS ADAMS AND THE REVISED DRAFT[15]

Revisions to the draft legislation, following the Toronto conference, reflected as much the arrival of Adams to take up his new post in October of 1914 as the comments made by delegates. At the same time, the opportunities available to Adams in the application of his own ideas and experience were significantly conditioned by the outbreak of war. Immigration had ceased; urban expansion and the associated boom in speculative real estate activity had been suspended. His task was further facilitated by the groundwork already laid by the Commission. Nova Scotia,

[14] The demand for extensive professional and staff input at the local level would have virtually ruled out participation by small villages or rural municipalities.

[15] See Thomas Adams, ibid. Housing and Town Planning in Canada, pp. 162-174.

New Brunswick, and Alberta had already adopted planning legislation modelled after the British Act. Liaison with the provinces, and with municipalities, had been established with respect to both planning and housing and extended beyond legislation to public education, technical advice, and library services as well.

Adams' prime concerns, on joining the Commission, were the provision of additional technical assistance (public education efforts being considered, for the interim, to have achieved their purpose, and being relegated to an important but lesser priority), a professional distaste for speculation (based on the risk of promoting suburban development at the expense and to the detriment of central cities) and a predilection for the use of skilled technical advice in an administratively consistent system. This latter bias is exemplified by his support for Departments of Municipal Affairs. These would promote administrative uniformity, development of technical staff, extension of corporate municipal boundaries, control of public utilities, development of planning, sanitary, and other related bylaws and administration, extension of wider powers to municipalities, and the "efficient and impartial" presentation of municipal accounts.

Adams' model of municipal planning was based essentially on the rationalist scientific ideal and incorporated some rather advanced concepts taken from the then embryonic 'comprehensive' approach to planning. The first

step was a "comprehensive" survey of "sociological"[16] and physical conditions. During the course of the survey phase, authority would be obtained for interim control (particularly of speculation) in the study area. Following the survey, a scheme would be prepared and legislative approval obtained. Operation of the scheme, following its approval, was also described as part of the planning process and illustrates a clear concern with aspects of the implementation phase still criticized as lacking an integrated role in institutionalized municipal planning efforts.[17]

As related previously, the Winnipeg Planning Commission had submitted a draft Act to the Manitoba legislature in early 1915. Adams visited Winnipeg to "assist in revising the bill and getting it through the

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[16] ibid. Thomas Adams; Housing and Town Planning in Canada, p. 174: Adams' use of the words "comprehensive" and "sociological" was particularly progressive. It suggests familiarity with the newly developing approaches then being pioneered by Patrick Geddes. In fact, the probability of his influence by both Geddes' and Unwin's work is verified by references in his 1932 publication of Recent Advances in Town Planning, (J&A Churchill, London). On p. 102 of that book, he specifically acknowledges credit to Geddes for the initiation of comprehensive community surveys including sociological data. (Geddes' early use of these techniques is referenced as early as 1904 in his City Development, the record of the Dunfermline survey (St. George Press, Birmingham) and later in his Cities in Evolution, An Introduction to the Town Planning Movement, (Williams and Norgate 1915); (included in Adams 1932 bibliography).

[17] Of interest in Adams' review of the process was his specific and detailed reference to the importance of trees to the aesthetics of the developing urban environment. The failure to stress this latter point is only now a major concern of prairie planners. The 1971 amendments to the Saskatchewan planning legislation (The Saskatchewan Planning and Development Act, chapter 73; Statutes of Saskatchewan, 1973) included specific provision for tree preservation. The 1973 Manitoba Budget address referred to the same issue and the study of appropriate programs is currently underway.

committee stages".[18] His dissatisfaction with the first draft appeared to reflect both the rural orientation of Western delegates to the 1914 Toronto conference and a growing anticipation of new pressures which would accompany the return of soldiers when the war ended. Specific reference was made to inadequacies in the land survey and development system, to the need for agricultural villages and rural industrial development,[19] to the opportunity for application of new technologies in the development process, and to the existence of both rural and urban municipal interests in the area of health and sanitation standards. The details of Adams' contribution to the legislative content, if not his actual influence, are reflected in the following summary of the revised Commission of Conservation draft Town Planning Act:[20]

1. The Burland draft was considerably re-organized and formalized. Six separate Parts now dealt with interpretation and appointments, new streets and subdivisions, preparation and approval of schemes, expropriation, enforcement, and expenses. Four Schedules considered matters to be dealt with in schemes, matters to be the subject of schemes, procedures for preparation and adoption, and regulations for expropriation.
2. Provincial administration remained the responsibility of the Minister of Municipal Affairs and his Department. The Comptroller of Town Planning concept was retained but the

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[18] Thomas Adams; Town Planning, Housing, and Public Health extracts from the 7th Annual Report, Commission of Conservation, Canada, 1916, (reprinted by the Planning Division, Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg), p. 125 for the quote, pp. 119-125 for other references.

[19] cf. the garden city concept described by Ebenezer Howard, ibid. Garden Cities of Tomorrow.

[20] ibid. Thomas Adams; Town Planning, Housing, and Public Health, appendix 2.

multi-disciplinary provincial town planning board disappeared. This may have resulted partly from a desire to avoid over-centralization of the process but may also have reflected the rather limited development of provincial civil services (particularly in the West) and the scarcity of skilled 'town planners'. The latter point is particularly clear in the specific suggestion that the comptroller be an engineer or architect.

3. In the absence of the earlier suggested central provincial board, the appointment of local boards was made compulsory. Their composition included the mayor or reeve,[21] two councillors (ex-officio), and at least two rate-payers. No suggestion as to the background of the latter was included. However, it was made mandatory that the local engineering officer or other qualified person be appointed by the local board as its "town planning surveyor" and executive officer. As in the first draft, failure of a municipality to appoint a board could result in its appointment by the province. Removal of the local executive officer was subject to provincial approval.

4. First draft inclusion of the necessity to obtain approval for any new street or subdivision was retained. However, the shift in emphasis to increased local authority was particularly clear in the decentralization of the approval function to the local boards. Provincial authority was limited to certain guidelines, specified in the legislation, and prescribing the need for local

[21] inclusion of reeves reflected a new appreciation of the existence of a rural interest in planning.

regulations, the development of a hierarchy of streets (permitting tradeoffs between the standard 66' width and wider main thoroughfares in exchange for narrower local streets down to a 40' minimum width), procedures to enable exchanges of land or cancellation of plans to facilitate resubdivision, and providing for the provincial appointment of an arbitrator to settle differences between an applicant and a local board.[22] Also relevant was the inclusion of a requirement that adjacent municipal authorities (within one mile) be consulted for approval of major road linkages involved in a proposed plan.

5. Whereas the Burland draft empowered local boards to prepare planning schemes, the new draft required that town planning bylaws be prepared for approval within three years of adoption of the Act. This provision apparently reflected Adams' concern with interim controls. Town Planning Schemes might be prepared subsequently, upon approval of or requirement by the provincial department. Their adoption required provincial ratification, as in the Burland draft. Other provisions governing preparation, adoption and funding were also similar to the Burland model.

6. Compensation provisions, entitling owners to payment for injurious affection, and local boards to one-half of any increase in value caused by the adoption or implementation of a scheme, were essentially the same as in the Burland draft and again reflected British experience.

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[22] The concept of provincially appointed arbitrators was a harbinger of the Municipal Board concept. However, the eventual establishment of this latter Board as the subdivision approval authority counters the appeal function envisaged here.

7. Provincial powers to require action in the case of default by a local board, and local powers in the enforcement of a scheme or bylaws, were provided as in the first draft.

8. Whereas the Burland draft referred to general objectives respecting traffic, transportation, sanitation, amenity, and convenience, the new draft provided a detailed schedule specifying matters required to be dealt with in planning bylaws and schemes. This included the fixing of building lines, the reservation of land for future streets, the limit of single-family housing densities (to ensure provision of adequate light and air), the prescription of maximum site coverage by zone, the separation of land-uses by zone, the prohibition of noxious or unsanitary uses and aesthetically unsatisfactory advertising, and the specification of new minimum widths necessary to permit establishment of a hierarchy of streets.

9. Schedule 'B', outlining matters which might form the subject of provisions in a scheme, duplicated Burland's schedule of matters required to be dealt with in general provisions prescribed by his central provincial board. However, earlier in the new draft, provision was made for provincial preparation of model bylaws or schemes for local guidance. Again, decentralization of the recommended process was apparent.

10. Schedule 'C', outlining procedures for preparation and adoption of schemes, now included provision for the interim bylaws as well, but was otherwise similar, if somewhat more detailed.

11. Whereas the first draft of the Act contained rather general references to rights and methods of expropriation by local

boards, the new draft provided an entire section dealing with the extent and application of this right and a very detailed schedule specifying procedures.

THE MANITOBA TOWN PLANNING ACT; 1916

When Adams arrived in Winnipeg to exert his influence on discussion of the new Act, the legislature had already received a submission from the Winnipeg planning commission. That submission was presumably based on the original Burland draft and the 1914 discussion of it in Toronto. We may also assume that the draft had, by this time, been somewhat further modified by the Manitoba government's solicitors in preparing it for formal consideration. It was inevitable, then, that a vested interest would have developed with respect to the contents of the draft before the Legislature. Adams' impact in suggesting further revisions is all the more surprising for this reason. Unfortunately, the detailed records of debates and proceedings of the legislature do not extend to 1916. However, references in the Commission of Conservation report of that year imply that public discussion of the Act prior to its adoption was limited, if it occurred at all, and that the strongest external influences were those of Adams and the Winnipeg Commission.

As assented to on March 10, 1916, the Manitoba Act[23] bore a strong resemblance to its draft predecessors. The changes made may basically be characterized as more cautious and conservative, more sensitive to the provincial-municipal division of responsibilities, and more concerned

[23] "An Act relating to Planning and Regulating the Use and Development of land for Building Purposes", Statutes of Manitoba, 1916, (chapter 114). Subsequent section references in the summary refer directly to the numbering of the original Act.

with legal and administrative detail:

1. Provincial administration was made the responsibility of the Municipal Commissioner (later the Minister of Municipal Affairs) assisted by a comptroller of town planning appointed by him. As in the Adams draft, government responsibility was not delegated to an appointed Central Board. The decision not to specify the skills or background of the Comptroller, nor to stipulate that he be appointed on a full-time basis, reflects a further step towards a more pragmatic assessment of the scarcity and quite possibly, the cost of staff and, specifically, trained town planners. Funding of the provincial contribution was, as in the previous drafts, to be provided from provincial revenues. (sections 2, 24, & 25)

2. The Manitoba legislation did include a rather significant modification of the draft Acts in providing for local responsibility and the link between local elected authorities and appointed boards. This was effected through a distinct separation of the Local Authority and the Responsible Authority concepts. Local Authorities were to be the elected municipal councils, or the province in the case of Local Government Districts. Responsible Authorities might be the councils or, alternatively, boards appointed by them. Whereas Burland made the appointment of Local Boards permissive, subject to specified representation, and Adams made both appointment and representation specific and compulsory, the Manitoba Act was strictly permissive. The only exception was that a range in size of five to ten members (inclusive) and provincial approval of appointments was

required. In all three Acts, the local board, if and when appointed, became the Responsible Authority for administration and implementation of Town Planning Schemes. However, in the case of Manitoba, Local Authorities were empowered to apply for, to adopt, and in the absence of a local board, to carry out schemes. (sections 2, 8, & 9)

3. An interesting addition to the Manitoba Act was permissive provision for appointment, by a group of local authorities, of a joint commission to carry out individually adopted Town Planning Schemes in their area. In keeping with the previous drafts, and subject to provincial approval, provision was also retained for the extension of a Town Planning Scheme into neighboring jurisdictions. (section 9)

4. The purpose of Town Planning Schemes, as defined under the Manitoba legislation, combined the provisions of the two previous drafts. As in Burland's Act, the general object was "securing suitable provision for traffic, proper sanitary conditions, amenity and convenience in connection with the laying out of streets and use of land and of any neighboring lands for building or other purpose".[24] In addition, Schedule 'A' of the Act, "Matters to be Dealt with in Town Planning Schemes", virtually duplicated Adams' schedule. The only significant modification to the latter was reference to "local authorities" as opposed to "local boards" (see above), and a rather cautious decision to increase specified minimum road widths from 40 feet to 50 feet. (section 1 and schedule A)

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[24] ibid. Thomas Adams; Housing and Town Planning in Canada.

5. As in the Burland and Adams drafts, provincial approval was required to initiate, adopt, vary or revoke a Town Planning Scheme. The critical difference was that provincial approval, in all cases, was not to be sought by the local board, but rather by the local authority. A less significant difference was the very specific inclusion that any scheme, adopted locally and provincially approved, would have the same effect as if it had been specifically enacted in the provincial legislation. As in the previous drafts, the province was empowered to require local action in default of their adoption or enforcement of schemes. (sections 3, 5, 6, 7, & 22).

6. Interim provisions for town planning bylaws or partial schemes were not included in any detail by Burland, but were made compulsory, within 3 years of adoption of the Act, by Adams. Manitoba followed the Adams model but stipulated that such interim controls could not include the right of expropriation or involve the carrying out of works which might require compensation. (section 4)

7. The Manitoba legislation permitted, but did not require, the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council to prescribe general provisions which, if established, would be presumed to be part of any Town Planning Scheme unless specifically modified or excluded. These provisions were to deal with "Matters to be Dealt with in Town Planning Schemes" and with Adams' "Matters Which May Form the Subject of Provisions in a Town Planning Scheme".[25] It

[25] ibid. Thomas Adams, Town Planning, Housing and Public Health: This schedule, 'B' in the Adams draft, was re-entitled "Matters to be Dealt with by General Provisions Prescribed by the Minister" in the Manitoba legislation. The general provisions, provided for in Section 10 of the Act, were never adopted.

further specified that regulations might be adopted by the Minister establishing procedures and that every Town Planning Scheme was, itself, to include provisions defining the area affected, outlining the execution of works to be conducted, defining procedures under the general provisions, specifying the effect on other existing or future bylaws, and for defining the manner of raising funds. As for general provisions, this inclusion would carry the weight of specifically enacted provincial legislation. These are essentially the same as provisions contained in the Burland draft and the Adams draft. (sections 10, 11, 12, & 15 and schedules A, B, & C).

8. Unlike the previous drafts, the Manitoba Act did not establish a maximum percentage of total assessed value as a ceiling for borrowing by the local Board. Because of the retention of authority in the municipal council, funding was simply referred to Municipal Act provisions for money bylaws. (sections 12, 13, & 14)

9. As in the Adams draft, powers of enforcement, granted to the local authority, included removal or alteration of buildings, execution of work for and charges to defaulters under a scheme, and the entry of agreement with others to do work or to permit development during the interim between application and adoption of a scheme. The one difference from the Adams draft was the fact that need for provincial approval of such actions was augmented by the possibility of arbitration. (sections 16 & 17)

10. Compensation provisions, and the right of a responsible authority to claim one-half any increase in value resulting from a Town

Planning Scheme, were exactly as provided in the Adams draft and discussed in the two preceding sections. (sections 18 & 19)

11. The Responsible Authority was granted the same rights of expropriation subject to arbitration as were provided in the previous Acts. Unlike the Adams Act which referred to detailed regulations, however, the Manitoba Act merely required adherence to existing bylaws or legislation governing the process. (section 20)

12. Perhaps the most drastic departure from the Adams draft was the Manitoba decision not to include detailed subdivision design criteria and approval regulations, but merely to require all municipal subdivision approvals (under the 1913 Real Property Act[26]) to consider the contents of Schedule 'A' of the new Act, "Matters to be Dealt with in Town Planning Schemes". Adams had directly linked the local planning process and the Town Planning Scheme to the subdivision and plans approval process. This was retained only insofar as rural municipalities were required to adopt a partial town planning scheme for new subdivision approvals, and the Responsible Authority was empowered to cancel and resubdivide existing plans. In deference to administrative considerations, the new Act did require that all ministerial approvals of Town Planning Schemes be registered with the appropriate Land Titles Office.

Other differences between the Manitoba legislation and the preceding Commission of Conservation drafts relate primarily to the retention of

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[26] "The Real Property Act", Revised Statutes of Manitoba, 1913 (chapter 148).

authority by the municipal councils. Local Authorities were already empowered to do many of the things which, because powers were attached to the appointed local boards, required specific consideration in the previous drafts. In conclusion, it may be stated that the new Act was a highly permissive document. Very few guidelines were given to direct its application by local authorities (beyond a sample listing of possible scheme contents). Provincial approval was not a very positive factor in that local initiative was first required. While the legislation had, in several instances, modified the previous drafts in favor of a more rural and western bias, it could not really have been expected to have much impact except in urban Winnipeg where local initiative and interest had already developed.

1917 to 1928: CONCESSIONS TO THE RURAL FACT

At least during the beginning of this second stage of development, the influence of Thomas Adams, and the federal Commission of Conservation, were as relevant as in development of the 1916 Town Planning Act. The First World War had severely constrained the economics of plans implementation and had focussed interest on the lower cost study and legislative thrust. As the war drew near its end, however, concern rapidly developed with the prospect of returning soldiers and a reappearance of the "boomtown" atmosphere of the early 1900's.

Adams had been quick to recognize the possible implications.[27] Returning soldiers would want land. The resultant stress on agricultural development, and the strain on an inefficient gridiron system of land

[27] ibid. Thomas Adams; Town Planning, Housing and Public Health, pp. 119-136.

survey, would dictate the inclusion of rural considerations in the planning process. At this point, Adams' background in the Garden City movement is clearly illustrated. He recommended that agricultural villages and rural industries be developed. He advocated the application of the scientific method and the technologies of developing planning theory to raise rural sanitary standards, to provide social facilities in the small villages, and to improve the efficiency of the road and survey systems. The alternative, he said, was to risk a mass urban immigration, bypassing the small towns and threatening the quality of the larger cities.[28]

Adams' blueprint for rural planning was detailed in his 1917 book which identified the three critical and interdependent problems facing rural areas:

"1. the planning and development of land by methods which will secure health, amenity, convenience and efficiency, and the rejection of those methods which lead to injurious speculation.

2. the promotion of scientific training, improved educational facilities, and means of social intercourse.

3. the establishment of an efficient government organization and improved facilities for securing co-operation, rural credit, and development of rural industries."[29]

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[28] The monotonous regularity with which Adams identified the germ of contemporary issues is again clear in his apt prophecy of the process of urbanization which continues to be the object of planning and political attention.

[29] Thomas Adams; Rural Planning and Development, A Study of Rural Conditions and Problems in Canada, (Canada Commission of Conservation, Ottawa, 1917), p. 3.

The three component themes of his approach are clear; conservation, comprehensiveness, and development (eg. post-war adjustment). Unfortunately, while his outline reads like the terms of references for an A.R.D.A. or D.R.E.E. special area project of the 1960's or 1970's, his bias towards the more simplistic application of physical land-use planning solutions was clear. "The land question is at the root of all social problems, both in rural and in urban territory."[30] This is not to say that Adams misrepresented the problem. He very definitely saw the central issues as revolving about disparate social and economic opportunities favoring the urban centres. He recognized the high proportion of the best lands in the hands of speculators, the railways, and the Hudson's Bay Company, and deplored the resultant pressure to settle the more available but marginally productive residue. But he did misrepresent the details of the solution.

Adams tended merely to assert the existence of major problems. Major solutions were vaguely generalized or left implied . . . an appreciation of the political realities of the day, in respect to the probability of correcting inequities, was not apparent. Rather, his blueprint for rural planning tended to bog down in the minutiae of cause-effect relationships. Speculation was bad. The land survey system encouraged speculation. Therefore, improve the land survey and subdivision approval system. This style,[31] of nibbling at fringe solutions amenable to land-use planning techniques, was typical of his approach. A second example

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[30] ibid., p. 7.

[31] ibid. Thomas Adams, Rural Planning and Development, pp. 45, 57, 58, 67, 113-116.

was his repeated reference to unnecessary roads and road widths.[32] One can only wonder how much more effective Adams would have been, given his enormous influence, had he expanded his comprehensive approach in understanding of the problem to the application of more effective, less efficient, solutions.

In any event, the parallel development (and probable effect-cause relationship) of public and government thinking with the modified rural focus of Adams' efforts was clearly demonstrated in a 1917 Winnipeg conference,[33] sponsored by the Commission of Conservation in conjunction with the Civic Improvement League. Reflecting the continued popularity of the 'city practical' concept, much of the conference was devoted to papers and discussions concerned with reducing the incidence of crime, disease, and slum conditions. Adams' presentation of town planning objectives (presumably as outlined in his writings of that year) was endorsed by resolution of the conference delegates. Perhaps even more significant was a presentation by the Manitoba Municipal Commissioner, the Hon. W. J. Armstrong, entitled "Municipal Problems of the Western provinces".[34] His paper addressed the problem of speculation, the need

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[32] ibid., pp. 64, 85. The key concepts referred to by Adams, and characteristic of Manitoba's adjustments to the rural fact in the period 1917-1928, are still featured in rural planning activities of the Municipal Planning Branch. Criticism of premature rural residential development in light of the speculation risk, the loss of productive agricultural land, the shift to tax levels based on development value, and the cost of municipal services (as referenced in Adams, ibid. pp. 113-116) are the standard stock in phrase of today's liaison planners.

[33] Urban and Rural Development in Canada, (report of conference in Winnipeg held May 28, 30, 1917) Canada Commission of Conservation, Ottawa, 1917.

[34] ibid., Urban and Rural Development in Canada, p. 8.

for rural settlement planning in response to post-war adjustment, assessment difficulties arising from mixed land-uses, and the issue of premature land subdivision.

The Hon. Mr. Armstrong's concern with rural development issues, combined with the first rush of post-war activity under the 1916 Act, characterized the mid-portion of the 1917-1928 period.

In 1920, the first scheme processed under the 1916 legislation was a partial Town Planning Scheme for a new subdivision in the Village of Altona. In the same year, a draft scheme was proposed for Eriksdale, and a CNR townsite plan for Rose Isle filed with the comptroller.[35] Also in 1920, the surge of applications resulted in the full-time appointment of the comptroller.[36]

Provincial regulations, regarding application, preparation, approval, enforcement, and notice procedures as provided in section 15 of the 1916 Act, were adopted in 1921.

In 1923, the first amendment to the 1916 Town Planning Act was passed.[37] The majority of the changes were minor, reflecting primarily the increase in activity, and the resultant identification of faults in the legislation, but also developing caution in light of the encounter of administrative and political realities. Provision for local claim of one-half the increased property value attributable to a scheme was modified to permit

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[35] ibid. Carrothers, Planning in Manitoba, p. 20.

[36] ibid. p. 13.

[37] "An Act to Amend 'The Town Planning Act'", Statutes of Manitoba, 1924, (chapter 68, assented to April 5, 1924).

local decision to claim a lesser figure. References to arbitration were modified to conform to provisions in the provincial "Arbitration Act". Exemptions from claims of injurious affection were extended from requirements relating to yards, site coverage, density, height, and character or use of buildings, to include character, location or use of buildings or the use of land. Provision for Land Titles registration of every scheme approved by the Minister was deleted.[38] Provision was inserted to permit the Minister to establish a schedule of fees for services rendered under the Act, and to establish a fine and/or imprisonment penalty for failure to comply with schemes.

The Act was again amended in 1924.[39] The provisions for subdivision approval were repealed and replaced by more detailed and centralized requirements. Applications under "The Real Property Act" were now to be referred to the Minister who would, in turn, require a local review with respect to town planning considerations. Town Planning Schemes were to be required if the proposed plan was for a new townsite or was in or adjacent to an area covered by an existing scheme. The first distinct legislative concession to rural planning appeared with the inclusion of requirements relating to the use and development of agricultural land as exempt from injurious affection claims. Additional flexibility (presumably for rural application) was provided by the deletion of specific numerical

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[38] The rationale for this deletion is not apparent. Its continued application might well have eased pressure on local authorities to amend schemes because someone has effected a real estate transaction in ignorance of planning regulations which are later discovered to preclude their intended use of the property.

[39] "An Act to Amend 'The Town Planning Act'", Statutes of Manitoba, 1924, (chapter 68, assented to April 5, 1924).

requirements for road width, building setback, and site coverage. Agricultural designation was also included in the list of possible land-use zones.

Manitoba town planning suffered a setback in 1925 when the first comptroller, W. E. Hobbs, left the civil service and was replaced, on a part-time basis, by M. Lyons, the Chief Engineer of the Department of Public Works.

A further amendment to the Act was adopted in 1925.[40] The change merely recognized the limited population in unorganized areas and permitted the appointment, in them, of three member local commissions, as opposed to the formerly specified minimum of five.

In 1926, however, a more significant legislative shift occurred. Adoption of the "Municipal and Public Utility Board Act"[41] added a new element to the subdivision approval process and heralded later removal of this function to the Municipal Board. The Board was empowered, on application by an owner, to order cancellation or revision of a plan of subdivision and to effect the necessary land trades, and determination of compensation. This did not replace, but was added to the Minister's power to permit resubdivision on application by a municipality. More importantly, the Board was assigned an additional function in the subdivision approval process. This required Board review of all applications for plans of more than 10 lots on the now familiar basis

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[40] "An Act to Amend 'The Town Planning Act'", Statutes of Manitoba, 1925, (chapter 62, assented to April 9, 1925).

[41] "The Municipal and Public Utility Board Act", Statutes of Manitoba, 1926, (chapter 33).

of serviceability considerations and satisfaction that the development was "required for building or other purposes within a reasonable period of time".[42]

1927 and 1928 marked a decline in provincial planning activity, although schemes continued to be processed for the Greater Winnipeg area. The critical phase, in this period, was 1920 to 1926, coinciding generally with W. E. Hobbs' tenure as full-time comptroller. His report[43] for the fiscal year 1922-23 indicated attendance and address of 47 meetings throughout the province, and review of twenty-nine plans of subdivision. The level of activity is further exemplified by the fact that, from 1921 to 1928, town planning schemes were prepared or adopted for Beausejour, Bowsman, Seven Sisters, Mountainside, Alonsa, Magnet and Rackham, and townsite plans were prepared for Rorketon and Pine Falls.

In summary, the period was characterized by the introduction of rural planning concerns and the modification of the legislation in conformance with administrative realities. Thomas Adams was, as in the first period, a major influence. However, his failure to precipitate government response, except in the specific area of land-use and town planning, resulted in an overemphasis on detailed considerations. As skillfully and comprehensively as Adams outlined the problems[44] and proposed solutions, it would appear that the existing division of provincial departmental interests, vis-a-vis the municipal affairs bias of

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[42] ibid. "The Municipal and Public Utility Board Act".

[43] ibid. Carrothers, Planning in Manitoba, p. 13.

[44] ibid. Thomas Adams, Rural Planning and Development, p. 116.

Commission of Conservation liaison, effectively thwarted a comprehensive response. The result was revision of town planning legislation uncomplemented by a planning thrust in the critical related policy areas, and a resultant over-bias towards administrative and land development considerations.

1917 to 1928: THE BEGINNING OF THE PROVINCIAL PLANNING SERVICE

Until the 1914 Toronto conference, the development of Canadian planning consciousness had been dominated by the federal Commission of Conservation and by urban-oriented interest groups. The gradual evolution of appreciation for rural interests (including smaller urban centres) was characterized by a similarly centralist bias. Rural problems, specifically the spectre of depopulation, were predominantly linked to their potential threat to urban living. It was not the farmers' or the small town residents' fear of decline that initiated the shift. Rather, it was the city residents' alarm in recognition of the socio-economic crisis that might accompany a mass influx of rural migrants.

Accordingly, the task of convincing the rural residents of what was required fell to the first comptroller of town planning. W. E. Hobbs, when asked to assume the full-time comptroller of town planning function in 1902, was an employee of the Provincial Good Roads Board. He was acquainted with Thomas Adams and with Prof. A. A. Stoughton, whose role in establishment of the University of Manitoba School of Architecture had enabled him to considerably assist and influence the efforts of the Winnipeg planning commission. Interviewed[45] in later years, Mr. Hobbs

[45] References, and quotations by Mr. Hobbs, in the remainder of this section are taken from tapes of his 1969 address to University of Manitoba planning students and his subsequent interview by Karen Lacey, a student in the school.

described a town as "a place for business and industry and for pleasant living" and town planning as a means to that end. Beyond his efforts to educate himself in the planning theory of the day, and his extensive involvement in the Greater Winnipeg area and its suburban development problems, he was extremely active in attending meetings throughout the province, proselytizing the value of town planning.

Mr. Hobbs' efforts in the province outside Winnipeg were, without doubt, the first organized attempt to develop an interest in rural planning at the rural municipal level. Using slides prepared by Prof. Stoughton, he stressed the application of his own co-ordinative and interpersonal skills in promoting rational subdivision design and development and in assisting with the preparation of Town Planning Schemes. Of considerable interest is his statement that much of the initiative for town planning developed from local interests. Apparently both the Union of Manitoba Municipalities and its Urban Association eventually endorsed the legislative concept, but not without some initial resentment over provincial intervention.

1929 to 1942: STAGNATION

A brief flurry of legislative activity in 1929 preceded a virtual standstill in local progress as the depression set in for the 1930's. A total of only 19 Town Planning Schemes (several of those amendments) were adopted from 1929 to 1942.[46] Many of these dealt with new mining or industrial townsites and resort areas. "The most significant activity during this period was the preparation of schemes for the government port

[46] ibid. Carrothers, Planning in Manitoba, p. 21 and Appendix 2, pp. 120-121.

of Churchill on Hudson Bay and for the mining town of Flin Flon."[47] Unlike the American experience, where depression problems precipitated an increased commitment to socially-oriented central economic planning, Canadian politicians never did react innovatively to the depression but merely waited it out on a patchwork basis of minimal response.[48]

The 1929 legislative amendments were significant, however. Section 23 of the Town Planning Act, the already revised provision for ministerial approval, municipal review and town planning scheme requirements on subdivision applications, was deleted in its entirety.[49] Simultaneously, "The Municipal and Public Utility Board Act" was amended by expansion of its subdivision approval provisions.[50] The Board's powers, in respect to plan cancellation and resubdivision, were augmented by the inclusion of permissive power to order a freeze or restriction of assessment on exchanged parcels for a period of up to five years. The 1926 provision that only subdivisions over ten lots in size would require Board approval was reduced to five. The former "Town Planning Act" provisions regarding the need for municipal approval and specifying adoption of a Town Planning Scheme were inserted. The City of Winnipeg was excluded from provincial approval requirements. The amendment marked the inception of the subdivision approval process as currently practiced in Manitoba.

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[47] ibid. Carrothers, p. 21.

[48] Cameron Graham, (producer), Days Before Yesterday, series of television documentaries, reviewing Canada's struggle for nationhood, (CBC, Ottawa, 1973).

[49] "An Act to Amend 'The Town Planning Act'", Statutes of Manitoba, 1929, (assented to May 7, 1929).

[50] "An Act to Amend 'The Municipal and Public Utility Board Act'", Statutes of Manitoba, 1929, (assented to May 7, 1929).

With the outbreak of World War II, planning remained virtually stagnant. In 1940, however, two events did occur. The incumbent comptroller was promoted to Deputy Minister of Public Works, and the position was given, though still on a part-time basis, to H. E. Beresford, Director of the Surveys Branch, Manitoba Dept. of Mines and Natural Resources. Secondly, a private member's bill, providing for the appointment of local Advisory Planning Commissions, was adopted by the Manitoba legislature.[51]

There can be little doubt that the introduction of the Advisory Commission concept owed to the growing American influence in Canadian planning. Both Hobbs[52] and Carrothers[53] have referred to the shift, from British influence in the initial legislation, to experience in the United States especially in the area of zoning. At the same time, however, it should be recognized that the amendment merely confirms a history of local concern. The former appointment of local boards, to act as Responsible Authority, was simply augmented by permitting a local authority to appoint that same board, on an advisory basis only, to assist council in its retained Responsible Authority function. The extent to which the advice of the Commission would be binding on Council was left to the decision of the local authority.

1943 to 1959: THE DEVELOPMENT OF TECHNICAL PLANNING SERVICES IN MANITOBA

As had happened towards the close of the First World War, Canada again took time, as the second war progressed, to review problems closer to

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[51] "An Act to Amend 'The Town Planning Act'", Statutes of Manitoba, 1940, (assented to December 17, 1940).

[52] ibid. Hobbs interviews.

[53] ibid. Carrothers, Planning in Manitoba, p. 40.

home. The Post-War Reconstruction Committee of the Government of Manitoba commissioned Eric Thrift of the University of Manitoba Department of Architecture and Fine Arts to prepare a report on the application of town planning in Manitoba's small urban communities. The report was part of a larger work published in June, 1944.[54]

That the Post-War Reconstruction Committee saw fit to treat the problems of the province's smaller communities as distinct from its other concerns was particularly significant. At the larger urban level, the Committee dealt with representatives of Winnipeg and twelve surrounding municipalities. Its deliberations resulted in the founding of a Metropolitan Planning Committee.[55] Mr. Thrift's report, however, dealt with the communities of Morden, Killarney, Russell and Minnedosa as examples for the application of planning principles.

"1. improved services and surroundings for homes.

2. improved services and surroundings for places of work.

3. greater safety for pedestrians, particularly children, as well as motorists.

4. greater convenience in travelling about town; in making use of facilities and in gaining access to highways.

5. more centralized business section — adding to the efficiency of business.

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[54] Eric Thrift (contributor); Town and Community Post-War Planning; A Report Prepared for the Post-War Reconstruction Committee of the Government of Manitoba, (King's Printer, Winnipeg, June 1944).

[55] R. D. Fromson; Planning in a Metropolitan Area - the Experiment in Greater Winnipeg, (Master of City Planning thesis, University of Manitoba, 1970), pp. 18-20.

6. stabilization of property values and the enhancement of these values over existing standards by the improvement of conditions surrounding the properties."

Application of the six principles was to involve the physical separation of uses by function and the segregation of traffic and circulation on a similarly functional basis. The entire process was viewed in the context of an expected "more scientific basis" for postwar agriculture and land-use that would entail economic analyses of available labor and markets. The evidence of a developing link between physical planning and economics is exemplified by Thrift's inclusion of capital estimates for new community services and facilities, and by his emphasis on the long term 25 to 40 year period required to realize results.

The principal thrust of the 1944 report became characteristic of later provincial efforts which would seek to combine the physical bias of town planning, in terms of environmental betterment, with the developmental bias of activities in the industry and commerce sector. "All town planning should be considered with an understanding of the natural resources and normal industries of the area, since they will undoubtedly be the mainstay of the economic and social structure. However, sight should not be lost of the possibility of tourist business where the country has natural possibilities, or how the town will affect or be affected by the country as a whole."[56]

[56] ibid. Thrift; Town and Community Post-War Planning, p. 19.

In 1945, regulations[57] were again filed under the Town Planning Act. In 1947, a Manitoba Division of the CMHC-sponsored Community Planning Association of Canada was formed. Developing citizen interest in town planning was accompanied by a renewal of activity under the Act. The 1945 regulations were revised.[58] Brandon, Dauphin, and Flin Flon, as well as several mining and resort communities, adopted or investigated adoption of Town Planning Schemes in the period 1947 to 1951.[59] In 1949, the Metropolitan Planning Commission[60] was initiated and was assigned extensive duties for planning of the Greater Winnipeg area. The particular significance of this latter development, in respect to municipal planning provincially, was the appointment of technical planning staff. In 1952, the regulations were further revised.[61]

In 1951, the provincial government appointed a provincial-municipal committee to study its relations with municipalities and other public bodies. In the course of preparing its own report,[62] the committee approached an existing group for advice on the planning aspects of its terms. The latter group comprised representatives of the University of Manitoba School of Architecture, the Central Mortgage and Housing

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[57] Manitoba Regulation 27/45, (Regulations under "The Town Planning Act", filed Nov. 24, 1945).

[58] Manitoba Regulation 37/47, (Regulations under "The Town Planning Act", filed July 29, 1947).

[59] ibid. Carrothers; Planning in Manitoba, p. 21.

[60] "The Metropolitan Planning Act", Statutes of Manitoba, 1949, (chapter 40).

[61] Manitoba Regulation 20/52, (Regulations under "The Town Planning Act", filed June 13, 1952).

[62] Manitoba Provincial-Municipal Committee Report; (The Queen's Printer, Winnipeg, 1953).

Corporation, and the provincial government. It, too, had been instituted in 1953, but with the specific objective of preparing "a manual of community planning procedures and techniques for use in the Province of Manitoba."[63] The response of this research body to the Provincial-Municipal Committee was made in 1952 but their detailed final report was not published until 1956.

The 1956 report contained sixteen recommendations, of which fifteen are directly relevant to the municipal planning function outside Winnipeg:

"1. Improvement of legislation related to planning.

2. Creation of a provincial planning authority.

3. Separation of administrative and semi-judicial functions with respect to planning.

4. integration of intermunicipal plans and operations.

5. achievement of effective planning administration at the local level.

6. provision for utilizing master development plans in the planning process.

7. improvement of the town planning scheme as an instrument of planning.

8. provision for adequate subdivision control.

9. provision for effective land-use control.

10. achievement of adequate street and highway systems.

11. provision for programming of public works.

12. achievement of housing and redevelopment as planning instruments.

13. provision for interim planning control.

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[63] ibid. Carrothers; Planning in Manitoba, preface.

14. provision for extra-territorial planning control.

15. clarification of responsibilities with respect to planning."[64]

The recommendations of Carrothers and his Advisory Committee were based partly on review of the existing legislative and administrative framework, and partly on a fairly extensive community survey. Several categories of typical small community problems were identified;[65] overorganization, limited industrial base, unattractive business district, traffic congestion, insufficient services (and resultant fire hazard), strip commercial development, disorderly development, housing shortage, and premature subdivision. Previous provincial planning efforts were criticized as overly physical, isolated, and discontinuous.

Carrothers was probably the first local writer to identify planning specifically as a 'process'. He dismissed concepts of planning based on the 'city beautiful', or on extensive intervention by the state, and described the objective as "conscious achievement of the best possible surroundings for carrying out the various activities of living of the individuals who make up the community."[66]

The recommendations of the report were to be implemented through the establishment of a provincial planning agency, a three part concept including a planning board, a technical planning service, and a Municipal

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[64] ibid. Carrothers; Planning in Manitoba, pp. ii-iii, foreword by the advisory committee chairman, John A. Russell.

[65] ibid., pp. 24-25.

[66] ibid., pp. 32-33.

Board (see fig. 12). Three functions[67] were defined, all stemming from the province's constitutional responsibility under the B.N.A. Act:

1. public education and technical assistance:

   This was seen as a supervisory and regulatory function, intended to promote sound development and to ensure the consistent and correct administration of local planning activities. Certain legislative modifications were required to focus the existing plethora of statutory provisions[68] but, essentially, the objective was to be achieved through expansion of the comptroller function to include additional technical staff, part of whose responsibility was to be the provision of planning service to local authorities.

2. provincial planning and co-ordination:

   The recognized provincial interest and responsibility for development of a highway network, resource development and conservation, industrialization and new settlement, public works programming, and the provision of utilities, was to be co-ordinated by a "Provincial Planning Board". This would comprise senior staff representation from the relevant public agencies and government departments and would be chaired by the comptroller of provincial planning.

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[67] ibid., pp. 68-70.

[68] As an example, the legislative provision for zoning bylaws, although implied as part of the planning scheme concept, was then under The Municipal Act and, in fact, continues to be referenced in that statute. (The Municipal Act, Revised Statutes of Manitoba, 1970 (continuously revised) (chapter M225)).

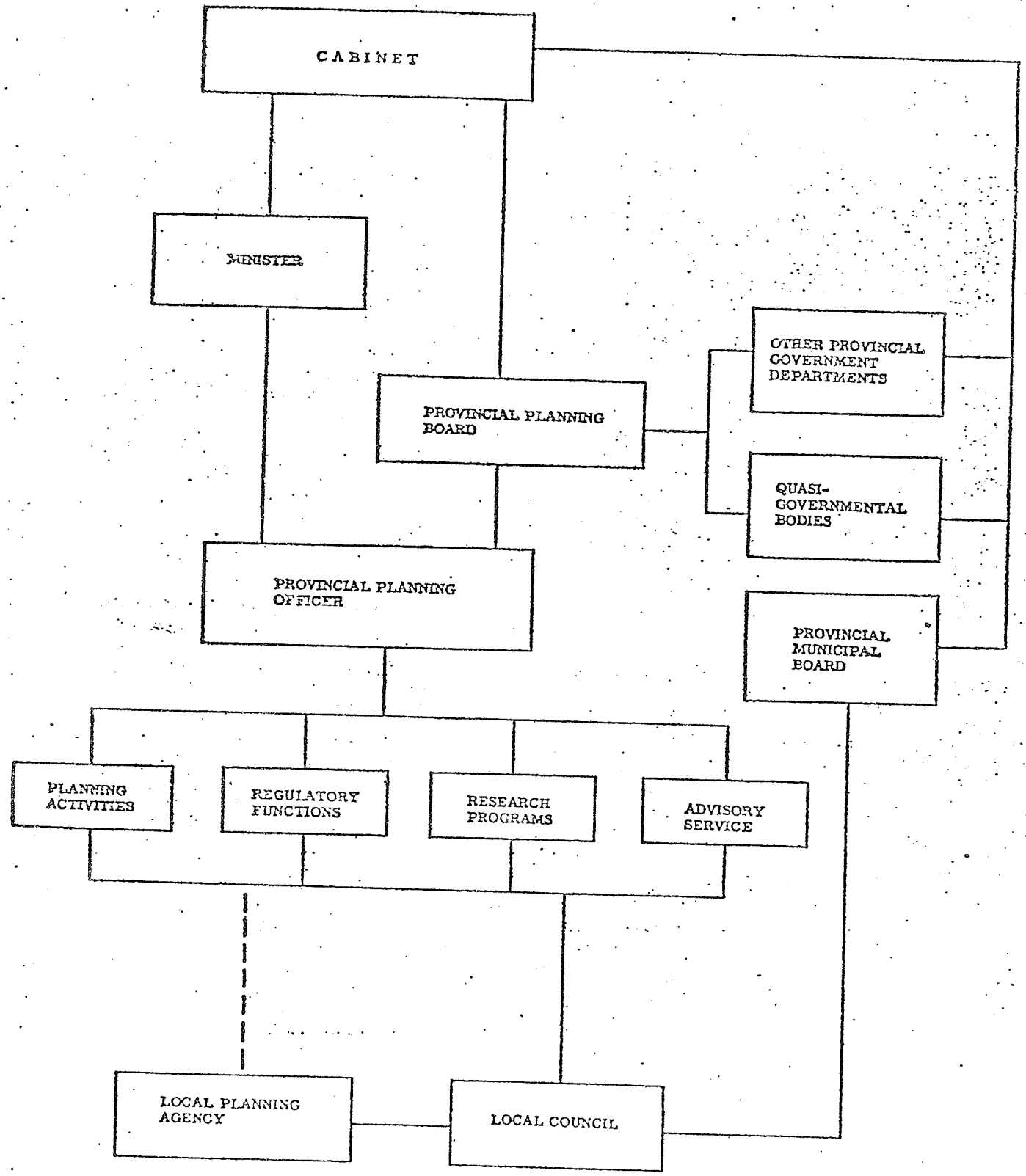

FIGURE TWELVE: FUNCTIONAL RELATIONSHIP OF PROVINCIAL PLANNING ACTIVITIES. (The Carrothers Proposal, 1956)

3. quasi-judicial function:

To ensure the equitable application of controls or requirements by local planning administrations, the municipal board (as recommended by the 1953 provincial-municipal committee) was to retain the appeal function then held by the Municipal and Public Utility Board. That Board's concern regarding subdivision approval, however, would be removed to the provincial administration.

Many of Carrothers' recommendations have since been adopted. Those which were ignored have, almost without exception, continued to be a source of considerable concern to staff of the Municipal Planning Branch. The most important point, however, is the incredible similarity between Carrother's recommendations and the original proposals made by Burland and Adams forty years previously. Allowing for the development of certain new terms, particularly in respect to zoning and master plans, and for the institutionalization of certain economic and social considerations only dreamed of by Adams, it can accurately be stated that the new proposals were the points left out in the initial provincial response to the Commission of Conservation. Carrother's master plans were clearly intended in section 7(b) of the Burland draft. "A local Town Planning Board shall prepare and constantly keep up a comprehensive plan of the whole territory, both in its developed and undeveloped portions, for the facilitating of the development of permanent improvements in sanitation, transportation, conservation and beautification of the municipality."[69]

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[69] ibid. Adams; Housing and Town Planning in Canada, p. 252.

Burland's one omission was the buzz word 'flexible'. Similarly, Carrother's concern about development of a regional basis for planning was shared by Adams[70] and verbalized specifically by him as early as 1921, the year he left the Commission of Conservation. "The need for the control of land, the linking up of the urban centre with the agricultural district, the control of natural resources, the prevention of speculation, a wider outlook on the social aspects of city planning, the need for a scientific basis for surveys and plans, ... all mean that more emphasis must be given to regional planning and development."[71]

In any event, it would appear that the province was influenced by the Carrothers report. In 1956, the Manitoba government approached the Metropolitan Planning Commission to suggest expansion of its staff and technical services to assist other centres outside Greater Winnipeg.[72] In April, 1957, with the Commission's agreement to co-operate, the Metropolitan Planning Act was amended[73] to permit the extension of technical planning service, on request, throughout the province. Costs were to be born by the provincial government. Implementation of this arrangement brought technical skills and advice to the support of a number of local authorities, generally through an Advisory Planning Commission, through until 1960.

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[70] ibid. Adams; Rural Planning and Development, and Lubove; Community Planning in the 1920's.

[71] ibid. Lubove, p. 108, quoting Adams; "City Planning and City Building", Journal of the American Institute of Architects, (June 1921), p. 197.

[72] Planning Assistance to Manitoba Communities Outside of Greater Winnipeg, unpublished Municipal Planning Branch paper, 1964.

[73] "An Act to Amend 'The Metropolitan Planning Act'", Statutes of Manitoba, 1957, (chapter 42, assented to April 5, 1957).

1960 TO PRESENT: THE MUNICIPAL PLANNING BRANCH

Adoption of The Metropolitan Winnipeg Act,[74] in 1960, resulted in the new Metropolitan Corporation assuming responsibility for the former Planning Commission staff. The new metropolitan focus, combined with the considerable workload involved in province-wide services, precipitated the decision to establish the staff involved as a provincial planning service under the auspices of the Department of Industry and Commerce.[75]

A new statute, entitled "The Planning Services Act",[76] was enacted to provide for local receipt of the provincial service. To receive assistance, municipalities were required to enter a minimum five year agreement, costs to be established by the Minister, and to provide for appointment of an Advisory Planning Commission.[77] The province, on its part, contracted to assist:

"(a) in the preparation and revision of comprehensive plans for the improvement and development of the municipality, based upon studies of physical, social, economic, and other conditions and trends and aiming at the co-ordinated development of the municipality and the region in which it is located, in order to promote the general welfare of the inhabitants;

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[74] "The Metropolitan Winnipeg Act", Statutes of Manitoba, 1960, (chapter 40).

[75] The enlarged influence of the development bias has already been noted. (ibid. Thrift; Post-War Town and Community Planning).

[76] "The Planning Service Act", Statutes of Manitoba, 1960, (chapter 49, assented to March 26, 1960).

[77] The commission requirement applied only in the event that a local council established itself as the Responsible Authority.

(b) in determining the most desirable plan of land use in the municipality, based upon the best available information respecting:

(i) topographical, climatic, soil underground conditions, water courses, bodies of water, and other natural or environmental factors; and

(ii) the prospective economic bases of the municipality and its region, trends of industrial, population, and other forms of development, the habits and standards of life of the people of the municipality, and the relation of the land use of the region;

including the designation of areas

(iii) for residential uses and maximum densities therein;

(iv) for farming, forestry, mining and other extractive industries;

(v) for manufacturing and industrial uses;

(vi) for wholesale, retail, business, and other commercial uses;

(vii) for educational and recreational uses;

(viii) for parks and open spaces;

(ix) for mixed uses; and

(x) for other restrictive uses

(c) in determining the most desirable plan of traffic circulation for the municipality, including the location and plan of streets, thoroughfares, and highways, routes and terminals for transit, transportation, and communication facilities, both within the municipality and connecting it to areas outside of the municipality;

(d) in the preparation of town planning schemes under the Town Planning Act;

(e) in the preparation of special reports and recommendations on individual zoning, subdivision, street, traffic, and public works problems, and other problems of a like nature;

(f) in the preparation of draft by-laws and regulations as may be required to implement any of the plans, programs, schemes, or other matters mentioned in clauses (a) to (f) inclusive."[78]

In addition, the minister was empowered to provide assistance to other agencies, departments, or levels of government especially in the area of regional planning studies.

The Town Planning Act was simultaneously amended.[79] Departmental responsibility was reassigned to the Minister of Industry and Commerce. Objections to a scheme filed with the minister, formerly provided for in the regulations, were now dealt with in the Act itself. The Minister was empowered to refer such representations to the Municipal Board for final decision. The comptroller was entitled to appear and raise objections at the resultant hearing. Other arbitration provisions in the former statute were shifted, as well, to the Municipal Board. In 1961, The Town Planning Act was further amended to provide for preliminary approval by the Minister of Agriculture (later of Mines, Resources and Environmental Management) to schemes involving Designated Reservoir Areas.[80]

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[78] ibid. "The Planning Service Act".

[79] "An Act to Amend the 'Town Planning Act'", Statutes of Manitoba, 1960, (chapter 76, assented to March 26, 1960).

[80] "An Act to Amend 'The Town Planning Act'", Statutes of Manitoba, 1961, (chapter 61, assented to April 15, 1961).

In 1964, the Town Planning Act and The Planning Services Act were combined[81] and administrative responsibility returned[82] to the Department of Municipal Affairs. The legislation included substantial amendments:

1. Reference to the Comptroller of Town Planning was deleted. The position was now called the Director of Planning and the legislation provided specifically for the appointment of professional and technical staff to assist him.
2. Definition of a "planning scheme" was included; "a statement of policy with respect to the use and development of land and the use, erection, construction, relocation and enlargement of buildings within a defined area and includes an amending planning scheme, an initial planning scheme, and a partial planning scheme."
3. Separation of the initial and amending schemes was clearly established. The details of the difference were spelled out in later regulations which specified the necessary procedures for adoption.[83]
4. The object of a planning scheme was redefined to include the underlined sections in the following (section 12); "securing

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[81] "The Planning Act", Statutes of Manitoba, 1964, (chapter 39, assented to March 12, 1964).

[82] The developmental aspect was retained by the Department of Industry and Commerce in its Regional Development Branch. That department's involvement in the organization of regional development corporations led subsequently to activity in regional study and planning. The most recent example is the Regional Analysis Program. The Branch is currently called the Regional Planning and Development Branch.

[83] Manitoba Regulation 36/64 (filed May 14, 1964); These very detailed regulations supplanted the more general Manitoba Regulation 37/47 (filed July 29/1947) and Manitoba Regulation 20/52, (filed June 13, 1952).

suitable provision for vehicular and pedestrian traffic, proper sanitary conditions, public safety, general well-being, amenity and convenience in connection with the laying out of subdivisions, streets, roads and the use and development of land and of any neighboring lands for building or other purposes."

5. Specific references to 'regional' planning studies, 'comprehensive' plans, and capital works programming were deleted. (sections 5(1) and 6(1))

6. Provision for the initiation of schemes was extended from local authorities or interested owners to include responsible authorities, advisory planning commissions, and joint groups of two or more local authorities. Reference to the adoption of interim town planning bylaws was deleted.

7. Provision for an Advisory Planning Commission (where the local authority was the responsible authority) and for appointment of a building inspector was made mandatory. The maximum size of commissions was increased from ten to fifteen members.

8. Enforcement provisions were modified to include details on the service of notice where an authority proposed to correct contraventions to a scheme. Penalties for failure to respect a scheme were substantially increased and provision for ordering correction included.

9. Funding sources for schemes were expanded to include a special tax or charge on affected owners, or fees charged by a local authority.

10. Renewal agreements of 2 years duration were made permissible.

11. Where the Minister was formerly entitled to cause a public enquiry in the event of representation that authorities had unreasonably failed to adopt or amend a scheme, he was now required to cause such a hearing.[84]

In 1962, the Act was amended[85] to specify the director's responsibility "for the implementation of such programs of planning education as the minister may prescribe," and to permit grants "to foster and promote public understanding of and participation in planning". This amendment sought also to cut some of the red tape associated with amendment procedures by establishing the Advisory Planning Commission as responsible for granting or refusing variation orders. The latter were defined as including several of the more site-specific details of zoning regulations and were made subject to a somewhat simplified and compressed notice and adoption procedure. A further modification provided for the compensation of advisory planning commission members (not councillor members) but stipulated that the stipend be five dollars per meeting and not exceed seventy-five dollars annually. This latter amendment has proven rather inappropriate in recent years as the geographic area involved in some of the new planning districts demands considerable travel time from commission members.

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[84] While not particularly significant, this change has produced a rather peculiar situation where an enquiry has been required even in response to rather frivolous private representation outside the normal process of objection.

[85] "An Act to Amend 'The Planning Act'", Statutes of Manitoba, 1965, (chapter 60, assented to March 29, 1965).

The Act was again amended in 1967[86] and 1968.[87] The 1967 change increased local authority to reserve land for proposed streets. An important, but rarely used, feature which permits physical pre-planning of undeveloped areas by simple mapping of future streets and adoption of a planning scheme, this provision formerly required a formal agreement with the owners of the land involved. The 1968 amendment reflected increasing attention to the inadequacy of planning by individual municipal units. Provision for the establishment of "district planning areas" was defined in greater detail.

Although consolidated in 1970,[88] no further amendments to "The Planning Act" have been enacted. Revision of the Saskatchewan legislation,[89] and a growing appreciation of legislative inadequacies relating to subdivision approval, conservation, and rural planning procedures, have maintained a continuing interest in redrafting of the Act. Currently, one of the Branch's senior planners is actively engaged in the process. This is a long overdue revision, the completion of which has been previously postponed by conflicting staff commitments. However, given the present support of the Department, and a reasonably general awareness of current inadequacies, there appears every reason to be optimistic about the government's response to draft proposals.

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[86] "An Act to Amend 'The Planning Act'", Statutes of Manitoba, 1967, (chapter 46, assented to March 22, 1967).

[87] "An Act to Amend 'The Planning Act'", Statutes of Manitoba, 1968, (chapter 47, assented to May 25, 1968).

[88] "The Planning Act", (chapter P80) Revised Statutes of Manitoba, 1970 (continuously revised).

[89] ibid. Statutes of Saskatchewan, 1973, chapter 73, "The Planning Act".

RELATED LEGISLATION

Carrothers[90] listed over 20 provincial statutes relevant to planning activities in Manitoba. Since the writing of his report, the list has been expanded by several new Acts. Notable among the latter are those which contain regional planning provisions related to resource considerations.[91] This thesis, however, is not a general review of planning activity in the province. The terms of reference of the Municipal Planning Branch have not been specifically augmented by the creation of a comprehensive provincial planning agency. The central focus remains on provisions contained in The Planning Act. Direct relationship to other statutes is generally limited to The Municipal Board Act[92] and to The Municipal Act.[93]

The involvement of the Municipal Board has been previously described. The Board is provincially-appointed, a quasi-judicial authority which functions as an appeal body for decisions made under the provisions of The Planning Act, and is responsible for subdivision approvals outside Winnipeg and the Additional Zone.[94] The appeal function is initiated by

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[90] ibid. Carrothers; Planning in Manitoba, appendix 6, p. 119.

[91] examples are "The Provincial Park Lands Act"; Revised Statutes of Manitoba, 1970 (continuously amended)(chapter P20); "The Resource Conservation Districts Act", Revised Statutes of Manitoba, 1970 (continuously amended)(chapter M35); both of which provide for the establishment and enforcement of land-use plans and regulations.

[92] "The Municipal Board Act", Revised Statutes of Manitoba, 1970 (continuously amended), chapter M240.

[93] "The Municipal Act", Revised Statutes of Manitoba, 1970 (continuously amended), chapter M225.

[94] see The City of Winnipeg Act, Revised Statutes of Manitoba, 1970 (continuously amended), chapter 105.

the decision of the Minister of Municipal Affairs, generally in response to objections raised regarding the local adoption or amendment of planning schemes. The subdivision approval function was fully delegated to the Board in 1929.[95] The majority of amendments since that time have been relatively minor ones.[96] The responsibility extends to cancellation of plans or resubdivision, new subdivisions, and to building restriction caveats. In the case of control of new subdivisions, the process is relatively simple. Given a municipal resolution of approval, the Board will hear an application, consider comments from relevant provincial departments or agencies or from other interested parties, and make a decision. Legislative policy guidelines and criteria are minimal. Where the plan is for a new townsite or a summer resort, or where it is in or adjacent to an area covered by a planning scheme, a planning scheme will be required. The Board is required to be satisfied that the land involved will be "required for building or other development purposes within a reasonable period of time", and may require satisfaction that adequate services will be provided. Beyond these points, any consideration of other relevant planning criteria is left generally to the initiative of Municipal Planning in its comments on the application.[97] The approval

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[95] ibid. "An Act to Amend the Municipal and Public Utility Board Act", 1929.

[96] see; Acts to Amend the Municipal (and Public Utility) Board Act, contained in S.M. 1932, chap. 31; S.M. 1935, chap. 35; S.M. 1937, chap. 30; R.S.M. 1940, chap. 142; S.M. 1952, chap. 43; S.M. 1959, chap. 41; S.M. 1960, chap. 40; S.M. 1961, chap. 42; S.M. 1963, chap. 50; S.M. 1970, chap. M240; S.M. 1972, chap. 81.

[97] The Municipal Planning Branch, and a number of other provincial agencies, (notably hydro, the telephone system, water resources conservation, and environmental protection) are contacted for review and comment on all subdivision applications. In 1973, Municipal Planning undertook to co-ordinate the input of these various parties through the vehicle of weekly meetings for joint review of applications.

mechanism is not complete in its provincial regulation of new development. Certain categories of survey plans require only the administrative approval of the Land Titles Office (beyond municipal consent) before implementation. Similarly, leasehold developments are subject to no regulation beyond locally enforced planning schemes.

The Municipal Act has permitted local adoption of bylaws relating to land-use planning since before the 1916 Town Planning Act.[98] These provisions probably affected the decision not to detail interim bylaw provisions in the original planning legislation to the extent recommended in the earlier Commission of Conservation drafts. The general nature of Municipal Act provisions has revolved around the issues of public health, safety, and comfort and the regulation of streets and public places. Examples of the 1913 bylaws permission included building inspection, regulation and zoning of noxious uses or nuisances, and the establishment of building setback lines.

Over the years, the Municipal Act provisions have received minor amendments on several occasions.[99] General reference to the overlapping provisions of The Planning Act have long been included. In this latter respect, section 310 of the 1970 amendment[100] is particularly important:

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[98] "The Municipal Act", Revised Statutes of Manitoba, 1913, chapter 133, especially sections 580, 581, and 589.

[99] 'Acts to Amend the Municipal Act', S.M. 1914, chap. 66; S.M. 1915, chap. 43 S.M. 1916, chap. 72; S.M. 1917, chap. 57; S.M. 1918, chap. 43-44; S.M. 1919, chap. 62, 64; S.M. 1920, chap. 82; S.M. 1923, chap. 57; R.S.M. 1924, chap. 133; S.M. 1933, chap. 57; R.S.M. 1940, chap. 141; R.S.M. 1954, chap. 173; S.M. 1966-67, chap. 32; S.M. 1970, chap. 100; S.M. 1972, chap. 22; and S.M. 1970, chap. M225 (continuously amended).

[100] material in brackets, mine.

"Subject to section 311, (providing for the adoption of bylaws regulating certain specific activities) where a municipality desires to create, and regulate or control, special zones or districts within the municipality, and the uses to which land in those zones or districts, and the buildings or other structures therein, shall or shall not be put, it shall proceed as provided in The Planning Act and not otherwise."

9. THE MUNICIPAL PLANNING BRANCH

INTRODUCTION

Since its inception as a branch of the provincial civil service, municipal planning has been administered by two directors, D. G. Henderson (1960 to 1966) and J. N. Whiting (1966 to present). Henderson was initially chief planner of the Community Development Section, Regional Development Branch of the Department of Industry and Commerce.

1960-1966

Mr. Henderson's service as director spanned the formative years. Under his leadership, the legislation was first significantly amended and the regulations and procedures drafted and detailed to permit consistent and efficient administration of the legislative objectives. It was also during his directorship that many of the current planning service agreements were initiated and the provision of planning service expanded in coverage and staff resources to become a province-wide undertaking. Emphasis was on 'urban' communities. Current concerns with provincial land-use allocation and resource considerations in rural and regional planning were not, at the time, the priority issues they have since become. The work of Thrift and Carrothers, followed by the efforts of the Metropolitan Planning Commission, had previously emphasized the importance of physically-oriented planning and regulation of small town development and had effectively created a sizable backlog of interested communities, eager to realize the benefits of town planning. In retrospect, the pressure on the Branch to priorize its activities in response to perceived local needs might be characterized by some critics as unfortunate. There can be little doubt that the resultant administrative load and the Branch reputation for competence limited to zoning and physical community

planning has considerably frustrated subsequent efforts to capitalize on a developing federal and provincial recognition of more comprehensive socio-economic planning needs. At the same time, however, it is that same competence and the concurrent development of continued local liaison that has equipped the Branch to cope as effectively as it has with changing provincial attitudes and priorities.

In January of 1964, it was reported[1] that 25% of the provincial population outside Greater Winnipeg was being serviced by the Branch planners. This had developed over only 5 years and without active promotion of the service. The same report outlined the Branch objectives as follows:

"1. to provide technical planning assistance and advice to member municipalities in order that they may better approach development problems of the community.

2. to assist the communities through a logical planning process of survey, analysis, and synthesis.

3. to encourage planning consciousness and action at the local level.

4. To assist Municipalities and Planning Commissions in the search for their own answers to community growth problems.

5. To help Planning Councils and Commissions in their efforts to put their plans into legislative form.

6. To co-ordinate the various functions of municipal governments, which are related to the growth of the community along the patterns established in the development plans of the community.

[1] Planning Assistance to Manitoba Communities Outside of Greater Winnipeg unpublished Municipal Planning Branch paper, January 1964, p. 2.

7. To consider community development in relation to the surrounding municipalities and the economics of the region in which they are located.[2]

Three key concepts are contained in the preceding list; technical assistance, promotion, and co-ordination. Most significant is the clearly expressed notion that branch planners would assist communities to assist themselves. This respect for local authority, coupled with concern for the protection and involvement of citizens generally, is a quality that has been generally overlooked in criticisms[3] of municipal planning.

In the comptroller's 1961 report,[4] a number of observations were made which clearly illustrate the concern with people outside the immediate process and its institutions. Use of the Town Planning Act was criticized as not contributing effectively to sound "community planning practice". The complexity of the regulations and the cost of processing scheme changes (generally charged to the applicant) were considered a burden on citizen applicants. The intent of the legislation was criticized as favoring the applicant as opposed to protecting the citizen. A caution was raised concerning the practice of referring schemes to the Municipal Board. The caution regarded the risk of unwarranted delays

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[2] ibid. pp. 2, 3. These same planning service objectives were earlier outlined by Henderson in the chief planner's annual report to the Department of Industry and Commerce, dated Aug. 5, 1960, Municipal Planning Branch files.

[3] The reference here is less to published critiques than to an attitude prevalent within the planning 'profession' generally. Municipal planning is regularly disparaged for its physical and administrative bias in a context of more comprehensive concerns which, though recognized perhaps by the profession, are not a priority issue with local authorities or the population-at-large.

[4] Municipal Planning Branch files

precipated by frivolous or irresponsible objections or, conversely, the risk of unfair burden on objectors by having to employ legal assistance to adequately represent themselves.

The technical assistance was geared to the traditional model of survey, analysis, and synthesis, a rational process which, though it involved a survey of social and economic issues and characteristics in its first phase, was quickly narrowed in focus to the production of a future land-use plan. The physical bias of the latter was augmented only slightly by the staging of services and facilities in respect to anticipated growth. The remainder of the assistance was devoted to the preparation of the necessary legal and administrative tools required to ensure conformance to the plan.

If there appears to be some inconsistency between the goal of citizen protection and involvement (as it is now understood) and the fact of a process characterized by detailed attention to the regulatory features of physical plans, it is readily explained by reference to the history of planning thought in the province. Carrothers' report, though it involved an assessment of contemporary planning theory, was more notable for the obvious impact of its criticism of the physical environment of Manitoba communities. The Department of Industry and Commerce, dedicated to the principle of regional development and to the active promotion of economic growth, could hardly be expected to resist interpretation of planning legislation in a manner designed to emphasize that thrust. An efficient and attractive physical environment is still considered to be a pre-requisite to the attraction of economic development.

The relocation of the planning service function to Municipal Affairs merely shifted the emphasis from development to administration. The remainder of this department can be accurately characterized as administratively and bureaucratically biased. This is not a criticism; it is a necessary feature of an organization designed to provide assessment services and to monitor municipal budget and finance activities. But it is not an environment in which one would expect planning to flourish as a free-wheeling, responsive kind of process . . . . no more than one would expect the first comptroller's concerns respecting the protection of citizens to be viewed as anything less than reactionary in the professionally optimistic and growth-oriented context of a Department of Industry and Commerce.

The negative effect of the emphasis in the first years has been referred to previously. On the positive side was the initiation of a continued process of liaison between the planning service and individual communities. The early tangible benefits of that liaison, developed in conjunction with an educational program which focussed on the disparate physical attributes of the small community relative to large urban centres, are indicated in the accompanying table.

Table 2: Planning Service Project Output, 1959 to 1963[5]

Project category	No. of completed projects as of;				
	Apr 1/59	Mar 31/60	Mar 31/61	Mar 31/62	Mar 31/63
zoning bylaws	8	14	16	20	2
general development plans	0	10	20	26	12
town planning schemes	3	6	30	42	77

[5] Municipal Planning Branch files

The record is not unimpressive. The provision of technical assistance had enabled the adoption of the legal and regulatory accoutrements of town planning in a large number of Manitoba communities. But had the planning consciousness of the clientele been similarly expanded? Certainly planning commissioners and councillors had been introduced to the process; the appreciation of the benefits of consistent administration based on stated land-use goals is clearly implied by the simple fact of local adoption of controls. This should have been only the first stage of the process. Unless followed up by a similar commitment to the more positive aspects of planning, the resultant regulatory bias and the emphasis of ends and the abstracted legislative content of means, could not possibly produce a balanced and equitable understanding in the context of the optimal qualitative ideal.

It becomes necessary, then, to examine the quality of the follow up. Have the communities progressed to a more comprehensive understanding of the process? This particular issue will be examined in greater detail in subsequent chapters. At this point, it is sufficient merely to suggest that they have not. It will be demonstrated that the public education program has not extended significantly beyond the councillors and commissioners, the election or appointment of whom has been limited to a relatively small and permanent sector of the population. (see Appendix 1) It will also be demonstrated that the primary concerns of those individuals are still focussed on the minute details of the tools of the process and on rather parochial objectives concerned with the cosmetic aspects or economically attractive features of the physical environment. This is not to allege that the communities are unconcerned

with a more comprehensive understanding of goals and of their achievement. It is merely an assertion that this understanding is not considered to comprise the means and ends of town planning . . . those are simply concerned with the administration of zoning bylaws and with the drafting of future land-use plans.

Why has this happened? It is unlikely that the failure was because of the planners' own lack of understanding. Rather, the planners have been caught in a web of obselete legislation, a web that demands provincial review of every individual amendment, of every individual subdivision application. Ours is not a static society. If only one-half of the 77 planning schemes completed in 1963 required one amendment in 1964; if 20 of the 36 municipalities enrolled required assistance in the design and processing of one plan of subdivision; the resultant staff commitment would be enormous. If each of the resultant amendments of plans required a place on the agenda of say 3 commission and 3 council meetings to effect their adoption, the available local time would be similarly committed. This is not an unrealistic scenario. In my five years of liaison experience with the Branch, I can recall very few instances where commission meetings were not heavily loaded with administrative or regulatory agenda items, even fewer where special meetings, devoted to more positive undertakings, were feasible. In 1971-72, the Branch was staffed with 13 professional planners, the large majority of whom carried sizable liaison responsibilities. Cumulatively, those planners attended and were required to prepare administrative and technical information for 893 community meetings. Those meetings involved detailed and repetitive consideration of 118 planning schemes and amendments, and

106 plans of subdivision. It is little wonder that the public education function has not flourished, that the Branch has been only marginally effective in contributing to more positive, more innovative undertakings.

1967 to the Present

Under the current director, J. N. Whiting, the administrative responsibilities of the Branch have continued to expand. As in the earlier period, this has not been the choice of the Branch itself. It has been a requirement established by a legislative framework initiated nearly sixty years ago.

Fortunately, the remainder of society has not been similarly constrained. A more general appreciation of the interdependence of human activities, increased environmental consciousness and recent dramatic illustrations of the limited extent of our resource and energy base, combined with a developing commitment to citizen participation, are all phenomena which have contributed a new dimension to physical land-use planning. The Planning Branch is beginning to respond to the new challenge and to the resultant opportunities. Whereas in the early years, the major accomplishments, outside the regulatory and liaison concerns, tended to involve the development of new communities (planning for Thompson and Pinawa are examples), more recent excursions beyond the planning service function have featured the co-ordination of regional studies and the integral treatment of financial programming and implementation in the land-use planning process.

It is too early to suggest that municipal planning has come of age. Much of the current Branch involvement in more comprehensive,

Table 3: Municipal Planning Branch, Production and Administration Increase vs. Staff Enlargement, 1960 to 1972.[6]

Activity Category	Apr 1/59 to Mar 31/60	Apr 1/62 to Mar 1/63	Nov 1/66 to Oct 31/67	Nov 1/68 to Oct 31/69	Nov 1/71 to Oct 31/72
municipalities under agreement	30	36	51	54[7]	80
rural municipalities under agreement	8	9	13	26	34
council, commission, and public meetings attended	240	255	320	300	756
base maps produced or updated	45	42	61	53	202
schemes and bylaws drafted	34	61	54	95	122
development plans prepared	15	15	6	6	5
subdivision designs prepared	30	102	60	80	106
subdivisions processed	-	72	27	46	91
schemes and amendments	-	82	130	199	280
municipal board meetings attended	-	22	9	5	13
total staff	-	-	27	31	36
total field office staff	-	-	11	9	9

[6] Municipal Planning Branch files

[7] 29 additional agreements including 10 renewals were pending.

interdisciplinary endeavours has yet to demonstrate tangible results. It is clear, however, that the familiarity of the Branch with local authorities, developed through the liaison function, has credited it with a newly appreciated concern and competence for participation in regional and provincial programs and that its traditional legislative responsibilities, however stifling they may have been in the past, have made it a major beneficiary of developing federal and provincial awareness of the importance of soundly based land-use planning and development.

The critical question is whether or not the Branch can respond to the increased opportunities and responsibilities. There are really only two options. Either the budgetary and staff resources are increased to permit a response over and above the current administrative and regulatory responsibilities, or the legislative frame is sufficiently amended to reduce the current administrative load. The nature of the problem is clearly illustrated in the accompanying table. Administrative responsibilities are continuing to accelerate much more rapidly than the staff resources.

ACTIVITIES AND OBJECTIVES

The most recent report of Branch activities is contained in the printed review of the period November 1, 1971 to October 31, 1972.[8] Two

[8] Branch Activities, November 1, 1971 - October 31, 1972, annual report prepared by the Municipal Planning Branch, Manitoba Department of Municipal Affairs; The 1972-73 report was not complete at the time of writing. Discussion with the Branch director indicates that administrative activity continues to increase; over 1100 meetings were attended, and a 50% increase in subdivisions processed for the Municipal Board was realized. Activities and objectives remained as discussed above.

principal programs were identified; municipal planning and provincial planning. Program objectives and activities were outlined as follows:

Municipal Planning Objective: the provision of a continuing efficient advisory planning service to local government: To ensure that, where there is a desire, physical development and consolidation of urban and rural communities takes place in an orderly manner and in accordance with the wishes of the Community so that local objectives can be identified, priorities established, local and regional/ Provincial policies co-ordinated and implemented to achieve a healthy, safe, pleasing and economically sound living, working and playing environment.

Municipal Planning Activities:

(1) Technical assistance

(a) Survey and analysis.

(b) Planning schemes; community development plans and zoning.

(c) Subdivisions - residential, industrial.

(d) Commercial developments.

(e) Related implementing bylaws (eg.) building bylaws.

(f) Research as necessary.

(2) Liaison with local governments

Provincial Planning Objectives; the provision of professional planning advice to governments on development matters of Provincial interest and intra-municipal concern;

(1) (a) The administration of those matters under The Planning Act that require some degree of uniformity or that cannot best be accomplished by individual municipal units;

(b) To provide some uniformity and direction in the use of Planning legislation and assist municipalities in its proper use;

(c) To assist other Branches and Departments as requested in matters involving physical development and the implementation of other programs;

(d) To make recommendation on matters of Provincial concern in the provincial interest;

(e) To further the understanding of Planning in the Province.

(2) the co-ordination, at the operating level, of Municipal Planning with other Provincial development programs and policies for the preparation of general Regional Development Plans which reflect, for purposes of implementation at the local level, the goals, needs and priorities established by the policy-makers (this program not formalized).

Provincial Planning activities:

(1) (a) Administration of the Act.

(b) Planning advice-municipal.

(c) Planning advice-provincial (but of direct benefit to people of Manitoba).

(d) Public education and research.

(e) Co-ordinate development projects with other Branches and Departments.

(2) (a) Co-ordination with other Departments of Provincial Government. Development programs in a formal grouping under the Planning and Priorities Committee of Cabinet (program not formalized).

(b) Liaison with Regional representatives of local government to identify needs and objectives (program not formalized).

(c) Preparation of general Regional Plans with constant reference to all Departments and authorities so that the physical, economic, and social factors are reflected therein (program not formalized).

10. AGENCY AUTHORITY

INTRODUCTION

The evaluative strategy outlined in Chapter Six begins with an assessment of agency authority. The linkages described in Chapter Four identify five decision-making authorities in the land-use planning process. The following application of secondary evaluative criteria provides an abstracted assessment of the agency authority variable as it contributes to the effectiveness of each. Only two types of secondary criteria, environment and agency characteristics, are applied to all five authorities. The last, issue characteristics, has been applied specifically to the Municipal Planning Branch in order to examine its probable effectiveness where, by some legislative provision or short-circuit of the process, it is itself the decision-making authority.

The rationale for this particular approach is as follows. The abstracted analysis of the theoretical advantages or disadvantages of a particular agency in the decision process provides a rough guide to which authority is the most appropriate to engender action on different types of issues. Given this guide, the function of the planning branch with respect to a particular type of issue is more easily assessed.

AGENCY CENTRALISM

It is widely believed that centralized decision-making authorities are better equipped to develop and implement policy than are decentralized, dispersed authorities. This does not, of course, guarantee the quality of the policy produced. It merely increases the likelihood of policy decisions being made. Given that impetus, the momentum generated by the optimal qualitative process will tend gradually to produce the desired quality.

The provincial government is highly centralized. A gradual trend to dispersal of management and administrative processes, in order to generate regional economic activities and to improve bureaucratic and political responsiveness, has not dispersed the essentially centralized character of the policy-making process. Policy decisions, improved in quality by information inputs to a decentralized bureaucracy, continue to be the responsibility of the provincial government, itself.

Municipal government, on the other hand, is highly decentralized. As detailed historically in Chapter Seven, land-use planning responsibility in Manitoba is delegated largely to the individual municipal units. Although regional planning and government concepts have been implemented in several other provinces, they have not developed beyond the discussion phase in Manitoba. Of course, to the extent that land-use planning decisions have no implications beyond the jurisdiction of the municipal unit, the local authority is internally centralized. However, the intricate interrelationships which complicate ostensibly simple land-use decisions leave little scope for such an interpretation.

Advisory Planning Commissions are only slightly more centralized than the municipal governments they serve. In 1971-72, there were seventeen functioning district advisory planning commissions in Manitoba. A number of these merely involved joint representation of a town or village and the adjacent rural municipality. Others cover wider areas comprising a number of municipalities. The majority of Manitoba commissions, however, are appointed to serve individual municipal units.

The Municipal Planning Branch is partially decentralized in its liaison function. Field offices, employing both professional and technical staff,

are currently functioning in Brandon and in Dauphin. A smaller office, in Morden, was closed in 1968. The 1973-74 budget includes provision for a Thompson office, and for the expansion of field office staff generally. Unlike the overall provincial trend to decentralization of bureaucratic administration and management, however, the decentralized liaison function of the planning branch has not yet involved a significant dispersal of authority. To the extent that the Branch has been delegated or has assumed decision-making authority, this function has remained with the head office. Field office personnel, while responsible for office procedures, work assignment, internal budgeting, and similar housekeeping matters, remain subject to a centralized authority for actual planning and policy decisions.

The last agency, the Municipal Board, is highly centralized. Like the provincial government, there is only one. Concessions to the importance of decentralized information input have been made, however. Board meetings are conducted throughout the province, depending on the geographic location of the particular issue involved.

AGENCY STAFF

One of the corollaries of the effect of centralized authority has been discussed by Friedmann.[1] More competent, stable bureaucracies, of the type more commonly associated with large, centralized authorities, will encourage and more positively influence the agency's decision-making process. In this respect, all five of the municipal planning decision authorities in Manitoba share the services of the planning branch and

[1] John Friedmann, "The Institutional Context" in Bertram Gross (ed), Action Under Planning, (New York, McGraw Hill Inc., 1967), p. 34.

are, therefore, subject to a similar appraisal of this evaluative criterion. Again, however, the caution must be remembered that encouragement of the process does not necessarily constitute a high quality of results in terms of traditional planning principles. It does, however, improve the likelihood of policy decisions being made.

The Branch, through the educational qualifications required of its staff, maintains a relatively high level of competence. Staff stability is not so guaranteed. Although senior branch officials are all experienced in municipal planning practice, the stability of junior staff fluctuates widely. Municipal planning, in the context of other more innovative planning endeavours, is not a particularly glamorous career. New graduates, while they may be attracted by the high initial responsibility and the breadth of experience offered by liaison assignments, are prone to move on to employment elsewhere, before the Branch can realize full benefit from the competence derived of the training it provides. This problem is particularly critical to the liaison function.[2] Fifty-one per cent of questionnaire respondents reported that their current liaison planner had been assigned to the community for three years or less. A sizable eighteen per cent of respondents felt that this brevity of assignment interferred with development of the planner's understanding of the local situation.

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[2] See Appendix 1, especially responses to questions 31, 32, 33, & 34.

Considering the importance commission members attach to local understanding and the relatively low scores of the planners on this quality, the problem is evidently an important one.[3]

Beyond the services provided by the Municipal Planning Branch, the four other authorities have independent staff complements as well. The provincial government enjoys the support of highly trained and diversified staff advice from a large civil service. Many individuals and agencies within the civil service contribute significantly to the land-use policy process. Relatively speaking, the bureaucracy is so stable as to attract public criticism of its security consciousness. There does appear to be an exception developing, however. Whereas party leanings of employees were barely discernible in the former succession of Liberal and Conservative governments, the election of the New Democratic Party, with its ostensibly more radical philosophy, and the concurrent expansion of staff resources in the policy secretariat, has tended to focus more attention on this issue. Even if one were to speculate that the election of a new provincial government would precipate a significant staff turnover, however, the fact remains that the civil service is at least as stable as the government it serves.

The provincial bureaucracy is available, as well, to assist the Municipal Board. However, staff support of this kind is subject to high priority departmental commitments. Only in the subdivision approval process are sizable staff resources mustered on a continuing basis for the support

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[3] The criticism of liaison staff in respect to local understanding is not entirely attributable to length of assignment. As is indicated in Appendix 1, the personal qualities of individual planners are not necessarily a function of education or experience. In addition, it would appear that decentralization of the liaison function to the field offices has contributed perceptibly to solution of this difficulty.

of the Board. Permanent Board staff is limited to an executive secretary and the necessary administrative and clerical support.

Staff support to municipal governments, beyond the Municipal Planning Branch advisors, is subject to the obvious limiting influence of municipal budgets and small town opportunities generally. There are rarely more than one or two senior municipal staff, except in the case of larger towns and cities, and their planning skills and understanding is necessarily restricted by the wide range of responsibilities assigned to them.

AGENCY DECISION PATTERNS

According to Bolan,[4] well-articulated and respected hierarchies of decision-making are more likely to produce "positive action". Again, the emphasis is on action as opposed to quality of action. In the technical sense, all five of the Manitoba authorities operate within the confines of well-articulated hierarchies. Differentiation becomes more plausible when one considers public perception of the hierarchy.

The provincial government, with its legislature, cabinet, departmental organization, highly-structured civil service, and all the normal accoutrements of the legislative system, is perhaps the most clearly articulated. Municipal governments are smaller and less formalized in their institutional decision patterns. However, the very smallness of the municipal units and their councils obviates the need for an extensive hierarchy. The Municipal Board, and the advisory planning commissions, function similarly. They are formally organized, but relatively small.

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[4] R. S. Bolan; "Community Decision Behaviour: The Culture of Planning", Journal of the American Institute of Planners, (September 1969, Vol. 35, No. 5), p. 305.

As suggested above, however, the problem with respect to land-use planning is not so much the lack of an articulated hierarchy of decision-making, as the perception of it.

In my experience, very few individuals outside the institutionalized process, itself, have even a limited comprehension of its inner workings. In fact, and although the typical commission member credited his appointment to interest or experience, an incredible two-thirds of the questionnaire respondents were unfamiliar with the planning commission or its activities prior to their appointment.[5] This lack of understanding of the role of the various decision authorities is most evident in respect to regulatory procedures. Virtually all individuals perceive authority in the local and provincial elected officials. Very few appreciate the relationship of the remaining agencies to the planning process.

CONSTITUENCY ORGANIZATION

Bolan has suggested that communities with a higher degree of formal and/or informal organization will tend to have "a greater capacity for purposeful decision-making".[6]

As in appraisal of the other agency authority variables, this is a rather abstract concept which should be applied cautiously. In land-use planning, and particularly in municipal planning, constituencies of interest tend to

[5] see Appendix 1, especially responses to questions 10 and 15.

[6] ibid. Bolan p. 305, see also Edward C. Banfield, Political Influence (New York, The Free Press, 1961), Robert Dahl, Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City (New Haven, Conn., Yale University Press, 1961) and Terry N. Clarke (ed) Community Structure and Decision-Making: Comparative Analysis (San Francisco, Chandler Publishing Co., 1968)

be issue-specific and site-specific. In only unusual circumstances will the philosophy or principles underlying a particular policy or decision produce a concensus (or lack of concensus) based on the organization of the community. However, to the extent that such circumstances do occur, and to the extent that existing organizations provide a nucleus for the development of new constituencies of interest, the theory does apply.

With respect to provincial government policy and, accordingly, to the Municipal Board and the Municipal Planning Branch, Manitoba's population is, in part, organized by affiliation with the various political parties. Organizations like the Chambers of Commerce and the Community Planning Association of Canada do, from time to time, lobby for or comment on specific policy in response to municipal planning issues. Other organizations, for example, environmental lobbies and citizen's interest groups, are generally more active in Winnipeg than in the smaller communities typically enrolled in the planning service. Generally speaking, the issues of concern to pressure groups organized at the provincial policy level are not focussed on municipal land-use planning issues.

At the municipal level, the communities are highly organized. Carrothers, in his 1956 report, suggested that overorganization was characteristic of small centres in Manitoba.[7] My own research verifies this to the extent that advisory planning commission members are typically active in a number of local organizations.[8] Observation reinforces my belief that the formal and informal organization of the community, the political, ethnic, religious,

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[7] ibid. Carrothers, p. 24.

[8] see Appendix 1, especially response to question 7.

and occupational affiliations, play an extremely significant role in the local planning process.

The influence of community organization may manifest itself through the intervention of pluralist interests or through the domination of local elites.[9] In either event, the factor is an important one. Although such pressure is not necessarily beneficial from the viewpoint of traditional planning principles, there would be very few policy decisions (or null-policy decisions) made without it.

In summary, it has been suggested that provincial policy, in the area of municipal land-use planning, is affected only marginally by organization of constituencies of interest at the provincial level. In fact, municipal land-use planning policy has not been the subject of any intensive lobby since assent was given to the 1916 legislation. This is evidenced by the smattering of housekeeping amendments which have since been legislated. Objections to specific planning schemes aside, the one significant objection has been in the area of regional planning. There is little doubt that the cautious approach of the provincial government in this area has been dictated largely by widespread local reaction to the perceived loss of autonomy which would accompany regionalism. Some of this reaction has been focussed through the Union of Manitoba Municipalities. However, the local nature of the concern suggests that this particular lobby is less representative of an organized, integrated provincial constituency of

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[9] for a discussion of the various decision-making theories as they account for pressures external to the institutional authority, see R. H. Kent, A 2x2 Model/Issue Analysis of the Decision-Making Process in the Government of the City of Winnipeg, (unpublished research paper, Manitoba Department of Urban Affairs, May 1973).

interest than an ad hoc amalgam of individual municipal interests. In other words, even where constituencies of interest have developed with respect to provincial land-use planning policy, they tend to reflect very parochial organization rather than an effective on-going pressure group related to provincial organization. One provincial constituency that does tend to transcend the confines of geography and parochialism is the political party organization. However, the influence of these groups is rarely applied to land-use planning except in the instance of major project proposals (eg. the Churchill River Diversion) or where the rather vaguely discrete political philosophies might be expected to generate reaction to planning issues. (eg. stringent control of land-use would generally be less acceptable to right-wing parties than to left).

At the local level, however, where planning decisions do tend to be issue-specific and site-specific, the importance of community organization is highly significant. The nearly universal development plan objective, that of "strengthening and protecting" the Central Business District can, for example, be defended as a natural attempt to maximize the effectiveness of retailing practice and municipal infrastructure commitments. At the same time, it is a very attractive device to protect the interest of the small-town merchant.[10] Similar indications of the influence of local cliques abound in the experience of the planning service. One Manitoba town, renowned for its progressiveness but characterized by a homogeneous and relatively conservative ethnic and religious mix (and power elite) has effectively forestalled the development of a drive-in theatre for years.

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[10] See Appendix 1, particularly response to question 4, for an indication of the direct influence of the small-town businessman in the local planning process.

In several other municipalities, rural residential development has proceeded to the point where suburban interests are beginning to challenge traditional agricultural freedoms.

CONSTITUENCY HOMOGENEITY

Bolan has suggested that heterogeneous communities will experience difficulty in decision-making.[11] He refers, as well, to Peter Rossi's distinction between "crystallized" and "non-crystallized" communities, suggesting that a clearly articulated economic and class structure will tend to precipitate action.[12] In other words, homogeneous or rigidly-structured heterogeneous communities will more readily produce an effective (though not necessarily real) concensus on decision issues.

In Manitoba, the provincial community is distinctly heterogeneous. The province has, itself, drawn a clear administrative distinction between planning for the North, for southern agro-Manitoba, for Winnipeg, and for various watershed and soil conservation districts. Local communities and rural municipalities, on the other hand, may be highly homogeneous or crystallized. This is especially true where the initial agricultural settlement of an area featured heavy representation of a particular ethnic background or religious faith. In many cases, community names, themselves, evidence this fact . . . Ste. Rose DuLac, Gimli and Steinbach are examples. Where the population of a municipal unit is dominated by a commitment to agricultural objectives or, perhaps, to regional trade and commerce, the influence is still clearer.

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[11] ibid. Bolan, p. 305.

[12] Peter Rossi, "Power and Community Structure", in Edward C. Banfield (ed) Urban Government: A Reader in Administration and Politics, (New York, Free Press, 1961).

CONSTITUENCY ECONOMY

Theoretically, a striving or marginal economic unit should be more amenable to decision-making and action than a mature, unthreatened society. Manitoba's economy is not homogeneous. While, in the context of federal cost-sharing negotiations, Manitoba has endeavoured to characterize itself as a have-not province, such a generalization is of limited relevance internally.

Many of the smaller agricultural service centres, suffering from the process of urbanization, are declining and are amenable to planning and policy measures to combat that process. The status of other types of community is not so easily defined. Larger centres are continuing to grow, enjoying a higher status in the regional service hierarchy and, in some instances, attracting a portion of the rural outmigration. The rural agricultural constituencies vary. Most are continuing to suffer population loss but may, at the same time and depending on the vagaries of agricultural markets, be enjoying relative economic health. A few of the rural areas, those in the forefront of suburban sprawl, are beginning to perceive a new kind of threat to the traditional agricultural economic base.

SOURCE OF AGENCY AUTHORITY AND ACCOUNTABILITY

The further an agency is removed from the relative immediacy of the political process, the better equipped it will be, in the technocratic sense, to make and effect policy. This particular truism, indictable as the principle may be in terms of a participatory model, is nevertheless a fact. For those who perceive a dichotomy between objective and subjective processes, and prefer the former, this particular behavioural trait assumes a certain normative desirability as well.

The provincial government and the municipal governments are elected authorities. The Municipal Board and the Municipal Planning Branch are provincially appointed. Members of the latter agency enjoy the tenure and status of the permanent civil service. Advisory planning commissions are appointed locally.

Given the theory, the Municipal Board and the Municipal Planning Branch are clearly at an advantage. The advisory planning commissions are less well equipped. The small size of Manitoba communities outside Winnipeg places commission members extremely close to those affected by their decisions.

Of the two elected authorities, the provincial government, with the additional permanence and prestige of its legislative procedures and traditions, its larger constituency, and its generally longer term of office, enjoys a distinct advantage over its local counterparts.

AGENCY INTERNAL DYNAMICS

Among the appointed authorities, the Municipal Planning Branch enjoys by far the most appropriate internal dynamics for theoretical success in the decision-making process. Its employees are eligible for promotion or increased salaries in reward for high performance. Their tasks are assigned by specialist functional divisions. Their commonality of educational background and motivation ensures a relatively high degree of social cohesiveness. In the relative sense, all these characteristics should favor high performance in the decision-making process.

Of the two elected authorities, the provincial government should theoretically be the most decisive. Cabinet posts, departmental differ-

entiation, and a general inclination towards specialized functions, contribute significantly in this respect.

BREADTH OF AGENCY FOCUS

Any agency with responsibility for decision-making in the field of planning will tend towards indecisiveness due to the factors of uncertainty in dealing with the widely acknowledged importance of the comprehensiveness ideal. The Municipal Board, the Municipal Planning Branch, and the local advisory planning commissions enjoy some small advantage to the extent that their terms of reference are focussed on land-use planning. The elected authorities, with their broader responsibilities, are more prone to inaction. The departmentalization of the provincial government, which tends to focus responsibility for land-use planning, tends to offset this.

INFLUENCE OF THE AGENCY AUTHORITY VARIABLE

Table 4 summarizes the influence of the agency authority variable as it applies to the five decision authorities critical to municipal land-use planning in Manitoba. It must be stressed, however, that this is an abstracted and rather simplistic application of secondary evaluative criteria. The critical constraint is the primary assumption regarding the dependence of performance on efficiency of objective. A high rating of any or all of the component factors of the agency authority variable does not guarantee adherence to the norms of the optimal qualitative ideal. It merely suggests that, all other factors being equal, the agency involved will more readily produce a decision or establish an effective concensus.

By combining the analysis in Table 4 with the breakdown of Municipal Planning Branch activities in the preceding chapter, it is possible to

TABLE 4: AN ABSTRACTED ASSESSMENT OF THE AGENCY AUTHORITY VARIABLE AS IT APPLIES TO MANITOBA DECISION AUTHORITIES

AGENCY AUTHORITY VARIABLE	PROVINCIAL			LOCAL	
	provincial government	municipal board	municipal planning branch	municipal government	advisory planning commission
AGENCY					
•degree of centralization	high	high	medium	low	low
•staff competence	high	medium	high	low	medium
•articulation of decision patterns	high	low	low	high	low
•freedom from accountability	low	high	high	low	medium
•internal dynamics	medium	low	high	low	low
•narrowness of focus	low	high	medium	low	medium
CONSTITUENCY					
•organization	medium	low	low	high	high
•homogeneity	medium	low	low	high	high

focus the evaluation on Branch inputs to the various decision-making activities. This, in turn, permits an assessment of the final decision-field characteristic by issue.

11. AGENCY CREDIBILITY

INTRODUCTION

As suggested in Chapter 6, agency credibility is, in the abstract sense, dependent on staff motivation, opportunity, and skills. In reality, of course, an evaluation of credibility must focus on how the clients understand and accept the services provided by the staff. The questionnaire response is, therefore, the most important component of the credibility evaluation. The remainder of the analysis has been largely dependent on the results of a series of staff development and training sessions conducted in 1972-73.

MOTIVATION AND OPPORTUNITY

Discussion and comment generated by the 1972-73 sessions indicated that the planning staff was not as highly motivated as one might expect in a public service agency and that the availability of opportunity was, perhaps, the critical issue.

Criticism of the internal structure of the operation was common. On the one hand, the functional division of technical and professional staff into specialized project groups[1] was seen by the majority as contrary to the needs of a small organization with relatively generalized objectives. On the other hand, the staff identified a need for additional differentiation of occupational groupings. Planners, in particular, expressed dissatisfaction with the disproportionate extent of their administrative and technical responsibilities vis-a-vis 'planning' activities.

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[1] Branch professional staff, in addition to their liaison responsibilities, are generally assigned to one of three project sections; urban, rural, or special.

Internal communications were criticized, not so much for lack of quantity as quality. Several staff complained of time wasted in communications exercises with no apparent objective or outcome. The lack of consistent work priorities was also criticized. The regularity and ease with which apparently final decisions were sidetracked by subsequent changes were cited.

It is not the intention of this thesis to assess the validity of these allegations. The issue is one of perception. If the staff believes itself to be overorganized, if the staff believes that the opportunity to participate in internal planning sessions or in projects of interest is insufficient, then morale will decline. As morale declines so does performance, and agency credibility suffers accordingly.

In the author's experience, staff criticism of the internal organization of the Branch has been generally overstated. Conflict of this type is a natural and understandable development in an organization of professionals schooled to believe (to a varying extent) in their own generalist and co-ordinative skills, and employed to individually provide, under very limited supervision, a broad range of services to independent communities. In fact, when the attempt was later made to draw a composite of these criticisms, to project a statement of specific goals and objectives for Branch organization and performance, there was a rapid loss of concensus and a corresponding scarcity of significant recommendations. The fact remains, however, that morale is a problem. Unless motivation of the staff is high and unless the employee's opportunity to participate in the response process is maximized, there can be little improvement in performance.

SKILLS

The educational qualifications of Branch staff relative to the available labour pool are high. Most liaison staff have a postgraduate degree in urban or regional planning from a Canadian university. Most have been assigned responsibilities within the organization which relate to specialized undergraduate training or to subsequent work experience.

If criticism of skills is due, it is in the near absence of a continued program of training and education. In the past five years only one staff member has been granted educational leave of absence for a formal full-time university program. Several staff members, on their own initiative and with Branch support, have undertaken related study on a part-time basis. This is not a particularly satisfactory course of action, however, as the availability of such instruction is rather limited in Manitoba.

The lack of a Branch training and orientation program for new staff recruits is particularly critical. Obviously, university courses offer little instruction in the theory and operation of the Manitoba Municipal Planning Branch. What little training the new employee does receive will be in informal conversation with senior branch personnel in the course of a crash program of supervised meeting attendance. The recruit will then be assigned specific liaison responsibilities and will be expected to undertake the provision of service without benefit of any organized or comprehensive review of the community's status. This 'baptism by fire' approach has resulted in criticism by a number of new recruits.

The liaison responsibilities of the Branch planner place a heavy demand on his communications abilities. Verbal and written communications skills are rarely subject to a very conclusive examination in the course of Civil Service interviews. While it would be very difficult to improve writing and speaking skills substantially after employment with the branch, the probationary period could be utilized much more effectively to assess these skills and to place the recruit accordingly.

The maintenance of professional contacts in related agencies or fields is closely related to the question of continuing education. The employee's opportunity to establish productive professional contacts within Manitoba is generally limited only by his own initiative. The equally important contact with counterparts outside the province is not so available. Subscriptions to news and research services, as well as to various journals and publications, is adequate. However, the possibility of staff exchanges with other agencies or attendance at important seminars or conventions is badly compromised by budget limitations. As a result, contact of this sort is a kind of rotating reward for continued service; relevance to branch responsibility or to interest is a secondary issue.

CREDIBILITY

The significance of the preceding limitations on staff motivation, opportunity and skills is more apparent when the questionnaire response is examined. (See Appendix A). The Advisory Planning Commissioners' assessment of Branch competence is clearly implied in answers to questions on the role and performance of the liaison planner. An overall summary of the respondents' ranking of a good liaison planners' characteristics is provided in the following, by order of desirability:

1. understanding of local people and their attitudes. (10)
2. familiarity with the local planning scheme. (1)
3. appreciation of local problems and issues. (8)
4. knowledge of provincial legislation and policies relating to the Planning Act. (3)
5. ability to community clearly. (7)
6. knowledge of the technical aspects of planning. (1)
7. willingness to become involved in discussion of controversial planning issues and decisions. (6)
8. knowledge of provincial legislation and policies relating to community affairs in general. (3)
9. leadership ability. (9)
10. assistance in development of a comprehensive approach to local planning programs. (4)

The bracketed numbers following the characteristics indicate the weighted overall placing of performance in each characteristic. The message is abundantly clear. In the minds of the direct clients, understanding of local people and attitudes and appreciation of local problems and issues rank 1 and 3 (of 10) in importance. The overall placing of the planners in performance of these same characteristics was 10 and 8 (of 10). While field office planners did not manage to materially change the score placings in these two characteristics, their actual scores were substantially higher than for their more isolated head office counterparts.

CONCLUSIONS

Branch morale problems trace largely to overorganization and to lack of opportunity to participate in the full variety of Branch projects and undertakings. A number of planners have expressed the desire to be relieved of the more mundane aspects of the administrative and continuous liaison functions in favor of team participation in project work. Others, particularly those of a generalist bias, have tended to support the continued high priority of community liaison work.

The result is a rather difficult dilemma. Proponents of the team approach to projects see an opportunity for higher job satisfaction in a wide variety of undertakings ranked by internally established priorities. Opponents stress the importance of increased local contact in producing a more sensitive planning service.

The choice opted for by the Branch administration is understandable. Provide a decentralized liaison service supported by a team of highly-skilled resource staff. The advantages are obvious. The disadvantages are the relatively large number of staff required and the difficulty of motivating skilled individuals to staff the less glamorous and somewhat isolated liaison offices.

The Branch has been very successful in obtaining budget approval for an expanded and decentralized planning service. Its success in staffing the approved positions is less striking. Perhaps the questionnaire response provides an answer. Clearly the clients are less concerned with the liaison man's technical ability than with his knowledge of the local situation. It would be very interesting to experiment with trained

community development workers on local assignment or with qualified planning technicians as liaison representatives. There is no particular reason that communications skills, that understanding and appreciation should be the special province of professional planners. Professional staff could be largely freed of the more technical and continuous aspects of the liaison function. Motivation would be improved. Opportunity would be improved. Skills would be more appropriately utilized.

12. THE PLANNING SERVICE PROGRAM

INTRODUCTION

The function of planning service to local municipalities has previously been described as the primary activity of the Branch. The preferred mode of operation is as planning advisors in a policy-making process. This is generally the case. The Manitoba legislation places a relatively heavy emphasis on local responsibility for the planning function. Most decisions are made by the municipal councils or, under appeal, by the Provincial Government or the Municipal Board. Bureaucratic or administrative short circuits have permitted the Advisory Planning Commissions to undertake a minor proportion of local planning authority. The Planning Branch, however, is rarely involved in technocratic short circuits of the process except in those instances where local decision authorities entrust the development of solutions to the presumed technical capacity of the Branch staff.

Evaluation of the program will be based on issue relevance, process rationality, and policy impact. Agency authority and credibility have been previously examined. In referring to the planning service function it should be kept in mind that the primary responsibilities of the Branch include the technical development of land-use control bylaws and development policies. Other common issues involve subdivision design, site layout, and depending on the liaison planner, the promotion and development of local and regional planning consciousness.

ISSUE RELEVANCE

Land-use planning was defined in Chapter 4. Nothing in the preceding description of the planning service function transgresses the bounds of

that definition. However, land-use planning, itself, is not typically considered a high priority issue by local decision authorities or by the general public.

Issue:

Land-use planning is not entirely free of controversial ideological factors. The restrictive emphasis of the current legislative provisions characterizes the public view of the process and tends to restrict the opportunity to develop responsive planning policy. The problem is most serious in rural areas where the pioneer spirit of freedom and individual enterprise is perhaps most jealously guarded. Over 18% of the rural questionnaire respondents reported that planning was typically considered in their communities as interference in personal freedom and rights to property. Over 5% of all respondents indicated community concern with the loss of local autonomy through perceived provincial intervention in planning. Other characteristic community attitudes were more closely aligned with widely held values reflecting dominant cultural themes. One exception was the 10.3% of respondents (13.5% of urban respondents) who reported the prevalence of 'chamber of commerce' attitudes to promotion and growth. This kind of approach is coming under increasing criticism and, to the extent that land-use planning has become associated with it, will tend to detract from the development of policy.

Fortunately, the issues involved in local municipal planning can be generally defined in tangible terms. However, the definition of issues is rarely initiated publically or politically. The more general pattern is through initiation by the liaison planner followed by formal definition

and recommendation by the appointed advisory commission. For example, the cost or inefficiency of unplanned development is readily described. However, such description generally requires technical initiative. Even the planning commissions are not particularly effective in this respect. The degree to which these bodies represent a cross-section of the local community is highly suspect (see Appendix 1); the critical problem of concensus is likely to considerably restrict the impact of commission recommendations.

Concensus;

Very few people are interested in local planning issues until they are directly and adversely affected. Nearly 50% of the questionnaire respondents reported antagonism and apathy to be the typical public reaction to planning efforts.

The administrative overload of the local planning organization considerably aggravates the problem. The most important commission functions, as ranked by questionnaire respondents, are acting as a sounding board for council, reviewing subdivision proposals, and administering zoning controls. The questionable assumption that the commissions themselves represent an automatic concensus has been encouraged and apparently accepted. Familiarization of the general public, the one method by which true concensus can be sought and the preferred basis on which to develop planning policy, ranks only 5 of the 6 alternative functions of the commissions.

Even where the constituency of interest is clearly apparent, as in the site-specific issues typical of the zoning amendment process, the priority

attached by the concensus to solution of the problem will be dependent on perceived impact. Objections to zoning changes rarely extend beyond those properties immediately adjacent to a proposed amendment.

The lack of a clear concensus and high priority attached to local land-use planning is ultimately reflected in the paucity of political initiatives. The provincial legislation has not been substantively amended since its adoption in 1916. The vast majority of planning schemes processed by the local authorities are in response to individual, private applications.

Solution;

Although land-use planning issues are amenable to tangible description of their impact, the corresponding solutions can rarely be so easily or concretely described. How does one project the success which adoption of a land-use policy will have, in tangible terms, upon avoiding a situation which might otherwise develop? It is relatively simple to project an existing trend or describe a developing problem elsewhere and estimate the resultant local impact. The factors involved will be generally familiar to everyone in the community. The projection of the probable impact of a proposed solution is not so easily communicated. In all likelihood, its components will be unfamiliar (insofar as they will represent the opposite condition of the local situation), and the degree of success in its implementation (or, more probably, enforcement) will be dependent on the vagaries of politics and personality.

Unfortunately, proposed land-use planning solutions are rarely action-oriented. Zoning and land-use policy recommendations are generally

regulatory in nature. On the other hand, and irrespective of questionnaire responses complaining of time-consuming red tape, regulatory solutions are generally time-reversible and flexible. If the perception of a problem changes, the modification of land-use controls should be almost immediate. Unfortunately, some communities have been oversold on the sanctity of zoning as a tool for implementing development policy. Too many local authorities view zoning regulation as a suitable substitute for longer range development planning.

PROCESS RATIONALITY

Meta-policymaking;

The Planning Branch undertakes virtually no formal research about the development planning and land-use control principles utilized in the preparation of its recommended solutions. Only one major change in the standard urban zoning format has been suggested since its inception.[1] Although the new bylaw model would encourage a greater functional emphasis in the application of zoning controls, its development has been actively resisted by many Branch staff as overly-complex. Only in the preparation of rural planning and zoning schemes has there been any serious attempt to research new approaches. This movement has borrowed heavily from the increasing emphasis of regional planning theory on resource analysis and environmental impact. Both urban and rural planning recommendations continue to reflect an ultimate concession to the necessity of a future zoning map.

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1. The standard zoning bylaw utilized by the Branch is that prepared by C.M.H.C. for Ajax, Ontario in the 1940's. Modifications have been infrequent and incremental.

Learning feedback;

The general mode of operation of the liaison planner is to present alternative solutions only at the planning commission level. The council receives a single recommendation, often without the benefit of any skilled or objective presentation of the alternatives. The public is invariably faced with a "fait accompli". Feedback is not actively discouraged. Without adequate background, however, neither the decision-makers nor the public can be expected to comment intelligently on solutions, particularly when they are not party to the supposed problems.

Again, the developing exception to the former mode is in the area of rural district and regional planning. Far more time is now being given to a factually oriented presentation of relevant facts than to discussion of generalized principles. However, the emphasis remains on talking to the commissions. The failure in development of a wider consensus remains a critical shortcoming.

Strategic considerations;

Strategic considerations are rarely included in the development of alternatives. The Branch tends very strongly to emphasize the universal application of 'sound' planning principles. The author recalls one particular argument which typifies the problem. A relatively recent municipal recipient of planning service had, in the course of its enrollment, made substantial progress towards understanding of the issues and impact of uncontrolled rural residential sprawl. After a lengthy period of discussion with the applicant, the commission and council agreed that a particular subdivision proposal should be approved.

The proposal clearly abrogated standard planning principles and drew the attention of the Branch Director in review of the application for the Municipal Board. The liaison planner argued that the local decision had been arrived at consciously and rationally and that Branch interference would considerably frustrate the continued development of the local planning process. The benefit of preventing the one subdivision would have precipitated a substantial cost in terms of long term opportunities. This kind of argument is now receiving more attention from the Branch. However, the real crunch is bound to develop in the course of decentralization of the liaison function. Regionally-based planners will naturally develop local commitments. The relevance of centrally-determined principles will become increasingly controversial.

Development of alternative policy recommendations;
The time available for detailed development of alternatives in response to zoning applications is limited by the general reluctance of local authorities to permit any further delays in an already cumbersome process. Similar constraints apply to the process of design assistance. The one area where time is available for the detailed research of objectives and alternatives is in the area of development policy. There is no doubt, however, that local authorities prefer a less time-consuming commitment; the Branch prepares a recommendation, the local decision-maker says yes or no, if no he will instruct the planner as to the required modifications.

POLICY IMPACT

Policy response is rarely initiated by the decision-makers, the local

council. Recommendations are normally made through the advisory commission, an appointed body assisted by non-local technical advisors. Councillors tend to be uninformed and non-committal about such specific recommendations and their development. The results are understandably erratic. Where Council is faced with a critical decision or extensive pressure, the decision may not even be referred to the commission for review and comment. Lack of council support and poor quality of liaison between councils and commissions was criticized in a number of the questionnaire responses.

The position of the commissions, with respect to the councils, is further complicated by the Branch's predilection for universal application of principles as opposed to incremental or strategic alternatives with a better chance of local acceptance.

The disruptive effect of land-use planning decisions at the local level is generally focussed on changes in development value in rural areas and on nuisance or efficiency considerations in urban communities. More specifically, the controversy surrounding rural planning decisions tends to feature criticism by owners losing potential speculative profits as opposed to the less tangible individual benefits of agricultural conservation and protection. In urban centres, the controversy normally centres on the disruptive effect of a specific development permission relative to the advantages obtained by the applicant or his clients.

CONCLUSIONS

The preceding description of limitations on the performance of the

planning service function should be tempered by the fact that the questionnaire response, while indicative of several areas for potential improvement, was generally complimentary. Few respondents were seriously distressed by the quality of the liaison service. Many felt that the primary problem was simply staff shortage.

To quote a 1972 review of American state planning;

> "Genuine technical assistance does not supplant regional and local responsibilities but rather it supplements and improves them. In this regard, participants believed that regional and technical assistance, preferably organized in a small, efficient team within the planning agency, is valid and necessary. Those states which acted on requests from regional and local planning groups appeared to be more successful than those states that developed elaborate mechanisms and offered their services like psuedo-consultants. It was agreed that technical assistance, however, is not a reasonable substitute for the development of basic planning capabilities at the regional and local level"[2]

Gerecke's recent survey of Canadian urban planning agencies bears out the kind of faults indentified in the planning service function and again indicates that these are not peculiar to Manitoba's Municipal Planning Branch.[3] Seventy percent of the agencies reported reliance

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2. A. J. Catanese; "An Evaluation of State Planning", The ASPO Magazine, (Volume 38, Number 7, August 1972), p. 156.

3. Kent Gerecke; "An Evaluation of Canadian Urban Planning", Occasional Paper Number 10, (Faculty of Environmental Studies, University of Waterloo, 1974), p. 5.

on professionally established community goals. Only 26% maintained a continuous research function. Ninety percent did not venture outside the government setting to involve citizens in the plan preparation process.

Similar criticisms were contained in a 1969 assessment of the Section 701 provisions the American Housing Act.[4] The production of planning documents was emphasized to the detriment of the planning process. The comprehensive plans were said to be stereotyped. The most effective American programs related directly to the authority's chief executive. Procedures were overly complex. Performance, beyond the traditional concerns of the physical planner, was inconsistent.

In summary, the shortcomings of the planning service are not peculiar to the Manitoba program. Too much emphasis is placed on the negative aspects of planning. Too much time is spent on administrative activities. The planning commissions do not encourage the development of consensus or even the effective distribution of information. Branch research and feedback is minimal. The rational study of alternatives is too often subjugated to the application of outmoded, generalized planning principles. The decision authorities are too far removed from the technical planning process.

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4. Hammer, Greene, Silver Associates & Padco Inc.; Comprehensive Planning Assistance in the Small Community, (Department of Housing and Urban Development, Washington D.C., March 1969), pp. vi, vii.

13. THE PROVINCIAL PLANNING PROGRAM

INTRODUCTION

Municipal Planning Branch participation in provincial planning activities has been an important Branch objective. The continued development of the government's planning secretariat has tended to restrict any significant assignment of responsibility to the Branch. This is not entirely unfortunate. The earlier tendency to seek out additional responsibilities had entailed a shift into the 'planners in a planning process' mode, a regressive move reminiscent of the 'grand co-ordinator' approach. The relevant theory is suggested by the following quote:

> "State comprehensive planning should place heavy emphasis on the co-ordination of functional planning activities conducted by the various State agencies having significant impact on the social, economic, and physical development of the State. This kind of co-ordination is achieved through such means as the use of common goals and objectives for state development, the use of common assumptions and estimates with respect to long-term social and economic changes in the State, and through the identification and rationalization of key inter-program and inter-agency relationships."[1]

The naivete of an approach that ignores the need for political guidance to offset technocratic control of the process is particularly disturbing. It is this same shortcoming which has necessitated a gradual shift in the emphasis of Municipal Planning Branch objectives. In the past, efforts to expand the provincial planning function have been restricted

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[1] Leopold A. Goldschmidt; "Principles and Problems of State Planning", Planning Advisory Service Report No. 247, (ASPO, Chicago, June 1969), p. 2.

by the very limited existing legislative provisions permitting this kind of activity. More recently, however, the interest of the government in regional planning has encouraged and supported the development of staff within the Branch to undertake advisory planning efforts of a distinctly provincial character.

ISSUE RELEVANCE

The emphasis of the program is entirely on land-use planning. The efforts of the Branch have generally been directed to encouragement of a rational provincial policy respecting settlement pattern.

ISSUE:

The concept of a provincially developed and enforced settlement pattern has taken on certain ideological implications. Whereas past growth centre theories visualized the provincial direction of economic activity to selected centres in recognition of limited resources, the more recent stay option concept suggests general assistance to local communities attempting to halt the process of rural decline. The fact that the two policies were developed by two politically distinct governments has produced unwarranted allegations of incompatibility. Some of the current policy advisors dismiss growth centre models as unnecessarily centralist. Adherents of the earlier policy tend to criticize the stay option as an overly-optimistic ideal, untempered by the limited availability of resources. Generally speaking, however, the process of urbanization has sufficiently frightened rural Manitoba interests to the point where some level of provincial intervention is seen as mandatory. The difficulty lies in developing a suitable balance between regional or provincial control and the ideologically attractive concept of local autonomy.

Provincial planning issues are distinctly tangible. Continued rural decline, the threat of an energy crisis, and the increased level of environmental awareness have all combined to contribute disturbing evidence of the risk of undirected development and change.

Concensus:

As in the case of local planning issues, however, concensus on provincial planning is rarely achieved except in an atmosphere of confrontation. While objectives may invite extensive support in the general case, the more specific concerns of the Municipal Planning Branch more commonly produce the issue-specific and site-specific constituencies of interest characteristic of land-use planning and allocation.

High priority has been attached to area-wide planning of the type favored by the Branch staff only in those few municipal units where crises have developed. The response of the legislators and policy-makers has been correspondingly restricted.

To more clearly explain the provincial planning program, it is appropriate to describe the Branch as advocating regional or provincial planning to offset the potential risk of uncontrolled change. The general focus of this concern is on the subdivision approval process and stems from an initially irrational Branch reaction to the horrors of urban sprawl as defined by traditional planning principles. The strength of this reaction has, in the author's opinion, led the Branch to deviate dangerously from its correct role as planning advisor. In the context of the subdivision approval process, administered by the Municipal Board, the result has occasionally risked the development of a technocratic

short circuit. As has been indicated earlier, the legislative guidelines given to the Board for subdivision approval are extremely limited. The Director of Planning is entitled to object to applications but continued resort to this device can lead only to compromise of the local planning service function. Municipalities are understandably non-plussed when subdivision plans approved by them and prepared by their liaison planners are turned down by the Municipal Board, ostensibly because of objections raised by their advisor's superiors.

PROCESS RATIONALITY:

Metapolicy:

The dilemma faced by the liaison planner in balancing his commitment to municipal clients with his agency's perception of the greater good has precipitated more metapolicymaking than probably any other facet of the Branch's activity. The prime example of this has been the development of the Winnipeg Region Study program.

Several years ago, the internal conflict generated by the subdivision approval issue led the Branch to strike an internal steering committee. The basic objective of that group was quickly defined to be research of the real issues involved in urban sprawl and development control. The fact that the subsequent research projects have dealt primarily with the Winnipeg region will not limit the long-term breadth of applicability of the findings.

The resultant study program (see Figure 13) represents a quantum leap forward in internal policy. For the first time, traditional planning

STUDY PROGRAM FLOW CHART

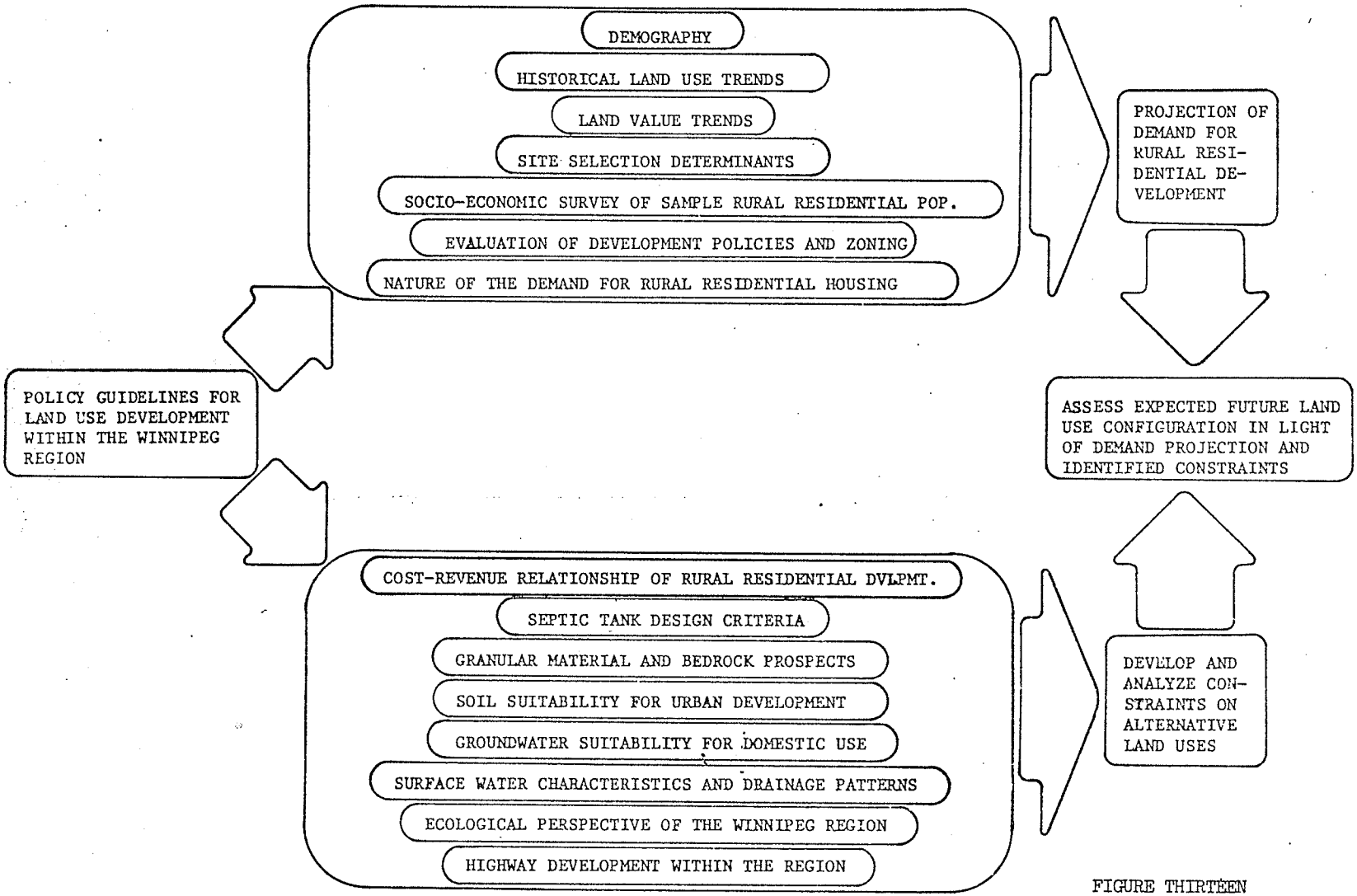

FIGURE THIRTEEN

WINNIPEG REGION STUDY

principles are being challenged. Specific applicability of criteria in the Manitoba context is being evaluated and the results being openly distributed and discussed.

Feedback:

Feedback mechanisms are now being developed and utilized. Research findings from phase one of the Winnipeg study were presented and discussed in a two-day seminar series involving councillors and commissioners from the region. Similar programs are being planned to involve provincial staff engaged in related activities.

Even public feedback has reached a new high. Whereas the time and resource constraints of the municipal advisory service function have limited the participatory inputs to infrequent public meetings, the wider scope of the region study has demanded a major commitment to polling of the individuals affected. Large scale questionnaire surveys of the region have been conducted; more are planned. The benefits of this coverage are being shared by the liaison planners and by the individual municipal units.

Strategy:

To the extent that the shift in emphasis from prescription of solutions to extensive research of alternatives has occurred, the provincial planning function is being forced to consider strategic implications. Normal municipal and public pressures have not been sufficient to produce new provincial policy directions . . . nor has continued technical pressure based on experience elsewhere. In this context, the entire region study program is an educative strategy designed to produce the level of awareness required to precipitate the appropriate policy decisions.

Goals and Alternatives:

The second phase of the region study will involve the preparation of detailed operational goals and criteria by the appropriate public, legislative, and administrative agencies. Only then will alternative development patterns be produced and tested against the objective framework. The process has been designed to maximize adherence to the norms of the optimal qualitative model. Any deviation from this course will reflect political intervention rather than technocratic short-circuits.

POLICY IMPACT

With increasing support from the municipal and provincial authorities, the provincial planning program will be well positioned to receive maximum critical support. The shift in emphasis to a research model tailored to local needs and desires typifies growing appreciation of the constraints on implementation of far-reaching theoretical policy responses. The benefits of the program should be readily apparent to those immediately affected. Agricultural and other resource interests will be protected. Rural residential demand will be channelled to attractive and appropriate locations. Municipal interests will be served by the resultant social and physical economies.

CONCLUSIONS

At least one sector of the provincial planning program is clearly developing in a rational and responsive fashion. Fortunately, the critical nature of the Winnipeg Region Study program and the enthusiasm which has greeted its activities to date will undoubtedly be reflected in the remaining program activities.

The 'director's function' of commenting on subdivision applications will be legitimized. If the regional development alternatives are carefully screened and implemented, the current conflict between technocracy and local authority should be effectively eliminated. The remaining provincial planning functions, tentative approval of local planning schemes and administrative supervision of the practice of local planning, are legitimate administrative short circuits of the process, defined by provincial statute and regulations.

Other excursions into provincial planning and co-ordinative activities, to the extent that they follow the model established by the region study, or depend on legitimate representation of local interests defined in the course of the municipal advisory function, will be similarly successful.

Provincial land-use policy comprises or should comprise much more than the municipal planning input of which the Branch is currently capable. The futility of attempting to staff the agency with the full complement of related disciplines and inputs, and the redundancy of such an approach in light of existing and developing skills in other departments is patently obvious. The remaining alternatives are to represent the area of municipal planning expertise in interdepartmental deliberations on provincial policy alternatives or to seek to co-ordinate such interdepartmental activity. The latter function has become, with apparent government concurrence, the role of the Cabinet Planning Secretariat. The former has been demonstrably augmented by stressing the staff capacities of the Branch in a sort of secretariat role

beyond the municipal advisory function (but in the same vein) by the success of the Winnipeg Region Study.

14. THE PUBLIC EDUCATION PROGRAM

INTRODUCTION

"In addition to the other duties imposed upon him by this Act, the director of planning is responsible, under the supervision of the minister, for the implementation of such programs of planning education as the minister may prescribe."[1] This is not a particularly enlightened guideline for the development of a program so critical to the long-term success of any land-use planning agency. In light of it, the highly critical questionnaire response in evaluation of the current educational programs is not unexpected.

To date, the planning education program has been purely informational and/or promotional. Branch services and legislative provisions have been described in a series of pamphlets generally distributed to the already knowledgeable or the converted. The advantages of a planned approach to shoreline and cottage development, to the design of mobile home parks, and to community betterment programs, have been proselytized in a number of well written but even less effectively distributed handbooks. Branch staff, particularly the director, are regularly invited to speak to various community or professional organizations. A planning newsletter is irregularly mailed to planning commission members and councillors.

Training seminars are periodically conducted for the same people and their staff assistants. In a related area, branch knowledge of local issues and policies is sometimes used by other government departments or outside agencies in conjunction with their own programs.

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[1] "The Planning Act", Statutes of Manitoba, 1970 (continuously amended), chapter P80, section 3(1).

ISSUE RELEVANCE

The thrust of the planning education program is understandably geared to the municipal and provincial planning programs. The heavy dependence of the contents of these programs on ideological factors and on technocratically defined principles and the very limited concensus associated with site-specific decisions has already been described.

But the questionnaire response clearly underlined the importance of information and education programs. An incredibly high percentage of Commissions members had been unfamiliar with their organization prior to their appointment. (See Table 14). Public education was ranked 2 of 6 in importance but 5 of 6 in practice of the various commission functions. Branch performance in educational programs was rated very badly. 86.3% of respondents were unaware of or unsatisfied with the public education program. 66.2% were unaware of or unsatisfied with the training and seminar program.

PROCESS RATIONALITY

Part of the reason for the apparent failure of the public education program has been the almost total absence of meta-policymaking. Most of the program components have developed as an ad hoc response to requests from clientele. Some have emerged as the agency's concession to the practitioner's version of the academics "publish or perish" predicament. Inter-agency status is in part dependent on the number and quality of your published reports.

Another reason is the lack of feedback. The questionnaire has clearly established the commissioners' dissatisfaction. But what of the public?

What does the intended beneficiary of the public education program think? To what degree has his planning consciousness been expanded by his chance happening on descriptions of zoning bylaws and similar tools in his local municipal office?

The idealized strategy of a public education program has been introduced in the primary evaluative criteria. A well developed educational approach would seek to achieve greater public awareness and involvement in the process. If successful, the need for planners (as opposed to planning advisors) would be reduced to a relatively low level. In fact, the first organized effort to develop goals for the public education program emerged from the 1972-73 staff meetings. The resultant paper suggested that the highest benefit/cost ratios of delivery systems were available, in order of desirability, through:

1. radio
2. newspapers
3. public lectures
4. public television
5. invitational lectures
6. school television or VTR
7. brochures.

Of the better delivery systems only the lecture medium has received attention in the past. Public newspaper coverage has been scattered, often critical, and generally unsolicited.

The same paper outlined the short-term goals as follows:

1. full-time staff appointment
2. liaison with local newspapers in rural Manitoba

3. liaison with school teachers in rural Manitoba
4. liaison with CBC radio
5. pilot projects in VTR, community newspapers, radio, and a prepared lecture series.
6. re-establishment of a Branch newsletter.

A number of these goals have since been achieved. Unfortunately, the more critical issues of philosophy and program content have received very limited attention.

POLICY IMPACT

The impact of the public education program has been extremely limited. Extrapolating the results of the questionnaire survey, one would have to conclude that public impact (as opposed to impact on the planning authorities) has been almost nil.

When examining the impact of a public education program, the key consideration should be the public. To the degree that past programs have focussed on the perceived shortcomings of the training and technical skills of commissioners and councillors, the results have been encouraging. To restate one questionnaire response in a different light, over 50% of those familiar with the seminar and training program were satisfied. Comments generally criticized the number and accessibility of the seminars rather than their quality. At the other end of the scale, however, none of the public programs, with the exception of an experimental high school VTR project, have even begun to reach the public, let alone develop an educatory two-way flow of information.

CONCLUSIONS

The recent employment of a full-time specialist to co-ordinate the Branch information and education programs is an important improvement. Until a suitably structured policy can be developed, and given the necessary government sanction, however, little progress should be expected except in very specific information dissemination or training endeavours.

15. TOWARDS AN EDUCATIVE MODEL OF PLANNING

INTRODUCTION

Development of the theoretical framework in the early chapters of this thesis depended heavily on modifications to Dror's optimal qualitative model, in effect an incremental step along the rational-emotional continuum from classic rationality through disjointed incrementalism to a more optimistic evaluative norm.

The strategy of this format was designed to provide an evaluative model which, in its criteria of performance, would be commensurate with the activities of the Municipal Planning Branch. There would be little point in directly comparing some of the more revolutionary paradigms of planning or societal guidance. The result would be entirely predictable and of limited value. It was considered essential to first test the branch performance against a more familiar norm, one which had been demonstrably extrapolated from the classical theory and which would apply to programs framed by a sixty year old statute. By doing this, and so developing an understanding of the strengths and shortcomings of the agency and its efforts, the choice of realistic and attainable new directions would be facilitated.

This is not to deny the 'goodness' of the optimal qualitative model as a normative ideal. Its relevance and its flexibility in the earlier described rational-emotional continuum has been ably defended by its developers. But the 'radicals', in their constant effort to redefine the process, have created a credible forum which must be acknowledged.

Whereas former theorists dealt with the comprehensivist-activist relationship as a dichotomy or, as in this thesis, as a continuum, more recent thought has identified a new alternative approach:

"A third view, 'dialectic', sees the entities not as related opposites but as components of the same thing - only their immediate context causes them to appear contradictory. The dialectic acknowledges an unbearable tension, an incongruity in the context of presently perceived reality, and gives rise to forces which are wholly at odds with existence as we know it to be. It aspires to go beyond our present notions of 'reality', redefining the meaning of existence in such a way that the contradictions between the specific instances of the duality disappear: everything is seen as a manifestation of the same thing. The process by which this transcendant state is attained is synthesis."[1]

However, if we begin to cut away the more provacative verbiage of this and similar attempts to move toward revolution and change, it should be clear that Grabow's and Heskin's view of planning as "the facilitation of (this) change through a dialectical synthesis of rational action and spontaneity."[2] is itself no further removed from the classical theory than is Dror's concept, augmented as it is by an optimist theme and by conscious consideration of the extrarational. The only real difference is that Dror's model was developed for the evaluation of public policy-making. Recent societal guidance models tend more to be prescriptions for community organization and change. In fact, the addition of Bolan's 'intervention strategies' had added a very similar dimension to the evaluation here.

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1. Stephen Grabow and Allan Heskin; "Foundations for a Radical Concept of Planning", Journal of the American Institute of Planners, (March, 1973, vol. 39, no. 2), p. 109.
2. ibid. p. 106.

Evaluation of the Municipal Planning Branch activities has produced a rather complimentary assessment in terms of recent innovations and performance relative to similar agencies. The real problems appear in respect to specific secondary evaluative criteria. And these problems relate not to operational efficiency, but to objective efficiency. But it has already been established that an major inroads by the Branch in the establishment of objectives whould abrogate the principle of democratic control and constitute an unjustifiable technocratic short-circuit of a process which is entirely dependent on feasibility of implementation and, therefore, on the establishment of effective consensus.

More policy guidance is required. We can only conclude that the major obstacle to improved branch performance is the restrictive effect of the current legislation. In this context, the one acceptable solution is an educative model, developed within the value-neutral confines of an optimal-qualitative process, and designed to produce the consensus necessary to precipitate redefinition of the legislative frame. Subject to ministerial approval, the Branch is already authorized to undertake programs of public education. In addition, it has been directed to research and draft a new Planning Act. The opportunity is obvious. The Branch has, within its immediate grasp, the option of transcending the process orientation of the comprehensive ideal and incorporating the more balanced and realistic emphasis of a participatory model geared to implementation of socially defined and responsible objectives. To quote John Friedmann;

> "Creation of new organizations for guidance roles, improvement in the performance of existing roles, and their reorganization

into more effective patterns would seem to take precedence over specific policy determinations and program formulations"[3]

PROPOSED LEGISLATIVE CHANGES

The current Planning Act is negative in focus, paternalistic in emphasis, and an utter anachronism in terms of today's recognition of a pluralist society. Even the institution of the technical planning service, conceived as it was in the theory of the 'master plan', did not break the tradition of planning schemes interpreted as little more than zoning bylaws.

Negativism is a critical fault. As long as the primary emphasis of the legislation is land-use control, the major function of the Branch will be administration. As long as the organization and work load of the staff is weighted towards administrative activity, the innovative focus required of more functional controls and new directions based on performance standards, will be subjugated to the less demanding promulgation of hopelessly generalized arbitrary standards. Scarcity of time and staff resources will simply not permit otherwise. But an arbitrary standard will serve, at best, to ensure conformance to that standard in as consistent a fashion as is politically feasible. And political feasibility, defined by the give and take of the democratic process, will inevitably result in implementation of something less than the perceived ideal. What is even more disturbing, the advantage of development guided by arbitrarily established standards is likely to be very difficult to ascertain. By compromising pluralist objectives

[3] John Friedmann; "Notes on Societal Action", Journal of the American Institute of Planners, (September, 1969, vol. 35, no. 5), p. 315

to obtain political feasibility, based on the notion of collective ideals determined by supposedly representative commissions, the process has virtually guaranteed that the result will appeal to no one.

The basic thrust of legislative amendment must, therefore, be a return to optimism ... a demonstration of faith in the ability of a pluralist public interest to define and attain correct ends. The outdated notion of demonstrably non-representative appointed commissions recommending on an issue-specific and site-specific process must be abandoned. In land-use planning the appropriate constituency of interest cannot be defined on a continuing basis, nor can it be comprised simply of an elite of leading citizens. It must be encouraged to develop, of its own accord, in response to perceived problems and given full opportunity for an effective hearing in the political forum.

This leads to the second critical focus. The amended legislation must stress dissemination of the information and the skills critical to effective participation. This does not mean replacement of technocracy with some simplistic notion of responsiveness. The weakness of simple advocacy is, in my opinion, the inability of the potential participant or complainant to recognize a commonality of interest and the corresponding risk of the advocate defining the case in terms of his own values. The amended legislation must, therefore, stress the education of individuals in their rights, their potential political power, and the impact upon them of collectivist decisions justified in the guise of the public interest. The only feasible approach to such an educative model is the optimal qualitative ideal. Rationality and openness must

be guaranteed. Irrationality exists only where the biases constructing the 'facts' of a given system are unknown or misrepresented.

The third requirement follows naturally from the inclusion of optimism. The paternalist focus of a process which demands provincial ratification of local land-use decisions is an unacceptable extension of the outdated concept of a collective public interest defined by the process of delegation rather than representation. Issues are not restricted to definition only in election years. Land-use policy must constantly be changing in response to new perceptions of need. There is little evidence that the provincial government is entirely attuned to local planning issues. The legislation has remained the same for sixty years. The pressure on our land resources has not been similarly static. The basic opportunity for responsiveness within the rather rigid policy frame has been delegated to an appointed quasi-judicial authority. But the Municipal Board has had no better direction in the development of provincial policy criteria than has the Planning Branch. Where the Board has been forced outside its appeal function, (as in the subdivision approval process), it has been required to rely on some delegated and supposedly superior ability to guide the development of land. This is is clearly an abrogation of the principle of democratic control.

The proposed changes, then, are threefold;

1. abolition of the Advisory Planning Commission concept.
2. commitment to a process of public education.
3. decentralization of provincial planning authority.

ABOLITION OF THE ADVISORY PLANNING COMMISSION CONCEPT

There are three important factors contributing to my recommendation that the advisory planning commissions be abolished;

1. The existing commissions do not stand the test of their own theoretical rationale. They are not representative. This is not merely because the questionnaire response points to a probably overloaded representation of community elites. It is because appointment on any static basis, be it geographic, ethnic or economic, cannot possibly produce a representative body in the context of a site-specific and issue-specific process. The ability to correctly represent a constitutency of interest does not accrue to community status or to balance of the members' residential location. Nor can it follow from continuing tenure. That ability can develop only from the familiarity and understanding born of direct involvement with the site and the subject at hand.

2. The advisory planning commission concept is essentally undemocratic. The notion that the planning process can be improved by seeking to remove its most critical phase from the elected responsible authority is an incredible concession to the technocratic principle of detached, objective analysis and recommendation. That the Manitoba legislation has retained the approval function in the councils ameliorates the problem only slightly. The opportunity for administrative short-circuit of the process is enormous. Commission responsibility for the approval

of variation applications to a planning scheme is one example. The criteria prescribed by the legislation spell out only the types of variation order which may be granted. No guidance is given by the legislation, by the specific schemes, or by the councils as to what conditions would justify the approval of an application. This is left to the appointed commissioners. The opportunity for technocratic short-circuits is even more disturbing. The limited answerability of the commissions, combined with evidence of limited local understanding on the part of the liaison planners, is fertile ground for the development of irrelevant, unworkable recommendations. The passage of these to Council in the form of finished 'plans' risks an uneducated response; quite possibly effectively technocratic if affirmative, or purely subjective if negative.

3. In practice, the commissions are an awkward addition to an already cumbersome process. They simply do not work. Agendas are overloaded with administrative detail, detail which eventually requires a Council response in any case. If a development application generates significant controversy, it is unlikely and in fact illegal for council to proceed without its own examination of the issue through a public hearing process. If the issue is so straightforward as to produce no citizen opinion, there would appear to be limited value in referring it to the commission at all.

What limited time is available to the commissions to engage in 'planning' activities, has by the questionnaire respondents' own testimony been largely wasted on the public. Community attitudes to planning are disturbingly apathetic and negative. A large minority of the communities have no recognized land-use planning policy. Those that do have relied heavily on untested acceptance of generalized planning principles.

COMMITMENT TO A PROCESS OF PUBLIC EDUCATION

Abolition of the planning commissions should not be interpreted as meaning the abandonment of citizen participation. While ideally, the councils should be equipped to seek out public opinion and respond to community needs, there are a number of very real limitations which must be appreciated. The citizen is rarely fully equipped to recognize the implications of the lack of planning or of specific planning proposals. The questionnaire response has clearly identified the need for better public relations and dissemination of information.

Secondly, the councils are very much concerned and occupied with the wider breadth of their responsibilities. The traditional model of of land-use planning as a regulatory device has produced a rather pejorative attitude on the part of many elected officials. Some see the current commissions as merely a device to undertake the more time-consuming details of the administrative planning process.

Lastly, we have earlier suggested the risk of politicians' adopting the attitude of delegates, a dangerously unresponsive model, which

if unrestricted by the development of effective participation could inflict irreparable damage on the process. In summary, abolition of of the commissions must be concurrent with an unprecedented commitment to public education, a commitment which can be rationalized by adherence to the norm of the optimal qualitative ideal.

The contents of the necessary legislative modifications have not been developed in any detail. However, the opportunities are numerous. Firstly, the delivery of technical liaison would be redirected to the development and support of more appropriate constituencies of interest; in effect, a multitude of pseudo-advisory commissions developed on an ad hoc or temporary basis in response to or in initiation of land-use planning issues or proposals. The staff people employed by the Branch to provide this assistance would be screened for their ability to communicate and to assist in community organization. Their community role would be uncompromised by contractural arrangements or obligations for continuing service to local authorities. Branch service of a detailed technical or project nature would be provided to local authorities or to the developing interest groups on a request basis. No charge would be assessed. Priorities would be established within the Branch.

Secondly, the current public education program would be expanded to support citizen groups and to encourage a more general awareness of the benefits of land-use planning, if it is directed to positive reinforcement of community needs and objectives. In particular, a high priority would be given to the assistance of school programs designed to develop a community and planning consciousness attuned to the requirements of the optimal qualitative ideal. The production

of promotional material designed to enlist support for arbitrary standards or principles would be drastically de-emphasized in favor of material describing the process by which suitable programs might be designed. The mention of specific programs would be geared to the offer of alternative approaches and their probable impact.

Thirdly, the contribution of the Branch to provincial planning endeavors would be restructured to feature a much more consistent and continuing emphasis on the input of local opinion. This particular input has been the instrumental influence in establishing the Branch competence in interdepartmental and interdisciplinary provincial planning programs and should continue to be stressed and capitalized. The less successful mode of attempting to promote (via technocratic input) provincial adoption of development criteria, or the prescription of settlement patterns, should be retained only in the context of evaluating trends and experience locally and externally and should stress the availability of alternatives.

Lastly, to the degree that planning schemes and zoning bylaws are and will continue to be an important but negative component of the process, every attempt should be made to ease the complexity characteristic of their implementation and enforcement. This will be even more critical with abolition of the commissions and their less formalized role in the process. Complex legal verbiage or planning jargon in both schemes and notices should be eliminated to the maximum feasible extent and, otherwise, accompanied by more straightforward and/or graphic presentation of the critical points.

DECENTRALIZATION OF PROVINCIAL PLANNING AUTHORITY

The development of an educative model will tend gradually to produce the kind of responsive and responsible process that would obviate the need for continued provincial intervention except in those issues of consequence to province-wide constituencies of interest, constituencies unserviced by municipally based land-use planning. This will entail a greater recognition of those land-use concerns which transcend municipal boundaries but would founder in the less direct responsiveness of the provincial government or its bureaucracy. Regionalism, or at least regional planning authority, will be essential to the successful implementation of programs in response to many constituencies of interest. This, in turn, suggests the development of a strategy which would encourage the concept of regionalism with its attendant operational and objective efficiencies but, at the same time, permit the province to abandon its currently over-centralized and unresponsive role in local planning.

Specifically, this would entail the offer of a trade-off. Voluntary association of municipal governments in the formation of regional planning authorities would result in the province turning over subdivision approval authority and tentative approval of planning schemes. The Municipal Board would become strictly an appeal body. Ministerial intervention would be limited to response in the case of objections referred to him. The vestiges of the comptroller of town planning function would be erased in recognition of the development of technical expertise on a decentralized and regional level.

In the interim, subdivision approval would be deleted as a responsibility of the Municipal Board. The new Planning Act would contain

sufficient technical criteria, approved by the government, to permit administrative processing of applications by the Planning Branch in conjunction with its interdepartmental committee of advisors. The Municipal Board would be available to hear appeals.

RELATED PROCESS MODIFICATIONS

The foregoing recommendations, if implemented, would serve as well to mollify many of the internal critics of Branch organization and operation.

The development of a decentralized liaison service would permit the assignment ot planners in more appropriate recognition of their interests and skills. Those interested in community liaison and posessed of the necessary communications and interpersonal skills, could be directly and actively involved in the liaison function. Additional recruits might well be drawn from the community development field or organized in cooperation with the extension or development programs offered by other departments of government.

The gradual shift to a regional frame for planning authority would permit the effective decentralization of the technical skills necessary to the preparation and legal adoption of schemes. This would encourage the development of a more responsible and, presumably, more rewarding role for planning technicians. Similarily, the development of such technical skills as building inspection would become economically more feasible if delivered on a regional basis.

The resultant discharge of liaison and administrative responsibilities would further encourage the more effective utilization of technical and professional staff resource teams in service of the incoming project

service requests. The abolition of planning service agreements, except at the level of regional authorities, would facilitate internal control of priorities and eliminate much of the current dissatisfaction. Extensive research efforts would be developed to utilize the improved feedback from the decentralized liaison function and to capitalize on the reduced administrative load on the planning staff. This more sophisticated input, in turn, would tend to legitimize the Branch's input to provincial planning programs.

All of these changes should tend to substantially improve staff motivation through the more appropriate assignment of planners with specific skills. The more innovative focus of the program should also assist by eliminating some of the less glamourous characteristics which currently restrict the Branch's recruiting efforts. This will require substantial budgetary increases of course and, as a result, the adoption of such a model of operation would have to be carefully staged and subjected to rigourous evaluation.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF SOCIAL LEARNING, SOCIETAL GUIDANCE, AND TRANSACTIVE PLANNING

John Friedmann and Barclay Hudson have described the theorists' shift away from the rationalist-scientific approach as follows:

> "They stressed the cognitive limits of a centralized intelligence, and its inherent incapacity to gain a comprehensive overview of large, complex, and rapidly changing social systems. They understood planning as a form of social learning that occurred in loosely linked network structures consisting of small, temporary, non hierarchical, and task-oriented working groups.

> They emphasized interpersonal transactions as the basic means of exchange between technical experts and clients. In this process, scientific and technical knowledge was seen to fuse with the personal knowledge of client actors in a process of mutual learning. They also pointed to the spoken word of dialogue as the medium through which mutual learning would occur, facilitating the transition from knowledge to action. The direct object of such planning was the innovative adaptation of social organizations to a constantly shifting environment, but its ultimate purpose was to support and enhance man's own development as a person in the course of the transforming action itself. The future was thus collapsed into the present, and the classical dichotomy of ends and means, decisions and actions, was washed out."[4]

This description of societal guidance and, more specifically, Friedmann's description of "transactive planning",[5] are clearly very similar to the educative shift proposed for municipal planning. Friedmann has proposed a distinction between innovative planning and four styles of allocative planning. To use his terminology, what is suggested by this thesis is an innovative change incorporating a large measure of the participatory style in the current municipal planning format, dominated as it is by the command and policy styles. What must be recognized, however, is that Friedmann is talking about retracking a nation; this thesis is limited to the retracking of a very specific type of allocative planning...municipal land-use planning.

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4. John Friedmann and Barclay Hudson; Knowledge and Action: a Guide to Planning Theory, (School of Architecture and Urban Planning, UCLA, 1973); pp. 14-15. The four authors referred to are Charles Hampden-Turner; Radical Man; The Process of Pyscho-Social Development, (Anchor Books, New York, 1971), Edgar Dunn; Economic and Social Development; A

(cont. overleaf)

The "cognitive limits of a centralized intelligence" are, of course, the prime motivation for the shift to an educative model. The model of "small, temporary, non hierarchical, task-oriented, working groups" relates clearly to my suggestion of an ever changing system of constituencies of interest in the site-specific and issue-specific context of land-use planning. But at this point the educative model begins to diverge.

Friedmann defines a sharp distinction between personal and technical or scientific knowledge, the dilemma of the actor and the expert, and suggests the development of more effective interpersonal dialogue to bridge the resultant gap. But he somehow projects a certain sense of complexity and mystery about scientific-technical intelligence. The planner is able to apply his learning skills to the appreciation of the actor's personal knowledge but the mutual learning process is one-sided. The actor merely receives the output of the technical process; he does not become a party to its inner workings. While this style might be appropriate to the complexity of technical skills posessed by transactive planners in American urban society, it would have an unwarranted elitist overtone in our model. Land-use planning at the municipal or regional level in Manitoba, whether command, policy, or participatory in style, need be neither magical or mysterious. With few exceptions, its tenets and techniques can be readily transformed from the technical to the personal. In the innovative

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4. cont.; Process of Social Learning, (Baltimore, The John Hopkins Press, 1971), Donald A. Schon; Beyond the Stable State, (Random House, New York, 1971), and John Friedmann; Retracking America: A Theory of Transactive Planning, (Doubleday, New York, 1973).
5. ibid. John Friedmann; Retracking America.

phase, the planners' role would be educative on the one hand, appreciative on the other. As the actors' competence developed through the educative input, there would seem little reason why the role of the planner could not be reduced to that of a technical secretary.

Friedmann has also suggested that the skills necessary to effective planning can be learned. He has referred to the planner's need to acquire a sharpened perception of self, an appreciation of how he appears to others. He must equip himself to learn from his clients and to assimilate this knowledge accurately and rapidly, to make skillfull use of symbols and statistics, to empathize, and to live with conflict.[6] I am not convinced that these are qualities which can be learned. I am aware that they are qualities not generally taught in schools of planning, and not necessarily characteristic of contemporary practitioners. For this reason, I have suggested that, for some indefinite interim at least, most planners will be forced to remain somewhat isolated from the benefits of the mutual learning process and rely heavily on better trained or more talented liaison workers.

But the similarities far outweigh the discrepancies. The primary difference is, perhaps, a more skeptical personal view, and a firm belief that the incrementalist characteristics of the behavioural model will permit no more than a gradual conversion to the more revolutionary mode. This does not deny the optimist theme, however.

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6. John Friedmann; "Notes on Societal Action", Journal of the American Institute of Planners, (September, 1969, vol. 35, no. 5), p. 317

Whatever the phrase selected, educative planning, transactive planning, or societal guidance, the key concept is a faith in the ability of a pluralist society, given the necessary information and skills, to produce a responsive and, therefore, correct interpretation of its needs and desires and to translate the resultant objectives into effective action.

16. APPENDIX 1: THE ADVISORY PLANNING COMMISSION QUESTIONNAIRE AND THE RESPONSE

INTRODUCTION

As described in Chapter 7, the strategy of the evaluation has been based, in large measure, on success in the perception of the clientele. While, ultimately, the Municipal Planning Branch exists to serve the public, its primary contact is with Advisory Planning Commissions. It would be very difficult to select a suitable sample, from the general public, to produce a meaningful examination of Branch effectiveness. Dispersed throughout a widely differentiated geographic area, in communities ranging from little more than crossroads to urban areas over 30,000 population, and very often unable to discern the subtleties of the institutionalized planning process, few Manitobans could be expected to comment intelligently on the subject. Even if the survey was feasible in the practical or economic sense, analysis of the response would be virtually impossible.

Advisory planning commissions, on the other hand, represent a neatly stratified sample, tailor-made to produce a representative province-wide response in all the critical areas of the evaluation. Advisory planning commission members are the primary liaison contact for Branch staff. As such, it is their input which has equipped the Branch to participate, with the strength of localized knowledge, in the provincial planning process. Similarly, if any group of individuals in the province demonstrates the success or impact of the planning education program, it should be the commission members. What better group to comment on the quality of technical planning service than those who receive the advice directly and base their recommendations on it? What better group to assess the impact of provincial regulatory procedures than the individuals who bear the brunt of local comment and criticism?

THE SAMPLE

There are 255 municipal units in Manitoba. As of June 1973, 181 of these plus 11 unorganized settlements were in some way involved in planning. Activity ranges from the enforcement of planning schemes required in the process of subdivision approvals to full scale municipal land-use planning programs. A total of 103 municipalities are active in individual and district planning commissions. The questionnaire was mailed to each member of the 82 commissions currently covered by an agreement for the provision of planning service. As indicated in the accompanying table, this produced a total sample of 401.

TABLE 5: DISTRIBUTION OF MAILED QUESTIONNAIRES

TYPE OF COMMISSION	NO. OF COMMISSIONERS
city	28
district	173
town	61
village	20
rural municipality	77
local government district	42
total	401

QUESTIONNAIRE DESIGN

The test instrument was produced in consultation with Branch staff in a series of interviews and general meetings. A copy of the final draft, as distributed, is reproduced in the following pages.

Province of Manitoba
Department of Municipal Affairs
Municipal Planning Branch

Office of Director of Planning
201 – 116 Edmonton Street
Winnipeg, Manitoba
R3C 1R2

July 16, 1973

Dear Advisory Planning Commission Member:

As part of an evaluation program of municipal planning in Manitoba, Advisory Planning Commission members throughout the province are being polled for their opinions and ideas. Because of your involvement in the forefront of local planning efforts, and the diversity of background and experience represented by commission members, your knowledge will play a key role in our assessment of the situation and enable us to re-examine the programs accordingly.

We are requesting that you fill in the attached questionnaire and return it in the enclosed, self-addressed, stamped envelope at your earliest convenience. The form is unfortunately, but necessarily, lengthy. However, we would ask you to devote perhaps a half hour of your time to completing the answers fully and frankly.

You may note that a number has been written in on the final page of your questionnaire. This serves simply to enable us to identify the general area involved and the type of Branch program presently being utilized. It is not intended for identification of the individual respondent. The confidentiality of your answers is assured.

Again, we would remind you that this is an opportunity to constructively criticize the local planning process, the services provided by the Municipal Planning Branch, and existing provincial legislation. If you have ideas or suggestions to improve these, or comments not covered by the specific questions, please include them. The survey is being conducted with the full knowledge and co-operation of the Branch staff and administration. When our analysis of the results has been completed, the commissions will be advised of the findings and invited to participate in discussion of the possible changes or improvements.

Thank you for your co-operation.

Yours truly,

David C. Hicks

David C. Hicks

PART ONE: *These questions are intended to determine the range of background and experience of the people who make up the Advisory Planning Commissions in Manitoba. Please check or fill in the appropriate answers.*

---

1. AGE IN YEARS:

less than 25	☐	45 to 54	☐
25 to 34	☐	55 to 64	☐
35 to 44	☐	65 or over	☐

2. SEX: male ☐ female ☐

3. EDUCATION: PLEASE INDICATE THE HIGHEST CATEGORY COMPLETED.

elementary school	☐
high school	☐
trade or technical school	☐
university	☐

4. OCCUPATION: PLEASE SPECIFY.

_____.

5. DO YOU PRESENTLY OR HAVE YOU FORMERLY HELD ANY ELECTIVE OFFICE IN YOUR COMMUNITY?

	presently hold	formerly held
councillor	☐	☐
school board	☐	☐
other (please specify)	☐	☐

_____.

6. HOW MANY YEARS HAVE YOU LIVED IN THIS COMMUNITY?

_____.

7. PLEASE CHECK IF YOU CONSIDER YOURSELF TO BE AN ACTIVE PARTICIPANT IN THE FOLLOWING COMMUNITY AFFAIRS OR ACTIVITIES.

community club	☐
church group	☐
service club	☐
chamber of commerce	☐
local board or commission (not including planning)	☐
other (please specify)	☐

_____.

8. HOW MANY YEARS HAVE YOU BEEN A MEMBER OF THE ADVISORY PLANNING COMMISSION?

_____.

10. WHY DO YOU FEEL THAT YOU WERE APPOINTED TO THE ADVISORY PLANNING COMMISSION?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____.

PART TWO: Advisory Planning Commissions have been subjected to both praise and criticism for their role and their performance in the local planning process. The following questions cover some of the areas involved.

---

11. WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING CATEGORIES OF COMMUNITY DO YOU REPRESENT ON YOUR COMMISSION?

- rural municipality ☐
- village (less than 500 population) ☐
- small town (500 to 999 population) ☐
- large town (1000 to 4999 population) ☐
- city (5000 or greater population) ☐

12. HOW LONG HAS YOUR PLANNING COMMISSION BEEN IN OPERATION?

- less than 5 years ☐
- 5 to 10 years ☐
- more than 10 years ☐

13. IN YOUR OPINION, IS THE MEMBERSHIP OF YOUR PLANNING COMMISSION REPRESENTATIVE OF A CROSS-SECTION OF THE COMMUNITY POPULATION?

- yes ☐
- no ☐

14. IF YOUR ANSWER TO THE PRECEDING QUESTION WAS YES, WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING BEST REPRESENTS THE BASIS ON WHICH THE COMMISSION IS BALANCED?

- geographic (ward or neighborhood distribution) ☐
- ethnic or religious background ☐
- occupational background ☐
- economic status ☐
- other (please specify) ☐

_____.

15. WERE YOU FAMILIAR WITH YOUR LOCAL PLANNING COMMISSION AND ITS WORK BEFORE YOUR APPOINTMENT?

- yes ☐
- no ☐

16. WHAT IS YOUR PRESENT UNDERSTANDING OF YOUR PLANNING COMMISSION FUNCTION?

- poor ☐
- fair ☐
- good ☐
- excellent ☐

17. PLEASE NUMBER THE FOLLOWING ITEMS IN THE ORDER YOU FEEL THEY DO RANK AND IN THE ORDER THEY SHOULD RANK AS FUNCTIONS OF THE PLANNING COMMISSION.

	desirable or ideal rank	actual rank
familiarizing the general public with local planning	☐	☐
administering zoning controls	☐	☐
acting as a sounding board for local council on planning issues	☐	☐
reviewing subdivision proposals	☐	☐
providing liaison with local or regional agencies and authorities engaged in related planning	☐	☐
developing long-range land-use policy and plans	☐	☐
other (please specify) _____.	☐	☐

18. HOW OFTEN DOES YOUR COMMISSION MEET?

- only when applications or inquiries are received ☐
- monthly, if agenda warrants ☐
- monthly ☐
- more than monthly ☐

19. HOW OFTEN DOES YOUR COMMISSION MEET WITH OTHER LOCAL PLANNING AGENCIES OR AUTHORITIES OR RECEIVE PUBLIC DELEGATIONS TO ITS MEETINGS REGARDING PLANNING MATTERS?

- never ☐
- only on zoning matters ☐
- occasionally ☐
- regularly ☐

20. WHAT KIND OF RESPONSE DOES YOUR COMMISSION GENERALLY RECEIVE FROM THE COUNCIL WITH RESPECT TO ITS RECOMMENDATIONS?

- little or no ☐
- received as information ☐
- usually rejected ☐
- usually approved ☐

21. DOES COUNCIL REQUEST ADVICE FROM YOUR COMMISSION ON MATTERS OTHER THAN ZONING AND/OR SUBDIVISION APPLICATIONS?

- never ☐
- occasionally ☐
- frequently ☐
- regularly ☐

22. WOULD IT BE PREFERABLE TO HAVE THE MUNICIPAL PLANNING BRANCH LIAISON PLANNER DEAL DIRECTLY WITH THE COUNCIL AS OPPOSED TO THE ADVISORY PLANNING COMMISSION?

yes ☐
no ☐
comments_____.

23. DO YOU RECEIVE SUFFICIENT COMPENSATION FOR YOUR SERVICE ON THE COMMISSION?

yes ☐
no ☐
comments_____.

24. WHAT IS YOUR GENERAL OPINION OF THE EFFECTIVENESS AND RELEVANCE OF YOUR COMMISSION IN LOCAL COMMUNITY AFFAIRS? COULD THIS SITUATION BE IMPROVED: IF SO, HOW?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____.

PART THREE: *Irrespective of its planning commission, every community plans to some degree. The following questions seek to identify the principal emphasis and the effectiveness of planning in your community.*

---

25. DOES YOUR COMMUNITY HAVE A RECOGNIZED POLICY WITH RESPECT TO THE REGULATION OF AND PROVISION FOR GROWTH AND CHANGE?

yes, formal policies ☐
yes, unwritten but understood ☐
no ☐

26. WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS, IN YOUR OPINION, BEST REPRESENTS THE ATTITUDE IN YOUR COMMUNITY TOWARDS PLANNING?

planning must be applied cautiously to avoid the possible erosion of personal freedom and rights to property. ☐

planning is the regulation of land-use to protect land values and to promote beauty, order, and efficiency. ☐

planning is interference in personal freedom and rights to property. ☐

(CONTINUED...)

planning means the promotion of growth and preparation of the necessary facilities to accommodate that growth. ☐

planning means responding to public needs in a way designed to improve the quality of life for the community as a whole. ☐

planning permits the unwarranted intervention of provincial bureaucracy in local decision-making. ☐

27. IN YOUR OPINION, ARE THE EFFORTS OF THE VARIOUS AUTHORITIES RESPONSIBLE FOR PLANNING THE FUTURE OF YOUR COMMUNITY AND YOUR AREA,

unco-ordinated? ☐
rarely co-ordinated? ☐
usually co-ordinated? ☐
well co-ordinated? ☐

28. WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING ATTITUDES BEST REPRESENTS THE GENERAL PUBLIC REACTION TO PLANNING EFFORTS IN YOUR COMMUNITY?

antaganostic ☐
apathetic ☐
interested ☐
involved ☐

29. HOW BEST COULD THE PLANNING PROCESS BE IMPROVED IN YOUR COMMUNITY AND MORE DIRECTLY INVOLVE THE GENERAL PUBLIC?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____.

PART FOUR: The provincial government is directly involved in municipal planning in two general ways; through the service provided by the Municipal Planning Branch, and through planning legislation and policies. The following questions are designed to elicit your opinion of the assistance provided. Please be frank in your answers. Our staff are familiar with the questionnaire and are looking forward to constructive criticism of their performance.

---

30. ARE YOUR COMMISSION MEETINGS ATTENDED BY A MUNICIPAL PLANNING BRANCH LIAISON PLANNER?

rarely ☐
regularly ☐
only on request ☐

31. HOW LONG HAS YOUR PRESENT BRANCH REPRESENTATIVE BEEN ASSIGNED TO YOUR COMMUNITY?

less than 1 year ☐
1 to 3 years ☐
more than 3 years ☐

32. IN YOUR EXPERIENCE, HAS REPRESENTATION FROM THIS BRANCH BEEN INSUFFICIENTLY CONTINUOUS: THAT IS, ARE PLANNERS BEING SHIFTED TOO FREQUENTLY TO BECOME FAMILIAR WITH THE LOCAL PLANNING SITUATION?

yes ☐
no ☐

33. THE FOLLOWING IS A LIST OF CHARACTERISTICS OFTEN CONSIDERED IN ASSESSING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF A PLANNER. PLEASE NUMBER THE ITEMS IN THE ORDER YOU FEEL THEY SHOULD RANK AS CHARACTERISTICS OR REQUIREMENTS OF A GOOD LIAISON PLANNER.

	desirable rank by order of importance
understanding of local people and their attitudes	☐
appreciation of local problems and issues	☐
familiarity with the local planning scheme	☐
knowledge of the technical aspects of planning	☐
knowledge of provincial legislation and policies relating to the Planning Act	☐
knowledge of provincial legislation and policies relating to community affairs in general	☐
willingness to become involved in discussion of controversial planning issues and decisions	☐
ability to communicate clearly	☐
leadership ability	☐
assistance in development of a comprehensive approach to local planning programs	☐

34. USING THE LIST OF CHARACTERISTICS PROVIDED IN THE PREVIOUS QUESTION, PLEASE RATE YOUR PRESENT PLANNER AS TO HIS PERFORMANCE IN YOUR COMMUNITY.

	rating of present planner			
	poor	fair	good	excellent
understanding of local people and their attitudes	☐	☐	☐	☐
appreciation of local problems and issues	☐	☐	☐	☐
familiarity with the local planning scheme	☐	☐	☐	☐
knowledge of the technical aspects of planning	☐	☐	☐	☐
knowledge of provincial legislation and policies relating to the Planning Act	☐	☐	☐	☐
knowledge of provincial legislation and policies relating to community affairs in general	☐	☐	☐	☐
willingness to become involved in discussion of controversial planning issues and decisions	☐	☐	☐	☐
ability to communicate clearly	☐	☐	☐	☐
leadership ability	☐	☐	☐	☐
assistance in development of a comprehensive approach to local planning programs	☐	☐	☐	☐

35. IN YOUR OPINION, DOES YOUR COMMUNITY UTILIZE THE FULL RANGE OF SERVICES OFFERED BY THE PLANNING BRANCH TO THE MAXIMUM POSSIBLE EXTENT? IF NO, PLEASE EXPLAIN.

yes ☐
no ☐

_____
_____
_____.

36. IS THE QUALITY OF RESPONSE TO REQUESTS FOR SERVICE FROM THE MUNICIPAL PLANNING BRANCH,

	inadequate	occasionally inadequate	usually inadequate	adequate
to requests for subdivision or design aid	☐	☐	☐	☐
to requests for general service	☐	☐	☐	☐
to requests for development plans	☐	☐	☐	☐

37. IS THE SPEED OF RESPONSE TO REQUESTS FOR SERVICE FROM THE MUNICIPAL PLANNING BRANCH,

	poor	fair	good	excellent
to requests for amendments	☐	☐	☐	☐
to requests for subdivision or design aid	☐	☐	☐	☐
to requests for general service	☐	☐	☐	☐
to requests for development plans	☐	☐	☐	☐

38. DO YOU HAVE ANY SUGGESTIONS OR RECOMMENDATIONS REGARDING POSSIBLE IMPROVEMENTS TO THE MUNICIPAL PLANNING BRANCH AND ITS ASSISTANCE?

staff improvement _____

_____

_____

_____

program improvement _____

_____

_____

_____

39. ARE YOU SATISFIED WITH MUNICIPAL PLANNING BRANCH PROGRAMS RELATING TO,

	yes	no	unaware of such programs
public education?	☐	☐	☐
training seminars for local planning commission members and staff?	☐	☐	☐

40. DO YOU FEEL THE PRESENT EMPHASIS OF PLANNING LEGISLATION ON THE RESTRICTIVE ASPECTS OF PLANNING (eg. ZONING AND LAND-USE CONTROLS) IS:

undesirable and unnecessary? ☐
undesirable but necessary? ☐
desirable but should be reduced? ☐
desirable? ☐

41. ASSUMING THE NEED TO INFORM CITIZENS OF POSSIBLE CHANGES IN LAND-USE AND ZONING POLICY, DO YOU FEEL THAT THE COMPLEXITY AND THE TIME INVOLVED IN THE PRESENT ADVERTISEMENT, NOTICE, AND PUBLIC HEARING REGULATIONS IS NECESSARY?

yes ☐
no ☐
comments _____

_____

_____

42. DO YOU FEEL THAT THE APPEAL PROVISIONS IN EXISTING LEGISLATION WHEREBY THE MINISTER OF MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS, ON RECEIPT OF REPRESENTATION OR OBJECTION, MAY REFER THE DECISION OF A LOCAL AUTHORITY TO THE MUNICIPAL BOARD FOR A A FINAL JUDGEMENT ARE NECESSARY?

yes ☐
no ☐
comment_____

43. IS THE COST CHARGED TO YOUR MUNICIPALITY FOR THE PLANNING SERVICE:

too high for the present level of service? ☐
reasonable for the present level of service? ☐

44. WOULD YOU BE INTERESTED IN RECEIVING YOUR PLANNING SERVICES ON A PROJECT BASIS AS OPPOSED TO A CONTINUING CONTRACT: THAT IS, NO SERVICE EXCEPT ON REQUEST?

yes ☐
no ☐
comments_____

45. IF YOUR COMMUNITY IS PRESENTLY INVOLVED IN A JOINT OR DISTRICT ADVISORY PLANNING COMMISSION, DO YOU FEEL THE ARRANGEMENT IS SATISFACTORY WITH RESPECT TO,

	satisfactory	not satisfactory
processing of variation or amendment applications	☐	☐
development of complementary land-use policies	☐	☐
improvement of local inter-municipal understanding	☐	☐

46. IN YOUR OPINION, IS YOUR PRESENT PLANNING SCHEME USEFUL?

yes ☐
no ☐
comment_____

47. Thank you very much for your time and effort. If you have any further comments or suggestions, please include them.

There were forty-six questions,[1] accompanied by a covering letter signed by the author and printed on Branch letterheads. This produced a five-page questionnaire, printed both sides for distribution.

The questions were divided into four sections:

1. characteristics of commission members.
2. function and performance of the commission.
3. the status of planning in the community.
4. assessment of the municipal planning service.

Each section was preceded by a brief statement of purpose. Confidentiality of response was assured. Thirty-eight of the questions required the respondent to check the appropriate answer from the list provided. Five of these provided space for additional comment. Three of the questions provided for an open but factual response. Five were open-ended.

DISTRIBUTION

Unfortunately, time constraints did not permit the conduct of a proper pilot test of the instrument. This was effected informally by sampling of the Branch liaison staff. The questionnaires were mailed in mid-July, 1973. Each questionnaire was enclosed in a self-addressed, metered return envelope. The questionnaires were coded by community to permit effective analysis of the response in rating liaison planners.[2]

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[1] Note that numbering of the questions runs from 1 through 47. Question 9 was overlooked in the numbering and typing of the final draft.

[2] In discussion with the Branch administration, it had been anticipated that there might be some staff reaction to question 34, which requested an evaluation of the individual planners. It was, therefore, required that all staff approve the final draft. It is a credit to the professional calibre of the staff that every individual was enthusiastic about the opportunity to see his performance evaluated.

RESPONSE

The original test design anticipated a six week allowance for return of the questionnaires. This proved to be suitable. The few returns after September 1 were not analyzed.

The overall rate of useable response was 30%, a total of 120 returns. By type of commission the response ranged from 7% of local government district commission members to 55% of village commission members. Some internal variation in the response will be evident in the subsequent analysis. The open-ended questions were understandably less well answered.

While 30% is considered to be a reasonable response to a mailed questionnaire with no follow-up, it was less than expected. A previous branch survey of rural residential residents, conducted on a similar basis but involving an unorganized and ostensibly disinterested sample, had produced a response rate of 35%. There are a number of possible reasons for the rate of return. The questionnaire was long; a few respondents commented specifically about this. A number of the questions were open-ended and required considerable thought to answer. The rather delicate response required of certain questions may have alienated some. Three of the respondents took great care to eradicate the code entry on the final page of the questionnaire and rendered their returns unusable. The mailing datee coincided with the peak vacation season. Furthermore, the return envelopes were metered rather than individually stamped.[3]

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[3]For a more complete analysis of questionnaire theory and use of statistics, see Delbert C. Miller; Handbook of Research Design and Social Measurement (David McKay Co, New York 1964), T. C. McCormick and R. G. Francis, Methods of Research in the Behavioural Sciences, (Harper Bros., New York 1958), W. A. Spurr and C. P. Bonini; Statistical Analysis for Business Decisions, (Richard D. Irwin, Homewood, Illinois 1967) Selltiz, Jahoda, Deutsch and Cook; Research Methods in Social Relations, (Holt, Rinehart, Winston, Toronto, 1959).

Leaf blank to correct numbering.

No attempt has been made to quantify confidence in the response. Very few of the questions were intended to produce a response suitable for extrapolation to the province as a whole. Generally speaking, and particularly in respect to the open-ended questions, the intent was to elicit specific responses where none had previously been volunteered. To the extent that the results have been generalized, the reader is cautioned to draw his own conclusions. In the estimation of this author, any rigorous attempt to quantify the probable accuracy would, at best, confuse and, at worst, bias the reader's perception.

WHO ARE THE COMMISSION MEMBERS; WHAT ARE THEIR QUALIFICATIONS?

RESPONSE:

Questions 1 and 2 requested commission members to classify themselves by age and sex. Results are tabulated in the accompanying Table 6. Only five of the respondents were female. Four of these were between the ages of 45 and 54. Three were members of city advisory planning commissions. Over 25% of all respondents were males in the age bracket 45-54. Only 13.5% of all respondents were under 35.

Question 3 requested respondents to indicate the educational level completed by them. Results are shown in Table 7. Of particular interest is the substantial proportion of respondents (28.3%) reporting university completion. In general, respondents from urban commissions reported a higher level of education. An informal attempt to correlate university graduation with age was unsurprising in the indication that respondents in the younger age groups were better educated (50% of those under 35 had a university education). There was, however, an increased incidence of university completion (38%) in the 65+ age group as well.

Question 4 requested respondents to name their occupation. The open-ended response required considerable analysis, the results of which are indicated in Table 8 . A very substantial 31% of urban commission respondents were merchants and businessmen. Farmers and ranchers understandably predominate on the rural commissions and make up a large proportion of the District commissions.

Question 5 asked respondents whether they held or had held elective office in the community (see Table 9). Ninety-three of the 120 respondents, or 78%, answered affirmatively. Excluding present councillors, 37 of 120 or 30% of the respondents held or had held office. It should be noted, however, that the response may have been somewhat skewed in favor of present or former elected representatives. The regulations under the Planning Act would lead one to expect roughly thirty per-cent of commission members to be councillors. The response of nearly 44% is clearly biased in this respect.

Question 6 asked respondents how long they had lived in the community. The overall average response was 31.8 years (see Table 10). The rural and district commissions were significantly longer in the reported length of residence. Question 8, which asked for length of the respondent's tenure as a commissioner, yielded a similar response (see Table 11). The Rural and District Commissions indicate a marked stability, particularly in light of the fact that these types of commissions have been much more recently established than their urban counterparts.

The response to question 7, examining participation in community activities, has not been tabulated. However, the high level of organizational overlap

TABLE 6 : AGE-SEX STRUCTURE OF QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONDENTS BY CATEGORY OF ADVISORY PLANNING COMMISSION

AGE-SEX CATEGORY		RESPONSE BY TYPE OF PLANNING COMMISSION NO. OF RESPONDENTS (% OF TOTAL RESPONSE)							
		cities	towns	villages	total urban	rural municipalities	local government districts	districts	total
LESS THAN 25	MALE	0 (0)	1 (5.9)	0 (0)	1 (2.6)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1.9)	2 (1.8)
	FEMALE	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
25-34	MALE	1 (9.1)	3 (17.6)	3 (27.3)	7 (17.9)	0 (0)	0 (0)	5 (9.3)	12 (10.7)
	FEMALE	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
35-44	MALE	4 (36.4)	1 (5.9)	3 (27.3)	8 (20.5)	4 (25.0)	1 (33.3)	12 (22.2)	25 (22.3)
	FEMALE	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (6.3)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.9)
45-54	MALE	1 (9.1)	6 (35.3)	3 (27.3)	10 (25.6)	5 (31.2)	1 (33.3)	14 (25.9)	30 (26.8)
	FEMALE	3 (27.3)	0 (0)	0 (0)	3 (7.7)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1.9)	4 (3.6)
55-64	MALE	1 (9.1)	4 (23.5)	0 (0)	5 (12.8)	5 (31.2)	0 (0)	13 (24.1)	23 (20.5)
	FEMALE	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
65+	MALE	1 (9.1)	2 (11.8)	2 (18.2)	5 (12.8)	1 (6.3)	1 (33.3)	8 (14.8)	15 (13.4)
	FEMALE	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
RESPONSE AS FRACTION OF AVAILABLE (PERCENT)		11/28(39)	17/61(28)	11/20(55)	39/109(36)	16/97(21)	3/42(7)	54/173(31.2)	112/401(27.9)

TABLE 7 : LEVEL OF EDUCATION OF RESPONDENTS BY CATEGORY OF ADVISORY PLANNING COMMISSIONS

LEVEL OF EDUCATION COMPLETED		RESPONSE BY TYPE OF PLANNING COMMISSION							
		cities	towns	villages	total urban	rural municipalities	local government districts	districts	total
ELEMENTARY SCHOOL	NO.	1	5	1	7	5	0	11	23
	% OF RESPONSE	9.1	27.8	8.3	17.1	29.4	0	18.7	19.2
HIGH SCHOOL	NO.	5	2	5	12	8	0	21	41
	% OF RESPONSE	45.4	11.1	41.6	29.2	47.0	0	35.6	34.2
TECHNICAL SCHOOL	NO.	2	2	2	6	1	2	13	22
	% OF RESPONSE	18.2	11.1	16.7	14.7	5.9	66.7	22.0	18.3
UNIVERSITY	NO.	3	9	4	16	3	1	14	34
	% OF RESPONSE	27.3	50.0	33.4	39.0	17.7	33.3	23.7	28.3
RESPONSE AS FRACTION OF AVAILABLE (PERCENT)		11/28 (39.3)	18/61 (29.6)	12/20 (60.0)	41/109 (37.6)	17/77 (22.1)	3/42 (7.1)	59/173 (34.1)	120/401 (30.0)

TABLE 8 : OCCUPATION OF RESPONDENTS BY CATEGORY OF ADVISORY PLANNING COMMISSIONS

OCCUPATION		RESPONSE BY TYPE OF PLANNING COMMISSION							
		CITIES	TOWNS	VILLAGES	TOTAL, URBAN	RURAL MUNICIPALITIES	LOCAL GOVERNMENT DISTRICTS	DISTRICTS	TOTAL
FARMERS & RANCHERS	NO.	0	1	0	1	12	0	19	32
	%	0%	5.3%	0%	2.6%	66%	0%	33.9%	27.6%
MERCHANTS & BUSINESSMEN	NO.	2	5	5	12	2	1	13	28
	%	20%	26.3%	50%	30.7%	11%	33%	23.2%	24.1%
SERVICE & TRADESMEN	NO.	2	4	0	6	1	1	10	18
	%	20%	21.0%	0%	15.4%	5%	33%	17.8%	15.3%
PROFESSIONALS & TECHNICIANS	NO.	2	4	1	7	2	1	7	17
	%	20%	21.0%	10%	17.9%	11%	33%	12.5%	14.7%
TEACHERS	NO.	2	3	2	7	0	0	0	7
	%	20%	15.8%	20%	17.9%	0%	0%	0%	6.0%
RETIRED	NO.	0	1	2	3	0	0	7	10
	%	0%	5.3%	20%	7.7%	0%	0%	12.5%	8.6%
HOUSEWIVES	NO.	2	1	0	3	1	0	0	4
	%	20%	5.3%	0%	7.7%	5%	0%	0%	3.5%
RESPONSE AS FRACTION OF AVAILABLE (PER CENT)		10/28 (36)	19/61 (31)	10/20 (50)	39/109 (36)	18/77 (23)	3/42 (7)	56/173 (32)	116/401 (29)

TABLE 9 : PRESENT OR FORMER ELECTIVE OFFICE OF RESPONDENTS BY CATEGORY OF ADVISORY PLANNING COMMISSIONS

ELECTIVE OFFICE	RESPONSE BY TYPE OF PLANNING COMMISSION							
	CITIES	TOWNS	VILLAGES	TOTAL URBAN	RURAL MUNICIPALITIES	LOCAL GOVERNMENT DISTRICTS	DISTRICTS	TOTAL
PRESENT COUNCILLORS[4]	3 60%	6 54.5%	3 37.5%	12 50%	7 41.2%	2 50%	20 41.7%	41 44.1%
FORMER COUNCILLOR	1 20%	1 9.1%	1 12.5%	3 12.5%	1 5.9%	1 25%	7 14.6%	12 12.9%
PRESENT SCHOOL TRUSTEE	1 20%	0 0%	1 12.5%	2 8.3%	2 11.8%	0 0%	2 4.2%	6 6.5%
FORMER SCHOOL TRUSTEE	0 0%	4 36.4%	3 37.5%	7 29.2%	7 41.2%	1 25%	19 39.6%	34 36.6%
TOTAL	5	11	8	24	17	4	48	93

TABLE 10 : RESPONDENTS' LENGTH OF COMMUNITY RESIDENCE BY CATEGORY OF ADVISORY PLANNING COMMISSION

CATEGORY OF COMMISSION	AVERAGE LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN COMMUNITY (yrs)
CITIES	25.2
TOWNS	27.0
VILLAGES	26.8
TOTAL URBAN	26.5
RURAL MUNICIPALITIES	42.4
LOCAL GOVERNMENT DISTRICTS	11.0
DISTRICTS	33.6
TOTAL	31.8

[4]Membership of Councillors on the Advisory Planning Commissions is required by legislation. On average, roughly two of every seven or 29% of commission members are councillors. The somewhat higher representation of the response indicates a bias in this direction.

TABLE 11 : RESPONDENTS' LENGTH OF COMMISSION SERVICE BY CATEGORY OF ADVISORY PLANNING COMMISSION

CATEGORY OF COMMISSION	AVERAGE LENGTH OF SERVICE (YEARS)
CITIES	3.0
TOWNS	4.6
VILLAGES	3.6
TOTAL URBAN	3.9
RURAL MUNICIPALITIES	4.8
LOCAL GOVERNMENT DISTRICTS	1.7
DISTRICTS	3.3
TOTAL	3.6

TABLE 12 : RESPONDENTS' PERCEPTION OF THE REASON FOR THEIR APPOINTMENT

CATEGORY OF COMMISSION	NO. AND PERCENT OF RESPONSES BY REASON			
	INTEREST IN PLANNING OR COMMUNITY	REPRESENTATIVE OF SOME GROUP IN COMMUNITY	FAMILIARITY AND EXPERIENCE	KNOWLEDGE OR EDUCATION
cities	4 (50%)	1 (12.5%)	3 (37.5%)	0 (0%)
towns	8 (50%)	1 (6.3%)	4 (25%)	3 (18.8%)
villages	6 (50%)	2 (16.7%)	4 (33.3%)	0 (0%)
total urban	18 (50%)	4 (11.1%)	11 (30.6%)	3 (8.3%)
rural municipalities	3 (50%)	0 (0%)	2 (33.3%)	1 (16.7%)
local government districts	1 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
districts	21 (72.4%)	4 (13.8%)	3 (10.3%)	1 (3.4%)
total	43 (59.7%)	8 (11.1%)	16 (22.2%)	5 (6.9%)

in the communities was clearly demonstrated. Fourteen of the 42 urban respondents indicated active involvement in three or more community organizations. Three of 18 rural respondents, and 28 of 60 district respondents indicated a similar level of involvement. Only 11 respondents failed to indicate active participation in at least one community activity. By order of popularity, the four most commonly-named associations were community clubs (62), church groups (62), local boards or commissions other than planning (46), and service clubs and lodges (43).

ANALYSIS

In simplistic terms, Manitoba's typical advisory planning commission member is a male between 45 and 54 with a high school education. He is a farmer, a councillor, an ex-school trustee, and an active member of numerous community groups. He has lived in the community for 32 years and has been a member of the commission for 3.6 years.

In urban areas, the typical respondent was more likely to be university-educated and was probably a merchant or businessman. In rural municipalities, his tenure in the community and on the commission was generally longer.

ARE THE COMMISSIONS REPRESENTATIVE; DO THEY FUNCTION WELL?

RESPONSE:

In responding to question 10 (see Table 12), 60% of all respondents indicated that they felt their commission appointment had resulted simply from their interest in planning and in their community. This particular feeling was highest for district commissioners (72.4%). Only 7% of all respondents felt that their academic qualifications or knowledge had precipitated their appointment. Familiarity and experience figured in 22% of the responses; representativeness in 11%.

Questions 11 and 12 offered merely a check against the respondent's other answers and against the questionnaire coding. The results have not been tabulated. The few discrepencies that did appear were probably attributable to the same lack of familiarity with the commission function evidenced in subsequent responses.

In response to question 13, only 7 of 122 or 6% of the respondents did not think that their planning commission in some way represented a cross-section

of the community population (see Table 13). Geographic or occupational balance were each cited in 43% of the responses; Economic status or ethnic/religious background in 7% each.

In response to questions 15 and 16, 39% were unfamiliar with the commission prior to their appointment. This astounding lack of familiarity was most apparent in the smaller centres and rural municipalities. Even more disturbing, however, was the response that 37% of commission members, indicating initial unfamiliarity, still rated their understanding of its function as only poor to fair after appointment.

The response to question 17 provided an analysis of the commissioners' attitude to the alternative functions available to them (see Table 16). Discrepancies in the ideal ranks assigned to alternative functions were overshadowed by the consistent first ranking of development planning activity. Administration of zoning and familiarization of the general public were also ranked consistently high. The failure of the commissions to perform in the desired manner was clearly exemplified by ranking of the actual function, however. Development planning ranked only 4 overall, and only 6 in the district commissions. Familiarization of the general public ranked 5 overall. The administrative loading of the commissions was clearly illustrated by the 2-3 ranking of zoning administration and subdivision review.

Response to question 18 has not been tabulated. The general mode of operation is a monthly meeting. Additional meetings are called as required.

Question 19 further investigated the question of commission liaison with other local agencies and the general public (see Table 17). A surprising

12.6% of the respondents reported that their commissions never engaged in liaison of this kind. The response was much more favorable in urban centres where only 5% reported no liaison. It should be noted, however, that there was some internal discrepancy in the response. Forty-four commissions were involved in the response. Discrepancies between the responses of members of the same commission were evident in 23 cases. However, only six cases of one or more members reporting no liaison where other members recorded a degree of contact were apparent.

A substantial majority of the respondents (78.1%) felt that council usually approved their recommendations. Only 3.4% indicated any disatisfaction with council response. Additional information on the perceived quality of the council-commission relationship was obtained from the response to question 21 (see Table 19). The majority of respondents (50.8%) felt that council requested advice on matters beyond administrative considerations only occasionally. Nearly 16% reported that their council never made such requests. Rural and district commissions more frequently indicated the latter.

Question 22 asked respondents to indicate whether or not it would be preferable that the municipal planning branch liaison planner deal with council directly. It was expected that commission members might see some advantage in this format, particularly as the author has frequently been advised by commissioners that their function is sometimes redundant and that a professional's presence at council meetings would be helpful to their case. It would appear, however, that most respondents interpreted the question as a threat to the continued existence of the planning commissions. Eighty-six per cent of the respondents favored the current format of regular and direct

TABLE 13: RESPONDENTS' PERCEPTION OF COMMISSIONS' REPRESENTATION BASE

CATEGORY OF COMMISSION	NO. AND PERCENT OF RESPONSES BY PERCEIVED BASE			
	GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION	ETHNIC/RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND	OCCUPATIONAL BACKGROUND	ECONOMIC STATUS
cities	2 (18.2%)	0 (0%)	7 (63.6%)	2 (18.2%)
towns	6 (23.0%)	3 (11.5%)	17 (65.4%)	0 (0%)
villages	4 (36.4%)	0 (0%)	6 (54.6%)	1 (9.1%)
total urban	12 (25%)	3 (6.3%)	30 (62.5%)	3 (6.3%)
rural municipalities	17 (65.4%)	1 (3.9%)	7 (26.9%)	1 (3.9%)
local government districts	1 (20.0%)	1 (20.0%)	2 (40.0%)	1 (20.0%)
districts	35 (48.6%)	5 (6.9%)	27 (37.5%)	5 (6.9%)
total	65 (43.1%)	10 (6.6%)	66 (43.7%)	10 (6.6%)

TABLE 14: RESPONDENTS' UNDERSTANDING OF COMMISSION FUNCTION

CATEGORY OF COMMISSION	KNOWLEDGE OF COMMISSION PRIOR TO APPOINTMENTS			
	FAMILIAR		UNFAMILIAR	
	NO.	%	NO.	%
cities	5	45.5%	6	54.5%
towns	5	26.3%	14	73.7%
villages	2	16.7%	10	83.3%
total urban	12	28.6%	30	71.4%
rural municipalities	3	16.7%	15	83.3%
local government districts	0	0%	3	100%
districts	27	45.0%	33	55.0%

TABLE 15: RESPONDENTS' UNDERSTANDING OF COMMISSION FUNCTION

CATEGORY OR COMMISSION	PERCEIVED UNDERSTANDING OF COMMISSION FUNCTION							
	POOR		FAIR		GOOD		EXCELLENT	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
cities	0	(0%)	4		6	(54.5%)	1	
towns	0	0%	7		8		4	
villages	0	0%	6		5		0	
total urban	0	0%	17		19		5	
rural municipalities	0	0%	6		10		2	
local government districts	0	0%	2		0		1	
districts	2		20		36		1	
total	2		45		65		9	

TABLE 16: RESPONDENTS' RANKING OF PLANNING COMMISSION FUNCTIONS, IDEAL AND ACTUAL

FUNCTION	IDEAL RANK (ACTUAL RANK)							
	URBAN COMMISSIONS		RURAL COMMISSIONS		DISTRICT COMMISSIONS		TOTAL	
familiarizing the general public with local planning	3	(6)	2	(4)	2	(4)	2	(5)
administering zoning controls	4	(1)	3	(3)	4	(2)	3	(2)
acting as a sounding board for council on local planning issues	2	(2)	6	(1)	5	(1)	5	(1)
reviewing subdivision proposals	6	(4)	4	(2)	6	(3)	6	(3)
providing liaison with local or regional agencies engaged in related planning	5	(5)	5	(6)	3	(5)	4	(6)
developing long-range land-use policy and plans	1	(3)	1	(5)	1	(6)	1	(4)

TABLE 17: COMMISSION LIAISON WITH OTHER LOCAL PLANNING AGENCIES AND THE GENERAL PUBLIC

CATEGORY OF COMMISSION	FREQUENCY OF LIAISON			
	NEVER	OCCASIONAL	FREQUENT	ONLY ON ZONING MATTERS
URBAN	2 (5%)	13 (32.5%)	20 (50%)	5 (12.5%)
RURAL	3 (15.8%)	4 (21.1%)	9 (47.4%)	3 (15.8%)
DISTRICT	10 (16.7%)	11 (18.3%)	28 (46.7%)	11 (18.3%)
TOTAL	15 (12.6%)	28 (23.6%)	57 (47.9%)	19 (16.0%)

TABLE 18 : REPORTED COUNCIL RESPONSE TO COMMISSION RECOMMENDATIONS

CATEGORY OF COMMISSION	COUNCIL RESPONSE			
	LITTLE OR NONE	RECEIVED AS INFORMATION	USUALLY REJECTED	USUALLY APPROVED
URBAN	2 (5%)	8 (20%)	0 (0%)	30 (75%)
RURAL	0 (0%)	2 (11%)	0 (0%)	16 (89%)
DISTRICT	0 (0%)	11 (19.3%)	2 (3.5%)	44 (77.2%)
TOTAL	2 (1.7%)	21 (18.3%)	2 (1.7%)	90 (78.1%)

TABLE 19: REPORTED FREQUENCY OF COUNCIL REQUESTS TO COMMISSION FOR ADVICE BEYOND THE STANDARD ADMINISTRATIVE FUNCTIONS

CATEGORY OF COMMISSION	FREQUENCY OF COUNCIL REQUESTS			
	NEVER	OCCASIONAL	FREQUENT	REGULAR
URBAN	4 (10%)	22 (55%)	7 (17.5%)	7 (17.5%)
RURAL	3 (17.7%)	8 (47.0%)	4 (23.6%)	2 (11.8%)
DISTRICT	11 (19.3%)	28 (49.1%)	11 (19.3%)	7 (12.3%)
TOTAL	18 (15.8%)	58 (50.8%)	22 (19.3%)	16 (14.0%)

liaison contact with the commission. Typical comments cited the advisory planning commissions' importance as objective, non-political advisors able to considerably aid the already overloaded councils.

Question 23, asking for comment on present compensation to commission members, was inserted simply to test an increasingly critical attitude noted by the author. The present legislation provides for only minimal compensation, in many instances insufficient to meet expenses. Of the rural respondents, only 32% reported insufficient compensation. However, in the busier urban commissions, 45% reported dissatisfaction and, in the large area district commissions (with the higher resultant travel time and cost factor), 34% felt the compensation to be inadequate. Most comments on this response testified to the desirability of voluntary service but suggested an adjustment to reflect the actual cost of time and travel involved.

In response to question 24, the large majority of answers indicated that commission effectiveness could be improved. Those respondents that felt their commissions to be effective merely asserted that fact. Those that perceived room for improvement tended to cite the need for more attention to planning rather than administration, the need for more public education to overcome ignorance, apathy, and opposition, the need for an area-wide or regional focus, and the necessity of more council contact and support, particularly in the area of enforcement. A few respondents, particularly members of rural or district commissions displayed considerable dissatisfaction with their progress; some suggested additional leadership from the provincial government.

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

Advisory Planning Commissions have been said[5] to be the logical result of the evolution of planning administration from the civic improvement groups of the early 1900's, composed of philanthropic, public-spirited citizens. These gave way to city planning committees, committed to the objectives of business and professional groups in protecting and developing urban amenities. As planning gained recognition as a legitimate function of local government, these private interests were superceded by government appointed planning commissions.

Planning commissions are generally restricted to advisory authority in the development and implementation of "official plans". They are normally comprised of appointed, uncompensated citizens, often assisted by professional staff or consultants. By virtue of representative composition and objective apolitical community interest, it is expected that the commissions will provide an unbiased comprehensive thrust to the local planning process.[6] In the following analysis, the legitimacy of some of these assumptions, vis-a-vis the sample, is examined.

Response to the questionnaire indicated that the majority of planning commission members in Manitoba were appointed simply because of interest in something referred to as 'planning'. In my own experience, appointment

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[5]Mary McLean (ed.); Local Planning Administration, (The International Managers' Association, Chicago, 1959), pp. 8-31.

[6]See R. Graham Murray; "Welcome to the Planning Board", The Citizen's Role in Community Planning, (C. P. A. C., Ottawa, 1967), Planning Primer, (Northern Natural Gas Co., Omaha, 1969); R. Graham Murray; "The ABC'S of Planning", Community Planning Review, (C.P.A.C., Ottawa, 1965); Robert W. Snyder, Zoning: Principles and Definitions, (U.S. Department of Agriculture, St. Paul)

is more likely due to personal acquaintance or reputation with the elected authorities. These are small communities. Social interaction in a host of local organizations has naturally produced a network of interpersonal contacts, limited, in large measure, to those who are actively involved in the community leadership. In larger, more diverse communities, it might be expected that formal education or experience would be a more important criterion for appointment.[7] A 1965 survey of planning directors suggested six important personal characteristics, however, which appear to coincide reasonably well with the profile of the typical questionnaire respondent:[8]

1. civic-mindedness.
2. interest in planning.
3. Business or professional competence.
4. high-standing in the community.
5. Freedom from conflict of interest.
6. available time for commission work.

One important inconsistency should be noted. In small communities, community leadership is often correlated with wealth and power. This may be closely connected to real estate holdings and, while the questionnaire technique does not lend itself to an illustration of such potential conflict, a number of the commissions of my experience did include members with extensive local property or development interests.

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[7] see Thomas J. Davies, The Planning Commission - Its Composition and Function, (ASPO Planning Advisory Service, Report No. 195, Chicago, 1965).

[8] David Emmons, The Planning Commission as Viewed by Planning Directors (ASPO Planning Advisory Service, Report No. 200, Chicago 1965) pp. 2-8.

The question of commission balance or representativeness is critical. The assumption of this quality is a cornerstone in the theory of the advisory planning commission. Planning directors tend to favor occupational balance, including professional representation, or geographic balance.[9] Architects, engineers, lawyers, and real estate men comprised almost 30 percent of the agencies studied by Davies.[10] However, Davies did note a decline in representation of these professions over previous samples. In any case, the Manitoba sample illustrated a similar preference for occupational or geographic balance (see Table 13).

The smaller commissions studied by Davies (ie. those more comparable to the Manitoba sample) reported an average of nearly 65% of commission time spent on zoning and subdivisions.[11] The Manitoba sample rated these functions as 1 and 3 of 6.

In terms of the Emmons study,[12] improved commission effectiveness revolved about more emphasis on long range planning, improved knowledge and training of commissioners, and decreased conflict of interest. Only the latter did not figure importantly in the questionnaire response.

WHAT IS THE ATTITUDE TO LOCAL PLANNING; ARE THE COMMUNITIES EFFECTIVE IN THE PLANNING PROCESS?

RESPONSE:

Response to question 25 merely confirmed a long-standing concern of the Branch. Nearly 30% of the respondents reported that their community had

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[9] ibid., David Emmons, The Planning Commission as Viewed by Planning Directors, pp. 9-10.

[10] ibid., Thomas J. Davies, The Planning Commission - Its Composition and Function

[11] ibid., pp. 2, 4, 29.

[12] ibid., Emmons, pp. 10-11.

no recognized policy with respect to the regulation of and provision for growth and change.

Question 26 offered six scenarios of community attitudes to planning. These might be characterized as follows:

1. gradualism and caution.
2. the city beautiful/city practical.
3. the road to serfdom.
4. the chamber of commerce.
5. comprehensiveness and responsiveness.
6. erosion of local autonomy.

The response is detailed in Table 20 , by order of frequency. The city beautiful/city practical or the cautious gradualist attitude was consistently identified as predominant. The "road to serfdom" attitude remains prevalent, apparently, in the rural municipalities.

A substantial 33.6% of all respondents reported that planning efforts in their community were rarely co-ordinated or unco-ordinated (see Table 21 , response to question 27). This problem was particularly significant for rural commissions where the corresponding response totalled 47.4%.

Question 28 sought to add a further dimension to understanding of local attitudes to planning. The response is tabulated in the following. (Table No. 22)

TABLE 20: RESPONDENTS' PERCEPTION OF COMMUNITY ATTITUDE TO PLANNING

CATEGORY OF COMMISSION	COMMUNITY ATTITUDE (RANKED BY FREQUENCY OF RESPONSE)					
	GRADUALISM & CAUTION	CITY BEAUTIFUL/ CITY PRACTICAL	ROAD TO SERFDOM	CHAMBER OF COMMERCE	COMPREHENSIVENESS & RESPONSIVENESS	EROSION OF LOCAL AUTONOMY
urban	2 (23.8%)	1 (28.8%)	5 (6.8%)	4 (13.5%)	3 (22.0%)	6 (5.1%)
rural	1 (30.3%)	2 (21.2%)	3 (18.2%)	5 (6.1%)	6 (15.2%)	4 (9.1%)
districts	1 (29.1%)	2 (26.9%)	5 (6.5%)	4 (9.7%)	3 (23.6%)	6 (4.3%)
total	1 (27.6%)	2 (26.5%)	5 (8.6%)	4 (10.3%)	3 (21.6%)	6 (5.4%)

TABLE 21: RESPONDENTS' OPINION OF LOCAL PLANNING CO-ORDINATION

CATEGORY OF COMMISSION	PERCEIVED DEGREE OF PLANNING CO-ORDINATION			
	UNCO-ORDINATED	RARELY CO-ORDINATED	USUALLY CO-ORDINATED	WELL CO-ORDINATED
urban	5 (12.5%)	9 (22.5%)	19 (47.5%)	7 (17.5%)
rural	3 (15.8%)	6 (31.6%)	8 (42.0%)	2 (10.6%)
districts	5 (9.3%)	10 (18.5%)	33 (61.0%)	6 (11.1%)
total	13 (11.5%)	25 (22.1%)	60 (53.1%)	15 (13.3%)

TABLE 22: RESPONDENTS' PERCEPTION OF COMMUNITY REACTION TO PLANNING

CATEGORY OF COMMISSION	PERCEIVED COMMUNITY REACTION			
	ANTAGONISTIC	APATHETIC	INTERESTED	INVOLVED
urban	1 (2.6%)	20 (51.3%)	15 (38.5%)	3 (7.7%)
rural	5 (20.8%)	6 (25.0%)	11 (45.9%)	2 (8.9%)
district	4 (7.0%)	21 (36.9%)	28 (49.1%)	4 (7.0%)
total	10 (8.3%)	47 (39.2%)	54 (45.0%)	9 (7.5%)

Nearly 40% of the respondents reported an apathetic reaction, corresponding with only 7.5% involvement. Apathy appeared substantially more prevalent in urban areas. Antagonism was a major factor only in the rural areas.

ANALYSIS:

The background to the rather disappointing evaluation of local planning was dramatically provided in response to question 29. Twelve respondents specified the need for more public participation to improve the local planning process. This sensitivity to the rather insular status of the planning advisors and authorities portrayed in the preceding response was developed to a reasonable degree. Simple publicity was not enough. Public feedback was to be respected. Only two respondents suggested flatly that the public was intolerant and/or apathetic. Most recommended ways of improving.

It is interesting, however, that although respondents viewed information as the key to public support and public support as the way to an improved process, the suggestions indicated some rather subtle distinctions in understanding of this relationship. Forty responses focussed on the need for improved public relations. Use the media; conduct public meetings. The implied message is that the authorities are doing fine; simply tell

TABLE 23: SUGGESTED IMPROVEMENTS TO THE LOCAL PLANNING PROCESS[13]

CATEGORY OF COMMISSION	NUMBER OF RESPONSES BY CATEGORY					
	public relations	public education	improved or simplified procedures	improved council relations	commission	provincial planning and coordination
urban	17	2	2	3	3	1
rural	4	3	-	1	1	2
districts	19	10	8	2	-	-
total	40	15	10	6	4	3

the public what they are doing and there will be no problem. Fifteen of the respondents, however, suggested the solution was public education. Further research is required, of course, but it would appear that some commissioners see the development of public involvement as an educatory process rather than simple information release. Research would have to verify whether or not the education process is viewed as reversible, whether feedback would be encouraged and nurtured or planning principles would be handed down on 'stone tablets'.

WHAT IS THE ATTITUDE TO THE MUNICIPAL PLANNING BRANCH: ARE THE CLIENTS SATISFIED WITH BRANCH PERFORMANCE?

Response to questions 30 and 31 has not been tabulated. The purpose was merely to introduce the issue of staff attendance in order to assess its impact on perceived performance. In general, the frequency of Branch liaison attendance at commission meetings is dependent on the requests

[13] The question was open-ended. Responses were grouped, rather approximately, under the six headings utilized here. A few isolated suggestions have not been tabulated.

received. In a few isolated areas, weather conditions and/or the time-distance factor does limit attendance. In a very few instances, the Branch has itself, because of staff shortages or overlapping assignments, been forced to priorize commitments on the basis of more critical meetings or more active communities.

The question of staff availability is complicated by turnover in personnel. Ten % of the respondents reported that their liaison planner had been assigned to the community for less than one year, 41% that the assignment had been of 1 to 3 years duration. Reported length of assignment exceeded three years in 49% of the responses. More important was the respondent's view of continuity of a planner's assignment in terms of familiarity with the local situation. (see Table 24). Eighteen percent of respondents suggested that discontinuity was a problem; 26% in the case of district commission responses.

TABLE 24: RESPONDENTS' PERCEPTION OF DISCONTINUOUS ASSIGNMENT AS PREVENTING FAMILIARITY WITH THE LOCAL SITUATION

CATEGORY OF COMMISSION	PROBLEM	NO PROBLEM
urban	6 (15.4%)	33 (84.6%)
rural	0 (0%)	19 (100.0%)
district	15 (26.3%)	42 (73.7%)
total	21 (18.2%)	94 (81.7%)

Questions 33 and 34 produced a fascinating response. Commissioners were requested to rank a list of technical and personal qualities in order of importance to the liaison function and then to rate their current liaison representative on those same characteristics. Analysis involved a weighting

of the response to produce a recognizable pattern. This involved a weighting scale of 6, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1 applied to rankings 1 to 10 respectively. Where the respondent did not indicate a range of 10 rankings, the range was redistributed over the scale of 10 and weighted accordingly. Total score per characteristic was then tabulated by category of commission and a scale of ranked importance produced (see Table 25).

In rating the planners, excellent to poor scores were weighted 4, 3, 2, 1 respectively. A percentage score (of the possible) was produced for each characteristic. For each individual planner, this score was then compared to a performance norm equivalent to the average score of all planners on that characteristic. In order to obtain an overall performance rating for comparative purposes, the score on each characteristic was weighted (using a scale of 6, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1) by the overall ranking of that characteristic in importance. Sample individual score sheet and aggregates for Winnipeg, for the field offices, and for the various categories of commission have been reproduced in the following pages. Tables 26 to 32 summarize the results.

TABLE 25: RESPONDENTS' RANKING OF SELECTED QUALIFICATIONS AND CHARACTERISTICS OF A GOOD LIAISON PLANNER

characteristic	weighted score (and rank) by category of commission							
	urban		rural		district		total[14]	
1. understanding of local people and their attitudes	124	(1)	44	(7)	193	(1)	365	(1)
2. appreciation of local problems and issues	103	(5)	50	(4)	167	(2)	326	(3)
3. familiarity with the local planning scheme	122	(2)	58	(1)	157	(3)	349	(2)
4. knowledge of the technical aspects of planning	106	(4)	47	(6)	130	(8)	298	(6)
5. knowledge of provincial legislation and policies relating to the Planning Act	107	(3)	57	(2)	137	(6)	314	(4)
6. knowledge of provincial legislation and policies relating to community affairs in general	93	(7)	51	(3)	125	(9)	279	(8)
7. willingness to become involved in discussion of controversial planning issues and decisions	90	(8)	40	(8)	157	(4)	291	(7)
8. ability to communicate clearly	101	(6)	50	(5)	157	(5)	311	(5)
9. leadership ability	65	(10)	35	(10)	137	(7)	240	(9)
10. assistance in development of a comprehensive approach to local planning programs	82	(9)	39	(9)	103	(10)	228	(10)

[14] The total includes three responses from local government districts which have not been otherwise categorized.

TABLE 26 : INDIVIDUAL LIAISON PLANNER; SAMPLE RATING

planner : sample
sample size: 20

weighted score: 80%

	respondent's ranking (overall) of desirability of characteristic	respondent's grading of planner's performance in this characteristic (% of total possible score)	performance norm: average % score (all planners)	weight of characteristic (from ranking)	weight x planner's score
1. understanding of local people and their attitudes	1	10 (75%)	68	6	450
2. appreciation of local problems and issues	3	8 (76%)	74	4	304
3. familiarity with the local planning scheme	2	1 (91%)	86	5	455
4. knowledge of the technical aspects of planning	6	2 (89%)	86	1	89
5. knowledge of provincial legislation and policies relating to the Planning Act	4	3 (83%)	83	3	249
6. knowledge of provincial legislation and policies relating to community affairs in general	8	6 (80%)	78	1	80
7. willingness to become involved in discussion of controversial planning issues and decisions	7	5 (82%)	77	1	82
8. ability to communicate clearly	5	8 (76%)	76	2	152
9. leadership ability	9	7 (77%)	73	1	77
10. assistance in development of a comprehensive approach to local planning programs	10	3 (83%)	79	1	83

2021/2500

TABLE 27: WINNIPEG OFFICE PLANNERS; AGGREGATE RATING

planner : Winnipeg
sample size:

weighted score: 75%

	respondent's ranking (overall) of desirability of characteristic	respondent's grading of planner's performance in this characteristic (% of total possible score)	performance norm: average % score (all planners)	weight of characteristic (from ranking)	weight x planner's score
1. understanding of local people and their attitudes	1	10 (65%)	68	6	390
2. appreciation of local problems and issues	3	8 (71%)	74	4	284
3. familiarity with the local planning scheme	2	1 (86%)	86	5	430
4. knowledge of the technical aspects of planning	6	2 (85%)	86	1	85
5. knowledge of provincial legislation and policies relating to the Planning Act	4	3 (82%)	83	3	246
6. knowledge of provincial legislation and policies relating to community affairs in general	8	5 (76%)	78	1	76
7. willingness to become involved in discussion of controversial planning issues and decisions	7	6 (73%)	77	1	73
8. ability to communicate clearly	5	6 (73%)	76	2	146
9. leadership ability	9	8 (71%)	73	1	71
10. assistance in development of a comprehensive approach to local planning programs	10	4 (77%)	79	1	71

1872/2500

TABLE 28: FIELD OFFICE PLANNERS; AGGREGATE RATING

planner : Field Offices
sample size:

weighted score: 80%

	respondent's ranking (overall) of desirability of characteristic	respondent's grading of planner's performance in this characteristic (% of total possible score)	performance norm: average % score (all planners)	weight of characteristic (from ranking)	weight x planner's score
1. understanding of local people and their attitudes	1	10 (72%)	68	6	432
2. appreciation of local problems and issues	3	8 (78%)	74	4	312
3. familiarity with the local planning scheme	2	1 (86%)	86	5	430
4. knowledge of the technical aspects of planning	6	1 (86%)	86	1	86
5. knowledge of provincial legislation and policies relating to the Planning Act	4	3 (84%)	83	3	252
6. knowledge of provincial legislation and policies relating to community affairs in general	8	6 (80%)	78	1	80
7. willingness to become involved in discussion of controversial planning issues and decisions	7	4 (82%)	77	1	82
8. ability to communicate clearly	5	6 (80%)	76	2	160
9. leadership ability	9	9 (76%)	73	1	76
10. assistance in development of a comprehensive approach to local planning programs	10	5 (81%)	79	1	81

1991/2500

TABLE 29: URBAN LIAISON; AGGREGATE RATING

planner : all urban
sample size:

weighted score: 79%

	respondent's ranking (overall) of desirability of characteristic	respondent's grading of planner's performance in this characteristic (% of total possible score)	performance norm: average % score (all planners)	weight of characteristic (from ranking)	weight x planner's score
1. understanding of local people and their attitudes	1	10 (66%)	68	6	396
2. appreciation of local problems and issues	5	6 (77%)	74	2	154
3. familiarity with the local planning scheme	2	1 (90%)	86	5	450
4. knowledge of the technical aspects of planning	4	2 (86%)	86	3	258
5. knowledge of provincial legislation and policies relating to the Planning Act	3	2 (86%)	83	4	344
6. knowledge of provincial legislation and policies relating to community affairs in general	7	4 (79%)	78	1	79
7. willingness to become involved in discussion of controversial planning issues and decisions	8	5 (78%)	77	1	78
8. ability to communicate clearly	6	8 (73%)	76	1	73
9. leadership ability	10	9 (72%)	73	1	72
10. assistance in development of a comprehensive approach to local planning programs	9	7 (75%)	79	1	75

1979 / 2500

TABLE 30: RURAL LIAISON; AGGREGATE RATING

planner : all rural
sample size:

weighted score: 7%

	respondent's ranking (overall) of desirability of characteristic	respondent's grading of planner's performance in this characteristic (% of total possible score)	performance norm: average % score (all planners)	weight of characteristic (from ranking)	weight x planner's score
1. understanding of local people and their attitudes	7	10 (69%)	68	1	69
2. appreciation of local problems and issues	4	9 (70%)	74	3	210
3. familiarity with the local planning scheme	1	1 (85%)	86	6	510
4. knowledge of the technical aspects of planning	9	1 (85%)	86	1	85
5. knowledge of provincial legislation and policies relating to the Planning Act	2	4 (81%)	83	5	405
6. knowledge of provincial legislation and policies relating to community affairs in general	3	5 (78%)	78	4	312
7. willingness to become involved in discussion of controversial planning issues and decisions	8	8 (72%)	77	1	72
8. ability to communicate clearly	5	6 (75%)	76	2	150
9. leadership ability	10	6 (75%)	73	1	75
10. assistance in development of a comprehensive approach to local planning programs	9	1 (85%)	79	1	85

TABLE 31 : DISTRICT LIAISON; AGGREGATE RATING

planner : all district
sample size:

weighted score: 77%

	respondent's ranking (overall) of desirability of characteristic	respondent's grading of planner's performance in this characteristic (% of total possible score)	performance norm: average % score (all planners)	weight of characteristic (from ranking)	weight x planner's score
1. understanding of local people and their attitudes	1		68	6	414
2. appreciation of local problems and issues	2		74	4	296
3. familiarity with the local planning scheme	3		86	5	415
4. knowledge of the technical aspects of planning	8		86	1	85
5. knowledge of provincial legislation and policies relating to the Planning Act	6		83	3	243
6. knowledge of provincial legislation and policies relating to community affairs in general	9		78	1	78
7. willingness to become involved in discussion of controversial planning issues and decisions	4		77	1	79
8. ability to communicate clearly	5		76	2	156
9. leadership ability	7		73	1	73
10. assistance in development of a comprehensive approach to local planning programs	10		79	1	80

1919/2500

TABLE 32: LIAISON; OVERALL RATING

planner : all planners
sample size:

weighted score: 77%

	respondent's ranking (overall) of desirability of characteristic	respondent's grading of planner's performance in this characteristic (% of total possible score)	performance norm: average % score (all planners)	weight of characteristic (from ranking)	weight x planner's score
1. understanding of local people and their attitudes	1	10 (68%)	68	6	408
2. appreciation of local problems and issues	3	8 (74%)	74	4	296
3. familiarity with the local planning scheme	2	1 (86%)	86	5	430
4. knowledge of the technical aspects of planning	6	1 (86%)	86	1	86
5. knowledge of provincial legislation and policies relating to the Planning Act	4	3 (83%)	83	3	249
6. knowledge of provincial legislation and policies relating to community affairs in general	8	5 (78%)	78	1	78
7. willingness to become involved in discussion of controversial planning issues and decisions	7	6 (77%)	77	1	77
8. ability to communicate clearly	5	7 (76%)	76	2	152
9. leadership ability	9	9 (73%)	73	1	73
10. assistance in development of a comprehensive approach to local planning programs	10	4 (79%)	79	1	79

1928/2500

Question 35 requested respondents to indicate wnether their communities full utilized the available branch services (see Table 33). Roughly 1/3 of the respondents answered that services could be more fully utilized. A few comments indicated a belief that Branch service was either too slow or the staff was too busy. In other words, services were not developed to the potential of liaison capability. A few others voiced dissatisfaction

TABLE 33: RESPONDENTS' PERCEPTION OF COMMUNITY USE OF BRANCH SERVICES

CATEGORY OF COMMISSION	use of branch services	
	maximum extent	not maximum extent
urban	26 (70.3%)	11 (29.7%)
rural	9 (60.9%)	6 (40.0%)
district	34 (64.1%)	19 (35.9%)
total	69 (65.7%)	36 (34.3%)

with the community organization in asking for help. These comments often seemed to stem from failure of the respondent to obtain attention to an issue he felt to be critical.

Question 36 asked commission members to rate the quality of Branch response to a variety of requests (see Table 34). The percentage of respondents indicating some inadequacy hovered consistently around 20%. The district commissions reported substantially more dissatisfaction in terms of general service and the preparation of development plans. The rural commission satisfaction was substantially better for these categories; subdivision service seemed to be the major rural complaint. Urban commission members were most dissatisfied with subdivision and development plan service.

TABLE 34: PERCEIVED QUALITY OF BRANCH RESPONSE TO LOCAL REQUESTS FOR SELECTED CATEGORIES OF SERVICE

category of commission	number of responses by service category					
	subdivisions		general		development plans	
	adequate	inadequate[15]	adequate	inadequate	adequate	inadequate
urban	31 (79.5%)	8 (20.5%)	36 (90.9%)	4 (10.0%)	30 (78.9%)	8 (21.1%)
rural	13 (76.5%)	4 (23.5%)	15 (88.2%)	2 (11.8%)	15 (88.2%)	2 (11.8%)
district	45 (81.8%)	10 (18.2%)	41 (75.9%)	13 (24.2%)	41 (75.9%)	13 (24.2%)
total	89 (80.2%)	22 (19.8%)	92 (82.9%)	19 (17.1%)	86 (78.9%)	23 (21.1%)

ABLE 35 : PERCEIVED SPEED OF BRANCH RESPONSE TO LOCAL REQUESTS FOR SELECTED CATEGORIES OF SERVICE

category of ommission	no. of responses by service category							
	amendment preparation		subdivision or design aid		general service		development plans	
	fair to excellent	poor	fair to excellent	poor	fair to excellent	poor	fair to excellent	poor
rban	36 (92.3%)	3 (7.7%)	39 (95.1%)	2 (4.9%)	38 (95.0%)	2 (5.0%)	36 (94.8%)	2 (5.2%)
ural	13 (92.9%)	1 (7.1%)	15 (93.8%)	1 (6.2%)	16 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)	13 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)
istrict	50 (96.2%)	2 (3.8%)	48 (97.9%)	1 (2.1%)	52 (98.1%)	1 (1.9%)	52 (96.3%)	2 (3.7%)
otal	99 (94.3%)	6 (5.7%)	102 (96.2%)	4 (3.8%)	106 (97.3%)	3 (2.7%)	101 (96.2%)	4 (3.8%)

In fact, respondents were invited to check one of three degrees of inadequacy; always, occasionally, and usually. These responses have been combined for purposes of tabulation.

Question 37 offered respondents a further opportunity to comment on Branch service, specifically on speed of response. Results are tabulated in the following.

The percentage of respondents classifying response speed as poor exceeded 5% only for amendments in rural and urban commissions, for subdivisions in rural commissions, and for development plans in urban commissions.

Question 39 asked specifically for an evaluation of the Branch's public education efforts to the extent that these were familiar to respondents (see Table 36). Over 60% of the respondents were unaware of any public education program. Over 45% were unaware of any training seminars. Of those that were aware of the education program and training seminars, over 60% and nearly 50% respectively were not satisfied.

TABLE 36 : RESPONDENTS' SATISFACTION WITH PUBLIC EDUCATION PROGRAM

category of commission	public education						planning commission seminars					
	satisfied		not satisfied		unaware		satisfied		not satisfied		unaware	
urban	4	(10.0%)	7	(17.5%)	29	(72.5%)	7	(18.9%)	10	(27.0%)	20	(54.1%)
rural	3	(18.8%)	2	(12.5%)	11	(68.7%)	5	(27.8%)	6	(33.3%)	7	(38.9%)
district	8	(15.2%)	15	(28.3%)	30	(56.6%)	17	(34.7%)	11	(22.4%)	21	(42.9%)
total	15	(13.8%)	24	(22.1%)	70	(64.2%)	29	(27.8%)	27	(26.0%)	48	(46.2%)

In question 40, respondents were asked to consider the emphasis on restrictive features in the planning legislation. 35% of the respondents considered the emphasis undesirable. Nearly 50% were fully satisfied. Rural respondents tended to be more disturbed by the negative, regulatory bias.

TABLE 37: RESPONDENTS' OPINION OF PRESENT RESTRICTIVE EMPHASIS OF PLANNING LEGISLATION

category of commission	undesirable & unnecessary	undesirable & necessary	desirable but should be reduced	desirable
urban	0 (0.0%)	13 (32.5%)	7 (17.5%)	20 (50.0%)
rural	0 (0.0%)	7 (41.2%)	3 (17.6%)	7 (41.2%)
district	1 (1.8%)	15 (26.7%)	6 (10.7%)	34 (60.7%)
total	1 (1.0%)	35 (34.0%)	16 (15.5%)	51 (49.5%)

Question 41 sought to clarify two frequently expressed but divergent viewpoints; the question of protecting the citizen vis-a-vis pressure to hasten the administrative processes of local planning (see Table 38). Response was extremely consistent. Only 12.6% believed that the regulations were overly complex and/or time-consuming.

TABLE 38 : RESPONDENTS' ATTITUDE TO THE COMPLEXITY AND THE TIME INVOLVED IN PRESENT ADVERTISEMENT, NOTICE, AND PUBLIC HEARING REGULATIONS

category of commission	complexity necessary	complexity not necessary
urban	34 (87.2%)	5 (12.8%)
rural	15 (88.2%)	2 (11.8%)
district	48 (87.3%)	7 (12.7%)
total	97 (87.4%)	14 (12.6%)

The most common criticism of the regulations was simply that they require too much time and tend to restrict development. Comments in support specified the need for a citizen appeal and the encouragement of citizen participation. A number of suggestions for improvement were made. These centred on simplifying the process, providing more complete background

information, using the media for more effective and simplified advertisements, and reducing the work load on municipal staff.

TABLE 39: RESPONDENTS' ATTITUDE TO MINISTERIAL APPROVAL AND APPEAL PROVISIONS IN EXISTING LEGISLATION

category of commission	provisions necessary	provisions not necessary
urban	29 (83.0%)	6 (17.1%)
rural	14 (93.4%)	1 (6.7%)
district	45 (88.3%)	6 (11.8%)
total	88 (87.1%)	13 (12.9%)

The preceding table illustrates the response to question 42. Eighty-seven percent of the respondents felt that the present legislative provisions for ministerial approval and reference to the Municipal Board were necessary. Those favoring the provisions referred to the superior knowledge of the Board and to the occasional necessity for outside authority in settling disagreements, or avoiding possible local bias. Cautions were raised that the board hearings be kept informal and that the decisions be clear. Opponents of provincial ratification stressed the desirability of local autonomy and the likelihood of local authorities knowing best how to respond to the uniquely local aspects of many planning decisions.

Charges for municipal planning assistance were, at one time, on a consistent per capita levy over the period of the service contract. In recent years, a differential charge has been assessed; 40¢ per capita for urban municipalities, 30¢ per capita for rural. Asked for an opinion on cost in question 43, 20% of the respondents said that costs were too high.

Urban commissioners were more adamant in this respect, 32% stating that costs were too high.

Question 44 attempted to assess the commissioners' attitude to forgoing continuing contract service in favor of assistance on a project by project basis. There is some doubt as to how well the question was understood. However, 20.6% did indicate an interest in obtaining service on request. Most respondents expressed the belief that their community required a planner's service on a full-time basis. Those interested in project service, in many cases, specified that a firm bylaw and development plan would be first required.

TABLE 40 : RESPONDENTS' ATTITUDE TO CANCELLING OF CONTINUED CONTRACT SERVICE IN FAVOR OF PROJECT-BASED ASSISTANCE

category of commission	prefer continuing contract	prefer service on request
urban	26 (81.3%)	6 (18.7%)
rural	14 (77.8%)	4 (22.2%)
district	37 (78.8%)	10 (21.2%)
total	77 (79.4%)	20 (20.6%)

Question 45 did not produce a useable response. Too many non-district members replied and the attitude of the districts to the quorum and voting complexities of joint jurisdiction were not clear.

Open-ended response was permitted in questions 38, 46, and 47. Question 38 asked for suggestions on improving the municipal planning service. Question 46 sought an opinion on the worth of current planning schemes. Question 47 simply requested general comments.

Response to question 38 is tabulated in the following. Only the more regular comments are included and these have been re-worded to permit categorization.

1. liaison planners should live in the area
2. more public education is required
3. branch is understaffed, service is erratic
4. branch liaison planners could be better
5. planners should be less dogmatic, more appreciative of local needs.
6. red tape should be reduced

In response, to question 46, just over 5% of the respondents indicated dissatisfaction with their current planning scheme. Typical problems cited in the comments were the need for revision, for greater council support, for better enforcement and implementation, and for complementary development planning.

TABLE 41 : RESPONDENTS' OPINION OF VALUE OF THEIR CURRENT PLANNING SCHEME

category of commission	scheme useful	scheme not useful
urban	37 (94.9%)	2 (5.1%)
rural	17 (94.4%)	1 (5.6%)
district	54 (94.8%)	3 (5.3%)
total	108 (94.7%)	6 (5.3%)

Response to the final question was largely repetitive of earlier comments. Again the need for more effective public education and commission training and the need for additional council support was stressed. To quote one district planning commission member;

"Planning, to a newcomer, seems to be a never-ending task with few or no tangible results. The legal processes are lengthy, time-consuming and frustrating if you are the individual being held up by them. However, planning that stays within the bounds of common sense, that allows for the grey areas rather than all black or white, that involves as many people from as broad a range of views as possible, can't help but avoid some misfortunes and, in the end, be advantageous to the community as a whole."

ANALYSIS:

Evaluation of Branch performance was perhaps most illuminating in the ranking and rating of liaison planners. Internal staff discussions have often centred on the desirability of decentralizing the liaison function. The ranking of local understanding and appreciation as the most critical characteristics of a liaison planner is, therefore, particularly significant. The relatively low scores of the planners in these characteristics, combined with the marginally better performance of the field office planners, is even more significant.

Dissatisfaction of district commission members was not entirely unexpected. These tend to be the newest commissions and are the least advanced in terms of the administrative and regulatory accoutrements so important in traditional municipal planning.

Evaluation of branch public education programs was nothing short of disastrous. Repeated mention of the importance of improved education and information contains a very clear message for the Branch. Additional research is required to more clearly establish the kind and thurst of

the programs desired by the respondents relative to the suggestions contained in the thesis, itself.

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