CHALLENGES TO AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR IMPLEMENTING SMART GROWTH: A DOWNTOWN GUELPH CASE STUDY

by

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AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

I understand that my thesis may be made electronically available to the public.

ABSTRACT

My research considers both the challenges to and opportunities for implementing Smart Growth strategies in the City of Guelph's urban growth centre, with a particular focus on the St. Patrick's Ward neighbourhood. I follow the development of the downtown secondary plan-making process, spanning the time period from March 2010 to June 2011, which includes public participation by residents in the St. Patrick's Ward and the city at large. The plan-making process started prior to, and continues after, my chosen timeframe, but the information collected in my case study brings to light the complexity of drafting a secondary plan for implementing Smart Growth strategies; the plan should ideally establish a framework for local interpretation and implementation of Smart Growth – the widely supported intensification and redevelopment strategy.

I take the view that while a plan can be written to code and be argued rationally by experts, its effectiveness and ethical validity is a function of public participation in planning decisions that include values-rational anchoring, i.e. critical and ethical reflection on the value of a goal. Although many guiding principles and recommendations in the draft Plan are based on Smart Growth strategies, the physical scale of urban intensification is today very much focused on density numbers under the Growth Plan for the Greater Golden Horseshoe. The City of Guelph's draft Downtown Secondary Plan primarily seeks to facilitate high-density, mid- to high-rise condominium and/or office developments. This may in turn lead to increased spatial segregation based on socioeconomic differences. Like in Toronto, Guelph's Downtown Secondary Plan deregulates zoning by-laws and reduces bureaucratic 'red tape' for the high-density development industry through more flexible policies. Potential socioeconomic

consequences like displacement of entire populations, services, and jobs from the newly re-valued places are, however, not addressed in the Plan; the policy language and conceptual thinking appears primarily geared toward redevelopment and infill.

The overall lesson learned from studying the plan-making process leading up to the City of Guelph's 1st Draft Downtown Secondary Plan concerns the role of planning in implementing Smart Growth; being a specific form of urban planning, Smart Growth implementation requires facilitation and education of stakeholders who are willing to compromise, but not beyond the point where "smart" is removed from "growth". Given the overarching responsibility of the government to drive home this message, every stakeholder working for the public interest must collaboratively define, steer, and direct the process and private interests at each and every step along the road. The case of Guelph demonstrates the difficulty of prioritizing such a responsibility. Thus, potential future pressures to push and undermine Smart Growth's synergistic and public participatory core value must be monitored and controlled with long-term objectives in mind.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION

Predicted population growth poses both challenges to, and opportunities for, the provincially identified Urban Growth Centres in Ontario's Toronto-oriented Greater Golden Horseshoe (GGH). By year 2031, a forecasted additional 3.7 million people (from year 2001) will have settled in the region, at which time the City of Guelph (population 114,943; 2006 Census) is expected to be home to approximately 175,000 people (Ontario, 2006; Guelph, 2009).

A hierarchy of planning documents pertain to the urban growth centres, from the overarching *Planning Act* and the *Provincial Policy Statement* (PPS) to the regional *Places to Grow: Growth Plan for the Greater Golden Horseshoe, 2006 (Growth Plan)* and the municipalities' individual *Official Plan* and local *Secondary Plan*, when provided. The planning principles guiding the Growth Plan in the GGH and subsequent documents adopt Smart Growth principles.[1] In the case of Guelph, a great number of public, private, and citizen interests have participated in drafting a new *Downtown Secondary Plan*. The local plan-making process reflects pressing challenges to, and opportunities for, implementing Smart Growth.

Required by the PPS to build strong communities, planners must consider the many stakeholder values and preferences expressed and ensure that cities grow smarter, i.e. by "promoting efficient land use and development patterns; …support strong, livable and healthy communities, protect the environment and public health and safety, and facilitate economic growth" (PPS, 2005, 4). As such, under the Growth Plan, the City of

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[1] **Smart Growth** is based on social values and land use principles; it may be defined as the policies and practices that promote compact forms of development which reduce automobile dependence through higher density, mixing of land uses and greater public and active modes of transportation than present development.

Guelph expanded its downtown borders to form an Urban Growth Centre (Figure 1-1),
and it now seeks to have it "evolve from a civic and business/commercial centre to a
more diverse and complete community" (City of Guelph, 2010a, 21).

Figure 1-1: Urban Growth Centre boundary expansion (City of Guelph, 2010b)

With this vision in mind, there are opportunities and challenges in the efforts to
reach a downtown density target of 150 people and jobs per hectare by 2031, up from a
current approximate density of 96 people and jobs per hectare (City of Guelph, 2010a).
The city's Local Growth Management Strategy identifies the opportunity for creating
approximately 2,000 – 3,000 new residential units and approximately 1,500 new jobs
within the urban growth centre boundary. For the city as a whole, a greater portion of
housing units than previously built will be in the form of multiple townhouses and

low/mid/high rise apartments (Guelph, 2009). To achieve these and other objectives, the city's forthcoming Downtown Secondary Plan, *Envision Guelph Downtown*, will provide policy guidance for future developments, and, akin to the city's Official Plan, the secondary plan also reflects Smart Growth principles.

One of the primary sites for new high-density residential development is the industrial property at 5 Arthur Street South (Figure 1-2), formerly known as W.C. Wood Company Limited Plant #1 and today classified as a brownfield site.[2] It was purchased by Arthur EMPC Four Limited in February 2010, which is a subsidiary of Kilmer Brownfield Equity Fund L.P. ('Kilmer'), a Toronto-based brownfield redevelopment company. The property, a 9-acre, former distillery, foundry, and appliance manufacturing site, is located on the Speed River within the Urban Growth Centre, bordering the traditional downtown Commercial Business District (CBD) on the one side and the well-established low-density neighbourhood of St. Patrick's Ward – The Ward – on the other.[3]

Judging by initial community meetings held in The Ward in the spring of 2010, many residents living close to the proposed redevelopment were unaware of, and subsequently concerned about the scale of potential new developments, consistent with the Urban Growth Centre boundary expansion. However, a group of local residents were quick to organize, undertaking social mobilization, policy education, planning principles formulation, and planning process collaboration. By establishing *The Ward Residents' Association* (TWRA), the group of concerned residents added a neighbourhood

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[2] **Brownfield sites**: means previously developed properties that may be contaminated. They are usually, but not exclusively, former industrial or commercial properties that may be underutilized, derelict or vacant" (Ontario Provincial Policy Statement, 2005, 29).

[3] **The Ward**: Officially named the St. Patrick's Ward, which in turn forms part of the greater politically defined Ward 1; referred to as *The Ward* locally.

stakeholder party to the debate, in turn extending the drafting process significantly.[4]

Figure 1-2: 5 Arthur Street South, Key Plan (City of Guelph, 2010c)
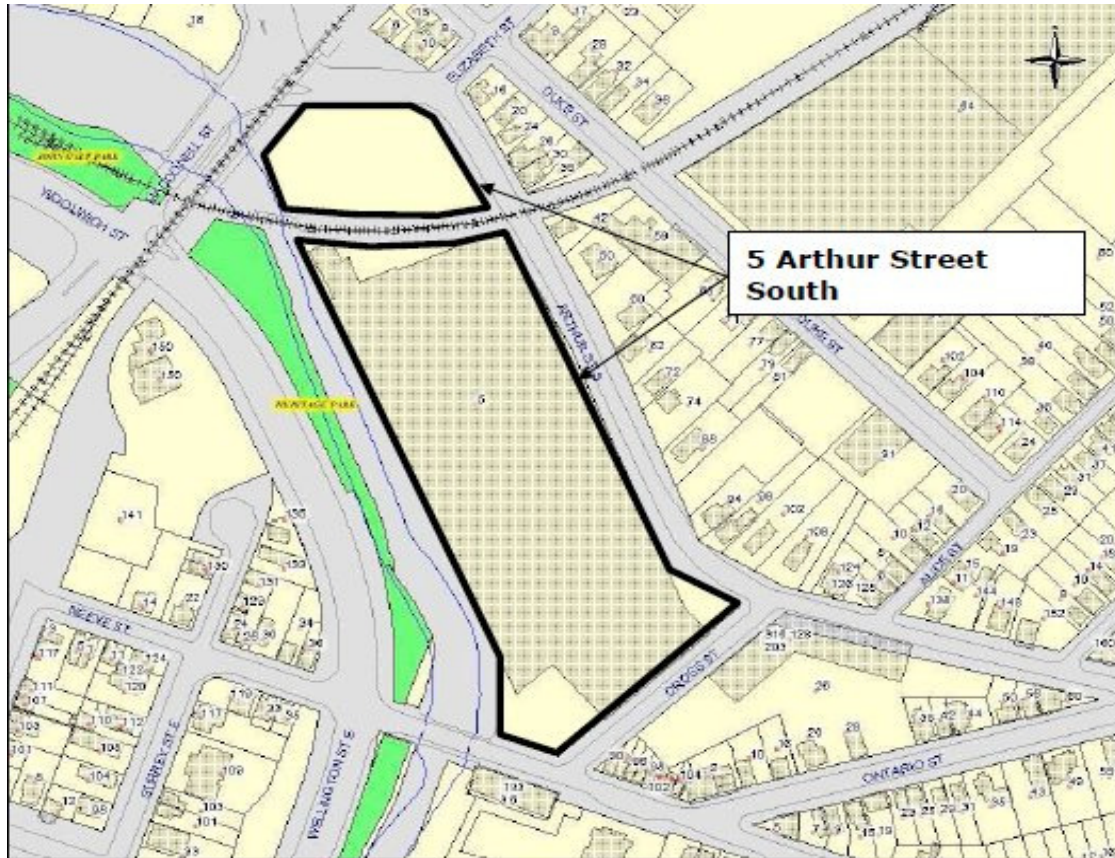
1.1 Problem Statement

Taking a comprehensive view, this study analyses how a variety of planning challenges and opportunities come together in The Ward, under the City of Guelph's Downtown Secondary Plan drafting process, including: Smart Growth theory, provincial and municipal planning policies, downtown brownfield (designated residential and mixed use) redevelopment realities, and stakeholder values. Stakeholders participating in the

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[4] **Stakeholder:** Participants in consensual processes; parties with something to gain or lose in the process (Hodge and Gordon, 2008, 281). It should be noted that I believe being a *stakeholder* in a specific process is different (and somewhat less than) to being a *citizen* in general; the word stakeholder is corporate in nature, while citizenship refers to our democratic rights and responsibilities through Rousseau's *Social Contract*.

highly political process might advocate either narrow or broad interests. Preferably they come together to find a compromise that benefits everyone collectively, but the collective process can be compromised by special interests controlling the participation.

The case study presents an interpretive analysis of the Downtown Secondary Plan plan-making process that takes place amidst a variety of dynamic factors: differing stakeholder values and Smart Growth interpretations, past downtown redevelopment experiences, current market pressures, and specific public organization and participation dynamics. The challenge is to understand the likelihood of a successful outcome; to what degree does the process enhance the holistic theory of Smart Growth, and to what degree is such a plan-making process approach good or bad, and for whom?

1.2 Purpose Statement

This research will analyze the values expressed by a variety of active stakeholders during the drafting of the forthcoming Downtown Secondary Plan, with a particular focus on the redevelopment of the former 5 Arthur Street South site. The plan-making process leading up to a collectively preferred city building alternative, as expressed in the March 2011 Draft Downtown Secondary Plan, is analyzed by comprehensively studying the theory that guides, the policy that formalizes, and the negotiation of planning principles that is prioritized through this process. Stakeholder values, choices, and power meet and plot a route through this process, and, in light of Bent Flyvbjerg's values-rational planning theory described in the literature review (Chapter 2), the aim of the research is to observe and identify the local challenges and opportunities affecting its implementation. The purpose of this case study, therefore, is to:

1. Place the local context into a regional context, from a theoretical, policy, and market reality perspective;

2. Identify and clarify the various stakeholder values and interests expressed through the Downtown Secondary Plan drafting process; and

3. Analyze the challenges to, and opportunities for, implementing Smart Growth in downtown Guelph.

Looking at values, preferences, and policies concerning residential intensification, by means of a case study concerning downtown Guelph in general and a brownfield site in The Ward under redevelopment in particular, enable the identification of challenges to, and opportunities for, implementing Smart Growth at the neighbourhood level.

On the one hand, the study adds a level of analysis to the planning literature, by offering an academic analysis based on a case study that demonstrates challenges to, and opportunities for, implementing Smart Growth. On the other hand, the study stands to benefit citizens, bureaucrats, politicians, developers, interest groups, and associated professionals locally, as well as fellow parties in similar circumstances elsewhere seeking to successfully implement Smart Growth in their community.

1.3 Research Objectives

My research takes place at a time when a major brownfield site is in the early stages of remediation. Debates about its future use are intense. Peoples' values and preferences offer a glimpse to what Smart Growth means in reality for a variety of stakeholders involved. To analyze the rationale behind the policy and development decisions likely to succeed, the case must be placed in a larger theoretical and policy context. Smart Growth

must be distinguished from regular Growth; the proposed Secondary Plan should ideally in theory and policy reflect similar intentions to the provincial Growth Plan. Thus, this case study ultimately seeks to analyze the challenges to, and opportunities for, implementing a contemporary urban development practice that achieves all of the intentions of Smart Growth.

1.4 Research methods

Three primary methods were used to undertake this research: background literature review (Part 1: Chapter 2), qualitative and quantitative case study research (Part 2: Chapter 4 and 5), and research analysis and conclusions (Part 3: Chapter 6 and 7).

Figure 1-3: Methodology Flow Chart
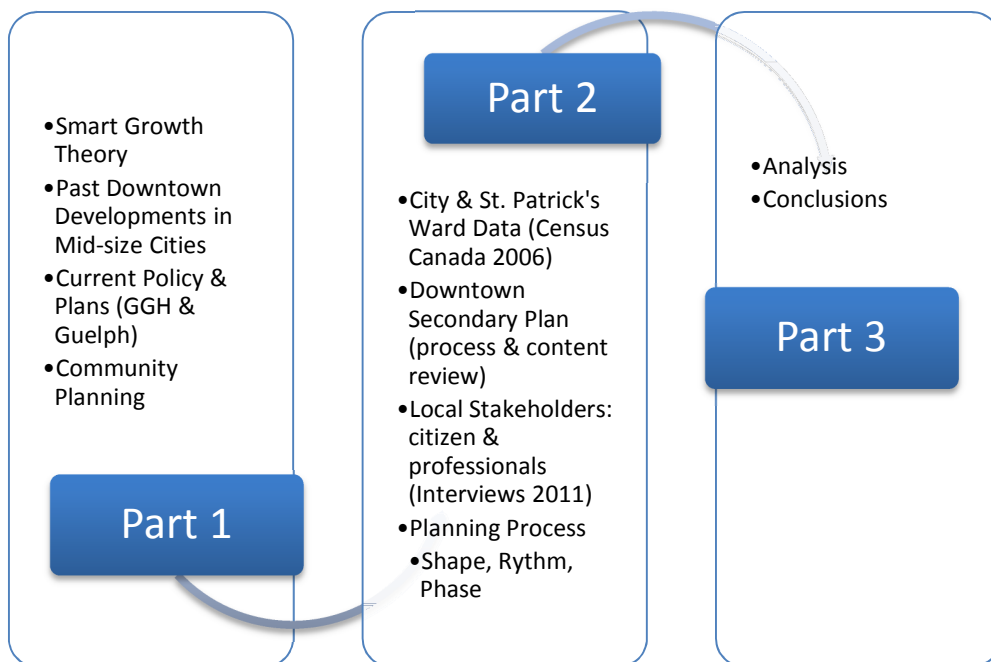
Part one of the research presents a literature review concentrating on four influential planning strategies: Smart Growth, the Growth Plan, urban core revitalization,

and community planning. The literature review establishes a theoretical and contextual foundation for my thesis's case study, highlighting the major issue in the study: *the local encounter with urban intensification, manifested through negotiation of values and power in government policy, corporate practice, and citizen organization*. As such, the literature review frames the study's design and analysis.

Part two presents the case study research, split into two chapters. The first part of the case study (Chapter 4) offers a statistical description of the Downtown and St. Patrick's Ward census tracts and the Guelph CMA/City of Guelph, according to 2006 census data. Further, eighteen semi-structured qualitative interviews with stakeholders engaged in the drafting process of the Downtown Secondary Plan offer descriptions of local social, physical, and economic characteristics. The chapter also analyzes the City of Guelph March 2011 Draft Downtown Secondary Plan and the documents leading up to it. Combined, chapter four's statistical data description, local interviews, and draft Plan review establish a context for the narrative on plan-making process provided in chapter five.

My narrative in chapter five observes the plan-making process of the forthcoming Downtown Secondary Plan from March 2010 to June 2011. The narrative offers an opportunity to understand the negotiation of values and power, highlighting the role of both the interest groups shaping the plan and the voices offered less attention in the process. By attending a series of public Open Houses and community meetings, in addition to reading the local media reporting, I generate a rich and contextually appropriate insight in the process.

Part three of the research is the analysis and conclusions. The analysis brings to

light a number of challenges to and opportunities for implementing Smart Growth strategies Downtown Guelph, with a particular focus on The Ward neighbourhood. My interpretations, based on theoretical, contextual, and interpretive insights, strive to both recognize Smart Growth objectives and the rationality and powers underlying various stakeholder views expressed. The recommendations offered to overcome these challenges and utilize the opportunities for implement Smart Growth are case specific in the practical sense, but may offer readers in other settlements an insight as to where effort should be placed to compromise and achieve the desired objective.

CHAPTER 2 - DOWNTOWN PLANNING THEORY AND POLICY

2.1 Introduction

To establish a theoretical and contextual foundation for my thesis's case study, the literature review concentrates on four influential planning strategies: Smart Growth, Places to Grow, urban core revitalization, and community planning.

First, my case study takes place within a theoretical reasoning based on certain social and physical values and principles commonly referred to as Smart Growth. Reviewing the history and character of this particular planning strategy is therefore this study's starting point. A brief exploration of the related concept of Urbanism is also provided to highlight the social and physical neo-traditional urban preferences currently sought and promoted alongside the Smart Growth literature.

Second, the provincially legislated regional plan for the Greater Golden Horseshoe, the Places to Grow plan, officially guides the planning process currently unfolding in Guelph and other southern Ontario municipalities. A description of the regional context is followed by a general overview of the City of Guelph's municipal and local planning policies.

Third, taking a step back and looking at planning theory and the practice of revitalization and reurbanization for downtown urban cores in North American mid-sized cities offer both a historical and practical insight on how such planning has been practiced in the past and continues to be practiced today. Planning's political dimension also comes to light at this point, involving in particular a special consideration of the process of gentrification.

In the end, to understand the challenges to and opportunities for implementing

Smart Growth, in the case of residential and mixed-use intensification taking place in an established neighbourhood, I review planning theory and practice concerning community planning. At the neighbourhood level, community planning efforts linking planners, politicians, and citizens also interact with private development, which brings changes that affect citizens directly on an everyday basis. Frequently, community members seek involvement in the plan-making process. However, the manner in which community planning is undertaken reflects the politics and power influencing the process, with the possibility of in turn influencing the outcome.

Reviewing the early stages of a secondary plan drafting process in light of Smart Growth and downtown revitalisation and reurbaisation strategies, through a case study analysis, offers a solid foundation for describing a number of challenges to, and opportunities for, implementing Smart Growth locally. The analysis will enable readers to see how power relations and stakeholder interests manifest themselves in the drafting process that guides the secondary plan and, subsequently, future local downtown developments. Thus, when the plan is completed, the reader can interpret to what extent it, in practice, is drafted according to its holistic theory, or if it is drafted according to narrower interests expressed by the plan's more powerful designers – and whether the approach described in the case study is good or bad, and for whom?

2.2 A General Smart Growth Agreement

The smart growth concept calls for forms of urbanization that are more compact, transit- and walking-friendly, conducive to high-quality urban life, and less environmentally damaging and infrastructure hungry than present urbanization patterns. Above all, it is sprawl, characteristic of North American urban growth since World War Two, that is targeted by the smart growth movement (Filion, 2003, 49).

Smart Growth is arguably the complete opposite of sprawling and dispersed land use (see below Table 2-1). The Smart Growth label originated from the USA's Smart Growth Network, set up in the mid-1990s by the Environmental Protection Agency and Congress for the New Urbanism, and was used to unify a loosely organized political and professional movement (Hodge & Gordon, 2008).

Today, Smart Growth is embedded in Ontario's provincial and local planning policies. Part of the challenge facing Smart Growth is due to the variety of interest groups, such as environmentalists, municipal administrators, or private developers, subscribing to its overall concept primarily to achieve their own more narrow interests (Filion, 2003). Hence, research on the specific mechanisms that both support and prevent Smart Growth intentions progressing into tangible changes on the ground is case dependent and requires special attention (Tomalty & Alexander, 2005).

Table 2-1: Comparing Smart Growth and Sprawl[5]

Feature	Smart Growth	Sprawl
Land use density	Higher density, clustered.	Lower density, dispersed.
Development location	Infill (brownfields and greyfields).	Urban periphery (greenfields).
Land use mix	Well-mixed.	Homogeneous, not mixed.
Scale	Human scale. Smaller buildings, blocks and roads. Attention to detail as people experience landscape up close, as pedestrians.	Larger scale. Larger buildings, blocks and roads. Less attention to detail as people experience the landscape at a distance, from cars.
Public services	Local, distributed, smaller.	Regional, consolidated,

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[5] Adopted from Brunt & Winfield, Local Implementation of Smart Growth Policies in Ontario, (The Pembina Institute, 2005) p. 14-15, in turn adopted from Litman, An Economic Evaluation of Smart Growth and TDM, (Victoria: Victoria Transportation Policy Institute, 2000) p. 6.

	Accommodates walking access.	larger. Requires automobile access.
Transportation	Multi-modal – supports walking, cycling and public transit.	Automobile-oriented – poorly suited for walking, cycling and transit.
Connectivity	Highly connected roads, sidewalks and paths, allowing direct travel by motorized and non-motorized modes.	Hierarchical road network with many unconnected roads and walkways, and barriers to non-motorized travel.
Streets	Designed to accommodate a variety of activities – traffic calming.	Designed to maximize motor vehicle traffic volume and speed.
Planning process	Planned – coordinated between jurisdictions and stakeholders.	Unplanned – little coordination between jurisdictions and stakeholders.
Public space	Emphasis on the public realm (streetscapes, pedestrian areas, public parks, public facilities).	Emphasis on the private realm (yards, shopping malls, gated communities, private clubs).
Natural Heritage	Protection of key natural heritage, source water features, with strong connectivity among features and to wider ecosystems and watersheds of which they are part.	Fragmentation of natural heritage features, poor connectivity among features and systems.

As a concept, Smart Growth is primarily about accommodating growth, as opposed to regulating it, and requires political leadership and planning that integrate environmental, equity, and economic goals (Wagner et. al, 2005). Litman (2000, 7) maintains, "Smart Growth usually refers to regional planning, while New Urbanism and Transit Oriented Development reflect similar planning principles at local and site

levels".[6] Millward (2006, 373-374) identifies various urban containment strategies within the Smart Growth platform, as they apply to regional, municipal, and/or local scales (see below Table 2-2). My study focuses on the challenges to, and opportunities for, implementing these principles at the municipal and local scale.

Table 2-2: Key Principles of Smart Growth[7]

No.	Applicable Scale (Regional, Municipal, Local)	Principle
1	R	Undertake broad regional planning that integrates land use and transportation
2	RML	Preserve green space, environmentally sensitive areas, scenery, and farmland
3	RM	Make full use of existing urban land and infrastructure (high densities)
4	RM	Emphasize the use of public transit (and de-emphasize the private auto)
5	RML	Ensure all development is compact and directed primarily to existing communities
6	ML	Create a range of housing choices (type, price, location)
7	ML	Mix compatible land uses within each neighbourhood
8	ML	Encourage community collaboration in plan-making and development decisions
9	L	Create neighbourhoods that promote walking and bicycling
10	L	Foster attractive communities with a strong sense of place
11	L	Encourage innovative, attractive, and environmentally friendly civic design

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[6] Other planning strategies include Ecosystem approach, Sustainable development, Growth management, and Compact development.
[7] After Millward (2006: 374); in turn after Pim and Ornoy (1996).

12	L	Make the development approval process predictable, timely, fair, and cost-effective

Smart Growth implementation strategies, such as the ones listed in the table below (Table 2-3), are comprehensive. Choice of strategy depends on local conditions and objectives, suggests Litman (2009, 5), but, due to its synergistic impacts,[8] Smart Growth requires an integrated approach. It is therefore not enough to implement only a select few strategies, like increased density, improved walkablity, or increased transit service, for instance. Rather, an extensive range of implementations is required for Smart Growth strategies to reach their objectives. For such a range of implementations to unfold as required, Smart Growth processes are dependent on broad political support and civic engagement.

Table 2-3: Smart Growth Strategies[9]

- *Strategic planning.* Establish a comprehensive community vision that individual land use and transportation decisions should support.

- *Create more self-contained communities.* Locate compatible land uses in proximity of each other. For example, develop schools, shops and recreation facilities in or adjacent to residential areas. Mix land uses at the finest grain feasible.

- *Foster distinctive, attractive communities with a strong sense of place.* Encourage urban development that creates a sense of civic pride and community cohesion, including attractive public spaces, high-quality design and maintenance standards, preservation of special cultural and environmental resources, and activities that highlight a community's unique features.

- *Encourage "village" development.* Establish well-defined "urban villages," walkable centers that contain an appropriate mixture of land uses (residential, commercial, institutional, recreational) with distinct names and characteristics. Reduce minimum lot sizes, building setbacks, minimum parking requirements, and minimum street size

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[8] "Total impacts are greater than the sum of their individual impacts" (Litman, 2009, 5).
[9] After Litman, 2009, p.6; in turn adopted from "Smart Growth," Victoria Transportation Policy Institute, 2005, www.vtpi.org)

particularly around transit and commercial centers.

- *Concentrate activities*. Concentrate commercial activities in these areas. Retain strong downtowns and central business districts. Discourage arterial strip commercial development.

- *Encourage infill development.* Locate new development within already developed areas. Encourage redevelopment of older facilities and brownfields.

- *Reform tax and utility rates.* Structure property taxes, development fees and utility rates to reflect the lower public service costs of clustered, infill development, and focus economic development incentives to encourage businesses to locate in more accessible locations.

- *Manage parking for efficiency.* Encourage shared parking, parking maximums, and other parking management strategies. Reserve the most convenient parking for rideshare vehicles.

- *Avoid overly-restrictive zoning.* Reduce excessive and inflexible parking and road capacity requirements. Limit undesirable impacts (noise, smells and traffic) rather than broad categories of activities.

- *Create a network of interconnected streets.* Keep streets as narrow as possible, particularly in residential areas and commercial centers. Use traffic management and traffic calming to control vehicle impacts rather than dead ends and cul de sacs.

- *Site design and building orientation.* Encourage buildings to be oriented toward city streets, rather than set back behind large parking lots. Avoid large areas of parking or other unattractive land uses in commercial areas.

- *Improve nonmotorized travel conditions*. Encourage walking and cycling by improving sidewalks, paths, crosswalks, protection from fast vehicular traffic, and providing street amenities (trees, awnings, benches, pedestrian-oriented lighting, etc.).

- *Implement mobility management.* Use mobility management to reduce total vehicle traffic and encourage the use of efficient modes.

- *Implement mobility management.* Use mobility management to reduce total vehicle traffic and encourage the use of efficient modes.

- *Encourage mixed housing types and prices.* Develop affordable housing near employment, commercial and transport centres. Encourage secondary suites, apartments over shops, lofts, location-efficient mortgages and other affordable housing innovations.

It should be noted that while Smart Growth is the conceptual umbrella of choice in this study due to its established presence in Ontario, similar ideas are often simply referred to as *Urbanism.* Urbanism is to Leinberger (2008) both a preference and a necessity: it not only solves problems associated with auto-centric urban development, like automobile dependence, sprawling land use, social segregation, environmental degradation and escalating physical health implications, but it is also an urban instrument to facilitate social, economic and environmental sustainability. Thus, to understand Smart Growth is to understand urbanism; they both reflect a paradigm shift in favour of increasing compact development, dependent on a complex web of push and pull factors.

Further, implementing planning strategies similar to the ones expressed under the Urbanism and Smart Growth umbrella in North America also happens in other part of the world. Gehl and Gemzøe (2003, 14) observe and describe four very different types of cities:

1. *The traditional city* – where meeting place, marketplace and traffic continue to coexist more or less in balance;

2. *The invaded city* – where a single use, usually car traffic, has usurped territory at the expense of the other uses of city space;

3. *The abandoned city* – where public space and public life have disappeared;

4. *The reconquered city* – where strong efforts are being made to find a new, workable balance between the uses of the city as meeting place, marketplace and traffic space.

In the view of Gehl & Gemzøe (2003), the traditional city refers to cities that emerged on the premise of pedestrian traffic, particularly in the Middle Ages, while the second and third types categorize Americanized cities. Although the car-invaded city is common to most cities in the world, the abandoned city is found predominantly in North America. Even if European and North American cities have experienced a wave of street pedestrianization back in the 1960s and 1970s, the intentional and strategic reconquering of whole city cores through architectural design and public space policy originated in Barcelona, starting in about 1980. Barcelona's reconquering aimed at increasingly creating or renewing more pedestrian attractive urban spaces "in order to ensure good public space for new types of public life" (Gehl & Gemzøe, 2003, 18).

There are however two marked differences between European and North American planning contexts: one being that few North American cities inherited the medieval street structure in its downtown core, and the other being that the role of the city centre in North American cities was almost exclusively commercially oriented and did not have the social and cultural diversity found in European city centers (Melick, 1992). It therefore stands to reason that the "reconquering" of North American city centres would be of a different character, even if the same methods were used. Downtown Guelph, however, might enjoy a street pattern conducive to a "reconquering", thanks to John Galt's original European-inspired 1827 city plan (Figure 2-1), which offers an unusual travel experience.

Figure 2-1: Galt Plan[10]

MAP 3: *Plan of the Town of Guelph, 1827.*

Supporters of urbanism should nevertheless be careful about romanticizing and assuming that cities made more complex in their social, cultural, and economic composition is a mutually agreed objective, cautions Mitchell (2003). Well-intended and designed public realms will also require programming that cultivates a cohabitation of activities (Mitchell, 2003; Herzong, 2006; Fincher & Iveson, 2008). Achieving high

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[10] "Galt Plan" (City of Guelph, 2011, p. 11)

quality public spaces thus seems to require that planners pay attention to the social and policy side of a plan, in addition to its more technical aspects. New social and physical challenges are likely to arise out of planning aiming at "reconquering" a city. Particularly, new social winners and losers may emerge, and economic mechanisms, social groupings and cultural adjustments must be kept in mind, if an equitable ideal is to be achieved (Fainstein, 2003). With this in mind, Fincher & Iveson (2008, 6) argue that "for planners to acknowledge their role in the *politics* of difference as political players rather than neutral observers and facilitators they must also articulate the value frameworks through which they exercise judgment when faced with the different kinds of difference which characterize urban life". In this view, implementing Smart Growth is more than a technical exercise, in that it requires that planners be part of political debates.

2.3 Policy and Plans (GGH and Guelph) – Feet on the Ground and Head in the Sky

The Ontario government's regional planning initiative, titled *Places to Grow: Growth Plan for the Greater Golden Horseshoe, 2006 (Growth Plan)*,[11] challenges past development trends and intends to "promote higher-density development, a lower rate of urban land absorption, and increased public transit use in the Greater Golden Horseshoe, an extended area centered on Toronto" (Filion, 2007, 1). The Growth Plan has designated 25 Urban Growth Centres, defined as mixed-use, high-density, and public-transit oriented developments, of which the City of Guelph's Urban Growth Centre is one (Ontario, 2006, 16-17). Urban Growth Centres are regarded as adept to "accommodate additional people and jobs and be meeting places, locations for cultural facilities, public institutions, major services, and transit hubs" (Ontario, 2006: 12). In the case of Guelph, the boundary is

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[11] The Growth Plan is also frequently referred to as Places to Grow.

centred on its existing commercial and business downtown core but also encompasses lands close to the river and two adjacent brownfield sites in The Ward neighbourhood.

According to the Growth Plan, Section 2.2.4, Urban Growth Centres will be planned

    a) *as focal areas for investment in institutional and region-wide public services, as well as commercial, recreational, cultural and entertainment uses*

    b) *to accommodate and supply major transit infrastructure*

    c) *to serve as high density major employment centres that will attract provincially, nationally or internationally significant employment uses*

    d) *to accommodate a significant share of population and employment growth.*

By 2031, Downtown Guelph must be planned to achieve a minimum gross density target of 150 residents and jobs combined per hectare (Ontario, 2006, 17), placing it in the lowest urban growth centre density category together with Downtown Barrie, Downtown Brantford, Downtown Cambridge, Downtown Peterborough, and Downtown St. Catharines. Downtown Guelph is home to about 2,000 residents and 6,000 jobs. The draft Downtown Secondary Plan envisions accommodating approximately an additional 6,500 people (approximately 3,000 units) and 1,500 new jobs (Guelph, 2011a, 22, 33).

In 2008, Ontario's Ministry of Energy and Infrastructure issued the report "Size and Location of Urban Growth Centres in the Greater Golden Horseshoe", which added the following requirement: "It is important to note that municipalities, when implementing these policies, consider the entirety of the Growth Plan including the policies on cultural heritage protection, open space, design of public realm, appropriate transition of built form to adjacent areas, and transportation" (Ontario, 2008, 5). As a

result, it is at the discretion of planners and local stakeholders to interpret what is the right kind of strategy for their community, provided they keep the overarching target in mind. Such interpretive freedom also concerns equity and affordability, forming part of the Growth Plan's overarching goal of building complete communities.[12]

The City of Guelph's forthcoming Downtown Secondary Plan voices the following objective for Downtown Guelph: "Downtown Guelph: a distinct urban centre and community nestled against the Speed River, comprised of beautiful buildings and public spaces, and surrounded by leafy neighbourhoods, where people live, work, shop, dine, play and celebrate" (Guelph, 2011a, 42). The Downtown Secondary Plan is one tool to attain this idyllic outcome. It is part of an overall municipal strategy to achieve conformity with the provincial Growth Plan policy, and entails continuous community consultations and other supporting city-wide plans and strategies. To mention a few, the City of Guelph has put forth a Local Growth Management Strategy, an Urban Design Action Plan, a Community Energy Plan, a Community Wellness Strategy, a Recreation, Parks and Culture Master Plan, a 10-year economic development and tourism strategy called Prosperity 2020, a Brownfield Redevelopment Community Improvement Plan, as well as an Agri-Innovation Cluster Strategy (Guelph, 2011a). As part of the its effort to achieve city-wide conformity with the Growth Plan, the city initiated a large number of community consultation strategies, including a comprehensive 2003 SmartGuelph Report, and in 2007 a Community Design Symposium, a web-based interactive land use software tool called GuelphQuest, a Building Guelph's Future workshop, a Downtown

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[12] "**Complete communities** meet people's needs for daily living throughout an entire lifetime by providing convenient access to an appropriate mix of jobs, local services, a full range of housing, and *community infrastructure* including *affordable* housing, schools, recreation and open space for their residents. Convenient access to public transportation and options for safe, non-motorized travel is also provided" (Ontario, 2006, 41; italics in original).

Charette, as well as a Places to Grow Youth Engagement Project.[13]

Figure 2-2: Early Conceptual Downtown Zones[14]
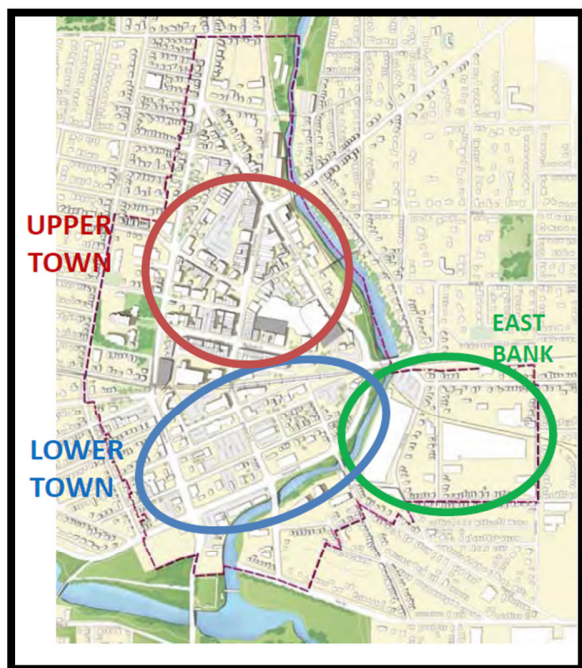
In March 2010, the Urban Strategies consulting firm and the city conceptually split the Urban Growth Centre in three zones, the *Upper Town*, the *Lower Town* and the *East Bank* (Figure 2-2).[15] The three zones illustrate three distinct land use approaches to guide downtown revitalization and intensification. First, the Upper Town is the historic cultural and commercial city centre, which will seek to attract more businesses, institutions and residents while protecting its established character. The public transportation network meets here as well, which now includes increased commuter rail service with the return of the GO Train and construction of a new transit terminal.

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[13] Anyone interested in viewing the City of Guelph's community engagement strategies concerning Growth Management should consult the city's rich database, where 2007 was a particular busy year: http://guelph.ca/living.cfm?subCatID=1532&smocid=2111

[14] City of Guelph, 2010a, 31

[15] Urban Strategies, the Toronto consultant corporation working with the city on the Downtown Plan, proposed these names. However, this is not how residents in The Ward see themselves; the East Bank name was instantly refuted at the a community meeting held April 27, 2010.

Second, the Lower Town is an underdeveloped part of the city, with a low-density, drive-through fast food strip and plaza along the Highway 7 thoroughfare. Although including a variety of residential units, the greyfield appearance is a stark contrast to the much-used parks surrounding the Speed and Eramosa Rivers that merge at its southern edge. A high-density urban land-use fronting the river is envisioned, complementing the conversion of a strip mall to a waterfront park. This idea, one might argue, is the Plan's most lofty and ambitious vision. Last, the East Bank is currently occupied by older industrial sites (brownfields), in the midst of a distinct community with a large number of heritage buildings, industrial, commercial, and institutional units, as well as a mixture of single detached houses, detached duplexes, and apartment buildings up to eleven storeys. Part of the neighbourhood is envisioned as a zone for redevelopment that will add taller and higher density residential and mixed-use units, open spaces, and new links to the riverfront (Guelph, 2010a).

The proposed Downtown Secondary Plan aims at fostering overall downtown development in a fashion that would allow it to "evolve from a civic and business/commercial centre to a more diverse and complete community" (Guelph, 2010a, 21). It is furthermore argued that the downtown needs (a) people and housing, (b) parks and recreation facilities, (c) more cultural amenities, (d) high value employment, and (e) greater retail diversity, in order to be a livable neighbourhood. My research will primarily look at the first mentioned need, people and housing. Specifically, the study concerns a current brownfield remediation project taking place at Kilmer's property on 5 Arthur Street South, the former C.W. Wood Plant # 1.

2.4 The Inner City – Historical Mid-sized Urban Development Context

The inner city "encompasses both the central business district (CBD) and the ring of older central-city neighbourhoods that surround the core, areas built up before the initial boom in post-World War Two housing starts" (Bunting & Filion, 1988, 2). Change is a constant for the inner city, driven by inner city developmental and societal trends, such as economic and employment structure, family composition, the role of women, values, consumption patterns, and demography (Bunting & Filion, 1988, 7). Explaining change is a complex affair, but from a plan-drafting process perspective such insights are particularly important to better and more accurately understand sectors slated to be transformed

In 2003, research by Filion & Hoering (2003) found that downtowns of most mid-size Canadian urban areas with populations between 50,000 and 500,000 were showing signs of advanced decline. Once unchallenged regional retail, service, and office centres, these downtowns have for decades been vulnerable to suburbanization. Downtown Guelph is a typical declining mid-sized urban area core. Even if public funds have long been used to position the Downtown as a desirable place to do business, learn, live, and pursue cultural interests and regulations favoured a mixture of land uses, "the share of taxable assessment generated by Downtown has continued to shrink steadily since 2001 and in 2007 contributed $5.8M or 1.55% of the city's total tax base" (City of Guelph, January 2009, 6).

Successful downtowns' competitive advantages relative to suburbs include the uniqueness of their activities, markets, buildings, and layout (Filion & Hoering, 2003). This was further studied by asking what urban researchers, planners, and associated professionals in Canada and the U.S. believed were the most important factors associated

with successful downtowns (Filion, Hoering, Bunting and Sands, 2004). The study focused on downtowns with a population between 100,000 and 500,000, and found that in addition to a pedestrian-hospitable environment, all highly rated central business districts possessed at least one of the following assets: one or more universities that are in or close to downtown; presence in a metropolitan region with a strong visitor orientation; a well preserved historical district; and a state capital or provincial legislature. Fundamentally, successful downtowns need to attract employment and housing, and create an environment that is hospitable to downtown workers and nearby residents (Filion, Hoering, Bunting, and Sands, 2004).

As the Greater Golden Horseshoe prepares to welcome millions of new residents, the City of Guelph will have to make preparations to accommodate its share of this demographic growth (the Guelph population is forecasted to reach 175,000 residents by 2031) (Guelph, 2009a, 1). In the city's Economic Base Analysis Report, Prosperity 2020, the downtown is identified as "highly important to the municipal economy, civic identity and community pride" (Guelph, 2009b, 8). The report recommends that the city consider both the traditional and emerging approaches to economic development, including: globalization and shifting economic and demographic patterns; green/clean technologies growth; and diverging trends in agricultural production (Guelph, 2009a, iii). Downtown planning, states the report, should therefore consider trends, such as (but not limited to): the aging population requirements; the younger professional social group's urban preferences; the needs and assets of ethnically diverse immigrants (only 14% of Guelph's residents are considered visible minorities); and transportation patterns (75.3% of Guelph residents are employed in jobs within the city) (Guelph, 2009a, v-vi).

In chapter four, the need for a comprehensive planning approach will be addressed. It is important to recognize that several factors influence the changes now taking place in Guelph's inner core, many which are beyond the sole control of local planning. However, inner cores in larger cities have experience with changes caused by de-industrialization, zoning strategies, transportation patterns, and residential development models. They thus provide experiences from which mid-sized cities can learn.

The provincial Growth Plan requires the City of Guelph to prepare for population and employment growth by establishing clear urban boundaries, minimum densities, and a coherent urban structure. As observed by authors from a variety of professional backgrounds in the book "After the Factory: Reinventing America's Industrial Small Cities" (Connolly, 2010), a major driver for urban change is the departure of inner city industrial manufacturing, which results in land availability for housing and post-industrial businesses that are increasingly based on creativity, the service sector, and information technology. This trend is apparent north and south of the border as well as on other continents. In mid-sized cities outside metropolitan centres, responses to this structural change have included strategies based on tourism, residential suburbanism, and/or innovation tech-clusters (Connolly, 2010).

The comparative advantages of middle-size city cores undergoing revitalization relative to their large metropolitan region counterparts are lower taxes, lower cost of living, availability of land and low traffic congestion. Middle-size city core revitalization strategies can also rely on municipal investment in attempting to transform them into "a physically attractive place that offer the kinds of educational, recreation, and leisure

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opportunities that young, well-educated workers seek" (Connolly, 2010, 11). "Convincing a blue-collar town," Connolly (2010, 11) continues "to invest in parks, preserve historic buildings, revive its downtown as an upscale shopping district, foster cultural diversity, or fund new school construction is difficult in the best of times. When resources are scarce, when filling potholes and clearing snow overtax municipal resources, such steps seem like luxuries. It is even more difficult to get locals on board when they appear to cater to upper- and middle-class outsiders rather than to the immediate needs of the thousands of struggling blue-collar workers who grew up there." Thus, making these choices requires public and political 'buy-in' a new vision, a vision dramatically different to what the city used to be.

Furthermore, this study concerns the topic of implementing Smart Growth, which requires an understanding of the type of inner-city where change is taking place, whether it is in a state of decline, stability, revitalization (i.e. gentrification), or massive redevelopment. These four classifications (see below Table 2-4) date back to the 1970s and remain valid today for their general yet all-encompassing distinctions, offering guidance as to which direction a neighbourhood might be heading and what community structures are likely to require special attention.

Table 2-4: A Typology of Inner-City Neighbourhoods[16]

	Decline	Stability	Revitalization	Massive Redevelopment
Population	Continuing loss of population	No significant loss or gains	Little change	Gain in population
Socio-economic status	Decreasing	Stable	Increasing	Increasing
Family Status	Increasing proportion of	Maintenance of population mix	Maintenance of population mix	Loss of families; gain of singles

[16] Adopted from McLemore *et al.*, 1975; in Ley & Frost, 2006, 194

	non-family units and elderly			
Ethnicity	Varies: can be influx of deprived ethnic group or breaking down of traditional community	Sometimes strong ethnic community	Sometimes loss of ethnic groups	Seldom important
Community organizations	Poorly organized, unstable	Varies	Increasingly well-organized	Usually unorganized
Physical conditions	Worsening	Stable	Improving	Improved housing, possible environmental problems
Housing/land costs	Increasing much less than metro average	Increasing at same rate as metro average	Increasing more rapidly than metro average	Increasing more rapidly than metro average
Tenure	Increasing tenancy	Varies, but often high ownership	Little change	Tenancy
Non-residential functions	Loss of commercial-industrial functions with no replacement	Maintaining a mix of functions gaining others	Maintaining a mix of functions	Losing some commercial functions, but gaining others
Pressure for redevelopment	Low	Low	Strong, but controlled	High

Based on the table's categories, the intention of the Guelph Downtown Secondary Plan is to facilitate an anticipated high level of urban revitalization in a concentrated area. This has already happened for decades in larger cities enjoying population growth in their downtowns, but planning for core area residential intensification is a new experience in Guelph. The success of the intensification strategy will result in: increasing downtown population, improved physical conditions, and increased socio-economic status. However, the strategy may also entail downsides: loss of household type and ethnic

diversity, as well as of community organizations, housing affordability, home ownership, multi-functionality, and control on redevelopment pressures. The responsibility of addressing all of these challenges and opportunities does not rest on the Downtown Secondary Plan alone, but these issues have been raised by various stakeholders that participate in participatory processes associated with the plan.

In order to create as intended a complete community, governments must be aware of the social homogenization brought about by gentrification. Although it takes multiple forms, gentrification can be understood as "a social transition [that] occurs as lower income groups are progressively replaced in inner city neighbourhoods by middle-income groups" (Ley, 1996, 17). Current efforts in Toronto to facilitate condominium towers on former industrial lands in the inner city possibly result in a new form of gentrification, because they have "the effect of changing the surrounding neighbourhood through the social practice, and economic buying power of their inhabitants" (Lehrer & Wieditz, 2009, 155). My study is not determining to what extent the downtown of Guelph in general or The Ward in particular is undergoing gentrification, which would require annual data on variables like: rent, public investment in housing renovations, number of requests for rent control guidelines, as well as household education attainment and household income (Silver, 2006). Rather, given its intent to look at the drafting process of the City of Guelph's forthcoming Downtown Secondary Plan, this study focuses on the *political* side of gentrification.

The political importance of gentrification, Silver (2006) argues, requires attention to the values, interests, and forces at play, while being aware of the fact that some interests see a neighbourhood for the profits to be made while others see it as a place to

live. From a policy and planning perspective, municipal administrations influence this type of urban transition by setting governing rules, "such as zoning regulations and by making use of incentives in order to promote housing and neighbourhood improvement" (Bunting & Filion, 1988, 18). However, rehabilitation of existing housing is undermined when high-rise development speculation is promoted through zoning, which in turn make older existing low-rise buildings vulnerable to land speculation and at risk of physical deterioration. Indeed, urban planners and politicians throughout Canada acted in the 1960s and 1970s as "facilitators" in the physical transition of these sectors (Bunting & Filion, 1988, 19). That period was followed with a period of restrictive zoning regulations assuring a protection of older inner-city neighbourhoods (ibid.). Inner-city residential development through high-density zoning has now become fashionable in Guelph. Past experiences and current policy objectives in mind, with new corporate development models making an impasse in mid-sized downtowns further away from the metropolitan core, given the propensity and social consequences of gentrification, it is incumbent on planners to protect existing urban neighbourhoods when they pursue their revitalization strategies.

2.5 Community Planning – the People Dimension

Citizen participation is an established part of the planning process, but it can take place at various steps on the *Ladder of Citizen Participation* (Arnstein, 1969; see below Figure 2-3). The choice of the form of participation within a planning process depends on a number of factors, such as: the manner in which plans for both the overall development and local change are presented, the location and timing of the meeting, the voices in the room, the interpersonal relations and reactions, the nature of the development and change

proposed, the argumentation technique applied. Ideally, successful community (citizen) planning is intended to happen in a non-technocratic or non-elitist manner *by* and *with* and not *for* the community (Hodge & Gordon, 2008). The challenge is to legitimately and transparently communicate at the neighbourhood level what the plan means in the specific case, particularly when it is a government-driven plan-making process, like with the Downtown Secondary Plan, and is supported by years of city-wide public stakeholder consultation. Furthermore, one ought to expect a high level of citizen participation when the Plan's success depends on both a socio-cultural shift in collective values and a new set of land use principles.

Figure 2-3: Ladder of Citizen Participation[17]

8	Citizen control	Degrees of Citizen Power-Sharing
7	Delegated power	
6	Partnership	
5	Placation	Degrees of Token Power-Sharing
4	Consultation	
3	Informing	
2	Therapy	Contrived Participation (Non-participation)
1	Manipulation	

There are numerous examples in the planning literature of negotiations taking place between residents in established inner city neighbourhoods, the local planning authority, and developers (Jacobs, 1961; Stoecker, 1994; Peterman, 2000; Elman, 2001; Brindley, Rydin & Stoker, 2003; Flyvbjerg, 2003; Milroy, 2009). Such instances have

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[17] Adapted from Sherry R. Arnstein, "A Ladder of Citizen Participation," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 35 (July 1969), 216-224; in Hodge & Gordon (2008) Planning Canadian Communities, Thomson/Nelson: Toronto, 5th ed., p. 312.

been highlighted in the planning literature, including works such as "The Death and Life of Great American Cities" by Jane Jacobs, "Defending community: the struggle for alternative redevelopment in Cedar-Riverside" (Stoecker, 1994) and, about Hamilton, "Durand, a neighbourhood reclaimed: community action in the inner city" (Elman, 2001). These different works have in common a historically reflective, comprehensive, and critical thinking perspective, raising awareness of the power relations and negotiations taking place when outside interests challenge existing neighbourhood values. The lesson is that when community groups are well organized and willing to pool their energy, they can frame a powerful and influential position on plans and developments.

The Downtown Secondary Plan drafting process is part of a larger municipal Official Plan update as well as a specific forthcoming site plan preparation for the 5 Arthur Street South site. The dual nature of the Secondary Plan make the process somewhat convoluted, yet also more comprehensive. The plan-making process brings out parties seeking participation in the process, which contributes to the overall crafting of the plan. It is however beneficial to know each party's role, right, and responsibility, so as to keep the process predictable and transparent. As part of a "pre-planning" phase, a planning advisory board can, according to Hodge and Gordon (2008), be a major mediating force, before the plan goes to council. It is this pre-planning phase leading up to the production of a first draft that my case study will follow and analyze.

A contemporary study of the plan drafting process at a neighbourhood scale cannot omit the continually evolving socio-political dimensions of community planning. Peterman (2000, 34) argues: "An important goal of neighborhood planning should be the maintenance or creation of conditions and situations that help to maximize, when and

whenever possible, the internal and external linkages experienced by a neighborhood's residents. Note that this suggests that physical planning and the arrangement of amenities within a neighborhood alone cannot make for a good neighborhood". Furthermore, "Any place where people live can be thought of as a neighborhood. Good Neighborhoods happen, however, when people strive to turn a place into a community. Neighborhood planning therefore should primarily be about helping people create and build community" (Peterman, 2000, 34). Hence, community planning requires that planners establish a clear and comprehensive view of the process as it unfolds, while keeping the overarching policy context in mind. Stakeholder trust and the sharing of power is thus negotiated and earned through the *means* used for drafting the policy, not through the *end* – the Secondary Plan.

The role of trust and sharing of power in mediating expert-lay interactions is understood by the conditions of the risk society as outlined by Ulrich Beck. Beck (1992, 26) argues that society has shifted its focus from distribution of "goods, (i.e. wealth, consumer goods, income, education opportunities, and property) during the building of the welfare state, to an increased focus today on "bads", i.e. social, economic, and environmental "side effects" and unintended consequences of the industrial process. Furthermore, today's global scale risks are frequently associated with human decision-making processes, but the complexities of the risks make it difficult to identify who or what is responsible for them. Recognizing the risks we face, new issues are brought to the fore: the issue of self-limitation of development, the redetermination of standards of responsibility, safety, monitoring, damage limitation, and distribution of the consequences of damage (Beck, 1992).

Planners are gatekeepers of democracy.[18] What in the past was considered a "development issue" is today a "risk conflict issue", if concerned individuals or groups mobilize to change the path of development (Freudenberg and Pastor, 1992, 390). With non-governmental and private involvement in public affairs through public meetings, experts are frequently required to reduce the risk by managing the potential conflict. Public meetings thus serve as "access points" between experts and lay-individuals, and government and private corporations engage in public relations to sustain lay-people's trust in experts (Giddens, 1990, 115). Planners therefore find themselves repeatedly positioned either with the experts, who make decisions about risk, or between experts and lay-people, who are affected by the risk; planners thus face great demands of accountability from the public.[19]

Ali (1997) witnessed the role of trust in expert-lay relations in the Guelph Landfill Search Process in the early 1990s. The search for a new landfill site engaged a large number of local community groups, external experts, and city bureaucrats and politicians, allowing for a sharing of power in a technical decision-making process. This process switched the emphasis from representative democracy to a more participatory form of democracy, argues Ali (1997). The memory of this process has probably influenced civic engagement and governance in Guelph, and therefore affected the Downtown Secondary Plan process.

Considering that planners and politicians are instrumental in facilitating inner city high-density residential development, the plan-making process is the time and place

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[18] Particularly so to supporters of Jeffersonian (participatory) democracy, where the rational distrust of political elites is perhaps greater than in the case of Burkean (representative) democracy. In Burkean democracy greater public trust is conferred to elite decision-makers who are trusted to make decisions for the betterment of society (Barber, 1983, 93; in Ali, 1997, 500).

[19] The Canadian Institute of Planners (CIP) currently pursues a sustained effort for planner to gain professional accreditation; accountability is a particularly important part of the debate.

where a variety of interests meet to influence the change. Thus, the power for compromises lies in the plan-making process and the planners are key facilitators. Although speaking to conflicts arising when planning for sustainable development, Campbell's (2003, 448) advice rings true for downtown revitalization as well: "The role of the planner is therefore to engage the current challenge […] with a dual, interactive strategy: (1) to manage and resolve conflict; and (2) to promote creative, technical, architectural, and institutional solutions. Planners must both negotiate the procedures of the conflict and promote a substantive vision […]".

Hodge and Gordon (2008) refer to planning's *political* and *communicative* nature when describing the texture of participation in community planning. Efficient and beneficial community planning requires two-way dialogue between all parties – planners, politicians, and public. An efficient community-planning process consequently brings to light personal and institutional willingness to negotiate power and values. Such a demand rests equally on all parties, and requires that the planner know when to take on the role of leader of the planning agency (government or consultant), representative of the planning profession, political innovator, or citizen educator. Further, community planning is also involved with "anticipating and responding to the initiatives of persons and firms outside the governmental milieu, who are referred to as developers"[20] (Hodge and Gordon, 2008, 308). Developers are as such closely entwined with community planning (see below Figure 2-4). They come on stage during the *site preparation,* and the degree to which they discuss their plans with the public affects the level of transparency and trust between

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[20] Hodge and Gordon (2008, 308-309) apply the term "developers" generically, referring to "those individuals, corporations, and other commercial groups (and may also include institutional developers such as school boards and churches) who make the decision to convert raw land to urban use and/or convert an already exiting use to a different use (called redevelopment)".

all interest parties.

Figure 2-4: Planning Participation Triangle, with Developer In the Middle[21]
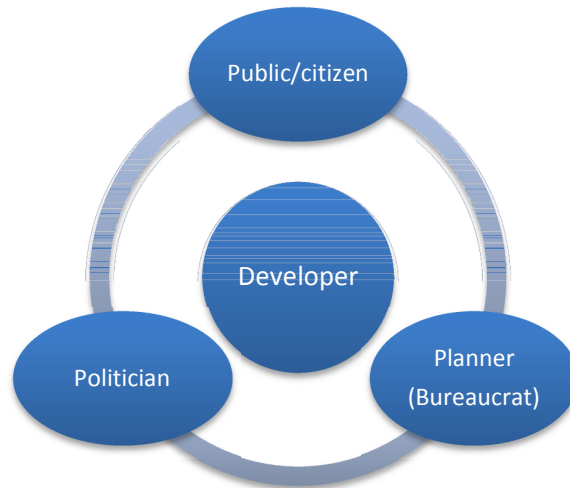
In the end, it appears that on the one hand, the outcome depends on the skills and resources – the power – of the ones either promoting or opposing the type of change in question. On the other hand, the acceptance of the outcome by the different parties depends on the strategy and mitigation – the process – applied to find a mutually beneficial solution, if possible. In this light, the key challenge and opportunity is to first recognize the politics of the situation and clarify the parties' interests, as opposed to their ideologically and strategically driven demands, through open and accessible discussion with all stakeholders, and, second, seek innovative, mediated, and compatible alternatives (Campbell, 2003). The most important aspect of the planning process is however to (a) have each party represented and willing to compromise and (b) let the solution be a compromise. Smart Growth brings planners right in the middle of the political nature of a continually changing land use pattern. The Secondary Plan's successful implementation,

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[21] My figure is inspired by Hodge and Gordon's figure "The Six-Sided Triangle of Planning Participation" (Hodge and Gordon, 2008, 301), but I incorporate the developer as a participant.

starting at the policy drafting stage, therefore requires as much of an education, negotiation, and political commitment as a technical commitment.

2.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter presents a literature review that establishes a theoretical and contextual foundation for my thesis's case study, which is provided in chapter four and five. The theoretical rationale that prioritizes certain planning strategies, referred to as Smart Growth in the planning literature, currently guides Downtown Guelph towards new priorities, intending to accommodate and redirect growth in a manner that provides collective benefits to residents of the Greater Golden Horseshoe. As a strategy, Smart Growth enjoys wide support from a variety of interest groups. Local implementation is, however, where the rubber hits the road, and it is at the local level that one must keep in mind the collective nature of benefits while requiring a sharing of power to find an optimal compromise between conflicting interests.

Provincial, regional, municipal, and local planning policies must be consistent with one another, with the level of detail increasing towards the local level. However, at the local level one can frequently encounter interest groups which are unfamiliar with the theory and policy guiding current planning, which means that time will be needed to educate them about planning and the specific issues being debated. Furthermore, it must be recognized that Smart Growth was instrumental in bringing about the Growth Plan, but implementing its strategies locally reveals how complex carrying out Smart Growth inspired planning is in practice. Population and density numbers set minimum targets for bureaucrats to measure, but in practice it should be about attracting development and building community. To this end, mindful and strategic governance is required locally.

Planning theory and history make it possible to place current visions and objectives in a historical and geographical context, teaching us valuable lessons. In particular, downtowns have different physical and social environments than suburban areas; replicating suburban formulas to compete with suburbs, as revealed by the shopping mall strategy, can be costly and futile. Furthermore, urban areas are commonly understood as less sterile than the suburban subdivision model. Building downtowns on the same calculated premises as suburban subdivisions can be a similar costly and unsuccessful experience.

CHAPTER 3 – RESEARCH METHODS

3.1 Introduction

My research analyses the challenges to and opportunities for implementing Smart Growth

locally, by following the drafting process of the City of Guelph's Downtown Secondary

Plan, *Envision Downtown Guelph*, leading up to a first draft document in March 2011.

This chapter describes the research methods and procedures relied upon for this study.

3.2 Researching the Drafting Process of a Local Plan

*A research method is a technique for…gathering evidence. One could reasonably argue
that all evidence-gathering techniques fall into one of the three categories: listening to
(or interrogating) informants, observing behavior, or examining historical traces and
records.* (Harding, 1987, 2; in Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2006, 19).

In this section I first outline a theoretical rationale explaining why it is valuable

researching a policy drafting process (as different from analyzing a final policy and/or its

implementation) and describing what we can learn by applying this method of analysis. A

brief explanation of why I preferred a primarily qualitative research approach will follow.

3.2.1 Exploring Neighbourhood Development and Change

In 2009, the former director of the School of Urban and Regional Planning at Ryerson

University, Beth Moore Milroy, published her book "Thinking Planning and Urbanism",

which focused on a case study of the redevelopment of Toronto's Dundas Square. Her

case demonstrates "an instance of planners tackling an urban problem in a specific

historical and spatial context" (Milroy, 2009, 39). Her book analyses the planning

practice in one particular redevelopment case. The research methods included document

analysis, review of newspaper reports, literature review of relevant planning practice and

theory, and examination of planning legislation, official plans, and economic studies of

Toronto. She also attended selected public meetings and examined local history. At the end of the study the background research was tested, corrected, and extended by conducting twelve key stakeholder interviews (Milroy, 2009). Similar to Milroy, I seek for my study to be about planning as a function, and my methodology follows a similar path, although at a significantly smaller scale.

3.2.2 Flyvbjerg's Value-Rational Research Method

Planning is subject to both individual and collective values, particularly values based on ethical principles,[22] formulated to address design and policy matters, and implemented through objectives and principles. The values influence the planning process. The ethical principles are ideally based on rights and responsibility, liberty and equity (Udy, 1995, 169). I sought in this study to use value-rational questions to gain a deeper understanding of the interaction between local community values and the drafting of a secondary plan, in light of Smart Growth strategies and land development practice. In the words of Udy (1995), "Despite the complexity of the subject of values, the basic argument here is straightforward: in answer to the leading question, why do we plan, we must inevitably conclude that it is either to save or to enhance things we, as a society, care about - in a word, that we value. But such a word is anathema to most planners; much too vague and impractical to be contemplated as worthy of our time and trouble to define" (Udy, 1995, ii). This in mind, I believe it is valuable to understand the kind of neighbourhood planning and development currently promoted when drafting the Downtown Secondary Plan for Guelph's Urban Growth Centre, and how this relates to the values of local stakeholders.

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[22] **Ethics:** The study of moral right and wrong.

Flyvbjerg (2001) makes a strong case for utilizing social science research in his book "Making Social Science Matter: Why Social Inquiry Fails and How It Can Succeed Again", arguing that the strength of the social sciences and case studies lie in their contextualized rich, reflexive analysis of values and power. His main objective is to re-establish social science and its methodologies as a relevant science where applicable, thus making "value-rationality" as important to social science in the future as the more prevalent, yet arguably inadequate, use of "instrumental rationality" is today (Flyvbjerg, 2001).[23]

Instrumental rationality has a long tradition of influencing both planning theory and social thought to an extent where it "seems to have undermined the ability of individuals and society to even conceptualize a nonrationalist present and future" (Flyvbjerg, 2001, 54). Thus, the precise content of alternatives to instrumental rationalism remains vague, argues Flyvbjerg, but the overall objective is to bring back Aristotle's validation of value-rationality. Supported by the views of social thinkers like Max Weber, Michel Foucault, and Jürgen Habermas, Flyvbjerg maintains that an instrumental rationale and a values-rationale are equally needed when addressing problems in the non-exclusive biosphere and sociosphere. In other words, when addressing problems requiring adherence to both the natural and societal carrying capacities, the rationality applied must both seek a goal and reflect on the value of that goal.

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[23] **Instrumental rationality**: For the last two centuries, especially since the Enlightenment, instrumental rational and modernistic scientific inquiry has gained dominance over value-rationality; it is a tool to reach a goal, without ethically reflecting on the value of that goal (Flyvbjerg, 2001, 53).

Figure 3-1: Instrumental Rationality vs. Value-rationality

Instrumental Rationality: i.e. rational comprehensive model to reach goal	Value-rationality: i.e. ethical considerations to the value of reaching goal
Verify, define & detail the problem	Where are we going?
Generate all possible solutions	Who gains and who loses, and by which mechanism of power?
Generate objective assessment criteria	Is this development desirable?
Choose the best solution generated	What, if anything, should we do about it?
Implement the preferred alternative	
Monitor & evaluate outcomes and results	

Exploring the value-rationale further, Flyvbjerg (2001, 57) analyses what Aristotle had to say about phronesis, characterized as:

> *Ethics. Deliberation about values with reference to praxis. Pragmatic, variable, context-dependent. Oriented toward action. Based on practical value-rationality. The original concept has no analogous contemporary term.*

Phronesis concerns the analysis of values, e.g. "things that are good or bad for man" (Flyvbjerg, 2001, 57); "things or relationships that people would like to enjoy"

(Fischer, 1980, 71). Setting a high bar for understanding and applying phronesis as a point of departure for social science research, phronesis is an "intellectual and moral virtue that develops out of experience" (Thiele, 2006, 188), which in turn relies on worldly experience and interpretation. This is potentially a weakness of Flyvbjerg's argument, argues Thiele (2006), as it as matter of practical judgment plausibly replacing rational thought with intuition.

Even if Flyvbjerg upholds phronesis (ethics) as the most important practical virtue in a well-functioning society, above episteme[24] (science) and techne[25] (art/craft), he is not arguing against the use of natural sciences (Flyvbjerg, 2006, 57) as maintained by Laitin (2006, 33-55). Laitin uses a dualistic approach of "qualitative versus quantitative methods, case study research versus large samples, and narrative versus formal modeling" (Flyvbjerg, 2006, 56) to discredit Flyvbjerg's arguments. Rather, "…the principal objective for social science with a phronetic approach is to carry out analysis and interpretations of the status of values and interests in society aimed at social commentary and social action, i.e. praxis" (Flyvbjerg, 2001, 60). Phronetic research on a substantive problematic issue like livable downtowns, maintains Flyvbjerg (2006, 76), depends on the perspective taken, which in turn influences the answers to the following four value-rational questions:

1. Where are we going?
2. Who gains and who loses, and by which mechanism of power?
3. Is this development desirable?
4. What, if anything, should we do about it?

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[24] **Episteme:** scientific knowledge and *know why* – "…corresponds to the modern scientific ideal as expressed in natural science" (Flyvbjerg, 2001, 55-56).
[25] **Techne:** *know how* – "…art and craft, and as an activity it is concrete, variable, and context-dependent" Flyvbjerg, 2001, 56).

These questions and the phronetic approach are instrumental to my research, as values and power are at the core when analyzing the theoretical rationale – the values-rationale – upon which the planning of a 'diverse and livable' downtown relies. Thus, my research is not looking at the normative rationality of 'what should be done,' but, in an attempt to assess current values, planning rationality, and power relations, I rather focus on 'what is actually done' (Flyvbjerg, 2003, 327). However, it is important to stress that the particular "lens" that I choose is not a superior method to analyze stakeholder values and planning policy, but is a method intended to generate a critical awareness to further inform and advance society *in addition* to the more dominant scientific (episteme) or technical (techne) rationality.

3.2.3 The Qualitative Approach – With a Critical Perspective

Paradigms and worldviews are neither right nor wrong; one way of seeing is another way of not seeing. But paradigms are powerful ways of looking at reality, and they provide windows into information about the social world and often frame the particular questions we seek to answer. (Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2006, 49)

This study was primarily based on a qualitative research approach. A limited quantitative data collection and analysis section was however also included, based on Census data from 2006 concerning the Downtown, the St. Patrick's Ward, and the Guelph Census Metropolitan Area (CMA)/City of Guelph. This was done to generate a basic yet statistically accurate basis for a descriptive socio-economic context of The Ward in particular, and the commercial Downtown core secondly, in relation to a city average. I did not look for trends in this context. Rather, the data merely provided a diagnostic snapshot of the distribution of new residents, lone parents, population change, low-

income residents, and visible minorities. As well, the data offered statistical insights to variables like population, income, citizenship, levels of education, and household composition.

Besides the Census data, a qualitative approach was chosen because the objectives and questions proposed were not compatible with deductive or testing theory (Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2006). The purpose of the study was to inductively extract social meaning, understand social processes, and generate theory, based on reviewing other theories and the practice demonstrated through the case study. Data collection for the most part took the form of field research with interactions over a one-year period, through attending community meetings and conducting interviews. I relied on my own research skills, as opposed to questionnaires or instruments developed by other researchers, and took different approaches to search for the participants' views. These research approaches are all part of the qualitative method (Creswell, 2009).

Seeking a deeper understanding of the challenges to and opportunities for implementing Smart Growth strategies, I only studied the early stages in a longer process involving the drafting, implementation, and monitoring one particular local plan. This preference stemmed from an intellectual interest in the power of details, where it is said one might find both truth and deception, and the result (end) is seldom, if ever, triumphant over the process (means). My undergraduate degree in International Development Studies prepared me to see social, economic, and environmental values and how interests battle one another in different cultures, geographic locations, at various scales, and at different times in history, with different outcomes. In this line of study, common research approaches and problem-solving strategies include contextual analysis,

critical thinking, capacity development, and, most importantly, a passionate and engaged commitment to doing work that matters. Time and again, research of this nature reveals, at multiple levels and in multiple forms, elements of unbalanced power and corruption, presence of weak institutions, and the consequence of leadership or lack thereof. At the outset of my study, I was curious about what insights my topic and case could reveal if analyzed in a similar manner.

A Critical perspective was chosen to generate new knowledge. By adopting Flyvbjerg's "values-rational" questions, which are drafted in a critical theorist's manner, my research accesses "subjugated knowledges" and examines the "micro-politics of power" (Foucault, 1976; in Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2006, 31). Under the critical theory umbrella, my research method adheres to one of the main contemporary epistemological traditions -- Postmodernism. "Postmodernism and related theories focus on the prominence of dominant ideology and the discourses of power that normalize this ideology to the maintenance of a dominant world order – locally, nationally, and globally" (Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2006, 31). This type of research approach attempts to clarify the voices included and excluded, in order to transform power relations. It subsequently challenges dominant ideology and seeks to empower human beings to transcend the constraints placed on them (Creswell, 2009).

It should be noted that the methodology could have become *participatory project-based*, "in which the research becomes an integral part of some social change project" (Stoecker, 2005, 8). In early 2010, when I attended the first few city and neighbourhood organized community meetings and got to know the existing and new community organizers, I gained valuable on-the-ground learning experience through witnessing the

forming of a ratepayer group, named The Ward Residents' Association (TWRA). At that early point, I was asked to be part of the group, but not everyone saw my research role as favourable. I therefore remained an observer – and not a participant – of the process. This was not a problem for my research objective, since I had already chosen to address the case study from a critical analysis perspective. However, if the core group had sought to utilize my research position, I could have made it participatory and project-based, working with the group in a strategic manner to actively contribute to community change. While such a focus would have resulted in a social change project, it is hoped that the current research will nevertheless be of interest to the neighbourhood and beyond.

3.3 The Case Study Method

This section discusses general characteristics and issues regarding the case study method. Topics covered include: case study research design and techniques, methods for verification, the role of the researcher, and ethical considerations.

3.3.1 Case Study Research Design and Techniques

Case studies are a strategy of inquiry in which the researcher explores in dept a program, event, activity, process, or one or more individuals. Cases are bounded by time and activity, and researchers collect detailed information using a variety of data collection procedures over a sustained period of time. (Stake, 1995; in Creswell, 2009, 13).

This study was designed to use the case study method. It qualitatively analyzes a process taking place at a specific time in history at a particular location, and relies on the use of several data sources. Social science realms of anthropology, sociology, history, political science, and urban planning were integrated through elements of ethnographic field research. The present research made inquiries about individual and collective values and

interests, past planning policies and studies, and reviewed collaborative planning procedures and contemporary planning and development practice.

Orum, Feagin, and Sjoberg (1991, 6-7) suggest, "There are fundamental lessons that can be conveyed by a case study:

1. It permits the grounding of observations and concepts about social action and social structures in natural setting studies at close hand.

2. It provides information from a number of sources and over a period of time, thus permitting a more holistic study of complex social networks and of complexes of social action and social meetings.

3. It can furnish the dimensions of time and history to the study of social life, thereby enabling the investigator to examine continuity and change in lifeworld patterns.

4. It encourages and facilitates, in practice, theoretical innovation and generalization."

By pursuing a deep insight into the challenges to and opportunities for implementing Smart Growth at the local level, a case study approach enabled me to gain access to the required data. First, in chapter four, I establish an understanding of theoretical intentions behind Smart Growth and the strategies on which it relies. This is mostly a theoretical exercise, but I also describe the character of the neighbourhood in this chapter.

Second, in chapter five, I describe the public consultation process between April 2010 and June 2011 informing the Secondary Plan, including how contributions to the drafting process were solicited and who contributed. Furthermore, stakeholders' values,

interests, and understandings of planning theory, practice, and potential consequences are explored. In addition, to choose my key informant interview participants, I rely on the Purposive Sampling Technique and the "Snowballing" referral technique. Participants engaged in the case are identified through community meeting attendance and local media and planning document review. They are organized and individual citizens, city bureaucrats and planning consultants, politicians, and developers (i.e. landowners, developers, builders, advocacy groups); everyone offers personal and professional views through semi-structured open-ended interviews. As such, I subscribe to the view that, "The qualitative research interview is a construction of knowledge. An interview is literally an inter view, an inter change of views between two persons conversing about a theme of mutual interest" (Kvale, 1996, 2).

Last, in Chapters Six and Seven, the first and second understandings are combined to generate new knowledge. I answer Flyvbjerg's value-rational questions and discuss to which degree Smart Growth strategies are implemented in the Secondary Plan.

3.3.2 Methods for Verification

Verification of evidence and measures to ensure the quality of the research was kept in mind at all times throughout the research. While Yin (1984) points out four case study tactics for verification: construct validity, internal validity, external validity, and reliability, Kvale (1996) highlights three criteria of validation for any given qualitative study: validity as the quality of craftsmanship, validity as communication, and validity as action. In pursuit of validity, these categorizations stress the role of the researcher in gathering and interpreting data, the variety of data included, and efforts to ensure transparency of research procedures and interpretations.

Techniques to verify the study address all of these validity criteria. In the literature review, I sought out views on both challenges to and opportunities for implementing Smart Growth. I also made an effort to stay true to the research method through documenting the research procedure, following the described case study procedure, and developing a secure database. When conducting interviews or attending public meetings, I repeatedly reflected on interim findings and I openly discussed my ideas and points of views throughout the research process when my views were sought. Transparency, attained through participant and reviewer confidence in the method applied and interpretations presented, is in the end an important means to achieve validity. Thus, validity is not achieved by letting the data "speak for itself", but the researcher rather practice rigor and trustworthiness between researcher, participants, and external observers by striving to offer reflective and truthful interpretations.

3.3.3 Role of the Researcher

Experiences and familiarity with the topic at hand shape the interpretations at which one arrives. I mentioned above my undergraduate background in International Development Studies, which undoubtedly influenced my choice of topic, but this study primarily reflects my current role as a Graduate student in the School of Planning.

Notwithstanding the fact that it is an Urban Growth Centre under certain provincial legislative planning requirements, choosing the City of Guelph as a case study was motivated primarily by its continued commitment to Smart Growth, evident through the 2003 Smart Guelph initiative and other efforts at conforming to the Growth Plan through sustained public consultation and multiple plan and policy adjustments.

I was also familiar with the city's long-standing reputation as a liberal and

progressive city, with a well-developed civil society and strong commitment to social and environmental ethical principles and transparency. This view is however part of my bias, since I am both an outsider having immigrated to Canada in December of 2004 but also an insider having lived in Guelph from then until moving to Waterloo in 2009. While living in Guelph, I became familiar with the neighborhood but with only a few of its residents. Through everyday conversation with Guelphites, I was sometimes exposed to derogatory references to The Ward. Outspoken residents in The Ward found themselves on the other side, expressing frustration with being an underserviced neighbourhood receiving little attention or upgrading over the last few decades. This fragmented knowledge contributed to the insight I brought with me to this study.

Early on, I became aware of the political landscape of this study. Public pressure was placed on the planners after the first public community meeting. Kilmer initiated, immediately after purchasing the property in February of 2010, an active public outreach process with the neighbourhood. A large number of councilor candidates ran for a seat in Ward One during the municipal election in the fall of 2010; all eleven candidates addressed the concerns regarding development pressures in The Ward. Organizational positioning tensions also took place in the neighbourhood as residents began mobilizing and voicing their opinions publically, particularly through The Ward Residents' Association. I therefore decided to engage in the conversation about the future of the neighbourhood, if my point of view was sought,[26] while remaining less engaged on matters concerning interpersonal relations and local politics.

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[26] In two instances, I participated in a one-hour radio interview at CFRU 93.3FM *The Royal City Rag* and *Beyond the Ballot Box* on my thesis research and the current planning of downtown Guelph.

3.3.4 Ethical Considerations

The thesis study received approval from the Office of Research Ethics at the University of Waterloo before interviews were conducted. Full disclosure of my research interest was provided and I only participated at public city and Neighbourhood organized meetings when invited to do so. This approach, I believe, allowed me to gain a deeper and more meaningful familiarization with the neighbourhood and its residents. Being familiar with the community was an important objective when conducting research specific to one land use site, because I also desired the research to be of use to an audience both inside and outside academic institutions and thus of relevance to the needs of the neighbourhood.

Interview participants were fully informed about the research objectives through an information and consent letter distributed at the time of invitation. There was no risk involved for the participants. The interviews were conducted at a time and location convenient for the participant. All interviews were anonymous and none of the names of interviewees were identified in the study. Only open-ended questions of a non-intrusive character were asked. In many cases, where convenient and when the situation would lend itself to it, the interview would be audio taped. The recordings and notes identifying that person's name are to be destroyed, as agreed in the ethics application, one year after the study is completed. The wish of the participants who refused to have their answers quoted in the study was respected, and their views were incorporated in a more general manner.

3.4 Procedures for Data Collection and Analysis

Below follows a description of data collection and analysis procedures used for my thesis study, highlighting steps taken throughout different phases of the case study.

3.4.1 Data Collection

The collection of data for this study relies on a predetermined set of parameters, types of data collected, and strategies of data collection. The analysis was defined by the data collected for this study.

3.4.1.1 Parameters for Data Collection

The parameters for this study were established according to its geographic setting, the process timing, and the diversity of active participants:

1) <u>Geographic Setting</u>

This study focused on the discussion around the redevelopment of a brownfield site owned and remediated by Kilmer, at 5 Arthur Street South in the neighbourhood of the St. Patrick's Ward (The Ward) in the Urban Growth Centre (UGC) of the City of Guelph in the Toronto-centered region of the Greater Golden Horseshoe (GGH) in the Province of Ontario, Canada. All the different scales are part of the case, given that planning policy governance operates hierarchically along the same scales. The language of policies and interpretation of strategies sharpen its focus as we move closer to the local context.[27]

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[27] Indeed, one of the significant factors at play in this regards was that residents in The Ward did not know their geographic neighbourhood had been included in the expanded area of the downtown for the purposes of the Downtown Secondary Plan development. This will be expanded upon further into the paper.

Figure 3-2: Conceptual Planning Scale - Geography and Policy

Province of Ontario	GGH
City of Guelph	UGC
The Ward	5 Arthur St.

The 5 Arthur Street South site represents the end of an urban industrial era and the anticipated beginning of residential intensification in the core. The site is subject to sustained brownfield redevelopment attention, with the intention of changing its land use from industrial to primarily residential but also with some mixture of use.

2) Process Timing

Although I did not take part in the very first community meeting concerning the drafting of the Downtown Secondary Plan on March 9th 2010, the timing of the plan-making process and my thesis research coincide quite nicely. I followed the process from the early days of pre-plan community consultation meetings in April 2010 to the June 2011 Open House that solicited community feedback to a first draft version. Attending the 2010 community meetings and neighbourhood workshops offered a first-hand insight to the views and methods of the involved parties; it also offered a deeper appreciation for the unfolding planning process and its uncertainty. The observation of the unfolding process, as opposed to a pure reliance on hindsight and non-participatory judgments, taught me to be cautious about taking an expertise stance and becoming disconnected

from the evolution of events in the neighbourhood. The insight gained by following a process closely made me more cautious about judging the active parties for what they did or did not do, and encouraged me to focus rather on examining the values-rational power-structures and institutional parameters within which they operated.

Furthermore, a timeline is provided in Table 3-1 below to highlight the fact the Smart Growth has taken place for a long time in Guelph. Documents of particular importance to my case study are: Smart Guelph, St. Patrick's Ward Community Improvement Plan, and the Local Growth Management Plan.

Figure 3-3: Downtown revitalization and planning documents timeline

Top boxes (above timeline):

- Provincial Policy Statement
- Growth Plan for the Greater Golden Horseshoe: Places to Grow
- Trails Master Plan
- Commercial Policy Review

- Brownfield Redevelopment Community Improvement Plan

- Draft Official Plan
- Agri-Innovation Cluster Strategy
- Transit Growth Strategy and Plan

Selected City - organized public community workshops

Timeline bar:

| 2003 | 2005 - 2006 | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 |

2010
March 9
April 27
June 17
June 29
August 19
September 15
December 7

2011
March 23:
Secondary Plan Study and Proposed Secondary Plan presented to the public

June 15:
Draft Official Plan Amendment & Downtown Implementation Strategy feedback solicited at an Open House, City Hall

Bottom boxes (below timeline):

- Smart Guelph
- St. Patrick's Ward Community Improvement Plan

Earlier Plans
- Galt Plan
- Zoning By-law
- River System Management Plan
- Downtown Public Realm Plan
- Ward One Area Future Land Use Strategy

- Community Energy Initiative
- Residential Intensification Plan
- GuelphQuest Online Public Visioning Workshop
- Downtown Visioning Charrette
- Shaping Our Choices Report
- Downtown Investment Action Plan

- Local Growth Management Strategy
- Community Profile
- Downtown Guelph Community Plan
- Urban Design Action Plan
- Official Plan Amendment 39
- Prosperity 2020
- Draft Recreation, Parks & Culture Strategic Master Plan

3) <u>Involved Parties</u>

The involved parties are identified as a triad of citizens, politicians, and bureaucrats, with developers located in the middle. My interview participants included organized and individual citizens, city bureaucrats and planning consultants, politicians, and developers (i.e. landowners, developers, builders, associated advocacy groups). In total, 18 interviews were conducted for the case study. While most interviews followed the same set of interview questions (see Appendix A), some participants preferred to engage in a more loosely organized and more focused conversation. The research method did not require quantitative coding or comparison of answers, but rather sought a comprehensive and in-depth qualitative understanding. Thus, the varying degree to which questions were answered did not take away from the research value, but rather offered a chance to gain a deeper insight.

3.4.1.2 Types of Data Collected and the Rationale

Four types of data collection techniques were applied: statistical analysis (diagnostic), document analysis (content), informal public community meeting observation (process), and focused interviews (qualitative, comprehensive). The statistical analysis took place early in the study. Document analysis and observations took place throughout the one-year study period. The interviews were conducted towards the end.

Public meetings attended, whether hosted by the city or TWRA, offered me insights into the different parties' views and a chance to witness the evolving plan-making process. Attending public meetings also offered me a chance to witness the evolution of the process between the public meetings, by observing the changes made

from one meeting to another. Similarly, the diagnostic and descriptive statistical data offered a picture of the 2006 socio-economic status of the neighbourhood.

The public document analysis included mostly planning documents, consultant reports, and background studies. They all concerned the urban core (i.e. Urban Growth Centre). In some instances documents analyzed were accessed through council minutes. However, these documents primarily supplemented my other research findings. They were all valued for the information they provided, further deepening my notes taken at meetings and interviews.

The interviews were conducted in person. They were intended to take about an hour, although sometimes more time was required due to the conversational style adopted. Note-taking or audio-taping occurred depending on the location and the wishes of the participants. In a couple of instances the interview took place in coffee shops, where the noise level was not conductive to recording. This was not seen as a problem, since most participants were ready to repeat their answers. The interviews were later summarized for analysis. The audio-recordings served to fill any gaps in the notes. The interviews present the different values and interests put forth by the various parties involved in the planning process.

The participants, being public and private professionals and local citizen stakeholders, were asked opinion and values questions. Of interest were their interpretive processes, asking them about opinions, judgments and values – 'head stuff' as opposed to actions and behaviors. Answers to these questions tell us what people think about some experience or issue. They tell us about people's goals, intentions, desires, and expectations. "What do you believe?" "What do you think about _____?" "What would

you like to see happen?" "What is your opinion of _____?"" (Patton, 2002, 350, emphasis in original). The feedback from the participants when asking what they felt about being asked these types of questions showed that they did indeed manage to generate rich and reflective answers, without feeling that the questions were intrusive or leading.

3.4.2 Data Analysis

The data analysis was conducted after the data collection process was complete. This section outlines the analytical procedures followed. The data collected from the census, public meeting observations, document reviews, and stakeholder interviews were the object of distinct procedures for analysis.

3.4.2.1 Data Categories and Coding

The choice of categories and strategies for interpretation was kept practical and simple, in order to achieve structure and clarity in the analytical process (see figure below). *Census notes* were first collected for each set of data and then brought together for a comprehensive analysis. *Observation notes* from public meetings were highlighted and relevant extracts were assembled in documents filed chronologically. *Document notes* (i.e. information flyers and letters, website publications, policy studies and drafts) were firstly read through and summarized and then organized according to stakeholder groups, i.e. Public/Citizens, Planners/Bureaucrats, Politicians, and Landowner/Developers. *Interview notes* were organized according to the four themes in the interview guide (i.e. interview questions): Community Character, Planning Theory, Policy Drafting Process, and Development Principles for the 5 Arthur Street South site.

Figure 3-4: Data Categories & Coding

1) 2006 Census	•neighbourhood data •city data
2) Observation notes	•highlighting of notes •meeting dates
3) Document notes	•summarise •categorise, cronological
4) Interview notes	•categorize

3.4.2.2 Data Analysis Presentation

The data were qualitatively analyzed through a categorization and interpretation process. Patterns, themes, and categories formed and were firstly organized in separate files. The files were reviewed repeatedly, generating a list of major ideas that were recorded for each set of files. The data were later interpreted and integrated into the overall analysis.

The analysis was based on the qualitative values and interests expressed by a wide variety of actors through the policy drafting process, with a focus on the contextual circumstances guiding and empowering these views. The goal was to explore the plan-making process of a downtown secondary plan, designed to play a key role in implementing Smart Growth strategies found in planning theory and the Growth Plan policy, and the values-rational preferences expressed by a wide variety of stakeholders. It was anticipated that this analysis could provide a deeper insight into which values and interests are reflected in the Plan, and cast light on which direction this takes the city and if it in the end it is likely to meet the Smart Growth objectives.

CHAPTER 4 – THE LOCAL PLANNING CONTEXT & PROPOSED POLICIES

Things which matter most, must never be at the mercy of things which matter least. (Johann von Goethe; in SmartGuelph, 2002, p.1)

4.1 Introduction

Chapters Four and Five constitute my case study. While Chapter Four explores the local community context and the milieu for which new planning policies are drafted, Chapter Five describes the plan-making process leading up to the first draft of the Downtown Secondary Plan. Combined, information on the local socioeconomic context, community milieu, and plan-making process provide a basis for analyzing stakeholders' values, interests, and power relations. These insights in turn determine the challenges to and opportunities for implementing Smart Growth through the Downtown Secondary Plan in The Ward.

A statistical portrait of the St. Patrick's Ward (The Ward) census tract,[28] in relation to the Downtown census tract and the City of Guelph as a whole, aims to provide better understanding of the community affected by the forthcoming Downtown Secondary Plan. Socioeconomic differences and similarities within the city are presented, offering statistical accounts of what it means to live in the urban growth centre. Data for The Ward census tract extend beyond the land covered by the Secondary Plan boundary, but so does the community's self-identity. Therefore, for the policies to coincide with community, the character of the community as a whole must be considered.

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[28] **Census Tracts: "**Area that is small and relatively stable. Census tracts usually have a population of 2,500 to 8,000. They are located in large urban centres that must have an urban core population of 50,000 or more" (Statistics Canada, 2006, www.statcan.gc.ca).

Interviews with stakeholders engaged in the plan-making process, whether residents, city staff, private interests, or other professionals, add participant perceptions and experiences to what characterize The Ward's milieu. New developments should consider stakeholder values and interests if aiming to complement the character of the neighbourhood. Views expressed in favour of the current urban form in the downtown core are not against intensification, but they are critical of planning and development efforts that might compromise the established social complexity and economic diversity.

The last section of the chapter describes the content of the various 2010 - 2011 Downtown Guelph Secondary Directions, Study, and Plan drafts presented by the city and the Plan's potential future impacts, focusing in particular on The Ward. The Draft Secondary Plan directs future development in great detail, and The Ward community has been given special attention. Beautiful design and public spaces in the historic downtown core appears to be priority. Although allowing mixed use, the definition of three distinct areas of cultural/heritage, business/institutional, and residential uses reflect a continuation of modernistic, spatially separated land uses.

4.2 City and The Ward Statistics – 2006 Census

In Guelph, the proposed Downtown Secondary Plan stands to be a most influential planning document for the communities within and around the established downtown urban growth centre boundary (See below Map 4-1). Outside the Downtown core, it is The Ward neighbourhood that is likely to be affected the most, due to the urban growth centre boundary extending into the neighbourhood and the priority given to its intended residential intensification. To better understand the neighbourhood's socioeconomic status, this study includes a statistically diagnostic of the 2006 status of the Census Tract

constituting The Ward, in relation to the Downtown census tract and the City of Guelph as a whole.

Map 4-1: Downtown Guelph – Central Business District & Urban Growth Centre[29]

Downtown Guelph

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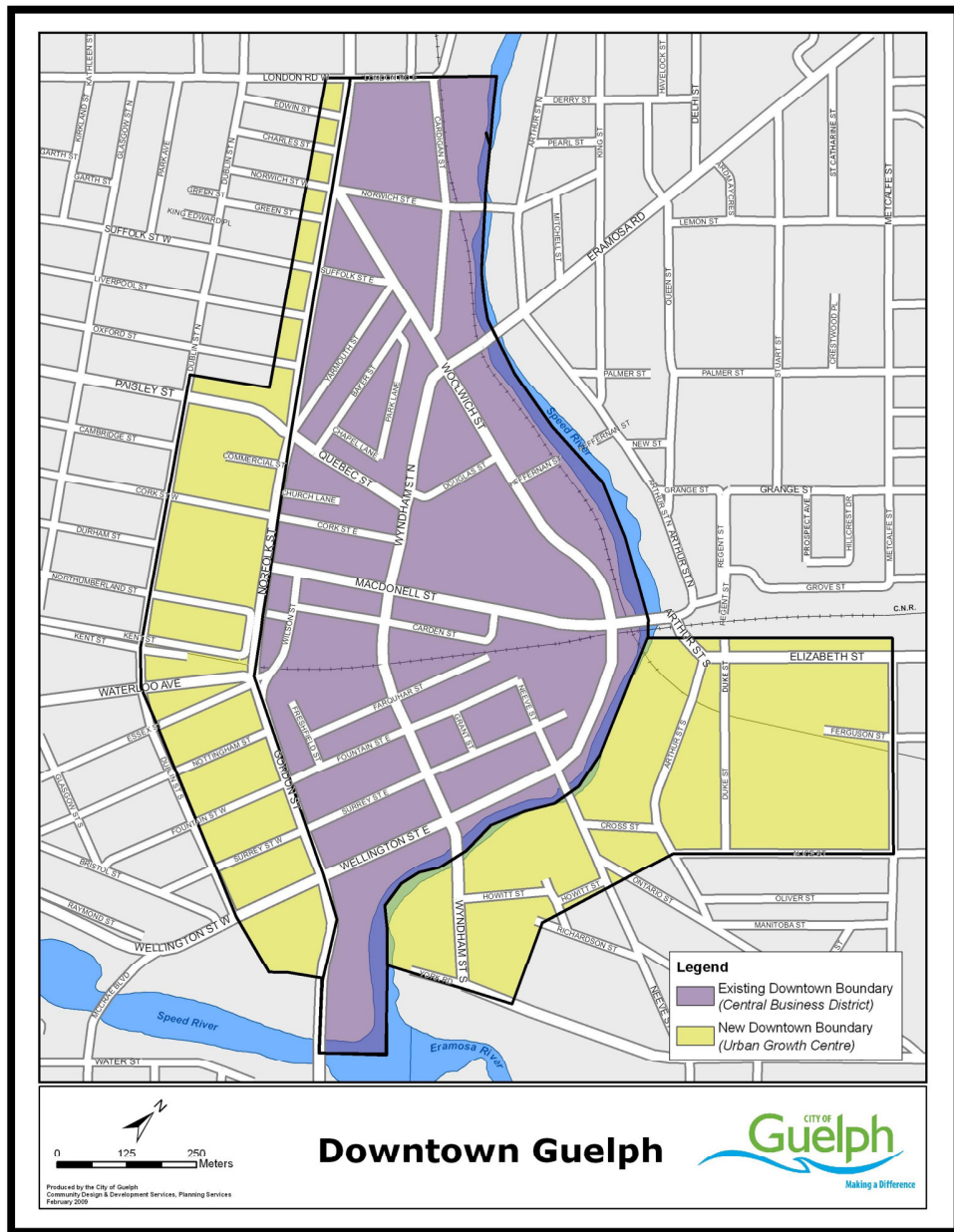
[29] (Guelph, 2011c)

Beforehand, I offer a broader perspective on how the City of Guelph is changing overall. A descriptive analysis of the Guelph Census Metropolitan Area (CMA)[30] context, relying on a series of *thematic maps*[31] provided by Statistics Canada (Map 4-2 through Map 4-12), is provided.

4.2.1 Differences within the Guelph Census Metropolitan Area (CMA)

The thematic maps for the 2006 Guelph CMA cover the following themes: population and dwelling counts, age and sex, families and households, immigration, education and labour market activity, place of work, visible minorities, and income. The maps offer insights into how the census tracts of The Ward and the Downtown are rated in comparison to other census tracts within the CMA.

Map 4-2: Population change

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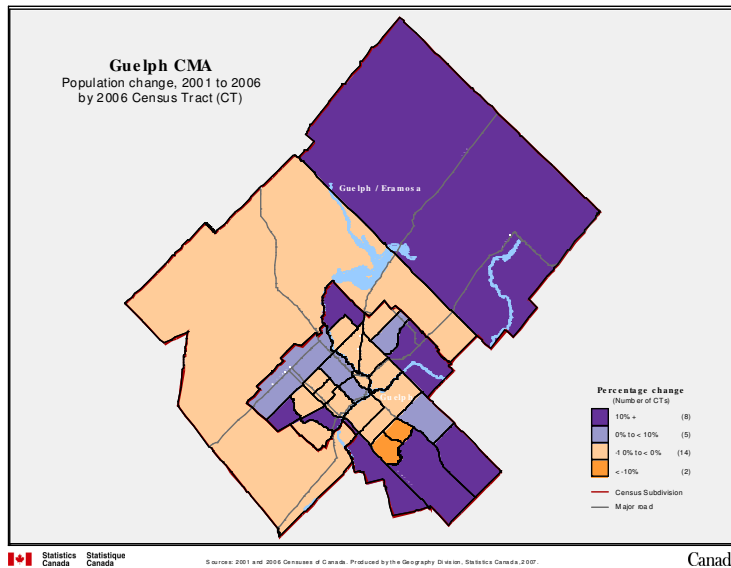
[30] **Census Metropolitan Area:** "Area consisting of one or more adjacent municipalities situated around a major urban core" (Statistics Canada, 2006); Guelph CMA extends beyond the City of Guelph boundary.

[31] **Thematic Maps:** Shows the spatial distribution of one or more specific data themes for standard geographic areas (2006 Census of Canada; Geographic Division, Statistics Canada, 2007-2008)

The *population change* between 2001 and 2006 was -10% to < 0% for both the Downtown and The Ward (Map 1). This population reduction was common among most inner city neighbourhoods in the City of Guelph, while the new subdivisions in census tracts to the south, west and east attracted over 10% increase. Suburban greenfield development clearly drives population increase in this pre-Growth Plan period.[32] Furthermore *recent immigrants*[33] are settling along the Hanlon Expressway in the south end and northwest end, or along Stone Road and Gordon Street close to the University of Guelph and the Downtown (Map 2). The Ward was not a significant destination for new immigrants.

Map 4-3: Recent immigrants
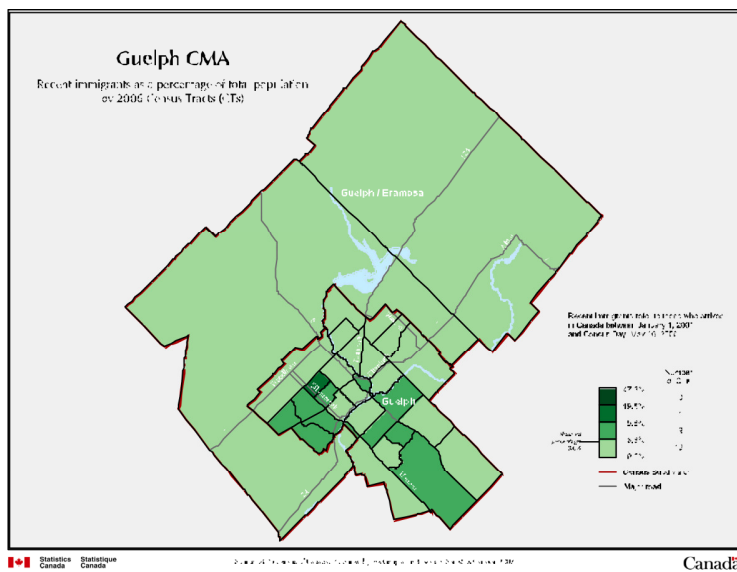
Similarly, the percentage of *visible minorities* is low (less than 10%) in the inner city neighbourhoods north of the Speed River, including The Ward, with the Downtown

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[32] The greatest population decline (greater than –10%) was however in two census tracts found between the Hanlon Expressway, Stone Road West, Gordon Street, and Kortright Road West.

[33] **Recent immigrants:** those who arrived in Canada between January 1, 2001 and Census Day, May 16, 2006 (Statistics Canada, 2007).

being the exception (Map 3). Visible minorities are however strongly present (30%+) in the northwest end along the Hanlon Expressway, demonstrating their preference and/or restriction to settle in other areas characterized by affordable and transient housing options.

Map 4-4: Visible minorities
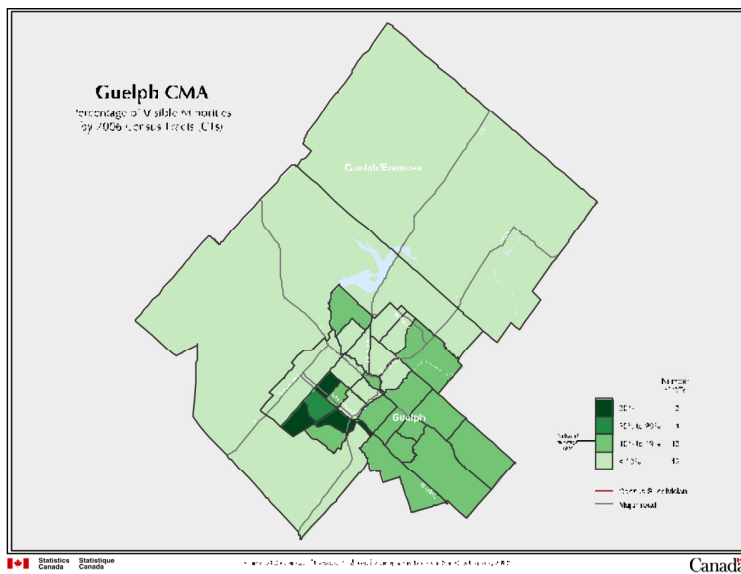
In regards to *age and sex*, the maps illustrate how the Downtown is a place registering a low percentage of population aged 14 years and under and aged 65 years and over (Map 4-5 & 4-6). The low presence of children is common in most inner city neighbourhoods in Guelph. Meanwhile, the percentage of elderly is equal or lower in The Ward compared to surrounding inner city neighbourhoods. Today this statistical category might be changing with an increased population aged 65 years and over, considering the demographic wave of baby-boomers now reaching retirement age. Nonetheless, it appears that neither the Downtown nor The Ward is a particularly attractive destination for the elderly.

Map 4-5: Percentage of population aged 14 years and under
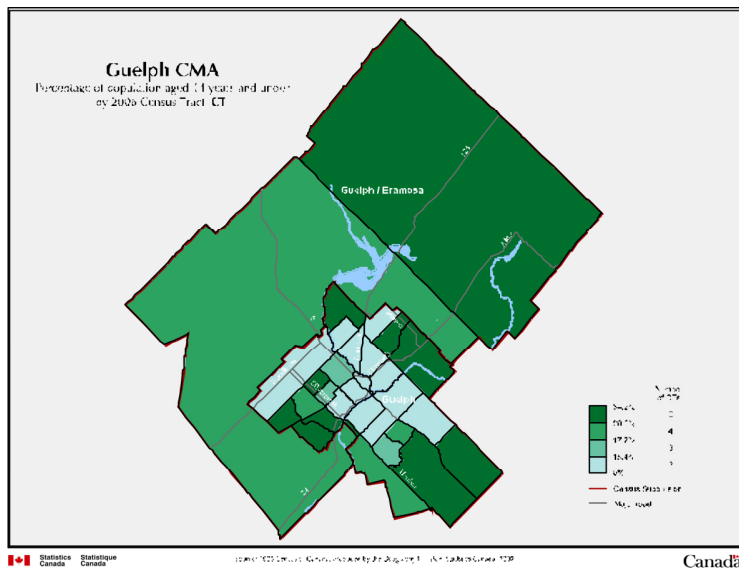
Map 4-6: Aged 65 years and over
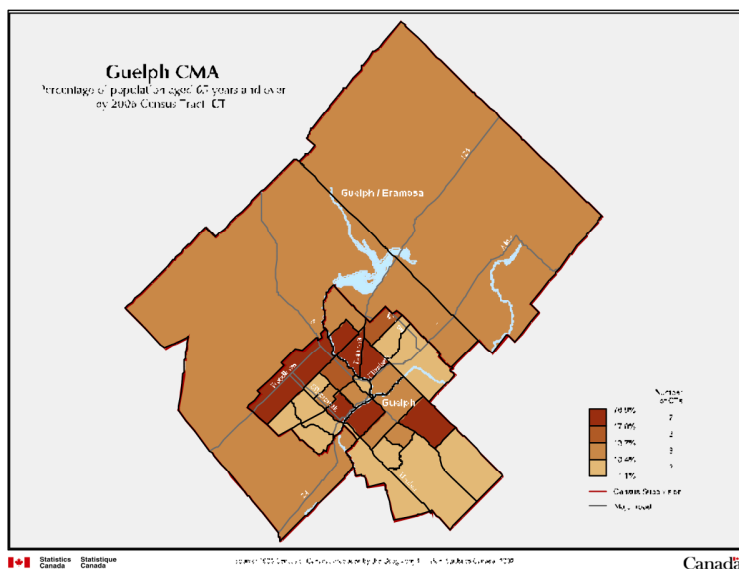
The maps describing *families and households* present both *private households containing couples with children under age 25 at home* (Map 6) and the *percentage of census families who are lone parent* (Map 7). The Downtown and The Ward post the lowest percentage (under 22%; shared with a few other inner city census tracts) of private

households containing couples with children under age 25 at home. They are however home to the highest bracket (20%-67%; National Average is 15,9%) of census families who are lone parent, a category not uncommon in inner city census tracts as well as a few census tracts in the outer ring to the north. Thus, while lone parent families are fairly dispersed throughout the city (notwithstanding the South end), private households containing couples with children under age 25 at home are mostly found outside the inner core neighbourhoods.

Map 4-7: Private households containing couples with children under age 25 at home

Map 4-8: Percentage of census families who are lone parent
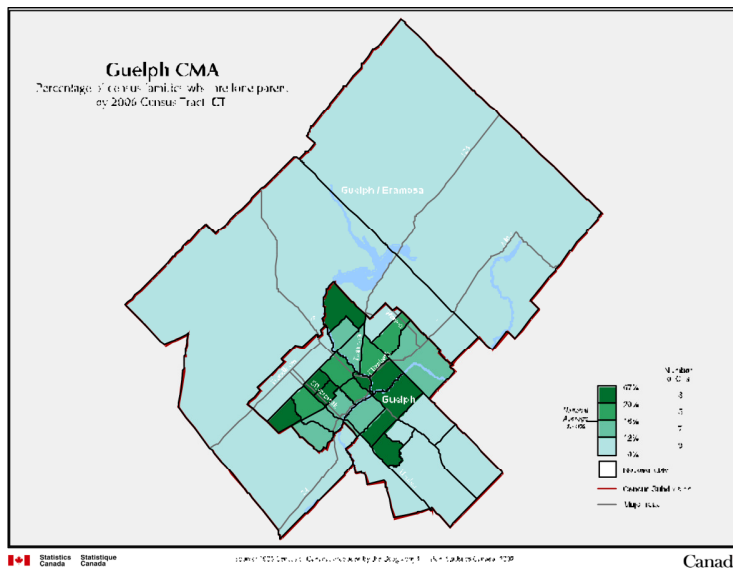
The inner city neighbourhoods are to some degree more affected by *unemployment* (for the population 15 years and over) than surrounding census tracts (Map 8). This is the case in The Ward, while people living in the Downtown enjoy a slightly lower unemployment rate. However, the Downtown census tract has the highest percentage of the population in *low income after tax* in 2005 (20.0% to 33.2%; Map 9). Although lower, it is evident that The Ward and a couple of other census tracts also have a higher level of people with low income after tax (10.0% to 19.9%) than census tracts further away from the urban core (CMA average: 7.9%).

Map 4-9: Unemployment
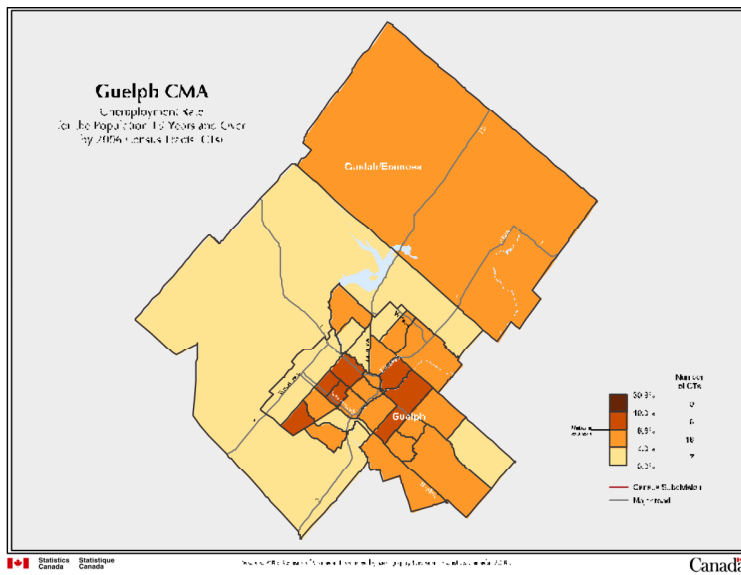
Map 4-10: Low income after tax
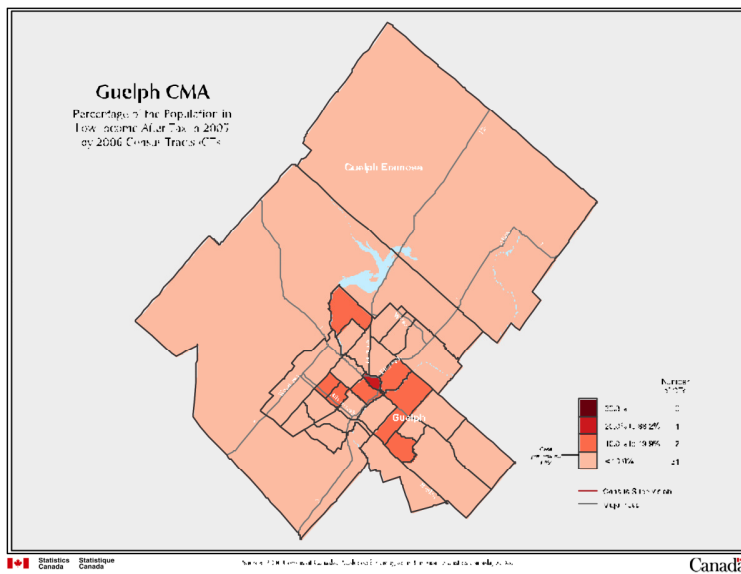
Map 10 *place of work* and Map 11 *place of residence* show concentrations of workers and residents (each dot represents 100 worker or resident). They clearly demonstrate how both the city's dense inner and northern neighbourhoods and sparse outer and southern neighbourhoods have a high concentration of people working outside

their neighbourhood, primarily along industrial/manufacturing and commercial/institutional locations. This is also the case in the Downtown, where there are few places of residence but a heavy concentration of work. However, The Ward has an almost perfectly balanced number of work and places of residence. This unique distinction from other neighbourhoods in the city is noteworthy and points to a land use distribution conducive to the creation of a complete community. Although the balance might have changed since 2006 due to deindustrialization, for instance with the closing of C.W. Wood Plant # 1, the work–residence balance should be considered an asset.

Map 4-11: Place of work
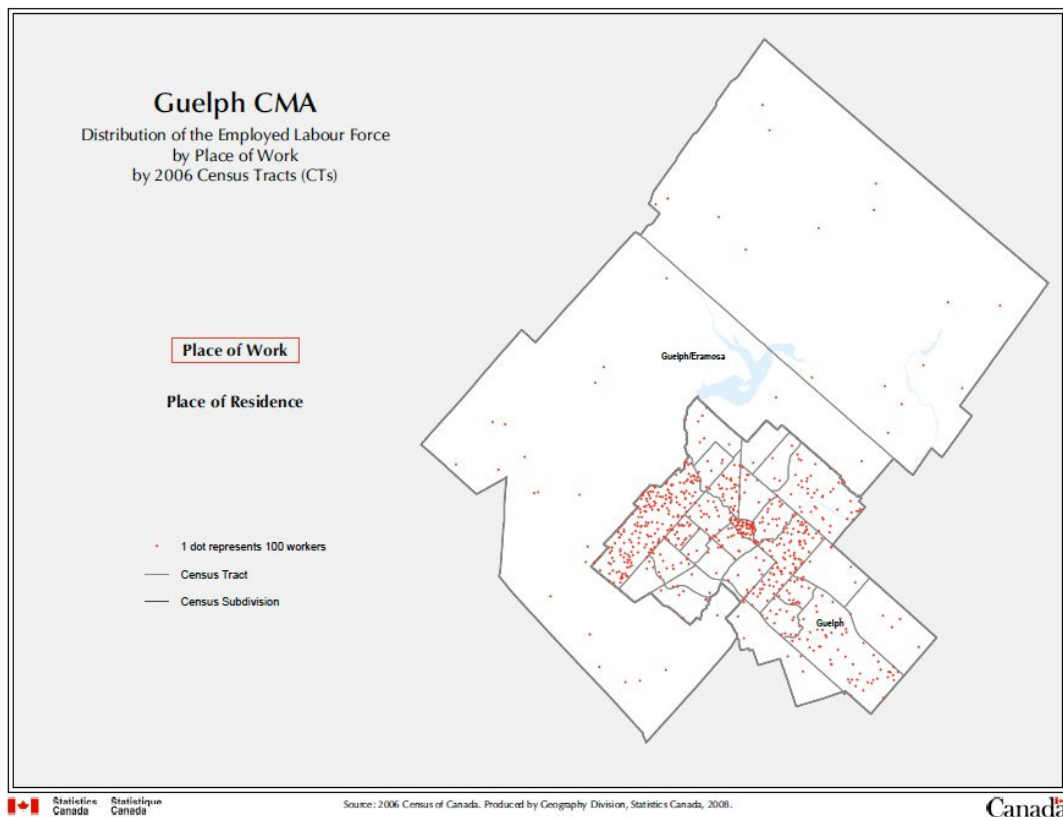
Map 4-12: Place of residence

Guelph CMA
Distribution of the Employed Labour Force
by Place of Residence
by 2006 Census Tracts (CTs)

Place of Work

Place of Residence

• 1 dot represents 100 workers
— Census Tract
— Census Subdivision

Guelph/Eramosa

Guelph

Source: 2006 Census of Canada. Produced by Geography Division, Statistics Canada, 2008.

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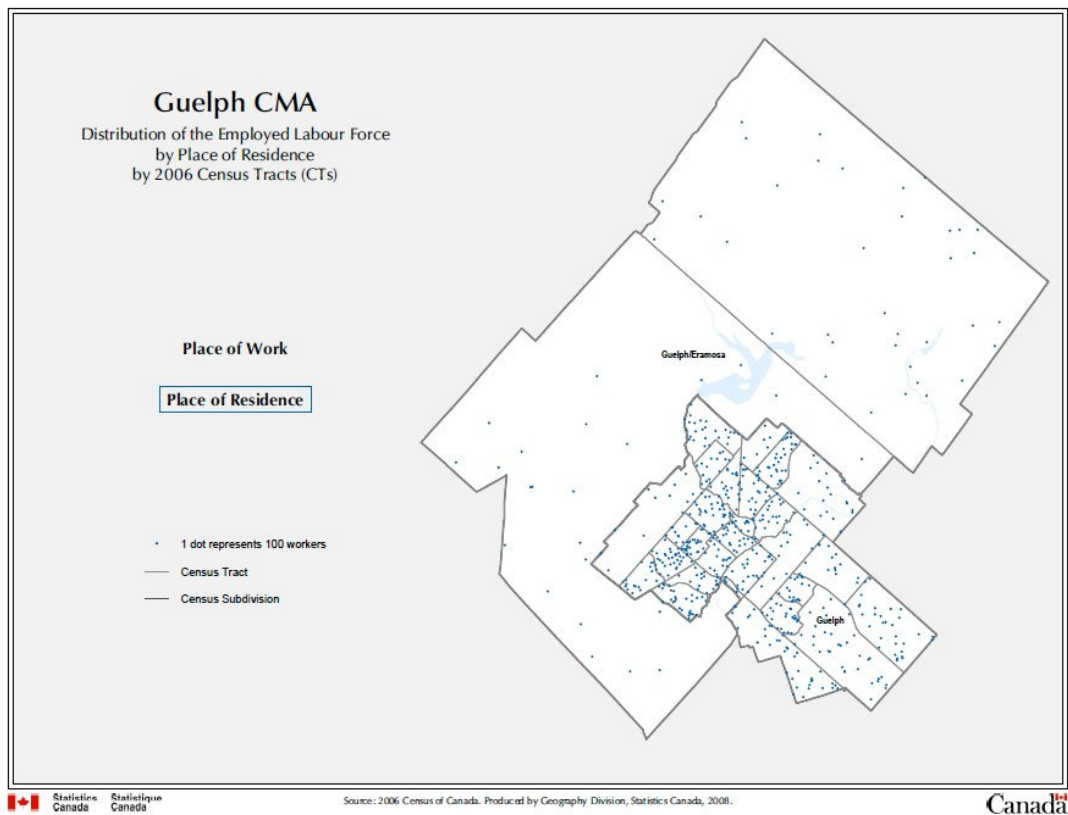
4.2.2 The St. Patrick's Ward

This section highlights and compares The Ward to the city across three statistical themes: population, household, and income. These themes are meant to cast light on socioeconomic differences and similarities between The Ward neighbourhood and the city. Comparing an inner core neighbourhood to the city is not meant to give the impression that all the other neighbourhoods in the city conform to the city average for different variables, since it must be kept in mind that each neighbourhood goes through its own unique evolution and transformation as its character changes over time. However,

the city average provides a baseline for The Ward and shows where it stands at this time in its evolution.[34]

Map 4-13: Census Tracts (2006) for the St. Patrick's Ward (in green)[35]
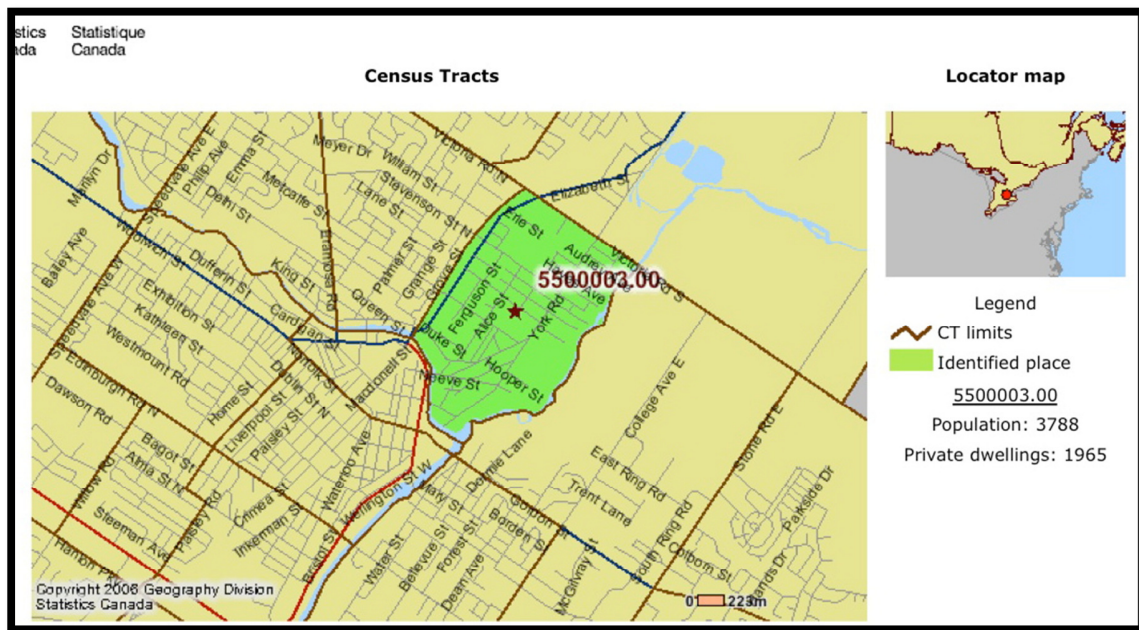
The 2006 census population is 114,943 residents in the City of Guelph and 3,788 in The Ward. Measuring *population age-groups in percentage of total population*, Figure 4-1 illustrates how The Ward is characterized by a lower than city average presence of people aged 0 - 19, higher than average presence of people aged 20 – 44, and a slightly lower than average percentage of people aged 45 and over. The most striking characteristic of the neighbourhood is that a greater than average percentage of people aged 20 – 44 reside there. Clearly students are one group contributing to this statistics, but other groups no doubt also contribute to these values given that the age category

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[34] A comparison to fellow inner-city neighbourhoods in Guelph could be another baseline for comparison, but this is beyond the capacity of this study to provide.

[35] Statistics Canada, 2006, www.statcan.gc.ca [Accessed May 3rd, 2011]

extends to age 44. While the statistics do not allow the identification of any specific group within this age category, one can surmise that the level of affordability and the close proximity to non-residential destinations likely attract residents who value the culture and style of this established community, require access to social services and/or human capital in the community, and/or belong to low-income categories.

Figure 4-1: Population by Age, 2006
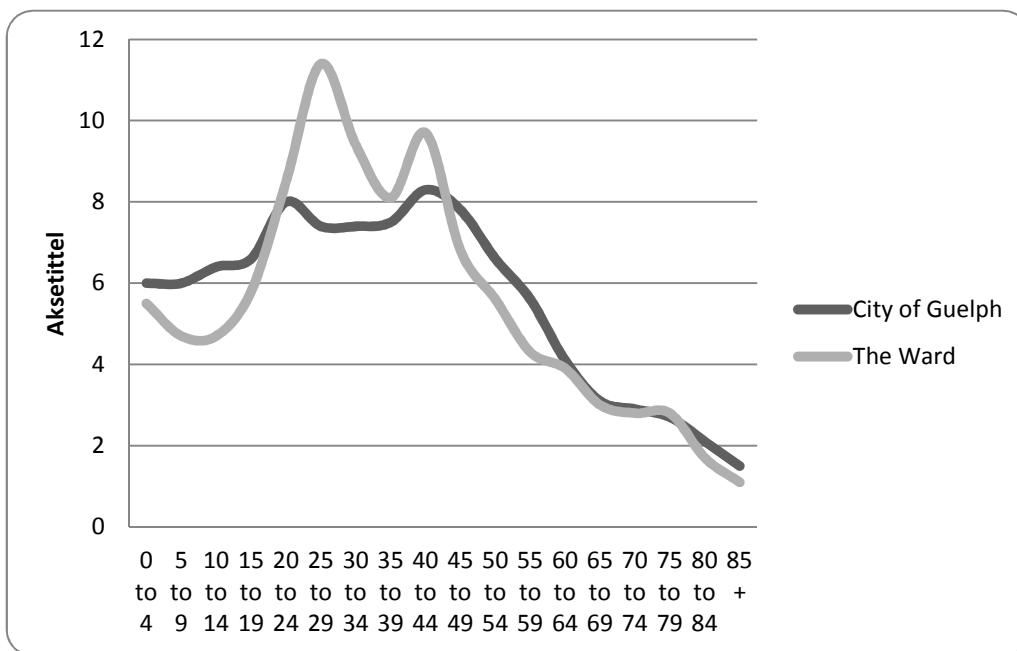
In 2006, the average number of persons per private household in Guelph was 2.5, while the average in The Ward was 2.1. Thus, private households in The Ward, on average, contain fewer people than the city average. However, the population density in The Ward is 1,976 persons per square kilometer, while it is 1,325.5 in the City of Guelph. Furthermore, a comparison of *housing stock percentages* (Figure 4-2) demonstrates how The Ward has a higher level of 'apartment, dethatched duplex' and 'apartment, building

with 5 or more stories' and a slightly above city average level of 'apartment, building with fewer than 5 stories', while having an equal level of semi dethatched houses, a lower percentage of singe-dethatched houses, and a significantly lower level of row housing. This current housing stock diversity within the neighbourhood reflects a fairly balanced and complete community as regards housing, notwithstanding the high level of apartment, detatched duplex and low level of row housing.

Figure 4-2: Housing Stock Percentage – Guelph & The Ward, 2006
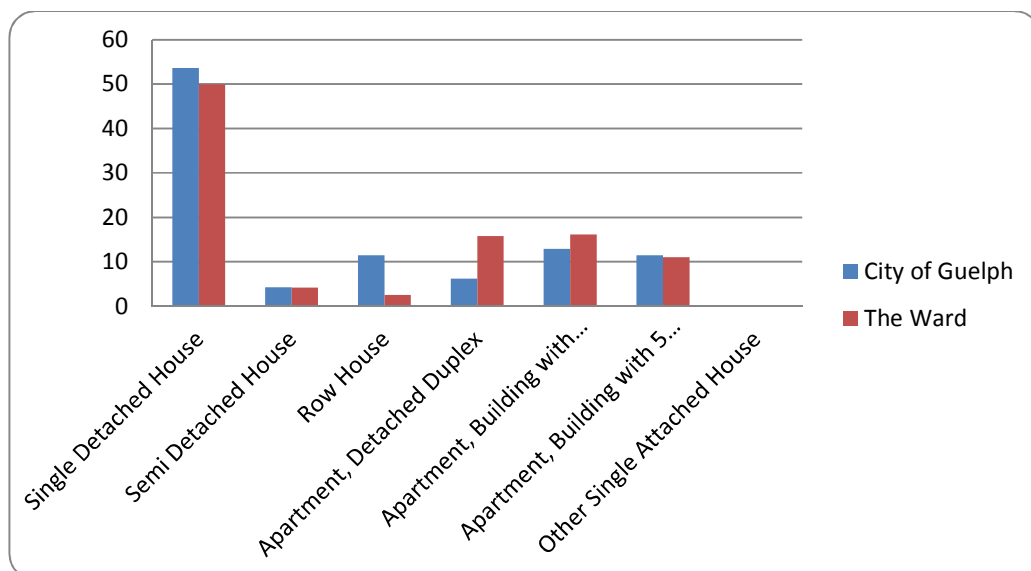
Financially speaking, people in The Ward are unquestionably less affluent when compared to the city. The 2005 *median income for private households* places The Ward clearly below the city average (Figure 4-3). However, a high level of equity between *personal income class brackets* characterizes the neighbourhood (Figure 4-4). While a larger than city average percentage of people earns between $5,000 and $19,999, a much lower proportion than city average earns $60,000 and over. The percentage of income earners in the highest bracket is half of the city average. Thus, the difference between

76

people with high and low personal income is much greater in the city than in The Ward. The overall evenly dispersed income bracket is important, because it reflects a financial distribution within the neighbourhood in line with the Population by Age graph (Figure 4-1).

Figure 4-3: Median Income in 2005 – All private households
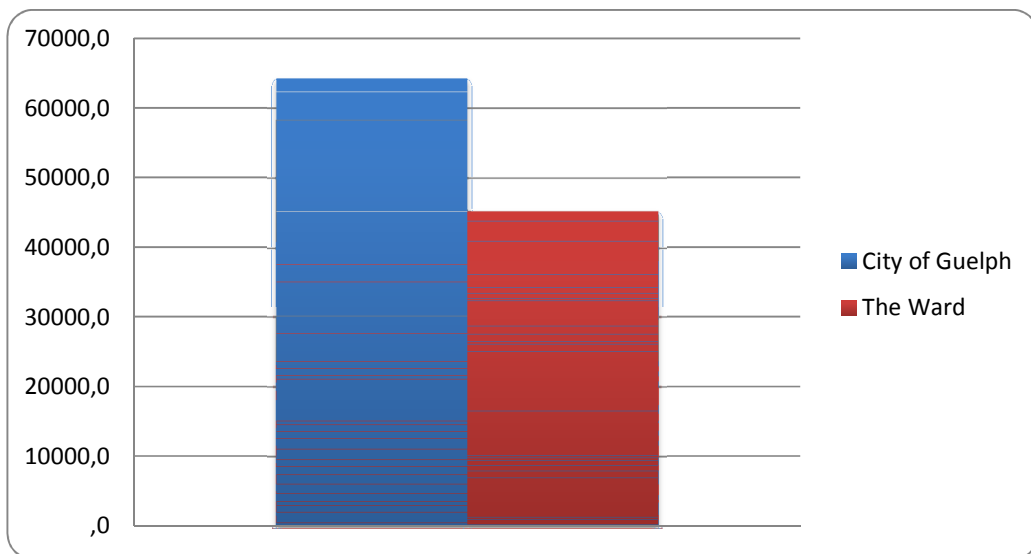
Figure 4-4: Personal Income Distribution by Income Class, 2006
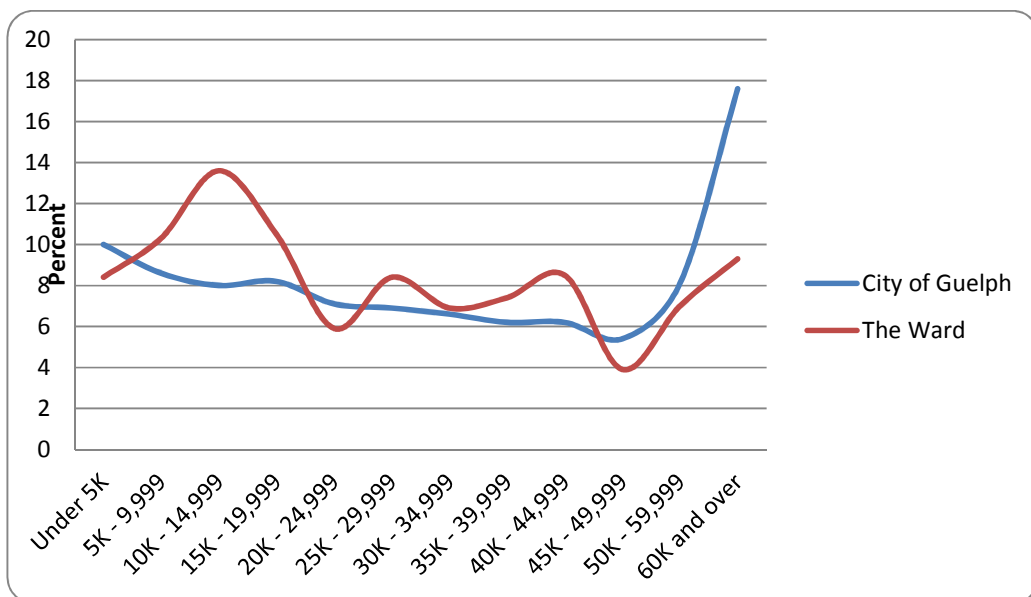
4.2.3 Comparing Downtown, St. Patrick's Ward and Guelph CMA

The final table below presents variables relevant to the successful implementation of a Smart Growth agenda within the study area. The data signal stability, affordability, diversity, and complete community characteristics that are much valued by Smart Growth promoters. As well, the data clearly separate the socioeconomic groups residing Downtown and in The Ward; while Downtown is primarily young, low-income, and includes frequent movers, The Ward has a higher median age and income level, in addition to a significantly higher level of (and more affordable) home ownership. The question to keep in mind is therefore: how will these features affect Smart Growth-enhancing development in the urban growth centre?

Table 4-1: Comparing Downtown, St. Patrick's Ward and Guelph CMA--Highlights

Data	Downtown (550006.00)	The Ward (5500003.00)	City of Guelph
Population in 2006	1,504	3,788	114,943
2001 to 2006 population change (%)	-6.6	-4.6	8.3
Median age of the population	29.9	34.7	36.4
Education attainment: No certificate, diploma or degree (%)	11.3	29.4	20.4
Owned private dwellings (%)	6.6	55.2	69.3
Lived at the same address 5 years ago	23.1	50.9	52.9
Median monthly payments for rented dwellings ($)	796	711	801
Average value of owned dwelling ($)	224,991	195,292	271,502
Median monthly payments for owner-occupied dwellings ($)	690	1,116	1,205

Median income after tax – Persons 15 years and over ($)	18,436	22,911	26,651
Income status of all persons in private households (counts): % in low income after tax – All persons	29.5	13.7	8.3
Employment rate (%)	70.7	66.4	67.7
Worked in census subdivision (municipality) of residence (%)	67.8	63.8	61.9
Mode of transportation to work: public transit + walked or bicycled (%)	45.5	24.1	15.5

Some numbers from the above table stand out. First of all, reversing present trends by attracting residents to the inner core should be a vital priority. Encouraging a housing model that serves the needs of lower-than-average income earners is perhaps a challenge, as is the attraction of more higher-paying jobs. The provision of and access to social services for the residents who need them the most should also be an important consideration when drafting the Downtown Secondary Plan. Building an inner city attractive to adult professionals and the elderly, as well as families (possible by increasing the proportion of family-friendly row-housing) may increase the low average. Now, while the low-income percentage is higher in the inner core than for the city average, their close to or above the average employment rate is an asset. Finally, a high level of public transportation and walking or biking percentage in the inner core promises good returns on investment in higher quality active and public transportation.

4.3 The Ward Character and Values – TWRA Statements & Interviews 2011
In order to understand the values that define The Ward and the unique character of Downtown communities, I asked participants to describe what they perceived to be the

social, physical, and economic benefits to and disadvantages of living in this part of the city.[36] The Ward and the Downtown are commonly understood as two separate communities, largely due to a wide range of differences. Most importantly, the Downtown is primarily a Commercial Business District (CBD), while The Ward is a mature inner city neighbourhood; all participants describe the two areas' identities as separate, with the Speed River being the physical boundary. In addition, during the plan-drafting process Kilmer requested a description of their feelings towards their neighbourhood from The Ward's residents. The Ward Residents' Association (TWRA) offered such a statement (see Appendix B). The statement was also provided to the city planners. Its message reflects much what was said in the interviews.

4.3.1 Social benefits and disadvantages

In The Ward, quality of life is considered to be high. Indeed, it is almost as if Section 2.2 on "Social Responsibility" in the city's Official Plan was written with the neighbourhood in mind.[37] Several stakeholders recognize the existence of a strong sense of warmth and pride in The Ward, where there are many houses rich in character; young families settling there seek its character, defined in part by its low fences and unconventional and organic layouts. Socioeconomic diversity, participants frequently pointed out, is one of the most appealing features of The Ward, reflecting a high level of tolerance in this neighbourhood. The middle class never fled from inner core neighbourhoods. Family ties

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[36] Given that not every participant resided in The Ward or Downtown, this was not an attempt at constructing a "true" character, which arguably would require a more rigorous research method. Rather, these questions sought to understand perceptions among the people who were uttering views on the Downtown Secondary Plan and the anticipated future developments within the Urban Growth Centre boundary.

[37] "**Social Responsibility:** Recognition that the quality of life is directly related to social well-being resulting from the provision of accessible employment, social, health, educational, recreational and housing opportunities to all segments of the community. By building social capital so that all residents are nurtured by society, a caring, friendly, and safe community can be achieved and civic pride can be fostered" (Guelph, Official Plan 2001, 2006 Consolidation, 3).

and a willingness to look out for one another therefore define the place. One participant, for instance, remembers how the neighbours on the street offered a welcome-potluck when moving there, demonstrating a truly human scale "village" mentality.

Disadvantages to living in The Ward are related to a presence of alcohol and drug related activity. Some complaints concern noise due to drinking and the poor condition of some of the housing. Both sets of complaints can to some extent be attributed to absentee-landlord rental housing, and many young people residing in the neighbourhood.[38]

4.3.2 Physical benefits and disadvantages

The Ward is also defined by its physical characteristics. First and foremost is the close proximity to amenities, which made The Ward conducive to walking and biking. The back laneways are also conducive to walking and cycling. Active transportation does not have an exclusively recreational purpose; it forms an essential part of an affordable, convenient, environmentally conscientious mobility in the inner core. Second, residents are used to the road traffic that comes with living in an industrial, commercial, institutional, and residential mixed-use community. These two characteristics must be seen alongside the human scale of the neighbourhood. If an increase in population might help reach density targets, it is feared that an influx of primarily young commuting professionals and elderly condominium residents will reduce the sense of community; more cars may fill the streets, which may consequently be widened; more beautiful design might improve the view, but will it be for everyone or only a select few? These are the kind of views expressed in The Ward. While they do not necessarily express an

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[38] Police data would clarify this point, but it was not obtained for this study.

outright opposition about the proposed development, they do raise concerns about its possible impacts.

An unconventional mixture of building styles, combined with homes that efficiently "hide" their number of units, are two core physical features seen as positive, but vulnerable to modern, corporate, and poorly designed buildings, such as some as the ones that are proposed. People who settle in The Ward embrace the presence of cottages next to larger houses, institutions, and different types of industries. This is part of the organic nature of the neighbourhood, but it is feared that this character might be lost by new zoning by-laws and other regulatory mechanisms as well as by new building styles.

A lack of infrastructure investment can be seen as a disadvantage, impeding the visual quality of the neighbourhood as in the case of deficient road maintenance, but to some it also reinforces the feeling of being neglected. The neighbourhood is also underserved with park space. Past studies have pointed out this neglect, but their recommendations have not been implemented.

4.3.3 Economic benefits and disadvantages

Three separate city areas are located within the Urban Growth Centre, a short walk from one another: a mid-rise historic main street urban core north of the train tracks, a low-rise greyfield[39] south of the train tracks, and a mixed use industrial, institutional, and residential neighbourhood east of the Speed River. Although every participant acknowledged the many decades of decline, there is today a sense of optimism. As one participant enthusiastically put it: "We are just on the cusp of taking of here!" (Interview

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[39] **Greyfields**: "Previously developed properties that are not contaminated. They are usually, but not exclusively, former commercial properties that may be underutilized, derelict or vacant" (Ontario, 2006, 43)

15).

The economic activity of the Downtown is tied to the presence of financial institutions, larger corporations, civic offices, local businesses, and artists. It is argued that a small number of landowners currently influence development trends. While there is strong attachment to the presence of independent businesses Downtown and the contribution they make to its character, there is also awareness of the contribution corporate chains and more generally big business make to the economic vitality of the sector. There is a level of corporate conservatism downtown Guelph that might require guidance so future developments achieve desired policy objectives.

The Ward has large scale industries, as well as recreation facilities and smaller businesses. There is a fear of losing too many industrial sites to residential lands, potentially challenging the overall economic sustainability of the community. Planning for residential intensification is important, but many participants sought a stronger economic focus.

4.4 The Downtown Guelph Secondary Plan Drafting Process & The Ward

This final section describes the preamble to and content of the various Downtown Guelph Secondary Plan documents put forth by the city. The focus is mostly on potential impacts on The Ward. It is beyond the scope of my study to comment on the complete Secondary Plan drafting process and all of its potential impacts. Rather, given that intensification drives planning, the review of the Plan's content and potential impacts is limited to the neighbourhood that will likely be the most affected by the population growth. A more in-depth analysis of the plan-making consultation process will be offered in Chapter 5, but at this point I present the evolution of the Plan's content.

Figure 4-5: Drafting the Downtown Secondary Plan Timeline

> 2002-2003 SmartGuelph

>> 2007 Downtown Visioning Charrette - Blue Model

>>> March 2010 Proposed vision presented (Open House) & TWRA established (officially est. June 2010)

>>>> August 2010 Directions Document presented

>>>>> March 2011 Proposed Secondary Plan Study & Plan (presented at Open House June 2011)

4.4.1 From Smart Growth to Growth Management to the Downtown Secondary Plan

The 2002-2003 *SmartGuelph: Building Tomorrow Today* initiative involved over 1200 citizens in it its effort to establish "a set of well-defined and articulated principles for growth and development in the city" (Guelph, 2011d). The year-long citizen-driven and city-supported process generated eight principles to direct and manage growth for the following 25 years.[40] It was designed to "assist city Council, municipal staff, community members, and public and private interests to make sound growth and development decisions, build coalitions between organizations with common concerns, create alignment of decisions, programs and services, and preserve the best qualities of the community" (SmartGuelph, 2002, 1). While the *SmartGuelph* document provided the

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[40] The SmartGuelph social, environmental, and economic triple bottom line-based principles demonstrated a commitment to Smart Growth. Implementation would be ensured by a request for council to approve nine implementation strategies, which among other things called for a stronger collaboration between City Hall and community-based stewardship activities.

guiding principles of the forthcoming draft Official Plan, it was not referred to in the draft Downtown Secondary Plan.

The 2006-2008 Growth Management Strategy process also involved many citizen engagement activities, but it sought a more specific and geographically grounded outcome than the SmartGuelph initiative (Guelph, 2011d). The Growth Management Strategy was part of Guelph's process aiming at bringing its planning in conformity with the provincial Growth Plan and therefore, demonstrating its commitment to Smart Growth through progressive compliance with the new planning requirements. Besides several citywide initiatives, the 2007 Downtown Design Charrette reflects community ideas for urban intensification. The charrette identified areas suitable and scales appropriate for intensification, conceptually separating the downtown into *Upper town*, *Lower town*, and *River* (Urban Strategies, 2007). However, in The Ward, only the 5 Arthur Street South site was included in the charrette (Figure 4-6), reflecting a compact and zoning-compliant concept. Intensification was at this stage not envisioned to impact surrounding neighbourhoods in any significant way.

Figure 4-6: "Woodlands" Residential Block Configuration (Urban Strategies, 2007, 40)

In many ways, although independently drafted, the Downtown Secondary Plan plan-making process should be seen as an extension of these previous consultations. But the proposed secondary plan was itself primarily an outcome of a study initiated in 2008 and a public consultation process that took place in 2010 and 2011 (Guelph, 2011a, 4). Hence, previous urban intensification debates had not particularly considered the impact of intensification on surrounding residential neighbourhoods. In 2010, it was recognized that an extended public consultation process to debate urban intensification, in general, and the Plan's potential impacts on The Ward, in particular, was required. The realization came about after the city presented their early vision at a first open house in March 2010. As well, alongside came Kilmer's purchase of the 5 Arthur Street South site in February 2010, formally introducing themselves to the neighbourhood in May of that year. Public outcry and anticipated development pressures were two reasons for incorporating community consultation in the process.

The *Guelph Downtown Secondary Plan – Directions* Open House held March 9, 2010 offered a first opportunity for the public to engage with *Envision Downtown Guelph*. Citizens were told how downtowns are the heart of the community, and that Guelph's downtown is rich in character and full of potential. Therefore, a new plan was needed to "ensure Downtown Guelph grows and evolves in a meaningful and relevant way as a vibrant focus for civic, business and cultural life for all of Guelph's citizens and as a complete community unto itself" (Guelph, 2010a, p. 6). The presentation included a number of catch phrases.[41] The suggested principles for the Plan referred to making use of and enhancing heritage assets, the river, retail, services, civic, cultural, and educational

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[41] Themes: A complete neighbourhood; A green showcase; An authentic & beautiful place; A destination for food & culture; A transit hub; A hub for creativity & innovation (Guelph, 2010a, p. 29).

institutions, beautify streetscapes, create mixed mode transportation options, as well as adding residents (Figure 4-7). All in all, it reflected a vision by experts based on beauty, services, institutions, mixed mode transportation, and residential intensification, on which citizens were invited to comment. The presentation envisioned offering one more public meeting within a couple of months, and the completion of the new Plan in June – July of that year.

Figure 4-7: "East Bank" year 2051 vision presented March 9th 2010 (Guelph, 2010d, 44)

4.4.2 Draft Downtown Directions

In August 2010, the city offered the general public a document "to elicit feedback and discussion on the proposed directions for all other areas of the Urban Growth Centre prior to preparation of the draft Secondary Plan policies" (Guelph, 2010e, 1). At that point, Kilmer's remediation of the 5 Arthur Street South site was slowly advancing, but there was no clear indication as to what would happen to either of the two W.C. Wood

properties east of the Speed River. However, the *Draft Downtown Directions: Framework for the Downtown Guelph Secondary Plan* document recognized that further public consultation was required for development in The Ward.

A predominant focus in the Directions document on the W.C. Wood properties indicated a failure in respecting The Ward as an entity in its own right, which deserved a consistent planning approach. For instance, while it was proposed that most of the neighbourhood was to remain zoned for 2-4 storeys, the Woods 1 and 2 sites were places coloured grey on the map, with "Appropriate heights to be determined" (Guelph, 2010e, 14). Nevertheless, the document's "Illustration of the long-term vision" (Guelph, 2010e, 4) still depicted the original 18 storey towers vision. Such a strategy bought more time for negotiation with a neighbourhood that at this point was more meaningfully engaged. But the preference for tall buildings on these sites was also evident. Similarly, the listed "key drivers for change" (Guelph, 2010e, 3) included *Places to Grow* and the *Local Growth Management Strategy* for intensification, the *Community Energy Initiative* for "scale projects", the *Major Transit Station* for connectivity, a long list of *Other City Investments* planned or underway, *Private Investment* putting pressure on the downtown, and *Economic Development* driving the post-industrial transformation into the creative knowledge-economy future. However, the St. Patrick's Ward Community Improvement Plan from 2003 was not included among these "key drivers for change".

4.4.3 Downtown Guelph: Secondary Plan Study and Proposed Secondary Plan

In March 2011, the city presented the *Downtown Guelph: Secondary Plan Study and Proposed Secondary Plan*. Anticipated to be adopted by city council later in 2011, the

Plan will constitute a part of the city's latest Official Plan and guide and regulate development in the Downtown Guelph Urban Growth Centre:

> Its purpose is to establish the context, planning framework and policies that will guide development and improvements in Downtown Guelph until 2031. It will be used by the City of Guelph as the basis for planning and implementing infrastructure, community facilities and services, and other public projects in the Downtown, including the upgrading of existing facilities and services, in coordination with private development. This plan will also be the primary tool used in the review of development proposals and applications in Downtown. It is the City's intent that all public and private development in Downtown will comply with this plan (Guelph, 2011a, 1).

As such, the secondary plan's purpose is to guide and regulate the anticipated growth.

4.4.3.1 The Plan's Potential Impact on The Ward

Concerning development east of the Speed River, the Plan envisions that the former industrial sites will have "compatibly integrated high-density living into the eclectic character of the St. Patrick's Ward, adding diverse forms of housing, appropriate work opportunities, street and trail connections, and open spaces" (Guelph, 2011a, 42). The focus is thus on compatibly between raising density and adding a diversity of housing forms, jobs, connectivity and open spaces. In general, shaped by land use directives emanating from regulating devices such as zoning by-laws, road standards, and building codes, the built form reflects density requirements and the facilitation of other land uses. The Ward will change, and the Plan recognizes the importance of a vision of improved connectivity and compatible integration between The Ward and the Downtown.

The foundation of the Secondary Plan consists of a number of core principles that flow from its vision. The principles speak to (1) treasuring heritage, (2) accommodating people and quality of life, (3) attracting more business, (4) attracting more institutional

and public services, (5) reconnecting with the river, (6) prioritizing accessibility and active transportation, (7) committing to environmental sustainability, (8) and committing to building with beauty. These principles reflect contemporary urban planning, by demonstrating a reversal from the past downtown planning preferences for modernistic architecture and automobile accommodation. This shift is further expressed through the explicit policies laid out in the Plan.

The Secondary Plan's impact on The Ward, however, is less a function of vision statements than of the ability of all stakeholders to find mutually beneficial compromises within the stipulated principles, policies, and regulations. I therefore review below the Plan's content, as it pertains to The Ward.

Mobility Network (Schedule A) – York Road and Elizabeth Street are primary streets, Neeve Street is a secondary street. A set of laneways and local streets is intended to improve circulation and more specifically provide pedestrian connections on the former industrial lands, opening up the Wood 1 and 2 sites. Four future pedestrian bridges/tunnels will connect the Wood 1 site and The Ward to the Downtown, two crossing the Speed River and two crossing the train tracks at the downtown transit terminal.

For the primary streets, the potential consequences to keep in mind include width and speed. At 27 to 30.5 meters wide, the increased number of people and cars navigating them must be considered for accessibility and safety reasons. Being located in an urban area where active transportation is a priority, these streets must not become barriers between neighbourhoods – like in the case of the arterial roads which are part of the super

grid structure in the outer ring subdivisions – but rather contribute to a blended urban feel. Speed limits and crossing opportunities must consequently be considered in order to mitigate undesired consequences.

The location of the pedestrian bridges and tunnels is another major consideration. A strategic and historic crossing alternative was lost with the closing of the Neeve Street tunnel, which was not prioritized when redesigning the downtown transit terminal. The parking alternative south of the tracks on Neeve St implies a close-by crossing alternative, and with increased train activity a safe and clean underpass represents a preferable alternative to an overpass.

Public Realm (Schedule B) – Each of the major brownfield sites part of the Urban Growth Centre in The Ward will see the creation of sizable future parks. There is a heritage building with potential adaptive re-use for civic, cultural, or community use on the Woods 1 site. There will be primary streetscape, 27 to 30.5 meters wide, on York and Elizabeth Street. A future pedestrian and cyclist route is suggested to follow the Guelph Junction Railway train tracks that extends into The Ward.

It can be argued that an active transportation route where people can walk and cycle, by following the train tracks into the neighbourhood, is of greater importance to more people than one single bridge connecting the Woods 1 site to the transit station. Of the two bridges required, the one following the train tracks should therefore be given priority.

Land Use (Schedule C) – Most of The Ward part of the Urban Growth Centre is a regulatory floodplain and zoned for Residential 1. Residential 2 is reserved for Woods 1 and 2. Mixed Use 1 areas are located by primary streets. There is no institutional or office designation for The Ward, but the Mixed Use 1 areas allow for this on the ground floor.

The floodplain regulation implies in particular a need for flood-proofing, avoiding deep basements, and providing water protection for mechanical, electrical and heating equipment. Residential 1 implies a preservation of current low-rise residential patterns. However, small-scale employment uses are also permitted, further helping to preserve the character of The Ward. Residential 2 implies high-density forms of housing. The massing shall minimize impacts on adjacent lands; portions above the sixth storey shall be stepped back where fronting a public street or park; design standards will be required; building styles will minimize adverse effects of large buildings, by moving away from 'slab' style and 'blind wall' effects common in structures dating from a few decades ago; and grade-related units (e.g. townhouses) shall be incorporated in apartment buildings. This is the style of urban development found in other urban growth centres. Mixed Use 1 Areas imply relaxed zoning, which is flexible and intends to bring back the traditional animated streets of commerce on the ground and potentially residential on top.

Height Parameters (Schedule D) – The land being a regulatory floodplain and zoned for Residential 1 is to be dedicated to 2-4 storey buildings. In addition, the mixed use along Elizabeth Street is also 2-4 storeys, but the mixed use on York Road is 3-6 storeys. The centrepiece of Woods 2 is set at 4-10 storeys, similar to the river facing land a the centre of the Woods 1 site. The Woods 1 site along Arthur Street will conform to the general 2-4

storey limit of the neighbourhood. North of the train tracks on the Woods 1 site, the height is set for 4-12 storeys, similar to the existing limit for the downstream Danby site. The southern part of the Woods 1 site is set at 4-10 storeys.

The most important regulation impacting The Ward is the exclusion of Bonusing east of the Speed River. This means that height limitations in The Ward are final, barring an amendment to the Plan. With the 2-4 storey zoning for the rest of the neighbourhood, the Plan appears to focus on bringing a development framework that works for current brownfield remediation corporations and larger urban builders, by permitting high density on brownfield sites, without significantly challenging current land uses in the remainder of the neighbouthood.

4.4.3.2 The Special Policies Applicable to St. Patrick's Ward

The proposed secondary plan for Downtown Guelph sets out a number of special policies applicable to St. Patrick's Ward in the Plan's section 7.11. The characterization recognizes the historical socio-economic mixture and diversity of the neighbourhood. "The Ward is characterized by a mix of small lots, modest homes and historic buildings, interspersed with neighbourhood-scale commercial and institutional buildings" (Guelph, 2011a, 83). Furthermore, the intentions of the plan are to make use of the industrial sites while maintaining the character of the existing residential areas. Remaining heavy industry should be relocated, heritage structures should be conserved and re-used, contaminated sites should be cleaned up, new developments should be compatible with existing and planned surroundings, more parkland should be provided, with more connections for active transportation while avoiding negative traffic impacts, and housing types should accommodate different household types and incomes.

93

Most importantly, the two Woods' sites shall be developed based on comprehensive master plans, which will be prepared by the applicant and approved by the city, and in consultation with The Ward community a detailed Urban Design Master Plan will be prepared. For the Woods 1 site, the applicant's Urban Design Master Plan and subsequent applications must adhere with eight principles. These principles are in many respects already part of the Plan's general guidelines, but they clearly further articulate the desire for quality developments on this site and for their compatibility with the neighbourhood.

The planning tool that determines the building bulk is the floor space index (FSI). The index is a response to various aesthetic, planning, and economic interests in these matters, providing a calculation tool that relates the floor area of a building to the area of the site. However, when a site has requirements to provide land for parks, roads, parking, and/or setback for instance, this reduces the proportion of the lot that can be built upon at ground level and increases the height of buildings for a given FSI. But the height of a building is not necessarily related to its density. Thus, what the future development will look like depends on the FSI, height limitations, presence or absence of bonusing, and design standards. The final decision will nonetheless be in the hand of the private developers, who are calculating key variables like the price of the property, consumers' interest in various unit types, and whether a profit can be generated within the established height limits.

CHAPTER 5 – THE SECONDARY PLAN DRAFTING PROCESS & THE WARD

The effectiveness of planning in a community, in the end, is more a function of the participation in planning decisions than of any other factors. (Hodge and Gordon, 2008, 299).

5.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the texture – the shape, the rhythm, and the phase – of the Downtown Secondary Plan drafting process, as it pertains to The Ward. I conceptually make use of insights provided by Hodge and Gordon's planning textbook chapter *The Texture of Participation in Community Planning* (2008, pp. 299-323), seeking to determine the effectiveness of the Plan's plan-making process to achieve Smart Growth[42].

I bring to light how the drafting process, as it pertains to The Ward, evolved from a first public meeting in March 2010 until the presentation of a first Draft Plan in June 2011. The narrative combines my own observations at public meetings with public meeting presentations, news stories, information letters, and stakeholder interviews. First, I identify the active stakeholder parties and provide some context to how they may optimally collaborate in community planning. The active parties' interests are also identified, both according to themselves as well as to how I perceive them. This examination enables me to determine both expressed and interpreted stakeholder values. Second, I examine the 2010-2011 community meetings, forming part of the public input solicitation within the drafting process. The dynamics of community meetings enable a deeper understanding of the role of power. Last, my reflections on the values and power structures forming the plan-making texture open a perspective on the effectiveness of the

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[42] See Figure 2-4: *Planning Participation Triangle, with Developer In the Middle* (Chapter 2) and Figure 4-5_: *Drafting the Downtown Secondary Plan Timeline* (Chapter 4) to conceptually structure stakeholder relations and timeline of the drafting process described.

process. This chapter describes the texture of the plan-making process leading up to the first draft of Guelph's Downtown Secondary Plan – the local planning policy document that will, when finalized, implement the provincial Growth Plan.

5.2 The Shape: Identifying Active Parties

The drafting process that determines the Downtown Secondary Plan's policy priorities for The Ward involves four primary stakeholder parties: *bureaucrats* (city staff, including planners, and consultants from Urban Strategies), *citizens* (organized and independent), *councilors* (particularly those representing Ward One), and *developers* (Kilmer, who owns the 5 Arthur Street South site, and local development professionals). Other stakeholder parties include the Ministry of the Environment, the Grand River Conservation Authority, and the Guelph Junction Railway, but they never formally took part in the community meetings. I consider them to be external to the local community planning process.

The Ward community's involvement in the drafting process began when citizens reacted to the Guelph Downtown Secondary Plan – Directions Open House held March 9, 2010. Until then, the city's consideration for The Ward had only included massing on the 5 Arthurs Street South site in accordance to the prevailing zoning by-law that allows high-density and a maximum of six storeys, and the provision of pedestrian bridge connections across the Speed River. In addition, outside provincial Growth Plan documents, the Urban Growth Centre border expansion in The Ward had been the object

of little attention, and downtown planning was therefore not perceived as particularly intrusive to The Ward community.[43]

The Ward resident Maria Pezzano attended the March 2010 meeting at City Hall and voiced in the local newspaper how she felt upset with a lack of information and consideration: "What I was annoyed with was the fact that no one told us…We didn't know we're in downtown now…The Ward's been neglected for a long time, now we voice. Let's not be alarmists but let's be informed. We are stakeholders in this neighbourhood…By calling it the East Bank, you're kind of getting rid of our history" (Guelph Mercury, April 20, 2010). From a political perspective, Councillor Bob Bell took a more confrontational and pragmatic view, stating in the same article that "[the Woods 1 site] has been zoned that way for at least a decade, so it shouldn't come as a surprise that something like this was going to happen; for the neighbourhood to think they're going to get a four-story walk-up, that's not going to happen. Obviously the developer wants a 20-story building" (Guelph Mercury, April 20, 2010). Surely setting a politician up against the public in this manner makes for exciting news, but for the process it only widened the gap between stakeholders.

Recognizing that "popular demand and some concern" by citizens required more attention than previously offered, the city invited local residents to a community meeting April 27, 2010 at the Italian Canadian Club in The Ward (Guelph Mercury, April 20, 2010). A demographically diverse group of citizens attended, viewing the displayed 2007 design charrette model and mingling with the many planners and councillors in the room. A presentation by the city on what the Downtown Secondary Plan aimed to achieve

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[43] A 2007 Residential Intensification Analysis proposed the border extension when locating potential sites for intensification within the city (Guelph, 2007, 15); the border was made official by the province in 2008.

generated discussion, which became intense and confrontational. While planners talked about beautification of the public realm and achieving high density through good design, which nobody disputed, the residents wondered about population growth numbers, parking issues, the fact that visualization examples presented less gentrification than the ones illustrated in the powerpoint presentation (from Port Credit, ON and the cities of Vancouver, BC and Portland, USA), and, most importantly, the residents queried what the four 18-storey towers on the 5 Arthur Street South site were all about! To add fuel to the fire, the neighbourhood had been given the generic name "East Bank". An ill prepared meeting thus accentuated mistrust between citizens and staff, lay individuals and planning professionals.

At the April meeting – later described as the "blowup" meeting by one interview participant (Interview 11) – the public requested that a questions and answers session be set up to better understand the Plan's consequences on their neighbourhood. However, the City suggested rather that citizens form small groups around roundtables and come up with what they valued in their neighbourhood. In theory, soliciting community values is the right first step in a participatory neighbourhood planning process, but in in this case it was a little late to do so; the public had shown up to raise, and get responses to, a number of concerns stemming from the intrusive vision presented by the City in March. With no site plan proposed for Kilmer's site, the process reflected a conflict between bureaucrats arriving with their full-blown vision, supported by pragmatic politicians eager to represent a downtown open for business, and citizens feeling left out and subjugated to a top-down expert-driven process. The community planning process was off to a turbulent start. The meeting ended on a good note however, when long-time Ward resident and

community activist Barbara Mann stood up at the end of the meeting and reminded everyone that urban intensification is required to avoid further greenfield sprawl, but that the real challenge is to adopt an appropriate form of urban intensification.

Thus, by April 2010, four stakeholder parties – broadly defined – influenced the shape of the process: bureaucrats, politicians, developers, and citizens. However, internal stakeholder dynamics were still shaping the process, leaving participants unsure as to which direction the process would take. But one thing was certain: more time was needed.

5.2.1 Interests Stated – Their Perspective

The public plan-making process advanced through a series of meetings and feedback solicitations, which were primarily focused on negotiating the formulation of policy principles for The Ward. In the end, the principles informing the Plan reflect which stakeholders' interests were given greatest priority. Before interpreting stakeholders' interests, as I understand them, I first provide the four stakeholder groups' interests as stated through media, public documents, or interviews.

Developers

Kilmer Brownfield Equity Fund L.P. owns the 5 Arthur Street South site and influences the plan-making process by investing in the brownfield site and public relations with the neighbourhood, i.e. sending out information letters, attending community meetings concerning the Secondary Plan, and communicating in the local media. Kilmer expressed its intentions in a communication to industry insiders: "The site will be redeveloped for a mix of high-rise, mid-rise and townhouse residential uses while preserving several

important historical elements on the site. The site is strategic to the City of Guelph as it supports its plan to revitalize the historic character of its downtown area while still meeting the objectives of Ontario's Smart Growth intensification initiatives. This site is located within Guelph's Community Improvement Plan (CIP) area and is eligible for various financial incentives to assist in its redevelopment" (aboutREMEDIATION, 2010). Furthermore, Kilmer's neighbourhood information letters and their attendance at public meetings helped established an early relationship with all stakeholders. Although their intentions for the site was not discussed in the same manner as the above press release, their neighbourhood letters expressed concern on: land uses, property assessments, demolition and remediation process and timeline, heritage preservation, and contact information (Kilmer, 2010 & 2011, *Letter to Residents*).

Other development professionals also regard the site with great interest, because of its unique suitability for a high-density urban project. Several interview participants argued that the site should prioritize residential development while also becoming a destination for the public, and be characterized by adaptive reuse, artistic flair, and commercial activity (Interview 5, 20, 23, 24, 27). I was also told repeatedly that its large size and unique location may prompt grand visions and innovative solutions.[44] However, there were also calls for caution. Corporate proformas (i.e. economic cost-benefit estimates) are based on variables like the land purchase prize, building material (e.g. steel, wood, concrete etc.), labour and project schedule, vertical servicing (e.g. elevators etc.), and type of units (i.e. market preferences). If market, zoning, and land use policies

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[44] The desire to "stir people's minds" reflects City Beautiful planning pioneer Daniel Burnham and his preference for making "no small plans", although, sometimes criticized for being elitist and ignorant of poverty and inequality in the urban political-economic structure (Campbell and Fainstein, 2003, 19-20).

require additional amenities and smaller floor plates, it is argued that buildings generally must be higher to be profitable. Furthermore, if required to go beyond the five to seven storey threshold, it makes economic sense to continue building to the next threshold at twelve to fourteen storeys. Stopping at eight or ten storeys is financially undesirable (Interview 28).

There are some key realities guiding developers specializing in urban intensification projects of this nature. Mixed-use developments help their financial bottom line, but parking standards adapted to suburban rather than inner-city conditions are challenging and drive up costs. The live-work units are currently not very popular. Larger developers are pushing out smaller ones, due to their experience and financial backing. High-end products are more profitable, even at a small scale, than the numerous and large low or middle range developments; this is similar to the car industry. Placing townhouses at the base with a tower on top is, when well designed and respectful of local architecture, generally a popular approach. Public pre-consultation meetings enhance public trust and generate political buy-in. This is an expense a developer can and will cover because it facilitates the development process. Clarity of policy is the most important variable for a developer: "We need certainty. We need to know when we go to a municipality, what is possible to get done and what process it will require. We need to reduce the risk of a too loosely written policy and oppositional public and politicians. If a site is appropriate for 12-storey buildings but the zoning is 10, then the bonusing [i.e. Section 37 of the Planning Act] is just a money-grab we will download to consumers" (Interview 28).

<u>Bureaucrats</u>

Writing a secondary plan typically takes a year to eighteen months (Interview 11). In Guelph, the process has taken more than three years. The slow process reflects limited resources, politically cautious governance, and a large number of concurrent capital projects (Interview 11). Nonetheless, the absence of a plan can result in the poor integration of new developments into the community, but a theoretical and idealistic plan can fail to capture the market; the current downtown zoning clearly does not attract developers (Interview 8, 9).

In retrospect, one stakeholder reflects, residents in The Ward should have been included earlier in the planning process, since a separate study clearly was needed east of the Speed River. However, there was less focus on The Ward in the beginning of the planning process, and proposing 18 storeys on the Woods site was both attractive to developers and a source of concern on the part of the public. With the establishment of a residents' group and the adoption of planning principles for the site, there is now clarity as to what criteria a proposal must meet. An urban design master plan will bring certainty to both developers and citizens. Thus, the process can be seen as useful, but the absence of a developer with a site plan to debate made the process quite difficult (Interview 11).

Urban Strategies, contracted by the city to assist with downtown revitalization and writing a secondary plan, also played an important role in the process. Urban Strategies bring to the table a perspective in line with their expertise; their recommendations based on urban design and planning principles primarily concern the built form. To many residents, the presence of two Toronto-based corporations (Urban Strategies and Kilmer) assisting the local planners was a cause for concern, frequently expressed before, during,

or after public meetings. The socioeconomic dimension of planning and the potential consequences of the design recommendations (beautification and introduction of high rise buildings) were not thoroughly addressed at public meetings.

Politicians

Reactions by citizens who initially felt excluded from the plan-making process and the attempts at finally getting a development of the scale of the one initiated on the Woods 1 site off the ground made for a political minefield. Politicians are traditionally expected to keep the collective interests in mind, while brokering between special interests, represent constituents, and govern by taking appropriate decisions. However, the city-initiated plan-making process lacked strategic leadership and community buy-in. Consequently, the structure and process that unfolded between stakeholders demonstrated a limited understanding of community planning processes; the focus was less on collective benefits for the City as a whole than on personal opinions and interests related to Downtown, Woods 1, or The Ward (Interview 15). When the planners met with the neighbourhood, they should have been better prepared; the Secondary Plan forms part of a larger planning process, of which the planners should have made the neighbourhood more aware. However, limited civic organization capacity at that point in time might explain insufficient transparency and collective memory (Interview 21).

Additionally, few voices heard during the process promoted complete communities. Social diversity and particularly families have been pushed away from the downtown core for decades, and neither the current consumer market nor local land use policy for the downtown includes families. Politically, it is difficult to voice concerns

103

regarding the consequence of planning downtowns that are ill suited for families, due to a lack of apparent public interest in the matter (Interview 15).

Citizens

Local citizens collectively best understand the neighbourhood and are most directly affected by the final plan, but they have the least power in the plan-making process. Citizens must rely on politicians and planners who determine procedural structures and resource and technical prerequisites. As is the case in any political process where citizens are involved, power negotiations within the community and between stakeholders colour the process. This was the case in The Ward the plan-making process.

At the time when residents began reacting to the Secondary Plan's drafting process, the *Two Rivers Neighbourhood Group* was The Ward's neighbourhood group recognized by the city. However, the Two Rivers group primarily focuses on providing social services and suffers from limited volunteer staff and resources. Its mandate also includes advocacy for neighbourhood issues (Guelph, 2011b).[45] Another registered neighbourhood group, the *Downtown Neighbourhood Association (DNA)*, also represent citizens within the downtown borders. However, its focus is on "Noise; Safe streets and policing; Greening, beautifying streets and public spaces; Events and community building; and City services (garbage, parking, snow removal, transport etc)", which suggests a primarily regulatory place-making mandate (DNA, 2011). No strategic cooperation for downtown civic engagement and negotiation of intensification principles took place between these downtown groups.

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[45] Early neighbourhood meetings concerning the Downtown Secondary Plan were held at Two Rivers' location in Tytler Pubic School, but TWRA meetings were later held at Mill Lofts and Sacred Hearth Church.

A group of citizens in The Ward who sought to impact future growth in their neighbourhood and who realized that the plan-making process was open to public participation formed *The Ward Residents' Association (TWRA)*, initiated and chaired by Maria Pezzano. Councillor Lise Burcher assisted the group in their efforts to gain structure and direction, and the group became official June 8th 2010 (TWRA, 2011). The group quickly started organizing and voicing their views to the City, Kilmer, and the greater neighbourhood through community meetings, emails, conversation, social media, and news media outlets. Their slogan "Honouring our past – developing our future" succinctly communicates their mandate: "…to work in a positive manner with all stakeholders, in order to grow, develop and improve our neighbourhood while maintaining its rich culture, heritage and diversity" (TWRA, 2011). The founding members resided primarily on or close to Arthur Street South, including Pezzano, but more than 50 supporting signatures expressed interests in the group during the June 17, 2010 community workshop at the Italian Canadian Club, the second community meeting by the City with The Ward (Guelph Mercury, June 17, 2010). By the end of 2010, TWRA had an established executive board, which debated planning matters amongst themselves, within the community, and with the various active parties.

Perspectives on development in The Ward neighbourhood range from idealistic to pragmatic to cynical, but all residents prefer urban traditionalism to modernism. Ideas voiced about what would constitute an ideal urban landscape are therefore to a large extent of a different scale and character than the new high-density, high-impact condominium towers currently built in larger downtowns throughout North America. The alternative is a more traditional, or innovative, high-density, low-impact built form,

which is more in tune with the current neighbourhood character. Thus, at a technical level, residential intensification in The Ward is a debate about height, design, price, demographics, and integration, but many citizens expressed a desire for a broader debate to define the form of urbanism that would be appropriate in mid-sized downtowns. There is fear about "[suffering] the fate of suburban monolithic models being transferred into current high-density condominium models, which fail to build downtowns that are unique and reflective of its own character" (Interview 5). Residents are also concerned about the gentrification that comes with development that cater to higher income earners and non-family residents, which standardizes and sterilizes the character of their neighbourhood (Interview 4, 5, 21).

5.2.2 Interests Interpreted – My Perspective

Stakeholder involvement in the plan-making process requires careful consideration by its facilitators. Value-rational questions in particular are difficult to debate: Where will the plan take us? Who gains and who loses? How desirable are the proposed developments? And how can potential undesirable consequences of the Plan be addressed up front? (See Figure 3-1.)

First, being an equity fund and brownfield remediation corporation, Kilmer takes on considerable financial risk while preparing the site for optimal return, i.e. preferring as few policy restrictions as possible to better accommodate the preferences of future purchaser. Corporate developers traditionally do not take on social responsibility, and environmental standards beyond official requirements are voluntary.

Second, bureaucrats influence the process through their area of expertise; some planning professionals are trained as generalists, while others have a particular field of

specialty. In mid-sized cities, the scope of planning documents may be constrained by the limited availability of planning staff with different specializations. In Guelph, the Draft Downtown Secondary Plan appears to balance current market trends and developer models with current urban design principles. Thus, pragmatic policy considerations reflect developer proforma formulas based on desirable height and design models found in comparable mid-sized downtowns.

Third, politicians, much like corporations and bureaucrats, bring their own views and experiences to the table, reflecting the true political nature of the process. Planning governance intended to substantially impact inner city residential areas requires both ideological and practical commitment and leadership, balancing the economic, environmental and social bottom-lines. However, an urban–suburban political divide reflects people's relation to the urban environment; on the one hand, many suburban residents of Guelph omit the downtown altogether, while, on the other hand, many inner core residents favour the downtown and avoid the suburban areas (Interview 15). As the downtown residential market appeals to students, young professionals, and elderly downsizers, politicians do not see the point of demanding family sized units. It must therefore be recognized that politicians will reflect dominant existing trends, but will address other matters only if they are prompted by public engagement and activism.

Last, like other stakeholder groups, citizens utter interests based on their knowledge, interests, and values. Public participants are nevertheless the weakest party in the process, relying on bureaucrat's ability to structure the process and incorporate their suggestions. In Guelph, citizens were not an afterthought of the bureaucrats, but it quickly became apparent that extended public engagement was required in The Ward

after a public reaction to the initial March 2010 *Downtown Guelph Plan – Directions* presentation. Realizing this collective need, residents quickly organized in an effort to communicate a stronger collective view. Although much enhance, the process itself was not of a kind that is "community-led".

Similarly, TWRA's internal structure and capacity for community planning required time to develop paralleled to the early stages of the plan-making process. Thus, this stage of the process, in general, primarily contained "token participation" but refrained from "citizen power sharing", the higher steps of Arnstein's *Ladder of Citizen Participation* (Hodge & Gordon, 2008, 311-313). TWRA did receive special citizen treatment, at times being invited to City Hall and given the opportunity to be heard in a form of advisory committee role, but this process was far from transparent and was not conducive to a representation of the community as a whole. This is not to say that their work was futile. In my view, TWRA's recommendations were thought through and pointed out the Plan's inability to incorporate the greater neighbourhood. However, possibly in the absence of a more resourceful, strategic, and broader neighbourhood group, the stronger stakeholder groups part of the process likely felt an increased ability to manage the issue of trust through targeted risk conflict management. There was therefore an opportunity for them to more easily control debates at public access points during the plan-making process.

5.3 The Rhythm: Community Meeting Process 2010-2011

After the April 2010 "blowup" meeting in The Ward, the plan-making process entered a phase where all stakeholder groups strategized to establish their presence in the neighbourhood. A series of workshops and community meetings were orchestrated to

engage and influence the process. It was evident that TWRA quickly became a strategic point of contact to the City, frequently claiming to represent the neighbourhood at meetings. Although there was no site plan for the Woods 1 site to discuss, the plan-making process continued to formulate special policy principles for the site.

Both Urban Strategies and Kilmer frequently participated in the local community meetings, where the City solicited contributions from local residents and stakeholder groups. Their presence served to address concerns and criticism expressed by citizens. Citizens were solicited for their preferences in terms of the planning principles they wanted to inform the draft Plan, but the lack of a site plan proposal and an active neighbourhood association without organizational experience undoubtedly impaired citizens' contribution in this regard. Power therefore rested with the planning professionals, supported by inner-circle consultation between the most active TWRA members, who became an informal advisory committee, and the City.

At the June 17, 2010 community meeting, planners offered residents both a comprehensive timeline of the larger planning process guiding the Downtown Secondary Plan process and a presentation of the policies and reports considered when drafting the Plan. Two planning rationales were emphasized: the municipal requirement to achieve the downtown density target set by the province, and the ability through good design to achieve the desired density without compromising the character of the community. Citizens who attended the meeting desired a debate about the underlying rationale and potential consequences of planning according to density requirements and design standards, but the City rather sought to solicit participants' views on which community qualities and desired uses and amenities should be incorporated in the forthcoming Plan.

Citizens were split into groups and placed around tables, and the meeting's structure focused on formulating eight guiding principles: river's edge open space, network of connections, heritage conservation and interpretation, public views, sensitive built form, pedestrian-friendly and attractive edges, environmental sustainability, and housing mix.

These principles became subject to ongoing negotiation between the City and the neighbourhood, particularly through TWRA. Through this process, including a third and fourth community meeting June 29th and August 19th, citizen suggestions were formulated into broad policy statements indicating desired uses and requirements for development in The Ward, in general, and on the 5 Arthur Street South site, in particular.

The August 19, 2010 meeting was possibly the most telling of them all as regards the role of values and power in the planning process. Still without a development proposal coming forth, citizens were informed that the six-storey, high-density zoning for the Woods 1 site would remain in the forthcoming Downtown Secondary Plan and only be subject to change if or when a proposal were to come forth. Unto Kihlanki, a Guelph architect and urban development commentator observed in his monthly Guelph Mercury editorial *Sightlines*: "We were treated to a rare moment of public candour regarding what they see as the appropriate level of height and density, for such a strategically important location. But they just don't want to discuss it with us anymore. Now they just want to compile wish-lists." (Guelph Mercury, August 27, 2010). This approach demonstrated a lack of city staff leadership and a passing of the ball to developers, who likely would make use of the Ontario Municipal Board if required.

Nonetheless, at a community meeting hosted by TWRA August 26th, the association continued to express great trust in city staff, advocating a strategy of dialogue

and a positive tone while continuing to provide information to the neighbourhood, delay the process, and influence future outcomes. Close to a hundred citizens attended the meeting, demonstrating great interest in the land use changes being debated. Another meeting was organized by TWRA November 17, 2010, where TWRA announced their response to the *Draft Downtown Directions: Framework for the Downtown Guelph Secondary Plan* made public August 16, 2010 (see chapter 4, section 5.1). The main criticism concerned the lack of attention paid to The Ward as a complete neighbourhood. Although a sizable portion of the neighbourhood would be subject to a high-density policy, the Plan gave insufficient attention to how anticipated growth would integrate with the neighbourhood. TWRA also raised concern about heritage conservation, lack of building height limitations, public spaces, and strategic active transportation networks.

During the winter and spring the public conversation within the community quieted down. In the fall, a municipal election saw Jim Furfaro become a Ward One councillor, publically endorsed by Maria Pezzano (Furfaro, 2010). Later that year, as part of the discussion on the principles intended to guide planning in The Ward, a special and little publicized 'massing exercise' for the site was held at City Hall with a small group of invited stakeholders, with TWRA members mostly representing residents (Interview 2, 15). This 'in-house' massing exercise, which also formed part of the process, demonstrated the privileged stakeholder status TWRA had achieved. Citizens still had concerns and a couple of low-key secondary plan meetings were held, and there was the December 7th City Hall 'input and comment' poster display, and the TWRA 'one year update' April 20th, 2011 at the Italian Canadian Club attended by approximately twenty people. TWRA also submitted a document containing a constructive criticism response to

the March 2011 Draft Downtown Secondary Plan, further highlighting the need for greater inclusion in the drafting of policy principles. TWRA continues to voice their view on local land use issues in the media, through neighbourhood emails, and on the Internet.

The March 2011 Draft Downtown Secondary Plan was presented and debated June 15, 2011 at an open house at City Hall. The meeting was well attended, although not a full house. Fundamental questions that had received less attention at previous debates were raised, such as prioritizing family units[46] and the adoption of principles that consider people of all ages in the urban environment. Further, the use of gateway towers[47] and their potential physical, social, and economic impact raised concerns. The Plan's attention to The Ward was praised, but the public realm and connectivity between the commercial core and The Ward remained a concern; a proposal of closing the existing Neeve Street underpass past the train tracks made people feel that the alternative of placing an envisioned pedestrian bridge across the Speed River and creating a new connecting laneway on the Marsh Tire site was futile. Public attention to details, organized or not, constructively supplemented the process.

5.4 The Phase: Effectiveness of Strategy

I take the view that the values and power structures advanced by stakeholders through the plan-making process determine the final plan's effectiveness. Two major forces influenced the process in the period studied: one, a regulatory requirement to achieve the provincially mandated density target and, the second, corporate arguments by brownfield remediation and urban developers to produce a plan that will attract high-density

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[46] Interestingly, that concern was brushed off, by commenting that surrounding neighbourhoods were likely better suited for families to raise their children.

[47] In this context, the label *gateway towers* describe the use of a pair of tall buildings that signal an entrance.

builders. Additionally, the planning theory informing the Plan reflects strong public place-making urban design principles and commitment to comprehensive planning and maintenance of community character. Further, the Plan's requirement to develop Urban Design Master Plans for the two dominant redevelopment sites of 5 Arthur Street South and 64 Duke/92 Ferguson in consolidation with The Ward community, combined with the restriction on building height bonusing only in Downtown areas west of the Speed River, ensure a strong commitment to design quality in the neighbourhood and a preservation of its character.

The Plan's location of new developments on vacant brownfield sites and their integration with the remainder of the neighbourhood is considerate, but it avoids taking on the larger debate about building a downtown that holds a high density (people and jobs) but physically (building heights and massing) has a low impact. Thus, the Plan seeks to maintain the character of existing residential areas in The Ward, while placing strict requirements on anticipated new mid- to high-rise developments. This reflects a compromise striving to minimally affect inner core residential areas while facilitating pointy urban condominium towers next to parkland.[48]

In sum, I find little evidence of values-rational considerations (see Figure 3-1) in the plan-making process leading to the first draft of Guelph's Downtown Secondary Plan. The stakeholders influencing the plan-making process have produced a pragmatic plan that facilitates current development practice, while refraining from utilizing the process to publically debate local urban development preferences or advocate an urban lifestyle for people from all walks of life at all life stages. In other words, while a year of public

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[48] The 'tower in the park' expression refers to Le Corbusier (1887-1965), known for his rational and scientific modernist architecture and profound impact on building cities by the logic of a calculated industrial society.

consultation primarily served to manage and negotiate the integration of a high-density housing construction framework in The Ward, it avoided educating, advocating, empowering, or facilitating a broader debate on urbanism. The process did not debate what kind of urbanism is preferred in Guelph's traditionally progressive, independent, and conscientious downtown community.

I believe, based on my interviews, that a greater public debate could have offered insights and support for a more distinctive downtown vision, but in the end this remains speculative. The Plan appears at the beginning of a new downtown development phase in Guelph, and perhaps it is what is needed to guide this development. The debate should not be silenced, however; it has just started. The true test of intensification will come, if market pressures persist, when the larger sites are being developed and an increasing number of amendments are put forth to intensify surrounding properties. In time, I believe a downtown community planning process that debates what urbanism should look like in Guelph's Urban Growth Centre is needed, and I will therefore explore in the next chapter what the Downtown Secondary Plan's plan-making process might mean to the planning practice and land development trends in The Ward, Guelph, and other Urban Growth Centres in southern Ontario.

CHAPTER 6 - ANALYSIS

While planning may be considered, in very general terms, a collective attempt at shaping the "good city," and while many planners may believe that they serve the (unitary and identifiable) public interest, planning is continually rent by conflict over who will play what role in the planning process, over who will get to define the "good city," and over what steps can or should be taken to create it. (Boudreau, Keil, and Young, 2009, 100).

6.1 Introduction

My research considers both the challenges to and opportunities for implementing Smart Growth strategies in the City of Guelph's urban growth centre, with a particular focus on the St. Patrick's Ward neighbourhood. I follow the development of the downtown secondary plan-making process, which should ideally establish a framework for local interpretation and implementation of Smart Growth – the widely supported intensification and redevelopment strategy. I take the view that while a plan can be written to code and be argued rationally by experts, its effectiveness and ethical validity is a function of public participation in planning decisions that include values-rational anchoring, i.e. critical and ethical reflection on the value of a goal. (See Figure 3-1).

I have adopted a critical research perspective for my analysis. I believe this social science method better enables me to understand societal trends and bring to attention where these trends might take us collectively. The analysis therefore focuses on how the planning process might influence the downtown and The Ward. I present the analysis in two steps.

First, I point out and analyze three factors brought together in this study: public participation, policy drafting, and built form and socioeconomic changes. The combination of these three factors is a consequence of the method and topic chosen; my

research makes use of a case study to understand the plan-making process that leads to the development of a Secondary Plan inspired by Smart Growth. My research thus combines planning theory and practice, adding to the planning theory insights gained by applying critical analysis to a case of Smart Growth being implemented through a Secondary Plan.

Second, I look at the larger picture and address Flyvbjerg's four values-rational questions: *Where are we going? Who gains and who loses, and by which mechanism of power? Is this development desirable? What, if anything, should we do about it?* To ask such questions at a time when planning theory and practice seem to be in great agreement are, in my view, important and required; if planning and development are not examined critically, how can we know that the chosen plan is the right plan for the challenge? Flyvbjerg´s ethics-based questions are critical in nature, and my analysis is as such biased by a desire to not simply look for the truth somewhere in the middle of two points of view, but rather observe, reflect, and generate new knowledge based on a deeper insight to what I´ve studied. I conclude by arguing that defining the "good city" and implementing Smart Growth require active local communities with informed stakeholders, even if the paradigm has shifted in its favour in Guelph and developers and planners have bought into the idea of urban intensification locally. Without local engagement, the technocratic and bureaucratic mechanisms of planning and development might undermine Smart Growth´s consideration for public participation, local adaptability, and long-term resilience.

6.2 Challenges to and opportunities for implementing Smart Growth locally

Three factors are brought together in this study: the plan-making process leading up to the draft Downtown Secondary Plan of March 2011, the Smart Growth policies championed in the draft Plan, and local socioeconomic statistics and community perceptions describing Guelph's urban growth centre. These three factors combine insights into local realities and theoretical strategies with proposed policies. Analyzing these factors casts light on who is affected, by which policies, and how the plan-making process prioritizes certain stakeholders' values and interests. The consideration of stakeholders' values and powers offers a deeper understanding of who benefits and who does not, or, in other words, it considers the extent to which Smart Growth is implemented and its potential consequences.

6.2.1 The challenge of managing a meaningful public participation process

Implementing Smart Growth in Downtown Guelph and in The Ward provides an opportunity to build on their assets. The urban growth centre's compact, organic, defined, mixed, and human qualities are existing strengths that the forthcoming Plan should protect and enhance. The main challenge is not to jeopardize existing assets by overemphasizing only a few select growth strategies. As Litman (2009, 5) points out: "Because its impacts tend to be synergistic (total impacts are greater than the sum of their individual impacts) Smart Growth is best implemented as an integrated program. For example, increased density, improved walkability or increased transit service by themselves cannot be considered Smart Growth; rather, a Smart Growth program might involve all of these plus other supporting strategies". This synergistic quality of Smart Growth makes it difficult to carry out implementation through technocratic top-down,

regulatory policies alone. Focusing on land use and design strategies that accommodate condominium developers and the objective of *growth* is regarded as Smart Growth, only if also considering how community preferences will help solve potential problems caused by such growth (Hodge & Gordon, 2008). To put it in dualistic terms, the opportunity for drafting a local Smart Growth-based secondary plan lies in its ability to be transformative for the community; the challenge is to avoid experts and short-sighted stakeholders focusing on a select few strategies, without considering its synergistic nature and therefore be transformative in a way that does not correspond to the preferences of the community.

In Guelph, public participation in the plan-making process reflected the intentions of the Plan – well intended but tightly controlled. On the one hand, the process involved the public in a series of public meetings beyond what is required by the Ontario Planning Act. The incorporation of public opinion and the overall collaboration process is noteworthy, and the planning of future sites will also continue to seek participation from the public. However, on the other hand, the process involved the public only after a controversial vision to depart from past height restrictions and allow greater space for condominium developments had been put forward. Further, the engagement process was based on a combination of "tell us what you want, and we'll consider it" open meetings and "let's meet and discuss" interactions with special interest groups, like TWRA.

Hence, the process served primarily as a conflict management exercise, seeking to curtail subsequent potential opposition. Thus, the plan-making process was not assisted by an ideal, empowering local community process allowing for Smart Growth to happen from within. The lack of a more thorough engagement process with residents living in the

urban growth centre might be a weakness, potentially resulting in either strong opposition to or uncritical acceptance of gentrification; opposition could delay projects and slow down development, while uncritical acceptance could reduce diversity, sense of community, and quality of life.

6.2.2 Generating local policies that conform to regional strategies

The policies suggested for the St. Patrick's Ward in the first draft Downtown Secondary Plan (March 2011) intend to make use of industrial sites while maintaining the character of existing residential areas. Primary objectives focus on cleaning up contaminated sites, relocating heavy industry, providing parkland, and offering greater housing diversity/affordability. It is also a priority in the Plan to conserve and reuse heritage features, and ensure that new developments are compatible with existing and planned surroundings. Further requirements stress the importance of prioritizing Smart Growth qualities in new developments, but developers are offered flexibility in massing building sites within the given height and gross floor space index requirements. As well, developments must be done in consultation with The Ward community.

The Plan seeks primarily to remove and remediate past industry uses to make way for residential uses. The land use will be shaped by contemporary design standards, while at the same time being flexible for developers who desire building heights similar to existing modernistic tower-in-the-park condominium buildings along the river. The Plan's policies thus suggest a hybrid of contemporary urban design standards, in line with Smart Growth principles, and a pragmatic development-tailored condofication policy approach. There is a preference for master-planning and tightly regulated land uses, which will facilitate pointy-tower, high-density condominium housing. The requirement

for neighbourhood consultation as part of a future development process is noteworthy, and it places a greater level of responsibility on community organizers and residents to strengthen civic organization capacity.

Below, Table 6-1, a modified version of Table 2-3 in chapter two, tests the Plan against Smart Growth implementation strategies. There can be no doubt that the proposed policies comprehensively seek to implement Smart Growth strategies downtown Guelph. There is naturally a limit to what a plan can achieve, but the major difference is whether a policy is formulated by using the words "shall" and "will" or "may". This is particularly visible in the Plan's *Chapter 8: Interpretation and Implementation*, which sets out a list of *prioritized* and *suggested* future City initiatives. There is therefore room for stakeholder debate over policy priorities within the draft Plan, but one must naturally recognize that there is a limit to how many undertakings the City can commit to; not every suggested study and initiative can be a "shall" or "will".

Table 6-1: Smart Growth Strategies reflected in the draft Downtown Secondary Plan

- *Strategic planning.* Primarily established through the Official Plan and required to be in agreement with the provincial Growth Plan, but a downtown community vision was not established through the public participation process.

- *Create more self-contained communities.* Partially a priority in the Plan. Facilitating population increase is the most pressing issue at this point.

- *Foster distinctive, attractive communities with a strong sense of place.* A priority in the Plan.

- *Encourage "village" development.* Urban design through minimizing lot sizes, building setbacks, parking requirements, street sizes are considered in the plan (either directly or suggested to be articulated separately through by-law updates), but it will require attention from all stakeholders in subsequent development proposals etc.

- *Concentrate activities.* A priority in the Plan. Further attention is required to slow down and increase number of arterial road crossing options in tune with the newfound people-scale urban priority.

- *Encourage infill development.* A priority in the Plan.

- *Reform tax and utility rates.* Considered in the Plan. Requires popular and political support.

- *Manage parking for efficiency.* A priority in the Plan.

- *Avoid overly-restrictive zoning.* A priority in the Plan.

- *Create a network of interconnected streets.* A priority in the Plan.

- *Site design and building orientation.* A priority in the Plan.

- *Improve nonmotorized travel conditions.* A priority in the Plan.

- *Implement mobility management.* A priority in the Plan.

- *Encourage mixed housing types and prices.* A priority in the Plan.

In my view, the draft Plan addresses comprehensively Smart Growth implementation strategies, as suggested by Litman (2009). However, the Plan's success rests on City support for additional initiatives either required or suggested by the Plan, particularly concerning the finer urban grain like heritage, parking, capital projects, parklands, public arts, social programming, design standards, and district energy. Without city commitment and broad stakeholder debates and inclusion in their developments, the Plan's outcome might look very different than its intentions.

The Plan's land use strategy is strongly defined by the use of two Mixed Use areas and two Residential Areas. Residential 1 and Mixed Use 2 areas maintain the character of past uses, while Residential 2 and Mixed Use 1 areas facilitate new and high-density developments. However, a major factor determining what gets built is the

combination of strategic locations and height designations. To avoid the type of building footprints seen in high-density residential buildings built frequently after WWII, and rather ensure greater connectivity and height and setback diversity, a variety of heights zones are suggested throughout the City. A consequence will likely be increased pressure on land values where taller buildings are allowed, potentially leading to land assembly and speculation on adjacent sites.

6.2.3 Facilitating growth - gentrification by condofication

Considering socioeconomic statistics for The Ward and local stakeholder perceptions, the Plan clearly intends to transform the neighbourhood: "…most new residents will live in new buildings south of the tracks or on former industrial sites in the St. Patrick's Ward community east of the Speed River. While street-related housing will be encouraged, most of the new housing will be apartments of varying unity types, sizes and levels of affordability" (Guelph, 2011a, 33). With an anticipated additional 6,500 people living downtown by 2031 (ibid.) and a preference for accommodating condominium apartments, the character of the neighbourhood will change. Indeed, while the Plan recognizes that upper floor apartment conversions might take place throughout the downtown, this is not how the majority of the density increase will be accomplished. Rather, the Plan is an instrument to facilitate new development projects, where the taller and larger sites will likely be first to materialize.

The above policy strategy is in line with Lehrer and Wieditz's (2009) understanding of gentrification by condominium development, which can lead to what Toronto has experienced – increased spatial segregation based on socioeconomic differences. Like in Toronto, I believe Guelph's Downtown Secondary Plan deregulates

zoning by-laws and reduces bureaucratic 'red tape' for the high-density development industry through more flexible policies. Potential socioeconomic consequences like displacement of entire populations, services, and jobs from the newly re-valued places are however not addressed in the Plan; the policy language and conceptual thinking appears primarily geared toward urban growth. Greater attention must therefore be given to the mitigation of the negative socioeconomic consequences likely to affect downtown and The Ward through anticipated gentrification. Ideally, socioeconomic considerations would be offered by all stakeholders before the Plan was approved, or at least through providing support to strengthening civic organizing capacities in the neighbourhood. The Ward, being subject to major inner core urban revitalization projects, would benefit greatly from more assistance to the strengthening of the neighbourhood organizing capacities at this point, which could in turn provide a forum for debates and should lead to the formulation of policies and urban design standards that are innovative and sensitive to prevailing socioeconomic conditions.

6.3 The larger picture: Implementing Smart Growth & ethical considerations

Researching the role and extent of value-rational considerations in the plan-making process of a secondary plan offers a chance to ethically reflect on the value of planning policies brought forth in the process. It is an attempt to understand to which degree the process and policies are beneficial to stakeholders. A secondary plan can naturally be drafted without reflecting on the values underlying the policies championed in the plan-making process, which is common when the rational comprehensive method (see Figure 3-1) is used to advance the process through technical requirements, for instance. However, like Flyvbjerg, I believe that asking and addressing ethical questions through

the plan-making process allows for a more meaningful debate with the existing residents, which is a primary responsibility of the planners. To analyze the level of value-rational considerations in the plan-making process of Guelph's forthcoming Downtown Secondary Plan, I therefore address below four questions based on the data collected.

6.3.1 Where are we going?

Residents in southern Ontario are set to increasingly intensify urban growth centres. It is the law. Provincial density targets must be met, but the government is not in the residential development industry as it once used to be. Residential development is a public policy whose achievement is left to the private industry. Demographically, it is expected that urban-gravitating professionals will drive the change, while children and families are less relevant to this policy. In the wake of deindustrialization, residential developers clean up contaminated sites and seek to build what the market demands. The value of living downtown lies in the urban environment's rich character, appreciation of public spaces, and close proximity to services, and it is hoped that public revitalization projects and Smart Growth strategies will attract the target market. The intention is to make the city's core prosperous, by attracting visitors, businesses and residents, constructing and populating high-density buildings, and achieving the required density target. The result will be a downtown where people can *live, work, and play*, as the phrase go.

The City of Guelph's draft Downtown Secondary Plan proposes policies to guide where and within which conditions new growth can take place. Its policies are based on Smart Growth strategies, which will be instrumental to reversing the sprawling land use tide of the past. However, the strongest feature in the Plan concerning redevelopment and

intensification is the facilitation of new developments on underutilized and industrial lands, while protecting existing built up areas. Essentially, the prominence and increase of building heights is the primary strategy used to bring about intensification. The Plan proposes four sites of up to 18 storeys that are located at two major intersections, with adjacent sites allowing up to 8 and 12 storeys. In The Ward, two brownfield sites will accommodate between 4 and 12 storey buildings, required to have pointy tower-shapes with setbacks and a number of site plan requirements. This is a change from past height restrictions of 6 storeys.

Although many guiding principles and recommendations in the draft Plan are based on Smart Growth strategies, the physical scale of urban intensification is greater today than it was in the past. The City of Guelph's draft Downtown Secondary Plan primarily seeks to facilitate high-density, towering condominium and/or office developments. An early battlefront in the plan-making process concerned the height of buildings. The initial strategy by the planners involving the presentation of images with a conceptual built form of 18-storey condominium towers in The Ward fueled the debate. In the end, this strategy likely helped create a sense of community victory, when the heights were lowered to a maximum of 12 storeys in the draft Plan. Thus, promises of good design championed by experts at the public meetings triumphed over popular concerns about heights and loss of character, and, to quell the debate early, conceptual built-form images for The Ward were withdrawn from the draft Plan. To build stakeholder trust, public consultation meetings and quasi-formal citizen advisory committee meetings structured the plan-making process. They served to manage a situation that could have become more confrontational and entrenched. As such, the plan-

making process was advanced in the direction desired by central bureaucrats, politicians, and developers, but what built form alternatives and socioeconomic qualities should be advanced or protected was addressed to a lesser extent.

6.3.2 Who gains and who loses, and by which mechanism of power?

The determination of potential winners and losers in Guelph's urban growth centre, as a consequence of the plan-making process leading up to the Downtown Secondary Plan, is based on the interplay between stakeholders and policies. The study considered four major groups of stakeholders, and their power and strategies are considered in relation to major policies advanced through the plan-making process.

Kilmer purchased the 5 Arthur Street South brownfield site with a 6-storey building height limit. The draft Plan doubles the permitted building heights and requires a high-density, towering urban built form, which stands in stark contrast to the overall industrial and residential neighbourhood where the site is located. But at the same time, the proposed built form policies are clear improvements over the adjacent high-density Danby site downstream. With only a limited number of high-density sites available in Downtown Guelph and possibly being the first to be marketed, the Woods 1 site is a primary step towards achieving the intensification objective. That makes for a sound investment by Kilmer, presenting itself as an attractive site for either a larger established builder or a smaller builder entering the high-density market.

With a new plan, the City stands a better chance to achieve its municipal intensification requirement. The Plan both supports preferences found within good urban planning theory and the contemporary urban development industry. It is a plan that facilitates the type of growth commonly associated with urban intensification, while also

preserving and revitalizing areas that were previously neglected. The Plan is therefore not idealistic but pragmatic; it steers forecast population growth and urban market preferences already likely to materialize, due to the city's location and connectivity to other urban growth centres. The Plan thus enables the city to gain a greater critical mass required to support further urban initiatives, overall adding to its vitality and prosperity.

In my opinion, the plan-making process was not about capturing the values of Guelph's conscientious, traditionalist, and human-scaled urban-village minded citizens. The politicians might nevertheless both promote and defend the Plan as good planning and development-friendly. The Plan falls in line with dominant stakeholder values, particularly the ones promoting a more affluent urban future based on large developments, similar to objectives pursued by other contemporary Urban Growth Centres.

Residents will differ in perceptions of what is gained and what is lost, and to which degree the changes are a good for their neighbourhood. The policy impacts affect residents differently according to their proximity to the new developments and their engagement with the community. Social, economic, and environmental changes might for instance result in changing demographics, land prices, and public space interactions. The Plan put forth policies that add urban uses and spaces to the current downtown, and it therefore represents an overall opportunity for the local residents to adapt to the changing landscape and social milieu. The greatest determining factor for the Plan's impact on the downtown and The Ward is citizens' ability to collaborate with developers, when they start putting forth proposals. One must know what buildings, spaces, and uses are beneficial for the neighbourhood, as well as which ones will challenge its shared values.

Currently, citizens both downtown and in The Ward will benefit by building stronger civic organization capacity. In the end, there is a limit to what the Plan can offer to ensure public benefits stemming from intensification; the rest is up to further engagement by bureaucrats, citizens, politicians, and developers. A stronger debate about values and interests can facilitate a more thoughtful and comprehensive process, when development proposals come forth.

Three mechanisms of power in the plan-making process determine potential winners and losers: the early expert-driven vision, the expert-driven public process focusing on site-specific principles, and the expert-driven inclusion of public opinion. First, the City presented early concepts and visions, articulated by Urban Strategies, which combined contemporary urban design and planning strategies with a land use strategy suitable to current high-density urban condominium and office developers. Although building heights were downgraded in The Ward, the larger vision remains unchallenged. Second, responding to public critique, the City engaged local citizens in a process where policies for the Woods 1 site and their neighbourhood were articulated. This process managed to refine potential future developments in the neighbourhood, but it was not a process intended to debate the overall Plan. Last, the City tightly controlled and managed the public engagement process for the entire urban growth centre, but offered The Ward Residents' Association (TWRA) a privileged access to the process.

It might be argued that the Downtown Secondary Plan facilitates gentrification by condofication. The expert-driven plan-making process certainly did what it could not to jeopardize this strategy, primarily through a tightly managed process avoiding involvement and confrontation at access points by citizens expressing a low level of trust

in experts. The greatest intensification is set to take place on the least utilized sites, putting pressure on less competitive and compatible uses and requiring attention to ensure equity and diversity. The Plan is therefore a compromise of old and new interests, although favouring the more affluent socioeconomic groups and the demographics that can fuel new private high-density residential developments.

6.3.3 Is this development desirable?

The use of expert-driven instrumental rationality in a plan-making process that avoids debating values-rational questions is undesirable; equally undesirable is the dominating power of economic and market-rationality over ethical considerations as to why we choose achieving density through allowing 18-storey buildings. The current plan-making process signals however that the City of Guelph's diverse, blue collar and folksy inner city characteristic is likely a thing of the past. This change is currently not accompanied by a public debate about urban values and ethical considerations. Rather, promises of beneficial short-term growth outshine potential consequences of an urban form that might not perform well in the long-term. Looking forward to 2031, the Plan does not integrate policies or land use recommendations concerning resilience strategies for potential future shocks and stresses, like climate change impacts, resource scarcities and depletion, and supply chain limitations for instance. It could be argued that such concerns are outside the scope of a secondary plan, but focusing on short-term growth management without taking on any meaningful debates about social equity or potential future uncertainties makes the plan-making process overly rational and pragmatic. In my view, the secondary plan-making process presents itself as an important and strategic opportunity to raise

ethical considerations and ask value-rational questions that can allow for a more thoughtful community planning debate and policy formulation at the local level.

The many pre-consultation meetings between the City and residents in The Ward were not legally required. The public meetings are in this regard noble. However, considering how the guiding policies for urban revitalization and intensification will affect a diversity of people (particularly the many residents who are socially and/or economically disadvantaged and unlikely to benefit from the socioeconomic changes envisioned), the process is not utilized as an ethical debate to justify the end. Rather, the implementation of the Plan is an end by itself, making it a typical rational comprehensive plan driven by instrumental rationality. Such an approach is not in the spirit of the key Smart Growth principle to encourage community collaboration in plan-making and development decisions (Table 2-2). Interestingly, community collaboration is a principle in the Plan that future developers must abide by. Thus, even if the plan-making process does not include a high level of participatory planning, the principle has made its way into the Plan.

6.3.4 What, if anything, should we do about it?

Given the plan-making focus in this study, I believe that the greatest responsibility for addressing the challenges to and opportunities for implementing Smart Growth through a more value-rational process lies with the planning profession. Local planning departments and consultants will have to widen their focus and take on the challenge of generating public discussion about what constitutes local Smart Growth planning. Facilitating debates about urban core intensification policies will require that planners become comfortable with a plan-making process that increasingly influences and includes

existing neighbourhoods, as opposed to past processes dealing to a great extent with greenfield development. Given that we live in a risk society with low trust between lay and expert interests, planning departments in an Urban Growth Centre like Guelph must be prepared to embrace the opportunity of growth while keeping in mind the potential challenges that follows. The planning profession, as opposed to what is expected from special interest stakeholders, must in this regard refrain from shortsighted pragmatic and technical decisions, prone to economic and demographic biases that might severely – intentionally or not – undermine social, economic, and environmental equity, diversity, sustainability, and resilience.

Recognizing the political side of urban planning, which is a positive recognition given the focus on building democracy, requires stronger commitment to planning processes based on transparency, accountability, and cross-departmental collaboration. In the case of Guelph, several strategies in the plan-making process could have accommodated value-rational considerations. For instance, density numbers drive the Plan and the core conflict between planners and citizens – experts and lay people – stemmed from the City/Urban Strategies presenting a visualization of towers-in-the-park on the 5 Arthur Street South site. The public debate and policy principles formulation process were thus largely focused on height and massing, debating how to incorporate contemporary urban principles while compromising on height. However, little time was left for asking or debating the value-rational questions I raise in this research for instance.

Related to the density-driven point of departure, an expert-driven and somewhat generic urban vision suggested a preference for traditional top-down governance structure, which was already unpopular with many citizens of Guelph. Taking the form of

a process intended to bring about a Plan that facilitates growth through condominium and office tower structures, although counterbalancing negative perceptions through Smart Growth policy principles, the process did little to empower community organizers and offer citizens a transparent bottom-up process. This deficiency in the process, as I see it, is likely a structural governance problem, where cross-departmental collaboration and neighbourhood organizing capacity require further strengthening.

The Guelph Sustainable Neighbourhood Engagement Framework (SNEF) is one strategy for strengthening the collaboration between City departments and neighbourhoods, currently pursued by the City of Guelph Community Services Department (Guelph, 2010f). The City is developing stronger engagement and partnership structures with Guelph neighbourhood groups and the Guelph Neighbourhood Support Coalition (NSC). A new collaboration framework recommended, through the SNEF consultation process, expanding the NSC's role as an independent organization that "acts as a bridge between neighbourhood groups and other partners including the City" (Guelph, 2010, 5). The framework strengthens democracy through providing organizational structure for citizens and implementing accountability mechanisms. For both planners and citizens who pursue more meaningful public participation processes, this framework can in time provide a higher level of organizational capacity and accountability. With more residential intensification to take place now than any time before in Guelph's inner city neighbourhoods, the SNEF initiative seems like a step in the right direction for Guelph.

6.4 Conclusion: Smart Growth requires a process that encourages public debate about what constitutes the "good city"

The local plan-making process I've studied downtown Guelph is a last policy step in a much longer and broader planning strategy that has lasted for years, if not decades. The policies put forth in the first draft of the Downtown Secondary Plan are based on Smart Growth strategies, but the Plan's overall connection to past public engagement exercises seems severely limited at this point. Through my analysis of the local plan-making process, I find little evidence of the more powerful stakeholders publically debating ethical values-rational considerations. Rather, an instrumental rational process delegates the most power to the planning and industry experts, who in turn get to define the "good city" and what steps should be taken to create it. This is a technocratic remnant of a deep-rooted modernistic governance structure, possibly indicating lack of creativity, trust, resources, and alternative governance structures. However, in pursuit of Smart Growth, which synergistically is more than the word "smart" in front of "growth" and requires as much public as private buy-in, stakeholders must continue to engage and facilitate even greater neighbourhood debates that allow citizens themselves to define the "good city" and the steps required to create it.

CHAPTER 7 – CONCLUSION

This study set out to better understand the challenges to and opportunities for implementing Smart Growth in a midsized city's urban core. Smart Growth is the premise for Ontario's *Places to Grow: Growth Plan for the Greater Golden Horseshoe* and the subsequent revitalization and intensification of urban growth centres, like downtown Guelph. Curious about the virtue of contemporary policy implementation, I focused on the plan-making process of a new downtown secondary plan for the City of Guelph's urban growth centre. Focusing on the plan-making process revealed the politics of drafting a planning policy, highlighting the role stakeholder-power plays when debating values and interests. By combining theoretical, contextual, and interpretive insights from the literature review and case study, I showed to what degree the process enhances the holistic theory of Smart Growth, and to what degree the plan-making process approach is good or bad, and for whom. Thus, these insights provided a deepened understanding of the character of Smart Growth implementation in a midsized city's downtown, like downtown Guelph.

My research consisted of three parts: a theoretical context, a practical case, and an interpretive analysis. First, in the literature review, I placed the local context into a regional context, from a theoretical, policy, and market reality perspective. Second, in the case study, I identified and clarified the various stakeholder values and interests expressed through the Downtown Secondary Plan drafting process. Last, in the analysis, I analyzed the challenges to and opportunities for implementing Smart Growth downtown Guelph. In this final concluding chapter, I will offer recommendations to overcome these challenges and utilize the opportunities to implement Smart Growth. The

recommendations are case specific, but they may offer readers in other urban growth centres insight as to where effort should be placed to find compromise and achieve the desired objective.

7.1 Start the plan-making process with key stakeholder collaboration

My primary recommendation for overcoming challenges and utilizing opportunities for implementing Smart Growth is to start with strategic and comprehensive stakeholder collaboration approach at the early plan-making stage. Previous and ongoing community visioning exercises must be recognized when initiating a new plan-making process. This was not the case in Guelph, where core principles in the 2002 SmartGuelph document and the 2007 urban design charrette, like building heights, were omitted, or at least not communicated by the time a first draft secondary plan visualization was introduced to the public in 2010. Further, the process must be open to the possibility of key stakeholders changing over time, and there is therefore a need to repeatedly inform participants new to the process about the purpose and framework of the plan-making process.

The policy drafting process is therefore in my view an important early stage where stakeholders seeking to influence inner city developments must come together to establish their values and find common interests. In Guelph, the lack of initial inclusion of community organizers and citizen groups – although constructively addressed and managed by the City once the public was better organized – allowed for the more powerful stakeholder groups to establish the initial vision and policy direction. This approach placed the public in a reactionary position, while also making it difficult to incorporate the critical thinking required for a more deeply rooted Smart Growth debate. I believe the absence of a critical debate about what Smart Growth means to Guelph's

inner core has the potential of generating greater challenges in the future which will require more attention (see below table).

Table 7-1: Opportunities to & Challenges for Implementing Smart Growth

Opportunities	Challenges
Synergistic Smart Growth strategies	Non-synergistic Smart Growth strategies
Intensification	Condofication
Diversity	Gentrification
Development (Smart Growth)	Growth driven by density numbers
Long-term considerations	Short-term considerations
Trust	Distrust
Participation	Representation

7.2 Debate publically the optimal balance between opportunities and challenges

The above table, stemming from my previous analysis in Chapter Six, describes the character of two oppositional implementation dichotomies that local stakeholders in the plan-making process navigated in Guelph. If done right, Smart Growth presents a creative compromise full of opportunities. But if done wrong, challenges arise that prevent the policies from achieving Smart Growth. Most obviously, if the public participation process is not done wholeheartedly and the policies are primarily geared towards conventional growth, the objectives of Smart Growth cannot be met. Not meeting the objectives of Smart Growth means that other more narrow interests have triumphed, by dominating the process and replaced the formerly collective and uniting force of Smart Growth. It is too early to tell where Guelph is going in this regard, but greater public participation and political support for the Downtown Secondary Plan's recommended

policy strategies is likely required.

Utilizing the opportunity Smart Growth presents means that efforts must be made to overcome the challenges it faces. In other words, stakeholders must:

1. Understand the synergistic nature of implementing Smart Growth strategies;

2. Ensure condominium-based gentrification is balanced with other forms of intensification;

3. Balance quantitative growth with qualitative development;

4. Avoid short-term considerations that dominate long-term considerations;

5. Combat distrust, to increase public buy-in; and

6. Advance a greater level of public participation.

The above recommendations, to some possibly too vague, are meant to generate debate, making stakeholders ask why and how. I have addressed each of these factors in the previous chapters, but recommendations drawn from these insights require original and contextual approaches if stakeholders wish to improve their own local process.

7.3 Learn from other cities in a similar situation

Local Smart Growth implementation strategies are somewhat different from regional or even citywide strategies, given that the neighbourhood scale requires a personal understanding of what intensification and redevelopment might mean to individual residents. It is therefore important for all stakeholders to understand the intensification strategies debated in the past, like the values inherent in Smart Growth (e.g. SmartGuelph), and provide this insight as a framework for assessing to what extent the proposed policies are in line with community values. Such an undertaking was not part of

the public debate during the secondary plan-making process. Rather, local residents were asked to define what they valued in their neighbourhood, and then formulate site-specific policies on that basis. This strategy made the process more technical in nature, avoiding the publically desired values-rational debate about the need for the draft Plan.

Furthermore, generating a collective memory and obtaining an even level of understanding among all stakeholders during the plan-making process can save time and conflict based on misunderstandings. Several public meetings were used to demonstrate visually what intensification and redevelopment strategies meant. It became clear that greater educational tools were needed, to better demonstrate existing urban growth norms and expectations. Technically and professionally, planners and developers are likely to communicate and share experiences through industry connections and seminars. However, Smart Growth being equally dependent on public and political buy-in, a more publically accessible and region-wide collaborative sharing of experiences should be made available. The province of Ontario's Ministry of Infrastructure has recently (July, 2011) provided more information of this nature at their website[49] under "Revitalizing Downtowns". This is a step in the right direction, but more attention should be paid to the downtown plan-making process, allowing participants quick access to a greater number of alternatives for design and policy information used in the region to implement Smart Growth.

7.4 Final Observation

The overall lesson learned from studying the plan-making process leading up to the City of Guelph's Downtown Secondary Plan concerns the role of planning in implementing

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[49] https://www.placestogrow.ca/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=256&Itemid=84

Smart Growth; being a specific form of urban planning, Smart Growth implementation requires facilitation and education of stakeholders that are willing to compromise, but not beyond the point where "smart" is removed from "growth". Given the overarching responsibility of the government to drive home this message, every stakeholder working for the public interest must collaboratively define, steer, and direct the process and private interests at each and every step along the road. The case of Guelph demonstrates the difficulty of prioritizing such a responsibility. Thus, potential future pressures to push and undermine Smart Growth's synergistic and public participatory core value must be monitored and controlled with long-term objectives in mind. In the long-term, it could also be beneficial to provide training and/or expansion of staff that are qualified to facilitate and educate the general public, while operating as a liaison between individual community organizers, all city neighbourhood groups, politicians, private developers, and fellow bureaucrats. This could improve trust and overall improve the quality and speed of the implementation process.

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144

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APPENDECIES

Appendix A - Interview Questions

A) In regards to characterizing Guelph's downtown and The Ward of the past;

1. What are the *social* benefits and disadvantages of living there (i.e. lived experiences and activities, etc.)?

2. What are the *physical* benefits and disadvantages of living there (i.e. location and proximity, etc.)?

3. How would you describe the ***economic and/or employment*** health of the downtown and its residents?

B) Thinking of Smart Growth theory;

4. In your opinion, is higher density development and more mixed transportation priorities to avoid urban sprawl a good growth strategy? Why?

C) The Downtown Secondary Plan for all of Downtown (Urban Growth Center);

5. How satisfied are you with the process used to draft the principles?

6. Do you feel the principles proposed in the Downtown Secondary Plan could profoundly change the downtown for the better?

    a. If the answer is yes: What circumstances would be needed for this to happen?

    b. If the answer is no: Why are these strategies likely to be ineffective in this regard? What else could be done to better achieve Smart Growth?

7. For whom will Downtown Guelph be a good place to live, work and play?

D) Concerning 5 Arthur Street South (Woods #1);

8. In your opinion, what is the best type of land use for this site? Why?

9. How important is the height and design of the buildings? Why?

10. What amenities should be provided at this site? Why?

11. What physical effects might the development have on the neighbourhood?

12. What social effects might the development have on the neighbourhood?

13. What economic effects might the development have on the neighbourhood?

Appendix B – The Ward Characterization

The Ward Characterization
by The Ward Residents' Association (TWRA website, 2011)

There are many qualities of the neighbourhood which have arisen out of its growth and evolution as a community which are quite different than any other neighbourhood in the city. The creation of places of employment and homes for the workers within the same area has created a mix of small lots, modest homes and industrial buildings, interspersed with the neighbourhood scale commercial and institution facilities which served them. This has evolved over many generations creating the eclectic and unique qualities we see today. This variable and interesting mix has occurred more in some parts of the neighbourhood than others. Although the health vigor of the neighbourhood scale shopping has declined more recently its evidence remains in both the architecture and the thoughts of the residents.

The central swath through the middle of the neighborhood which includes the lands on both sides of the railway line, from the Speed River to Victoria St. have a higher concentration of manufacturing combined with a variety of cul-de-sacs terminating at the rail line creating some unique enclaves of residential areas. Sackville St., for example, has some colorful history, which remains evident today.

The Toronto, Ontario and Neeve St. areas have a higher concentration of residential, similar to other areas of the city, but the angled streets and the commercial properties on these sharp corners create an 'unexpected' quality.

The enclave of short streets terminating at the Eramosa River in the eastern area includes a concentration of modest homes on small lots punctuated by laneways and easy access to the natural beauty of the river.

Alice Street is the heart of the neighbourhood and seems to summarize all of the qualities, which make our neighbourhood special. The corner of Alice and Huron, with each corner given to a different type of use, symbolizes the wonderful diversity of our neighbourhood.

"Walkability" is the current trendy term for what has happened in our neighbourhood for generations. We walked to work, to the store and to church because most did not have cars. "Mixed use", another current term, summarizes how our neighbourhood came to have its current qualities. The laneways, the edges at the rail lines and the river, the narrow streets active with people all contribute to a place enjoyable to walk about.

Planning and zoning could destroy what we like most about our neighbourhood. Homogeneous development and heavy-handed plans, which lack an evolutionary quality, will damage the fabric of our neighborhood.