

Communicating Change: Public Engagement, Intensification, and Urban Redevelopment

by

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Authors 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.

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Abstract

The role of public engagement is a common subject in the planning literature. This research sought to better understand how different actors view and understand public engagement in their communities, and how is public participation being applied in communities that are experiencing significant redevelopment forces. In addition, this research also sought to understand if there were unique needs in community redevelopment that could be better addressed in public engagement approaches. Based on the existing literature, interviews were conducted with stakeholders involved with the Calgary, AB community of Hillhurst-Sunnyside to determine how planning documents and City activity were being understood by local stakeholders, and what limitations City and community groups were facing in response to redevelopment pressures. In doing so it was found that gaps in communication and engagement capacity between stakeholder groups was exacerbating certain points of conflict, and posing challenges for future engagement opportunities.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

As economic and social changes across Canada begin promoting denser urban forms, the topic of urban redevelopment and gentrification in existing communities becomes an increasingly important area of discussion both for planning as a discipline, but also for the communities that are undergoing these changes. Accordingly, it is important for cities and other invested stakeholders to communicate and understand the views and concerns of all involved parties, something that is difficult to achieve with current public engagement methods used by municipalities.

As the pressure to redevelop continues to increase in communities, there is a need to better understand the effects of redevelopment. Robust and context specific engagement strategies designed to address significant stakeholder concerns will become increasingly important if cities wish to avoid some of the more negative impacts that dense urban forms can have upon communities. Unlike its greenfield counterparts, redevelopment can create extensive modification of existing communities that have their own character and dynamics, with the likely result of much steeper opposition and community resentment than many other planning activities

Planners and decision-makers are familiar with public engagement and the participatory process. While various communication and public engagement strategies are part of the toolbox for many municipalities, we have seen that particularly with issues of redevelopment, broad city-wide approaches are often inappropriate and inadequate, and the experience of most planners with undertaking engagement strategies limited. The result of this lack of experience is that the process and outcomes of public engagement often receive inconsistent attention and application in many communities. As urban redevelopment rather than greenfield development becomes the norm in many Canadian cities, we must ensure communities have their voices heard and concerns understood.

As cities begin pushing for intensification of uses in their existing communities through redevelopment, they also begin running into significant challenges in managing and communicating these changes to existing residents. The NIMBY phenomenon has shown that neighbourhood opposition to projects can become a difficult barrier that must be handled carefully to avoid resentment, resistance, and disinvestment from community members. If

municipalities wish to avoid these conflicts while still promoting intensification, it becomes increasingly important for them to educate and communicate with these stakeholders the need for these changes, while at the same time engaging, listening, and responding to local issues in a way that fosters buy-in.

This research seeks to answer the following question: How do different actors view and understand public engagement in their communities, and how is public participation being applied in communities that are experiencing significant redevelopment forces. In doing so, this research will explore the weaknesses of current approaches and seek to better understand how public engagement can be designed and applied to redeveloping communities.

To explore this question, this research comprises a literature review of theory and best practices in community engagement, urban redevelopment, gentrification, and intensification. This is complemented by a case study in the neighbourhood of Hillhurst-Sunnyside in Calgary, AB - an inner city community that is located adjacent to the downtown core, and one of many communities in Calgary that are experiencing rapid redevelopment and intensification.

As this study explores the relationships between redevelopment/intensification, gentrification, communication, and public engagement, the examined literature was divided along approximately the same lines. The gentrification and redevelopment literature was explored to understand these different possible processes, and identify which models best fit the case study community.

The social (people) aspect of intensification represents an extremely diverse and less thoroughly understood area of planning theory, particularly regarding how intensification is communicated and understood within the community and between city and community. The fact that this literature remains so disparate suggests that local context and policy are highly influential in the form that these forces take, and will be an important area of focus in understanding the role of communication and engagement in shaping these changing communities.

Similarly, the literature on communication and engagement strategies contains a multitude of different views and theories about how to approach these factors from a planning perspective. For the purpose of this research, a number of the more predominant engagement strategies will

be examined, exploring their strengths, weaknesses, and applicability to the specific issues faced by communities undergoing redevelopment or gentrification. While this is a rich area of literature, one of the biggest challenges faced by municipalities and communities is having and adopting more specialized engagement strategies for specific issues rather than generic approaches that may not fully address the importance of local context and local needs (Meyerson, 1956; Meyerson & Banfield, 1955).

The role of community character and vision in the redevelopment narrative is much more difficult to narrow down. While a number of different conceptual frameworks for what determines community character do exist, their significance in the planning process, especially in discussions of redevelopment, remain highly contentious. Therefore the last element of this research will explore whether and how micro and macro level goals in the city and community are balanced with regards to intensification.

A number of different methodological approaches were undertaken in this research, starting with a historical overview of the case study community. This considered various quantitative aspects such as area demographics, housing, and development history, as well as more qualitative methods focused primarily on content analysis of relevant policy documents such as the community Area Redevelopment Plans (ARP), Transit Oriented Design (TOD) documents, and higher level policy documents like the Municipal Development Plan (MDP).

With the foundations established through the literature review, the second research stage focused on the current issues and challenges a community faces from redevelopment, as well as an understanding of the municipality's views and responses. To gain this information, a number of semi-structured interviews with relevant stakeholders were conducted to explore major themes and challenges faced by various stakeholders, and to identify possible areas of improvement in subsequent sections. These interviews included both members of the planning community in Calgary who were involved with redevelopment in Hillhurst-Sunnyside, as well as views from local residents and community officials.

1.1 Thesis Structure:

We begin with a review of the existing literature in Chapter 2, identifying causative factors for redevelopment and their place in the Canadian context before moving on to public engagement as a general process. Following this, the engagement literature will be viewed in greater depth with a focus on the elements of effective engagement design, its weaknesses, and what current best practice emphasises in its approach. Chapter 3 will explain the methodology that supports this research including the research design and details on the specific methodological approaches taken.

With this foundation laid, Chapter 4 will focus on background information on the case study community beginning with its history, demographic trends (including population, housing, income, and land uses), and an overview of the community design document and ARPs. In addition to this overview, Chapter 4 also explores the role of the community association in the local planning process and its history, as well as a brief overview of the pace of development in the community.

Chapter 5 comprises the research findings, beginning with a summary of the interviews before moving into the predominant themes that arose and their relation to the themes identified in the literature. Following this, Chapter 6 focuses on potential recommendations for deficient areas identified previously as well as more general recommendations for the planning field as a whole to address these gaps.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction & Structure:

This chapter provides a foundation for the research by providing an analysis of urban redevelopment and gentrification theory, the process and effects of intensification, and lastly the role, structure, and implementation of engagement strategies in managing intensification issues. While the focus of this research is on the role of public engagement in communities undergoing intensification, it is difficult to separate the sentiments and concerns of intensification and redevelopment from the social issues seen in the gentrification literature. Gentrification can be seen as a potential social and physical outcome of the process of intensification and redevelopment that fails to incorporate character and dynamics from the previous community into its new forms (Lees, 2008; Uitermark et al., 2007; Walks & Maaranen, 2008).

Thus while a number of the outcomes to be explored in this chapter may be more or less applicable in exploring the effectiveness of broad public engagement strategies in redevelopment, the processes of development involved in gentrification is interrelated and needs to be addressed. As such, they have been included in this discussion as they can serve as helpful critiques of the risks that redevelopment, when not properly managed, can inflict on the communities they occur in. While the extent and scale of gentrification in communities is also a topic for exploration, gentrification as a topic has been analyzed for the social and communication issues it contains, as its parallels with intensification issues are difficult to separate and its inclusion allows for greater insight to the outcomes of the development process.

Gentrification as a topic then is important both as a way of understanding the development process at play in the case-study community, and as a way of understanding the anxieties it represents in communities undergoing redevelopment, many of which see parallels in the built form, retail/public space changes, and social changes gentrification is thought to typify.

The literature regarding gentrification is complicated and in many ways, contradictory. This chapter will briefly outline the origins of gentrification theories in the planning literature where we will explore how the topic of how gentrification has changed and taken on different meanings over time, as well as its relationships with the process of redevelopment and intensification. This will serve as the foundation for the following sections. Proceeding this, the social aspects of redevelopment will be examined before moving into the literature on public

engagement, its purpose, its constituent elements, forms and strategies it can take, and critiques of said strategies for long term processes.

2.2 Intensification, Redevelopment, and Gentrification:

Gentrification as a topic first mentioned by Glass (1964), who describes the influx of middle class residents into traditionally working class neighbourhoods in post WWII London, The subject began receiving increasing attention in the following decades as similar trends were observed in a number of other major western cities. The rise of the neoliberal political and economic climate beginning in the 1980s along with its consequences however, have become the predominant framing narrative for contemporary literature. Many researchers have explored the economic, political, and social causes and effects of gentrification on communities and the wider urban systems they inhabit (see Bourne (1993), Butler (1997), Mills (1988, 1993), Ley (1981, 1986, 1994, 1996), Caulfield (1989, 1994), and Rose (1984, 1996, 2004)). While their views are diverse, the common theme is of gentrification as a predominantly negative process.

The prevailing consensus amongst the literature on gentrification since the 1980s has been critical, in particular concerning the marginalizing and polarizing effect that gentrification has on communities (Smith, 2003; Walks, 2001; Walks & Maaranen, 2008). It should be noted however, that the conditions which create gentrified communities are rarely presented as an exercise in “gentrification”, rather, the process of intensification in existing communities is often framed as a redevelopment exercise. This is why it is important to understand the causes and effects of gentrification in communities, as it is often through a lack of effective and equitable planning processes that intensification and redevelopment damages communities and opens the door for gentrification outcomes to take hold. In addition to these social and structural elements, it is also important to understand the economic and demographic factors influencing intensification policies in Canadian cities. The most significant factors for this push include the role of the post-Fordist economy and changing employment patterns that favor a more service oriented employment market (Ley, 1986, 1994; Walks, 2001), and pressures from municipalities that respond to the increasing costs of urban sprawl by intensifying land use in existing inner city communities.

The rhetoric surrounding gentrification through redevelopment is quite strong and largely negative, but it is by no means universal. A number of authors, seeking to understand the effects

of large scale redevelopment have also undertaken studies of factors such as displacement, community satisfaction, and social relationships in redeveloping communities often with very different and sometime contradictory results (Freeman & Braconi, 2004; McGirr et al., 2015; Rose, 2004). As community opposition to extensive intensification of existing communities is common, there has also been the introduction of “renewal” or “urban renaissance” rhetoric in response to class or income based arguments that are associated with large scale development of often lower income inner city communities (Atkinson, 2004; Lees, 2008).

While redevelopment under these guises does not generate the same emotional response that is associated with gentrification, a number of authors (Cole & Shayer, 1998; Lees, 2008) remark that in practice the intent or process of “renewal” as it is presented does not appear overly effective or well supported in maintaining existing community characteristics, with the same outcomes of poverty decentralization and destruction of existing community ties as gentrification under a different guise.

Such opinions are not universal, and there are some examples partially supportive of intensification as a general process within communities (see Butler & Robson, 2001,2003) although even then supporting evidence of what constitutes an appropriate levels, as well as how to achieve broader intensification goals without displacement or destruction of existing community, is not as readily agreed upon.

2.2.1 Stage Model of Gentrification:

Just as the causes and justifications for redevelopment have received extensive coverage in the gentrification literature, so too have discussions of its progression in communities. Particularly influential in this regard is what is referred to as the stage model. The model itself serves as a tool to understand possible progression of the locational choices and economic capacities of the young middle class which is most commonly settling in redeveloped inner city communities. This model has become influential as a way to better understand the process by which development progresses in communities and what characterizes these different points in time (Gale, 1984; Kernstein, 1990; Smith, 1980).

While the stage model is commonly cited, there are variations in the number of stages or particular actors in their individual work. While a number of authors are focused on the experiences of gentrification specifically, their models share similarities in having pre, early,

mid, and late stages of gentrification, varying in the level of sub stages they identify with some going into greater detail than others (Rose, 2004; Kernstein, 1990).

Stage:	Characteristics:
Stage 0: Pre-development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Period of divestment, abandonment, or even decay resulting from economically rational decisions to under maintain property in community as a result of broader economic forces
Stage 1: Pioneers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Based on cheap rents, community attracts first wave of new residents (Pioneers) who are assumed to belong to counter-culture or artistic classes • Pioneers typically assumed to have low levels of economic capital, but high levels of education and cultural capital • Due to low levels of economic capital, pioneers do not typically displace existing residents
Stage 2: Marginally risk-adverse groups	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Group is assumed to consist of young, educated professionals with high levels of locational choice and moderate levels of economic capital attracted to “trendy” neighbourhoods • Groups economic capital allows the renovation of homes, increasing property values, rents, and attracting new retail spaces • As rents and property values increase, original residents marginalized with low income groups becoming displaced in favor of middle class residents
Stage 3: Risk-adverse middle and upper class residents	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • As more middle class residents of Stage 2 move in and invest, increasing and stable property values force out remaining rental units and original residents • Displacement of original “trendy” or counter culture retail spaces in favor of those that cater more to middle class tastes

Table 1. Walks & Maaranan's (2008) Stage Model of Gentrification

Walks and Maaranen's (2008) model in particular is one of the most simplified versions of the stage model (See Table 1) capturing the broad themes seen in the works of other authors and will serve as a basis for exploring the progression of gentrification in communities. These stages summarized below show a number of the more prominent economic and social stages associated with development that reflects the choices middle class professionals often make when searching for housing, which they identify as a prominent force in typifying the different stages. As many intensification policies are aimed at attracting a similar demographic, Walks and Maaranen's (2008) model can act in a similar fashion to the progression of development in communities that are undergoing intensification.

It should be noted that while the stage model is a common one in the redevelopment and gentrification literature, it is by no means universal. Rose (1996) in particular is very critical of the notion of a stage model because it implies a linear and uniform progression of development in communities and glosses over local context. More specifically, Rose (1996) calls into question the assumption that full and uniform intensification is the ultimate outcome of any community undergoing the events identified in the stages. Rose, citing her own work on Montreal showed it was rare for most communities to experience the intensive kind of redevelopment seen in these stages. The important lesson learned from the literature surrounding the stage model is that while a useful framing device, it cannot provide a complete understanding of the diversity of landscapes and circumstances present in affected communities. Even when undertaken as a purposeful program by municipalities, Beauregard (1986) notes that intensification and gentrification takes place piecemeal, often over many years and as such, it is often difficult to directly quantify.

It is simplistic to assume that there is some irreversible dynamic of real estate and homogenization that continuously progresses in the affected communities. To better understand how the process of redevelopment operates at a community scale, Van Criekingen and Decroly (2003, pp. 2454), created a typology for the forms of development often seen in gentrification types based on process and outcomes. Key elements of this typology, and other significant forms identified in the literature, are summarized in Table 2:

Table 2. Summary of Gentrification Typology

Gentrification Type	Description
Traditional	This version consists of the more widely discussed form of gentrification seen in the literature where lower income residents are displaced due to the influx of capital development in favor of more middle class individuals. Development in this form pays little attention to existing urban fabric and instead supplants and replaces existing forms completely that effectively sanitizes an area of its previous uses.
Marginal	Marginal in this typology is particularly focused on new residents themselves, noting that in post-Fordist economies the nature of employment becomes much less secure or permanent. Instead it consists largely of contractual employment punctuated by period of unemployment and as a whole allows for less stable capital accumulation in comparison to long term career employment of the past. As a result, while young individuals who partially fit the traditional profile of gentrifiers may be moving into these neighbourhoods, their more limited and uncertain economic capital produces a much milder or more temporary force of change on the communities they inhabit. While Van Criekingen and Decroly (2003) are the only source in the literature to define this group so discretely, others (Rose, 1996; Walks, 2001) have discussed the importance of changing employment in the post-Fordist city and the limiting effect it has on the economic capital of middle class professionals, and as a result, the pressures and patterns these groups place on development.
Upgrading and Incumbent Upgrading	The last form of pressure discussed by Van Criekingen and Decroly (2003) is framed as already predominantly middle class neighbourhoods originally inhabited by older residents who are replaced by new, younger residents as a part of the lifecycle of the community. In this scenario, there is little displacement or change in the demographics of the community; rather, change is presented as upgrading of slightly decayed middle class communities. A related phenomenon to this is incumbent upgrading, whereby a community is seen to be renewed or redeveloped by existing owner-occupiers who seek to improve their own housing conditions resulting in new urban form while generating very little change in the community's demographics. This typology in particular has interesting implications for our central research question, as the importance and impact of this smaller scale form of redevelopment on community perceptions is often underemphasized in the literature and in practice.
State-led	This pressure emphasises the fact that other forms of gentrification are increasingly the result of state-led pushes to promote gentrification through "urban renewal", "urban renaissance" or other interchangeable terms with similar outcomes. State-led gentrification as a pressure proposes that the retrenchment of welfare in western economies beginning in the 70s has resulted in more over pushes towards redevelopment beginning with waterfront regeneration initiatives undertaken by many cities (Lees & Ley, 2008). In the face of new funding gaps municipalities are said to have taken more overt approaches to promoting gentrification through redevelopment and increased rhetoric on the need to regenerate previous land uses. Literature around this contains different interpretations with some seeing a need to understand and manage gentrification (Freeman, 2006) as it becomes a growing element in cities.
Corporate-led	Corporate-led gentrification is framed similarly to more traditional understandings, with the difference articulated by Porter & Barber (2006) being the role of employer location as the driving force of redevelopment. The industries of the traditional creative class (described as high-tech industry in their examples), through choosing to locate themselves in these underdeveloped areas act as catalysts for gentrification as development and retail moves in to cater to this new employer, and their staffs, sensibilities. Through this process gentrification occurs not as a response to housing choices but rather as a response to corporate aesthetics.

In summary, what is often perceived as redevelopment or gentrification can be interpreted as a number of individual events with varying causal factors rather than as a stepping stone towards inevitably more intensive land uses. Given that lot specific uses are often left to market discretion even when purposeful intensification policies are undertaken, an understanding of the small scale forms these changes can take is important to our understanding of the broader issues involved in the redevelopment and intensification of existing communities.

Equally important is the understanding that redevelopment is rarely a linear process affecting communities in a spatially uniform way. In their study of Brussels and Montreal, Van Criekingen and Decroly (2003) found that marginal gentrification through redevelopment and incumbent upgrading was far more common with very few examples of large scale intensification programs at the community level.

While the applicability of these frameworks to the case study community (Hillhurst-Sunnyside in Calgary, AB) will be explored in the findings section, the implications of multiple perspectives within the field highlights an important theme in the history of gentrification and intensification research. It is difficult to generalize the exact causes and effects of these policies between different communities as local political, social, and economic contexts often play significant roles in shaping their nature and form (Walks & Maaranen, 2008).

2.3 Social and Structural Topics in Redevelopment:

2.3.1 Canadian Contexts and Experiences:

The effect of local context is critical when framing the nature of intensification and the relationships that occur within communities. In addition, the national context in which redevelopment occurs is also an influential factor. Canadian, American, and European studies of gentrification suggest that experiences in Canada, although unique, tend to have more in common with European cities than with American counterparts.

In American cities, race is a very significant and central theme when discussing the relationships that exist within community members. Walks and Maaranen (2008), and Freeman and Braconi (2004) note the perception of gentrification and redevelopment as a “whitening” of predominantly black or Latino communities, thereby adding a racial dimension to the often confrontational relationships that can exist between established and new community residents. In

the Canadian context however, this racial dimension is not as readily apparent. Walks and Maaranen (2008) note that it was Asian immigrants (often already middle class) are most likely to be affected by, but not necessarily excluded from, redevelopment in their communities.

On the economic front, Slater (2005) notes that disinvestment in Canadian urban centres has been much less pronounced than in many American cities and as a result, the hollowing out of Canadian communities has been much less pronounced. Indeed, Canadian communities (understood as distinct geographic areas partially or wholly incorporating one or more neighborhoods) seem attractive prospects for redevelopment and intensification. When redevelopment and gentrification happens in Canadian cities, the wealth gap between new and existing residents, while present, is not nearly as pronounced as in the American context.

The last major area of difference concerns the nature and role of the welfare state, particularly the provision of social housing. Compared with the European context, where many nations provide an extensive social net, Canadian municipalities have experienced significant retrenchment in the provision of services such as social housing. This is a significant policy issue because withdrawal of this support increases and exacerbates the financial and social strains of redevelopment on more vulnerable existing residents (Holt, 1991; Rose, 2004; Slater, 2005).

2.3.2 Structural Economic Changes and Gentrification:

The changing nature of global economics is a significant influence on the interactions between existing residents, municipalities, and the resources of the community these processes occur in. In particular, emphasis on changing employment patterns and opportunities presented in post-industrial economies, and the constraints these changes impose on cities represent significant themes in the literature.

One of the largest and most significant changes is the shift towards a post-Fordist economic model in many western cities, and with it, the fragmentation of employment and withdrawal of the welfare state, creating rising levels of polarization and inequality in its absence (Walks, 2001). This has caused the de-industrialization of many western cities accompanied by an expansion in the financial and service sectors, bringing with it growth of working professionals said to typify the gentrifying class (Florida, 2002; Slater, 2005). Reinvestment in

urban centres has been typically generated through intensification programs seeking to contain urban sprawl and increase the intensity of land use in existing communities.

This push to redevelop (both major projects and more minor infill) because of changing job markets has placed additional pressure on cities as they struggle to address this growth pattern and the tensions it brings (Sassen, 1991). This is not to say these new professionals are uniform in their needs. Criekingen and Decroly (2003), along with Walks (2001) note that the post-Fordist economy was also one of much less long term stability even for those employed in financial or service sectors. Although many benefited from this change in the urban economic base, an even greater number of previously middle class individuals found themselves in more economically vulnerable positions. This vulnerability has been reflected in preferences among professionals attempting to balance housing expenses with access to amenities and work (Walks, 2001, 2008).

In addition to these negative effects on individuals, the shift to the post-Fordist economy has caused municipalities to take certain stances towards intensification and development. Butler & Robson (2001) as well as Rose (2004) note that a more competitive environment has emerged between municipalities because reduced federal or provincial sources of funding requires them to be more actively involved in the promotion and management of investment within their cities as a means to expand their own revenue base. As McGirr et al. (2015) explain, this is commonly accomplished through investment and development in traditionally lower income inner city communities which in turn, generates increased property tax bases. Ley (1996) argues that policy initiatives in Canadian cities after 1968 have often encouraged gentrification unintentionally, but that the active pursuit of intensification and redevelopment policies has become more intentional over time. This notion of economic instability and vulnerability is a key theme in the literature regarding the most apparent social impacts of intensification, and also features heavily when considering mitigating policy options.

2.3.3 Mitigating and Inflammatory Policies in Intensification:

Many factors influence decisions and the behaviour of people involved in community redevelopment, including the experiences of incumbent residents facing development pressures. The choice for vulnerable low income residents regarding whether to stay or leave these

communities is often made in response to financial pressures they experience from land market forces: rising land values and rents.

When lower income residents who face strong pressures to intensify land uses also have sufficient secure affordable housing options available to them they are much less likely to experience significant negative personal impacts (Freeman, 2004; Lees, 2008; McDougall, 1981; McGirr et al., 2015; Rose 2004).

Policy interventions such as social housing, rent caps, rent subsidization, or other affordability measures that are undertaken by municipalities are considered especially important for these residents because they temper the rate at which gentrification occurs (McGirr et al., 2015; Criekingen & Decroly 2003). However, the additional effects of the post-Fordist economy and neo-liberal policies have resulted in a significant scaling back of the welfare apparatus that supported many of these social housing projects. As a result, the only option available for many municipalities to provide any social housing is through partnerships with developers who seek to intensify (and often gentrify) inner city communities.

2.4 Public Engagement and Conflict:

The explorations in the previous sections have helped establish a number of the larger causes and effects that redevelopment can have on communities. We have seen that changes in local economic structure and planning policy have begun to favour more compact urban forms, explored some of the models used to describe its process, and examined gentrification for the parallels it offers in terms of pressures for communities that are experiencing extensive redevelopment. To that end, we now explore the role of public engagement as a means of providing community residents with a voice when confronted with redevelopment and gentrification pressures. Also considered is the role of public engagement as a capacity building tool for cities.

Before moving further, engagement as a general term is understood by the literature and practice as a means of communicating and interacting with stakeholder groups on a planning initiative either as an education and information tool, or as a means of generating feedback/co-construction of initiatives depending on the extent to which engagement is undertaken. As such, while a general term, there can be significant differences in the intents and outcomes of

engagement based on how it is defined and understood by those undertaking it (Rowe & Frewer, 2005).

2.4.1 Engagement as a Learning Process:

The literature on the public engagement process is varied in its interpretations and applications. At a more generalized level, Tuler & Webler, (2006) have framed the discussion of engagement in terms of a learning process and in doing so, settles on 4 big questions to pose when considering the use or creation of an engagement strategy:

- 1) How do people gather understandings of substantive issues and gain knowledge as part of the effort?
- 2) How do individuals learn about alternate views, values, and options expressed by other participants in the process?
- 3) How do participants learn to effectively speak and communicate between and within layperson and expert groups? And,
- 4) How do proponents and organizers of deliberative processes learn about what works and what doesn't?

This focus on learning processes becomes especially important when considering that the engagement process serves as a means of “educating” (from expert to public) and “learning” (from public to facilitators) (Shipley, 2012; Newton, 2012).

The 3 E's of equity, effectiveness, and efficiency have been identified as important in creating public engagement programs that are not only meaningful for the stakeholders involved, but also manageable by groups that wish to undertake them. As Shipley (2012) notes, while the notion of some form of engagement is well embedded in the planning profession, the applicability and responsiveness of this process to different engagement approaches is not well applied in practice. Therefore, to better meet the different processes required for intensification and redevelopment projects, we need to deconstruct the most salient factors in the engagement process to determine the most significant areas of focus for practical application by cities and communities.

2.4.2 *Engaging Equitably:*

In the following section, the use of the word equity has been used to summarize one of the largest areas of interest arising from the literature; namely how do we make the engagement that does happen meaningful to the participants we do manage to engage?

To better answer this question, Arnstein's (1969) *A Ladder of Citizen Participation* remains a seminal piece for discussions of public engagement. While some of the rungs on this metaphorical ladder are more abstracted and generalized it still serves as a useful way to evaluate the ways in which power, both to speak and be heard, is shared through the engagement process. Each rung highlights the different extents to which this power sharing occurs. In Figure 1, we can see how Arnstein's (1969) participation is divided into roughly 3 main levels, each with differing levels of influence, power, and ability to contribute meaningfully to the planning process. Arnstein (1969) argues that there are two main conditions that need to be achieved for meaningful participation to occur; (1) an ability to consult and gain feedback from the engaged group, and (2) some form of power sharing to ensure that the feedback in participation can actually have an impact on a planning outcome. The individual steps of the ladder, and their possible roles in the larger participation process are explored in Figure 1 and Table 3.

While many of the rungs of Arnstein's (1969) ladder are applicable to generalized engagement strategies to varying degrees, the model is important in the context of intensification because it speaks directly to the need for the residents and communities in pre-established greyfield communities to feel they have a meaningful voice and a degree of agency in the changes their own communities are experiencing. As we have seen, a large number of the theoretical rungs in Arnstein's (1969) ladder, many of which are reflections of existing realities when it was first written, give only token or superficial agency to those that do participate. The theory then, is that only by moving further up the ladder and empowering the engaged public can meaningful and equitable engagement strategies take place.

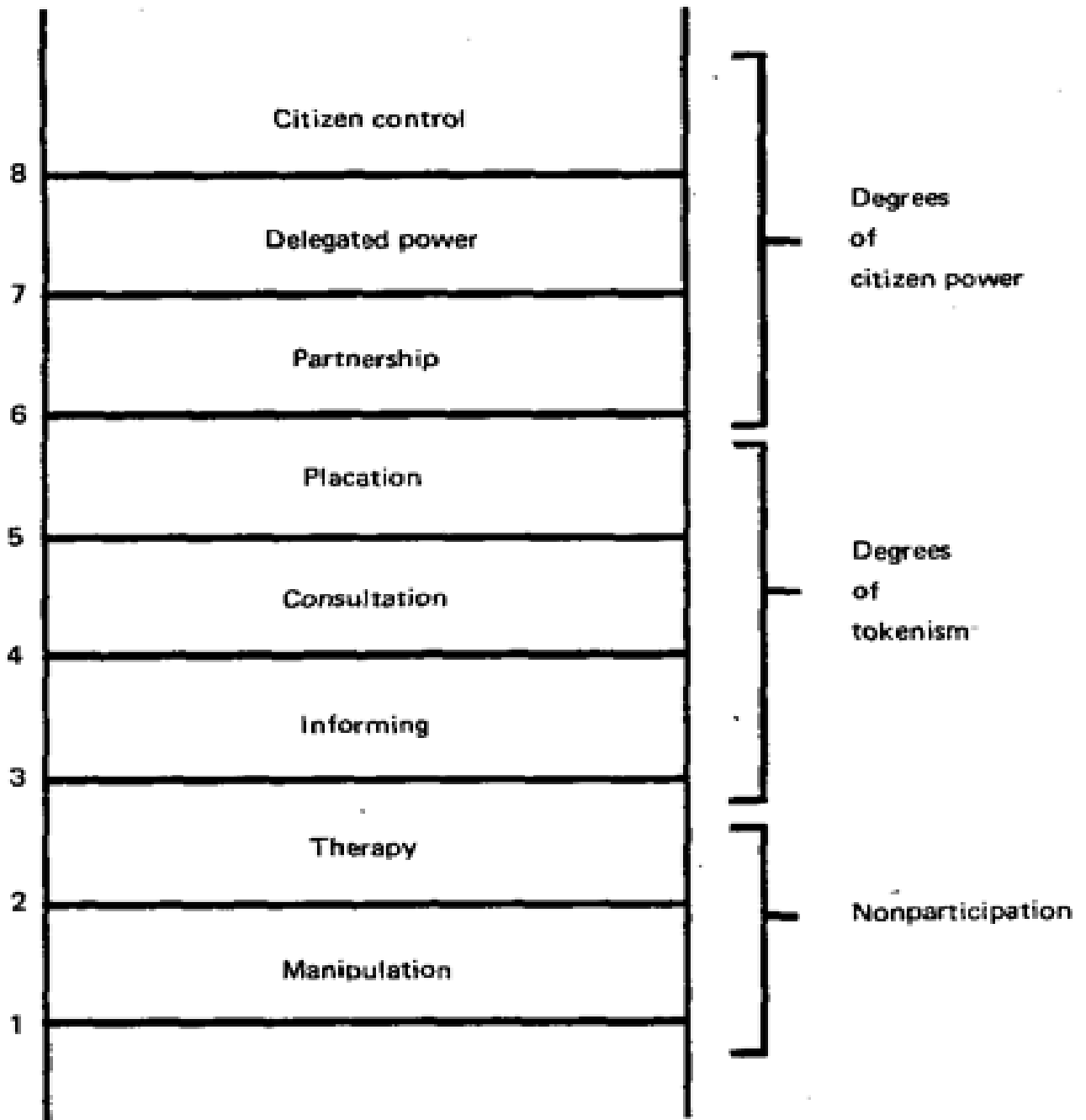


Figure 1: Ladder of Participation, Arnstein, (1969)

Ladder Rung	Description
Manipulation	This stage involves the distortion of participation into a public relations vehicle by groups with power. In the past, this took the form of the so called ‘Citizen advisory committees’ that functioned as a box checking exercise in urban renewal settings, often with little legitimacy or legal authority for actual community issues.
Therapy	Here public participation is framed as a way extensively engage not as a means of feedback but as a way to shape participants to be more conducive to the powerful groups’ views.
Informing	This section of the ladder can be interpreted in a number of different ways. In Arnstein’s (1969) original work it is framed as the informing of people of their rights and responsibilities with emphasis often placed on a one way path of information without a channel for feedback from participants and little sharing of decision making power. This notion of informing can also be viewed less negatively as a process of educating participants on issues. Given the often complex nature of planning related processes, especially those of larger scale, the role of educating and informing citizens and participants becomes an important part of the participation process, but only if it is then followed up with some form of more meaningful engagement strategy found further up the ladder.
Consultation	This is the first legitimate step towards meaningful participation as it allows a two way flow of information between the public and those in power, in the context of this research, the municipality. While this step of the ladder meets one of the two criteria for meaningful participation, without some guarantee public ideas will be taken into account, consultation on its own is little better than window dressing.

Placation	This stage involves some degree of influence from those participating but is still characterized by a degree of tokenism. When originally written by Arnstein, examples of this stage included the selection of community members to serve on advisory boards which, depending on their structure (e.g. having minority voting power) can limit the amount of real power they have, or exclude portions of the population from participating entirely. The level to which those with power (often the municipality) share, structure, or support this type of engagement will ultimately determine how well it meets the two main criteria for meaningful participation.
Partnership	In this form, both citizens and powerholders agree to share planning and decision making responsibilities through mechanisms such as local planning committees where ground rules have been established through compromise and not imposed through unilateral action. To be effective, Arnstein postulates that an organized powerbase amongst the public is needed to ensure accountability, volunteers, and financial support for what can often be time consuming and complex activities.
Delegated Power	Due to the relative rarity in which true delegated power is achieved, Arnstein (1969) does not expand upon this level of engagement extensively, but at its core it is described as having engaged citizens achieving dominant decision making authority over a plan or program.
Citizen Control	Similar to delegated power, this rung involves a degree of control that guarantees that participants can govern a program, be in charge of its policies, and be able to negotiate conditions under which outsiders can make changes. The idea behind this form of participation is that even those unskilled in planning or other issues can, when motivated and organized, create feasible program outcomes.

Table 3. Rungs of the Participation Ladder

Arnstein's (1969) work, while influential in the way that empowerment and engagement is understood, is by no means without its own critiques and variations. In particular Tritter & McCallum (2006) and Wilcox (1994) criticise the simplicity of both the ladder model in general, and the simplicity and uniformity that Arnstein (1969) ascribes to the public in her original model. Just as with other elements of the engagement process, the needs and expectations of the end users must be a guiding element of engagement structure while also noting that individuals and community may have different needs and agendas, with these relationships changing over time. As Arnstein's (1969) model assumes equal capability and values of power amongst participants, Wilcox's (1994) major critique is that this assumption is not representative of the many diverse understandings held by a non-uniform public.

To address these shortcomings, Tritter and McCallum (2006) identify what they describe as the three most significant shortcomings of Arnstein's (1969) model:

- 1) **Missing Rungs:** Arnstein (1969) assumes all users are able or want to participate to equal extents with empowerment of participants as the main goal rather than the end results of engagement. By not exploring the relationships between the aims of engagement, the publics involved, and the methods used to undertake it the ladder model misses many of these important details.
- 2) **Snakes:** Due to its simplicity, Arnstein's (1969) ladder also contains a number of what Tritter & McCallum (2006) describes as "snakes" that limit or undermine the sustainability of the engagement process in the long term, noting that full empowerment of individuals does not equate to equal or equitable results. By not acknowledging differences in the capacity of individuals, the ladder model is susceptible to the tyranny of the majority or unequal allocation of effort.
- 3) **Multiple Ladders:** Finally, Arnstein (1969) does not appear to distinguish between the intended outcomes of engagement that would necessitate different approaches or speak to different audiences with differing expectations.

Based on these critiques, Tritter & McCallum (2006) posit that the notion of participation as a ladder is a poor metaphor, and instead envision it more as a tapestry that together, presents us with a picture made up of multiple communities of users each connected in their own way and with their own understandings. As a whole, while a useful starting point to address the need to

empower and share decision making responsibilities amongst the public, the lack of detail on the differences between individuals limits the applicability of the ladder model without viewing it critically.

While the ladder of participation is a useful framing device for understanding equity as a broad process, ensuring equity in participation also has implications at a more individual level and is often overlooked. When describing the need for equity here it is also important to consider the individual differences in capacity to engage and contribute that is often lost when making considerations at the program level. Often, equity is only considered as equal application of a set of techniques to all members of a population, and in doing so forsakes equity in responses.

A common metaphor to conceptualize this is the parent and child looking over a high fence. The child, being shorter, represents an unequal starting position in their ability to see over the fence. Equity in process would involve giving all members an equally sized stool that may not be sufficient for the child to see, whereas equity in responses would be in tailoring stool sizes to sufficient height for the individual to be able to see over the fence, and in doing so have access to the same opportunities. This imbalance in power is something that Tritter & McCallum (2006) note in their critique of the “snakes” of participations ladder, and notes it is something not often considered in practice. It is not difficult to understand why focus is not weighted towards equity in responses, as tailoring stools (or communication capacity, media accessibility, education levels etc.) requires greater work and understanding of the different individuals/stakeholder groups and their relative capacity areas compared to a single size approach. By not addressing these unequal starting points, engagement excludes disadvantaged groups from the process and in doing so, runs counter to the principle to equity.

2.4.3 Engaging Effectively:

While the works of Arnstein (1969) and others previously explored is useful in understanding the types of power structures that make for meaningful participation, it is also generalized and lacks detail about how to make public engagement strategies effective. In this context, effectiveness is understood and modeled as the ability of the engagement process to support communication among stakeholders in a way that is constructive to the overall process. Effective engagement processes then are those that give useful structure to equitable processes.

The literature on the effectiveness of public engagement strategies is largely divided along those looking at the process through which effective engagement is conducted, and those concerned with understanding and evaluating the outcomes of engagement. While both are ultimately concerned with creating theoretical processes through which to better engagement programs, their approaches differ significantly.

On the side of those focused on outcome, a number of authors (Rowe & Frewer, 2004; Rossi, Freeman & Lipsey, 1999) frame the effectiveness of engagement by its evaluability against definitions of success. Due to the sheer variability of reasons to undertake a participatory program and differences in what constitutes success amongst varying stakeholders, Joss (1995) notes that formal empirical definitions of what constitutes an effective participatory approach are difficult to achieve, and as such are often understood through informal processes. To better understand and evaluate participatory outcomes, Rowe and Frewer (2004) break the evaluation of participation into 3 abstract steps:

- 1) Define effectiveness: the immediate problem of evaluation as noted by Rossi et al. (1999) is that the concept of effectiveness does not contain an easily identified starting point due to the differences in understanding between stakeholders. Additionally, the question of for whom a process is effective (e.g. a municipality or the stakeholders themselves), how general the definitions are, and whether the focus of effectiveness is on the process or the outcomes must all be defined and established in order to have a meaningful metric to judge effectiveness against.
- 2) Operationalization of the definition: With a definition in place and agreed to among stakeholders, the process through which evaluation will occur must be established to determine whether and to what extent the definitions in step one have been met. In addition to being reliable and valid, the outcomes of a process must be feasible to employ within its constraints.
- 3) Conducting the evaluation and interpretation of results: Through the evaluation of the process against the definitions of what constitutes effective participation established in step 1 and using the process of step 2, you can determine what process of engagement works best under any given situation and better inform any future processes based on this metric. In addition to understanding the extent to which a given process was

successful, Rowe and Frewer (2004) emphasize the importance of understanding the extent to which any given process is typical of engagement in general.

The literature regarding what constitutes effective processes is less evident because of the great variation in the types of potential approaches and the different understandings held by stakeholders (Joss, 1995). Because of this difficulty in definition, literature that bridges the gap between process and outcome does so by offering generalized processes which can later be evaluated (Renn et al., 1993). This focus on generalized process as a means of understanding effective engagement is similar to Webler's (1999) structure (See Table 4.) from which others have further refined (Petts, 2007; Tuler & Webler, 2006; Tuler, Webler & Kreuger 2001).

Of the literature that has sought to further define elements of effective process, Tuler et al. (2001) provides a more simplified version of what elements create effective participation based on 3 broad views held by those undertaking participatory programs to better understand how, in practice, their versions of efficiency are being applied.

As a whole, the literature on creating effective participatory programs have focused on 3 main themes: that engagement should be open (Petts, 2007; Tuler & Webler, 2006; Tuler, et al., 2001); informed (i.e. shared understanding) (Fontaine, 2008; Webler, 1999); and evaluable (Rowe & Frewer, 2004; Rossi, Freeman & Lipsey, 1999) if it is to be considered effective. There is considerable variation in what different groups would consider success, with some focused on process while others outcomes, creating a single framework for effective engagement is difficult.

Building effective participatory frameworks is essential to the larger goals of public engagement. If a program is ineffective in its delivery then its legitimacy and ability to respond to the pressures of redevelopment and intensification becomes quickly diminished. Communities without agency for their own future become more easily subject to market forces and with it, the risks of gentrification and displacement of the previous community entirely (Rose, 1996, 2004).

Element:	Description:
Access to the process	Here, the term access is framed both in physical and in social terms, explaining that effective engagement strategies must be physically accessible both in terms of venue locations and in choice of contact times, for the group of stakeholders identified for engagement. In addition to physical access, the impressions of social access were also identified to be important, as the perception of being an accessible process was found to be closely tied to impressions of fairness amongst participants, and increased acceptance of views/outcomes by those who may have held opposing views.
Power to influence process and outcomes	Closely tied to the notion of equity discussed previously, Webler (1999) suggests that the balancing of influence between stakeholders in the face of constrained resources must be linked to notions of fairness. If groups feel they are being represented fairly in the process there is increased buy-in by participants
Structural characteristics to promote constructive interactions and behaviour	Again, this element of an effective engagement process speaks to both physical and social structures but with an emphasis on the way both physical and social spaces are constructed and how they influence the personal behaviour of participants. The quality of the discourse space and the behaviours occurring within it becomes very important for setting the tone of the engagement. By creating spaces where participants are comfortable, they are more likely to share their views in a positive and constructive manner.
Access to information	As discussed previously (Tuler & Webler, 2006) information in a public participation setting comes from two different sources: the public and experts. The emphasis here is on the need for engagement strategies to tap into both of these pools of knowledge and to ensure that information flows in both directions freely and openly in a way that does not re-create the often paternalistic power dynamics present in many of Arnstein's (1969) less equitable rungs. Additionally, the intent of this mixing of expert and public views should educate the public to expert's levels, generate a shared vision, and allow for educated and realistic expectations to be set (Petts, 2007).
Adequate analysis	Even if the free movement of information is achieved within an engagement program, the notion of analysis is still important for creating effective programs. Here Welber (1999) stresses that there is a need to ensure information is being used in a sound manner that is both helpful and accountable to the good of the overall project rather than for individual agendas.
Enabling of the social conditions necessary for future processes	Arguably, this is the most important factor that Webler (1999) identifies in the public participation process. Long term or large scale projects are rarely one off events, thus an engagement strategy needs to ensure that the process creates and fosters the conditions needed to allow future processes to occur. By reducing or resolving sources of conflict through process design, future efforts can be perceived as reasonable and legitimate while also avoiding a more hostile or disengaged public. As Petts (2007) notes, especially with long term engagement programs, one example is not enough to build institutional trust. Instead, each instance needs to build on the constructive foundations left by its predecessors.

Table 4: Webler's (1999) Elements of Effective Consultation.

Element:	Description:
Process should be legitimate	By using open, consensual decision making processes founded on evidenced rather than politics or power to drive decisions, you ensure the outcomes are legitimized.
Process should promote a search for common values	Participatory decision making should place emphasis on the values of a dispute and how it might be managed. By promoting a regional (or community) awareness of the issues through education effective engagement is realized through informed decision making. Tuler et al. (2001) is quick to note that while this view is common amongst many undertaking participatory programs, this category does have the greatest potential for abuse by those who would monopolize discussion due to unequal power relations.
Process should realize democratic principles of fairness and equality	This view holds that the decision making process should be fair and unbiased and was most often held by those in political or consultant positions with the impression being that effective participation is not about the numbers but rather on the quality of discussion that does occur.
Process should promote equal power among all participants and viewpoints	Emphasis here is placed on leveling the playing field as a means to ensure decisions are made on available evidence rather than power and rhetoric. Individuals supporting this view of effective engagement were most likely to be ones tied to communities themselves, with Tuler et al. (2001) noting that cynicism about the reality of achieving such equality was also common.
Process should foster responsible leadership	This view holds that leadership (although not endorsing autocratic decision making) should place emphasis on running a responsible process that is planned and allows for meaningful opportunities to affect decisions. To ensure legitimacy, decisions made by leadership must be open and understood by an informed public if they are to be generally accepted. The emphasis on leadership here is founded on the assumption that real consensus amongst stakeholders may not be possible, and a decision from legitimate leadership must be made.

Table 5: Tuler et al. (2001) Elements of Effective Participation.

2.4.4 Engaging Efficiently:

The last major area of focus in public engagement strategies concerns how to structure participation in a way that is efficient. As Welber (1999) notes, the legitimacy of a public engagement strategy is often tied to the efficient use of limited public resources. Therefore, when asking what it means for public engagement to be efficient, what is really being asked is how organizations can efficiently create, structure, and carry out their engagement programs in a way that is also effective and equitable (Meyerson & Banfield, 1955).

Fontaine (2008) and others (Grant, 1994; Susskind & Elliot, 1981) note that one of the greatest challenges to creating manageable public participation is determining the optimum level of input that communities undergoing redevelopment should have. Too little, and there is a risk of alienating the community and reducing the level of buy-in from local residents that is needed to have long term support for the project. Conversely, having too much input also becomes undesirable as the sheer amount of information to process becomes unmanageable or prohibitively expensive to administer (De Vellis, 2013). Due to the length of time which many intensification or redevelopment projects take or the scale of the project, it becomes especially important to design engagement strategies that manage the process and expectations and enhance potential process success.

Part of the difficulty in creating standards for engagement is the variation in processes and outcomes available to planners seeking to undertake engagement (Eiser et al., 2007). Many authors (Margerum, 2002; Laurian, 2003; Gallagher & Jackson, 2008) have examined individual elements of participatory programs to explore whether and how they could be improved, but Fontaine (2008) is one of the few to have compiled these individual themes into the “5 Fundamentals of Public Participation Approaches”, used to describe the more salient elements identified in the literature:

- 1) Establishing a project narrative: The notion of a narrative for a planning process is important because the story it tells, for better or worse, will be the one that people remember. Therefore, determining what narrative the engagement process is trying to tell - i.e. what your project is, what benefits it brings, and the reasons for undertaking it, is important in framing the context for the public and ideally, generating public support. The purpose of a narrative is to manage the expectations of groups and keep their vision

grounded in the realities of the project's constraints. Fontaine's (2008) research found that the project narrative was best crafted by a small group of stakeholders, typically 10-12 individuals comprising technical experts, key residents, and institutional/civic leaders, coming together through a committee process to establish narrative fundamentals and act as a steering group for further administrative activities.

- 2) **Managing the Project Narrative:** After the creation of the project narrative, its management is needed to keep the process on track and effective. Despite any changes that may occur over time, the underlying project narrative needs to remain consistent so that those involved can follow the broader issues without being side-tracked into tangents or become too focused on details. Additionally, Fontaine (2008) is quick to point out that without consistent and continuous management of the project narrative, public support for the process can be lost as different or inconsistent messages begin filling any gaps in the larger narrative. The idea behind consistent narrative management is to avoid muddling the main issues that need to be addressed, and concentrate on positive perceptions of feasibility and legitimacy of the project.

A number of other authors (Eiser et al., 2007; Margerum, 2002; Laurian, 2003) have also stressed the importance of defining the planning problem to address early in the process with Laurian (2003) emphasizing that the role of public participation in the planning process should be shaped and based on the type of problem to address with differing narratives requiring more or less intensive approaches. Therefore, in order for any process to be undertaken it must first be based on a shared understanding (or as Fontaine (2008) describes, narrative) as this foundation will determine the extent and form for which participation will be offered to the public. Such a stance also matches up with the literature on evaluating outcomes (Rowe & Frewer, 2004; Tuler et al., 2001) that stress the need for a shared starting point from which to further build through an engagement process that compliments that narrative.

- 3) **Electing a credible champion:** While a number of different consultants will play a role in the public engagement process either as stakeholders or as administrators, they alone cannot be seen as leading the effort. The idea of a champion in the planning context is a common one, serving both a steering role for the project and as a source of communication for the project narrative and issues. Fontaine (2008) posits that to be

effective, the project champion often takes the form of a local elected official who is able to communicate effectively to stakeholders, and be able to build and strengthen community trust in the projects legitimacy and equity. In addition to being an active participant in the process, the project champion also needs to be one who can stay throughout the entire project which, given the long term timeframes many intensification project occur on, can be a challenging position to fill.

The concept of a planning champion is a common one (Howell et al., 2005; Solitare, 2005) in the planning literature with Gallagher (2009) focusing specifically on its application in the realm of public engagement, finding that in addition to the general concept explained by Fontaine (2008), champions can have further positive roles in the engagement process. In general, champions are found to come from three backgrounds: public, private, and non-governmental, which three general characteristics being key to their success: their enthusiasm and confidence about the process, persistence in the face of adversity, and their involvement with key actors in the planning process. Breaking this down further Gallagher (2009) posits that successful champions for public engagement in redevelopments feature enthusiasm, personal activism, and creativity in their programs that speak to the needs of community stakeholders. When a champion is not present, the literature notes that traditional engagement approaches with hostile or disengaged stakeholders was much more difficult (Gallagher, 2009; Soltaire, 2005).

- 4) Designing flexible solutions: It is important to design a process with enough flexibility to accommodate inevitable changes in the project (e.g. staff turnover, budget constraints, changes in policy) without undermining the larger narrative issues that the public engagement strategy seeks to address. Fontaine (2008) reminds us that failure to accommodate flexibility can easily undo progress in other areas.
- 5) Creating small connected steps and keeping realistic timeframes: Fontaine (2008) notes that 2 years is typically the longest length of time that any one resident can be expected to be consistently engaged in a project before burnout begins to occur. Given that redevelopment projects more often operate on 10+ year timeframes, long term public engagement becomes extremely difficult. As such, in addition to the establishment of long term project goals and vision, it is also necessary to break these goals down into smaller ~2 year phases that allows people to more effectively participate in smaller block

while still contributing to the larger project goals and narrative. This breaking up and scheduling of long term project vision into smaller more easily engaged sections becomes especially important in long term projects where participant burnout is a very real concern.

The need to keep the engagement process limited in time and scope shares common justifications with the literature focused on evaluating outcomes (Rowe & Frewer, 2004; Freeman & Lipsey, 1999) where if a process is to be successful, it must lay out and define how and when the different steps of engagement are to be undertaken, must orient those steps towards the target audience of engagement, and structure these with ways to understand project success. In the face of limited resources, balance needs to be achieved between engaging with stakeholders and actual project advancement, a process which should be determined ahead of the start of engagement (Gallagher & Jackson, 2008).

As intensification and redevelopment programs are long term endeavours they require long term thinking and planning to efficiently execute. As such, failure to properly manage any of the elements discussed previously runs the risk of reducing the effectiveness or equity of the engagement process, and in doing so, reduce the chance that the project will succeed in acquiring stakeholder buy-in and shared understandings.

Table 6. IAP2 Core Values (IAP2, 2015)

1) Public participation is based on the belief that those who are affected by a decision have a right to be involved in the decision making process

2) Public participation includes the promise that the public's contribution will influence the decision

3) Public participation promotes sustainable decisions by recognizing and communicating the needs and interests of all participants

4) Public participation seeks input from participants in designating how they participate

5) Public participation provides participants with the information they need to participate meaningfully

6) Public participation communicates to participants how their input affected their decision

2.4.5 Engagement Strategies:

While it has generally become an accepted part of the planning that those affected by planning activities are engaged in the planning process, it is important to understand the motivations behind the participatory movement. At its most basic, we see the push towards public engagement in planning as a response to a centrally organized, technical, and often bureaucratic form planning took prior to the 1960s, with the desire for citizens to have a greater say in the type and form of planning occurring in their neighbourhood. This understanding and approach has become more fully incorporated into the planning discipline in the 1980s (Filion et al., 2007; Roberts, 2004).

This was by no means an isolated phenomenon, and can instead, as a number of authors posit (Pattern, 2001; Roberts 2004; Shipley & Utz, 2012), be seen as a logical continuation of the broader push towards more participatory forms of democracy and with it, shifts towards a decentralization of state policy making from central bureaucracies to the community level. As a continuation of this trend towards citizenry having a greater say in the future of their communities, engagement can be viewed as an important element in generating discussions and constructing shared visions of a communities values and future. The political nature of planning does raise questions and counters to this assumption however, and as noted by Rowe & Frewer (2005) that while public engagement is used as a general term, the methods used in it result in very different flows of information, and therefore different power balances in the resulting engagement processes.

There is nothing inherently bad about these differing dynamics, as the intended outcomes of engagement may require different approaches to be used (i.e. is it intended as an information gathering exercise, or creation and application of community vision) but it still requires noting that the political realities of planning, in that political actors are the ultimate decision makers, does leave the possibility that different levels of a democratic process may come in conflict with each other. While ideally the outcomes of engagement would be applied as a continuation of participatory democracy, if it ignores the existing power-imbalances between actors that may be perpetuated (Smith & McDonough, 2001), we may see an entrenchment of existing power structures that only give token engagement at the expense of disempowered groups (Gray, 1989; McDaniels & Fields, 2001; Dunlap & Stukas 2002) and would run contrary to the push for

engagement to begin with, i.e. a rejection of top-down approaches. To mitigate these risks, beyond designing engagement strategies to address power imbalances, there must be political will to actually share power with the public (Chipenuik, 1999).

In the context of meaningful engagement programs, participation can be seen as a democratizing of various areas of public administration, with many of the effects and intentions of this emphasis reflected in the “Core Values” for the International Association for Public Participation’s (IAP2) (see Table 6). Within these core values we can see many of the overarching themes that are present in the current participation literature, namely the need for those effected by planning to have an equitable, and effective voice in their cities and communities. While there are a large number of ways in which to translate these ideas into practice the assumption is that stakeholders will participate in the process from different positions and with varying expectations.

2.4.5.1 Intentions and Outcomes of Participation:

While specific intentions of participatory programs vary according to the narratives of the project, the general understanding is that public engagement can reduce conflict in the planning process (Pattern, 2001; Smith & McDonough, 2001) even if the motivations or willingness to give the public decision making power may be absent (McDaniels & Fields, 2001). While these are important elements to understanding participation, equally important is the perceived intentions of stakeholders and administrators, and the role these perceptions play in the effectiveness of the program. As the literature notes, the motivations for undertaking and participating in engagement exercises differ between and within stakeholder groups (Tritter & McCallum, 2006).

Some of this difference of expectations arises from the historical legacies of public engagement. This includes the assertion that while participation is usually undertaken with good intentions, there is a commonly-held perception that planners prefer to simply educate and inform the public about planning decisions rather than seek substantial feedback (Roberts, 2004). This situates any planning process with this dynamic low on Arnstein’s (1969) ladder of meaningful participation, and would be contrary to Weblor’s (1999) process model for effective engagement. In addition, processes designed like this would create what Yang (2005) and others

(Stukas & Dunlap, 2002; Lauber, 1999) describe as a fundamental distrust between the public and officials.

For citizens and stakeholders, cynicism and tokenism constitute another significant barrier. Historical experiences with municipal governments have left various groups feeling (or actually being) marginalized (Berman, 1997; Friedmann, 1973). There are many reasons for this distrust. On the part of city officials, the motivation for undertaking major participatory programs is often hampered by the fact they are a time-consuming, complicated to administer, and often emotionally draining activity (Creighton, 1981) with limited tangible benefits (Bloomfield et al., 2001) in addition to its significant costs (Gallagher, 2008). Additionally, there is a tendency by planners to view the participation process as a means to inform and only occasionally choose between predetermined possibilities (Roberts, 2004). Many administrators in the public sphere are content with minimal levels of engagement that ultimately only placate rather than incorporate public concerns (Smith & McDonough 2001).

This approach stands in contrast to citizens' desires to have a more definitive say in the choices and outcomes of the planning and decision making process. When citizens feel like their contributions did not have an influence on the end result (of which some 40% of engaged citizens feel hasn't been the case (Shipley et al., 2004)) they were less likely to engage in the future while cementing trust issues with administrators that can be difficult to overcome (Bloomfield et al., 2001).

2.4.5.2 Participatory Methods:

As Miller et al. (2010) notes, the manner in which public participation occurs affects the degree of public satisfaction with the participatory process. In order to be fully effective, planners and administrators need to tie their selected approach to the purpose and needs of the groups they seek to engage with. A major criticism of many public participation strategies is the trend of planners to apply uniform engagement solutions across multiple contexts when a more nuanced approach tailored to local context may be more effective. Before undertaking any program, the desired outcomes need to be carefully weighed.

The literature notes that the effectiveness of different engagement methods varies based on the desired outcomes of the process, breaking this down into two rough groups based on the total

level of participation the program would need to undertake; stating that greater levels of total participation are required when the acceptance of a decision is the intended outcome rather than generating detailed feedback. Conversely, less participation (i.e. more focused, involving fewer total participants) when quality of the planning decision is the determining factor rather than broad adoption (Burby, 2003; Brownhill & Carpenter, 2007; Shipley & Utz, 2012). As the IAP2 (2015) notes, the fact that there are many different intended outcomes for public engagement means that a number of different engagement approaches are available to planners, with this variation reflected in their “Spectrum of Participation” (Table 7).

	Increasing Levels of Public Impact →				
	Inform	Consult	Involve	Collaborate	Empower
Public Participation Goal	To provide the public with a balanced and objective information to assist them in understanding the problem, alternatives and/or solutions	To obtain public feedback on analysis, alternatives and/or decisions	To work directly with the public throughout the process to ensure that public concerns and aspirations are consistently understood and considered	To partner with the public in each aspect of the decision including the development of alternatives and the identification of the preferred solution	To place final decision-making in the hands of the public
Promise to the Public	We will keep you informed	We will keep you informed, listen to and acknowledge concerns and aspirations, and provide feedback on how public input influenced the decision	We will work with you to ensure that your concerns and aspirations are directly reflected in the alternatives developed and provide feedback on how public input influenced the decision	We will look to you for advice and innovation in formulating solutions and incorporate your advice and recommendations into the decisions to the maximum possible extent	We will implement what you decide

Table 7: IAP2 Engagement Spectrum (IAP2, 2015)

2.4.5.3 Engagement Approaches:

While the goals in Table 7 are effective in theory, they are only as good as the methods by which they are applied. Just as there are many different potential outcomes of a planning process, there are an equally large number of approaches that can be undertaken. These methods typically fall into 5-6 major categories explored in Table 8 below.

Notably absent from this list of approaches are surveys which, while offering an ability to reach a wide audience of stakeholders, lacks an actual engagement component and fails to meet many of the elements outlined previously for meaningful public engagement. As such, while it may still be a useful tool for planners to collect wider community feedback, surveys are limited in their ability to engage beyond information gathering exercises (IAP2, 2015).

It is also important to consider the audience that planners seek to engage. The timing and delivery of different approaches must be delivered to remove as many barriers to participation as possible for the process to be comprehensive. Finally, as the IAP2 (2015) notes, the intended outcomes of an engagement process must be carefully considered before an engagement strategy is designed and undertaken. Different approaches can produce different outcomes, therefore simply applying a familiar methodology may be detrimental to the success of an engagement program.

Approach	Description
Public Meetings	One of the simplest and most widely used approaches, public meetings (e.g. open houses, town halls) are often a means of meeting minimal legislated participation obligations. Public meetings are used primarily as a way to communicate information to the public but they have very little ability to act as a two-way communication tool between groups, and they do not typically allow citizens to influence decisions. As such, while public meetings can be a useful education tool, they have limited potential for meaningful engagement (Adams, 2004).
Focus Groups	Consisting of small groups (typically 8-10), focus groups offer a means to gain perceptions and perspectives from the general public that may not be effectively communicated through other means or may only emerge through focused group discussion (Vogt, King & King, 2004). In a planning context, participants are typically selected based on similar social or geographic backgrounds to create constructive discussion settings. While the strength of this method lies in the ability of the administrator to probe or ask for elaboration on a topic area, it can be difficult to achieve a representative sample in participation. Innes & Booher (2004) recommends focus groups as a way to engage participants directly in conversation with each other and planners/administration, with others noting that social pressure to conform to group or administrator views limits its usefulness as an engagement tool (King et al., 2004; Hollander, 2004).
Visioning Sessions	Visioning offers a means to create collective plans while opening the option of participation to the entire population. It is through this collaborative discussion and use of visuals that the needs of rival stakeholders can become negotiated and agreed upon. As with other approaches, visioning also faces some significant limitations. Since stakeholders rarely negotiate from positions of equal power, the extent to which a vision is a consensus or imposed becomes a major issue (Shiple and Utz, 2012).
Workshops	Street (1997) describes workshops as meetings and discussions with local stakeholders to address technical issues (not social ones) with only a small number of total participants proposed and vetting by different groups. The

	intended outcome of this process is a sort of technical visioning exercise that explores different potential actions that can be undertaken through the discussions between these vetted experts. As this approach lacks broad public engagement, it may have limited usefulness as a broad tool. Further, the expense both in time and money to organize a workshop means it remains a more specialized tool.
Collaboration	Similar to visioning and workshops, collaborative approaches involve different groups of stakeholders engaging in constructive discussion to explore possible solutions beyond their individual visions. The intention behind this approach is to transform previously adversarial relationships into constructive ones in a mutual search for information and solutions, facilitated by the free flow of information. An additional objective for this approach is to act as a trust building exercise between adversarial groups (Gray, 1989). There are also drawbacks to this process. First and foremost, that collaboration is a time and cost intensive process that is often ineffective for problems that require quick and decisive solutions. Additionally, while it assumes that those actually motivated to engage will be able to, it fails to address the issue of power inequalities amongst participants and struggles when large numbers of stakeholders are involved (London 1995).
Digital Approaches	While the literature on the use of the web and social media is much less developed in comparison with other approaches, the ability of computers to allow for much greater access to discussion spaces and general communication means that communicative technologies can allow a much greater number of people the opportunity to participate in the decision making process (Gordon, 2008). While not a methodology on its own, its medium gives it the flexibility to supplement many other approaches.

Table 8: Summary of Engagement Methods

2.4.5.4 Engagement Weaknesses:

Planners and administrators need to focus on the process through which engagement is undertaken as well as its intended outcomes (King et al., 1998). To that end, there are a number of common shortcomings that public participation has faced in practice that can be grouped into administrative and social factors.

Administrative Weaknesses:

Many of the administrative weaknesses identified here share similarities with the elements of efficiency explored previously while also including the important elements of skill and education on the part of the practitioner. Traditionally, the model for public engagement has positioned the planner as a technical expert on planning issues, placing them in charge of creating and managing the participatory process, and acting as the gatekeeper for the content and presentation of information for public consumption (King et al., 1998). Unfortunately, this structure fails to acknowledge that very few if any planners receive specific education on how to design and conduct public engagement programs (Roberts, 2004). For example, Shipley and Utz (2012) noted that there were only three university programs in Planning in North America that offer specific engagement and administration oriented courses. As a result, when ultimately left to design and structure their engagement programs, planners are often underprepared for the complexities of the process and unsupported to conduct meaningful engagement, the results of which are programs that fail to meet their goals and perpetuate trust issues between the public and administration (Michaels et al., 2001).

While programs like the IAP2 (2015) attempt to bridge this gap, significant progress on educating planners to properly undertake engagement programs is needed. Beyond practitioners, education of stakeholders remains an issue, as the increasingly complex nature of planning often requires significant effort on the part of participants if they wish to make educated contributions to the planning process (Chipenuik, 1999). While the IAP2 and other models include the need to inform the public, ensuring that available information is understood and is able to be applied by the engaged public is necessary if greater levels of public influence on planning decisions are to be achieved.

Social Weaknesses:

The category of social weaknesses is primarily concerned with the barriers and limitations to the public's ability to engage in meaningful participation regardless of methodology. Arguably one of the most significant of these is the role of trust between stakeholders and administrators, with a number of authors (Yang, 2005; Bloomfield et. al., 2001) suggesting that a primary reason for the lack of success with current practices is due in part to the fundamental distrust that exists between the public and officials.

On the part of the public, this perception can be attributed to a perceived lack of historical impact that engagement has had previously, and the large role of process cynicism. While part of this cynicism on the part of participants can be attributed to the differences in intentions for engagement, excessive encouragement to participate can also increase cynicism as higher initial engagement numbers succumb over time to burn-out, concerns over power imbalances, effect on outcomes, and general demands on individual's time (King et al., 1998).

2.4.6 Engagement Summary:

In previous sections, we have sought to explore what structural conditions allow public engagement to reach its maximum potential. In doing so, we have seen that some very fundamental considerations need to be made regarding how organizations or municipalities undertake their engagement process. We have seen that for it to be meaningful, it needs to be equitable, and to do so involves a certain degree of power sharing amongst stakeholders to make their own contributions and decisions to the broader project. We have also seen that to be effective, engagement needs to be accessible, transparent, and supportive, both for the project itself and for wider engagement programs in the future. And lastly, we have also seen that to be efficient and legitimate, engagement programs need to be structured and flexible enough to support the project goals over the long timeframes planning occurs on to ensure success.

An often mentioned critique of public engagement is that while many planners are generally aware of its need as well as how to conduct an engagement program at a general level, there still remains a great deal of progress to be made in creating and institutionalizing the type of engagement necessary for long term projects such as intensification and community redevelopment. As such, while this has not been an exhaustive look at the public engagement

literature, it does serve as an in depth look at some of the most deficient areas of planning practice for creating and running equitable, effective, and efficient participatory programs for long term endeavours like redevelopment and intensification.

2.5 Research Question:

This research seeks to answer the following question: How do different actors view and understand public engagement in their communities, and how is public participation being applied in communities that are experiencing significant redevelopment forces. In doing so, this research will explore the weaknesses of current approaches and seek to better understand how public engagement can be better designed and applied to redeveloping communities.

While this exploration is highly informative, it also highlights a significant gap in the literature regarding this topic, namely what can be done from a policy standpoint to influence the effects intensification and redevelopment is having on the communities involved. While the academic literature is very descriptive on this topic, solutions and recommendations based on these predominant themes are few and far between. There are some precedents in this area of research however, with the analysis of the social impacts of redevelopment addressed by several researchers from a Canadian perspective (see Lees, 2008; McGirr et al., 2015; Rose, 2004; Walks & Maaranen, 2008).

2.6 Literature Summary:

As we have seen, the process of redevelopment and the role of public engagement in this process has been framed in a number of very diverse and often complementary or contradictory ways. While no single view of this process is entirely correct, what has become clear through the literature is that the form and outcomes of these processes vary wildly, and as such, their effects upon various communities are intricately linked to the specific histories of these spaces. In addition, we have explored a number of central elements in the public engagement process and deconstructed them in a way that highlights factors that are considered most important for the creation of meaningful, effective, and efficient engagement strategies than can be undertaken to give a voice to communities facing intensification pressures, and in doing so, reduce the conflict created by imposed changes to urban form.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Guiding Issues & Elements:

The results of the literature review completed in Chapter 2 identified a number of major areas of inquiry to be explored through the research design that will each lend themselves to differing methods of analysis. For many of these themes, there are precedents in both the theoretical and methodological literature regarding the types of approaches best fitted to discovering and understanding their context in the larger research question.

Given the highly qualitative nature of social dynamics in communities responding to development, this research will require qualitative approaches. A number of researchers (Butler, 1997; Freeman & Braconi, 2004; McGirr et al., 2015; Rose, 2004) have conducted similar work in exploring the relationships between gentrifying and redeveloping communities with broader political and economic process have used semi-structured interviews to explore these social dynamics.

This chapter describes the various methods employed by the research design to answer and explore the central issues of the research question, to do so required the research design to answer the fundamental 5W questions (Creswell, 2014), some of which have emerged from the literature review, and some of which required more targeted research in the case study area.

The structure of this research was based upon similar research conducted by other authors (Webler, 1999; Rose, 2004) and is visualized in Figure 2 below. Beginning with a review of the literature for major themes in both redevelopment and public engagement explored in Chapter 2, content analysis of local planning documents and other elements of local planning context were reviewed to determine what similar themes existed and the potential effects of local context. Based on this understanding of local context and major literature areas, semi-structured interviews were created to determine the presence and extent to which literature themes were present in the community and what relationships existed between them. This information served as the basis of subsequent analysis and exploration of the research question, as well as the identification of potential solutions identified in Chapter 6.

3.2 Research Design:

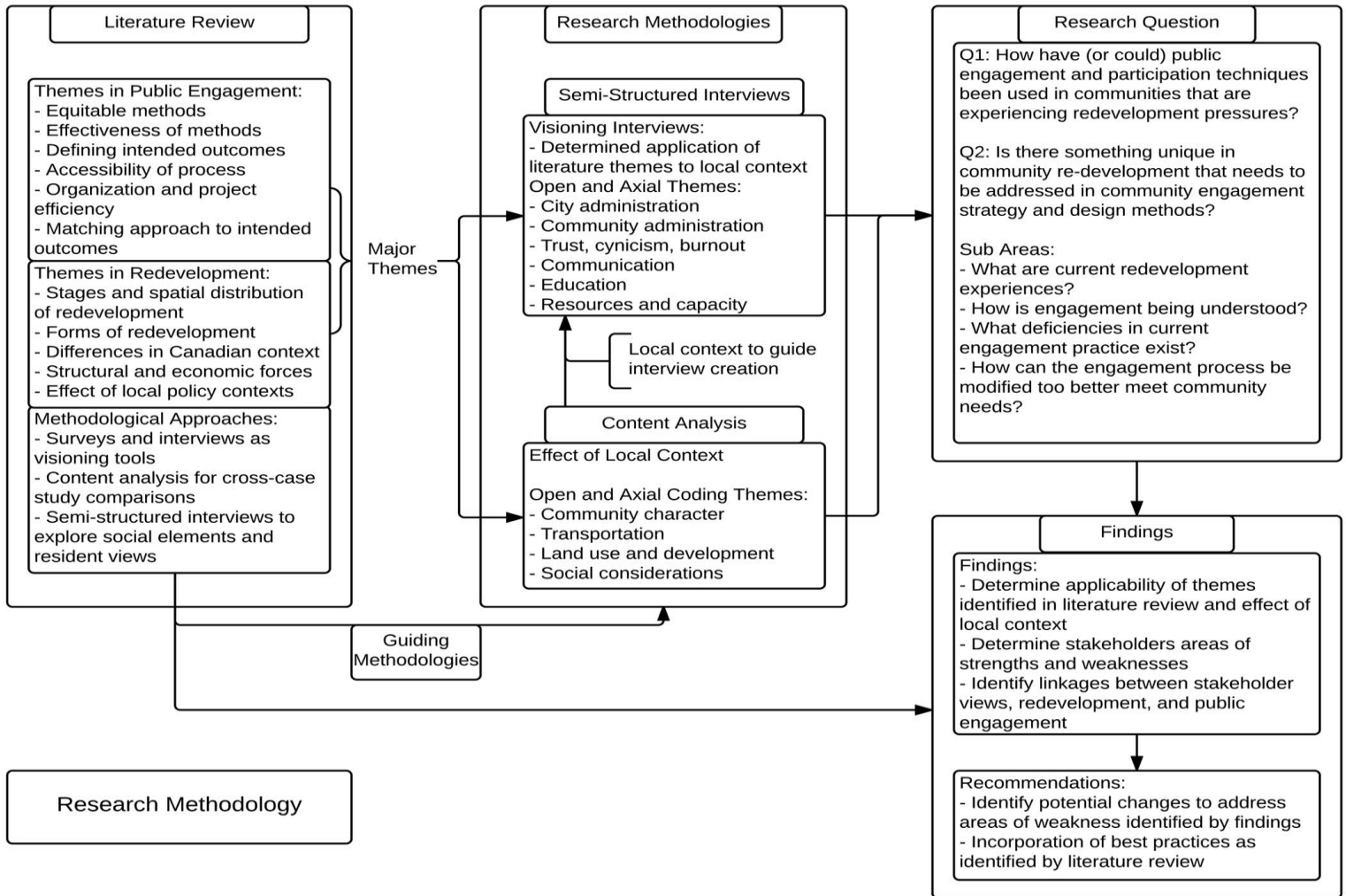


Figure 2. Research Design

Table 9. Summary of Research Methodologies			
Questions	Semi-Structured Interviews		
	Sources	Comments	Relevance
What are the current experiences of the community with regard to engagement and redevelopment?	Rose (2004) Walks (2008)	Both focused on understanding resident views and understandings of gentrification in upscaling Canadian neighborhoods	Use of semi-structured interviews with local residents
How is public engagement currently being understood?	Webler (1999) Laurien (2003)	Use of resident samples to determine levels of community awareness on certain topics	Use of ~1.5 hour long semi-structured interviews with residents or city officials
What deficiencies in current practices exist?	Webler (1999)	Determined areas of misunderstanding between stakeholders in the engagement process	Use of ~1.5 hour long semi-structured interviews, provided post interview transcripts to ensure validity
How can the engagement process be modified to better meet community needs?	Webler (1999) Laurien (2003)	Results used in the creation of “Elements of effective consultation”, highlights the importance of education in participation	Use of ~1.5 hour long semi-structured interviews with residents or city officials
Questions	Content Analysis		
	Sources	Comments	Relevance
What are the current experiences of the community with regard to engagement and redevelopment?	Van Criekingen & Decroly (2003) Rowe & Frewer (2004)	Van Criekingen & Decroly (2003) focus on the Canadian experiences of gentrification, others looked to understand definitions and conceptualizations of gentrification	Use of literature and policy content analysis to determine understandings of intensification and gentrification
How is public engagement currently being understood?	Fontaine (2008) Webler (1999)	Use of content analysis of policy documents to supplement and inform topics for later interviews	Conducted case study reviews using policy and literary sources to compare engagement across locales
What deficiencies in current practices exist?	Chipenuik (1999) Yang (2005)	Canadian case study in Montreal critiquing current practice	Use of content analysis in Canadian context with linkages to larger federal influences
How can the engagement process be modified to better meet community needs?	Fontaine (2008)	Content analysis determined common areas of strength and failure in the engagement process across municipalities	Use of content analysis of many American engagement processes to cross compare their effectiveness

3.2.1 Qualitative and Mixed Methods Approaches:

There have traditionally been two different viewpoints through which research inquiry has been conducted, with both types lending themselves to differing approaches. Qualitative and quantitative methods allow the researcher to determine relationships and patterns in data using a number of different methods that, when employed properly, ensure a level of reliability and validity in the work conducted (Creswell, 2014).

Some types of research more readily lend themselves to qualitative, quantitative, or some partial mixture of the two. More typical in the natural sciences, quantitative methods are typically focused on statistical approaches which require more discrete, numeric data to analyse and reach conclusions. Qualitative data, conversely, is used to draw connections and discern meaning from descriptive data and as such, requires very different forms of analysis and interpretation to generate its findings. Lastly, mixed methods approaches are, as the name suggests, a mixture of both techniques. The following sections will briefly explore how the qualitative and mixed methods approaches of the research design were undertaken.

3.2.1.1 Qualitative Methods:

The main focus of this research design is qualitative in nature. The majority of research regarding the social, political, and economic effects of intensification and redevelopment have followed a similar methodological approach. The works of Webler (1999), Lees (2008), and Rose (2004) have provided particularly influential methodological frameworks for this research. While specifics vary, many researchers use a combination of content analysis in conjunction with semi-structured interviews with relevant stakeholders to identify major perceptions, sources of conflict, associations, and themes in the community.

3.2.1.2 Mixed Methods:

The mixed methods approach to this research will take the form of a policy analysis (through content analysis) of existing plans from the City of Calgary, including documents such as ARP's, MDP's, local engagement strategies, and land use bylaws to determine major areas of focus discussed previously. The intent of this approach is to determine how and in what ways the City of Calgary's engagement, communication, and participation policies influence community perceptions and acceptance of urban redevelopment and gentrification.

3.3 Research Question and Objectives:

This research seeks to answer the following question: How do different actors view and understand public engagement in their communities, and how is public participation being applied in communities that are experiencing significant redevelopment forces. In doing so, this research will explore the weaknesses of current approaches and seek to better understand how public engagement can be better designed and applied to redeveloping communities.

First, an understanding of the existing policy and organizational structures of the city and community provides background information about current activities and relationships that exist between stakeholders, identifying limitations that may exist with each group. Second, interviews with stakeholders both in the public and private sphere were conducted to help understand their views of the issues and their relationships with other groups. Lastly, an analysis that incorporates interviews, local context data, and the place of this community and its experiences in the larger planning literature was conducted.

To answer these questions this study incorporated a mixture of semi-structured interviews and content analysis of policy documents to determine what dynamics already exist within the community and what effects current municipal policy might be having in shaping these forces.

3.4 Research Methodology:

As the research design involved the use of two different methodologies to answer the central research question, each sought to collect certain types of information that, when combined together, provided a fuller picture of how the city and community are responding to intensification and the role of public engagement in this process.

3.4.1 Interview Methodology:

3.4.1.1 Overview:

The most significant area of data collection within this research consisted of semi-structured interviews with select stakeholders involved in the community e.g. the community associations planning committee, planners who had been involved in creating the major policy documents currently shaping the community, and others recommended through snowball sampling. The purpose of this method was to gain qualitative, in depth understandings of the

issues and dynamics that respondents feel are present in the community, and to determine the major causative factors that might be influencing them. In addition to understanding current development pressures, these interviews provided and enhanced understanding of how public engagement is understood by stakeholder groups, and its effects on the acceptance/resistance of the community to additional development. This information, after collected and coded, served as the basis for subsequent parts of the research that seeks to understand the role of public engagement in communities undergoing major redevelopment.

3.4.1.2 Sampling Method:

There are two main groups of individuals that this research sought to interview, residents in the community, and planners with the City of Calgary involved in creating the policy documents promoting intensified land use, or those who were otherwise involved in the engagement process. There are two main methods used for the identification of possible interview candidates: purposive and snowball sampling methods.

Purposive sampling identifies individuals that represent a cross section of the case study population based on the type of relevant experience they have in the planning issues facing the community. This sampling strategy should provide an accurate cross section of these groups and allow for triangulation of which themes identified in the literature are present (and their extent) in the case study community, as the effects of local context will mean certain themes may or may not manifest. The number of participants used in the interview process reflected:

- 1) The total number of individuals accessible to the researcher, either in the community or with the city, as well as their willingness to participate in the research;
- 2) The number of other possible participants identified through snowball sampling as having relevant and otherwise untapped information from either the community or municipal views; and
- 3) The number of respondents interviewed before saturation of responses occurs.

Since the exact number of respondents could not be easily determined at the start of the research, the sampling methodology remained flexible to account for new or otherwise unavailable sources of information. Theoretical saturation proved to be particularly important, as

the point at which no new insights could be obtained served as the cut-off point for additional interviews with each group (Bowen, 2008).

3.4.1.3 Interview Structure:

The interviews themselves followed a semi-structured format as a means to engage interviewees on a conversational level while still allowing the exploration of key themes through the provided questions (Creswell, 2014). The questions were developed based on the preliminary content analysis conducted, and on the responses and insights provided from visioning interviews. The objective was to ground these questions in the local context of the study area. The interviews each took between an hour to an hour and a half depending on the level of detail given by respondents and the directions the less structured questions took. Hand-written notes were taken to complement digital recording of the conversations for later coding, transcription, and analysis (see Section 3.5).

This process was undertaken to allow for the collection of more nuanced personal responses by individuals, as well as general information on the interviews as a whole provided by the recordings (Creswell, 2014). While it was anticipated that the majority of these interviews would be in person and conducted at a location within the community, more flexible environments such as Skype were also offered to accommodate interviewees as needed. The outcomes of these interviews, following analysis, was used in association with the previous results of the content analysis, literature review, and local context data to identify the major themes present in the community as well as possible sources of these themes.

3.4.2 Content Analysis Methodology:

Since this research explores how public engagement is used in communities facing redevelopment and intensification pressures, it is important to analyze existing policies and programs that could affect the case study community. To do this, all relevant planning or policy documents (e.g. reports, area redevelopment plans, economic and demographic projections, bylaws, zoning, etc.) were collected and analyzed in order to identify, based on the previous themes and impressions arising from the survey and interview responses, the effects that the City of Calgary's intensification and public engagement policies creates regarding the issues the community feels it is experiencing.

3.5 Data Analysis:

3.5.1 Interview Analysis:

Transcription was undertaken in a timely manner following the interview and incorporated a mixture of both the hand written interview notes, as well as the recorded content of the conversation. The purpose of the hand written notes was to allow for the recording of non-aural cues present during the interview such as body language, expressions, and tone, which may not otherwise be evident in transcription but may be important in the coding process (Poland, 1995). With regards to the transcription process itself, the verbatim approach proposed by Mergenthaler and Stinson (1992) was chosen as it allows the communication of tone, pacing, and pauses in the transcription that may be lost in a more edited process.

The process of coding involved both open coding, whereby data is examined for recurring words and phrases to determine major themes present, followed by axial coding; where the results of the previous coding process were examined to determine linkages, themes, and importantly, possible causes that existed between participants (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

3.5.2 Content Analysis:

The content of various relevant policy, government, or development documents was coded by using open and axial methods to determine the major themes that were present in these documents as well as linkages to the results identified in the survey and interview process. The objective was to determine whether and to what extent these policies are related to, or even causative of, some of the issues the community faces with regards to intensification and development, as well as the role of their public engagement strategies in exacerbating or mitigating these concerns. While various electronic means of conducting content analysis were considered, familiarity on the part of the researcher with open and axial coding was the predominant influence for its choice over digital means.

3.5.3 Statistical Analysis Limitations:

Given the fine scale of individual communities this research sought to study, the single largest limitation was finding consistent longitudinal data for a small enough geographical area to be applicable for Hillhurst-Sunnyside. As a result of this fine scale, a number of normally useful sources such as Statistics Canada census were impractical for comparison purposes,

necessitating the use of the City of Calgary Civic Census as a primary source of neighbourhood specific information. While this information does allow for some cross community comparisons, it was also more limiting in the types, consistency, and timing of certain data sets, with certain information only available every 5 years opposed to annually. Changes in methodology at the federal level has also resulted in difficulty in conducting longitudinal comparisons for some data sets, necessitate their exclusion from or more limited inclusion in this analysis. Lastly, due to concerns about an individual's right to privacy, some more detailed sets of information such as home values, rental rates, and affordability were not available due to the small spatial scale of the study area.

3.6 Ethics & Validity:

3.6.1 Interview Ethics:

To ensure this research met ethical standards, any respondents who had indicated a willingness to be interviewed or had been referred to as a potential interviewee were contacted to explain the purpose of the research, clarify the type of information that is being sought from them, and confirm their participation before selecting a time and place they are most comfortable with conducting the interview itself (Longhurst, 2010). The purpose of this is to establish safe and comfortable spaces as a means of establishing a more free-flowing and honest dialogue between participant and researcher, resulting in more reliable information (Creswell, 2014).

Before each interview was conducted participants were informed that they could refuse to answer any of the interview questions, or end the interview at any point in time should they wish as outlined in the University of Waterloos ethics protocol. While a number of participants had difficulty articulating some of their more complex responses, over the course of conducting the interviews there were never any issues relating to the content of the questions.

The interviews themselves were recorded electronically in addition to hand notes taken by the interviewer, with the audio portions saved and secured in password protected locations identified only by the date, time, and participant code. To ensure anonymity on the part of participants, each individual was assigned a code or number that was stored securely and separately from the other data using the source labeling method described by McLennen et al. (2003). The transcription of the audio portions and written portions of the interviews was

completed in a timely manner following the interview, with the results returned to the participant for confirmation that the information was accurate for coding and analysis. All data collected during the interview was securely stored.

3.6.2 Internal Validity:

Internal validity concerns the ability of the researcher to connect and create inferences from the data collected from the population being studied (Creswell, 2014). Problems can arise from inconsistency in the application of research techniques among members of the population, or from sampling bias that occurs during the research process. While both of these factors are a concern for the validity of this research, steps were taken, including stringent cross comparisons of responses for points to emphasise areas of commonality, to ensure the impact on results was as minimal as possible.

In an effort to maintain internal validity, a standardized list of core questions was created for both expert and public audiences to create common areas of response amongst participants. In addition to these questions, several group specific questions were also created based on the anticipated knowledge of each with the intent of exploring more group specific issues in higher detail. To ensure consistency in the interpretation of these questions, transcription and coding methods were the same across all interviews.

3.6.3 External Validity:

Creswell (2014) identifies external validity as the ability for the results of the study to become generalized beyond the specific instance of the case study area. However, the multi-faceted causes and experiences of redevelopment may mean that no two cities or communities are likely to experience these forces in the same way. Given that the effects of local context mean that full generalizability of results may not be possible, while themes have their basis in the literature, their manifestation will vary. As such, while generalizability of research outcomes may not apply perfectly to other contexts, this researches foundation in the current literature ensures its outcomes have a strong foundation in current understandings of engagement and public participation.

CHAPTER 4: LOCAL CONTEXT

4.1 Community Background:

4.1.1 Overview:

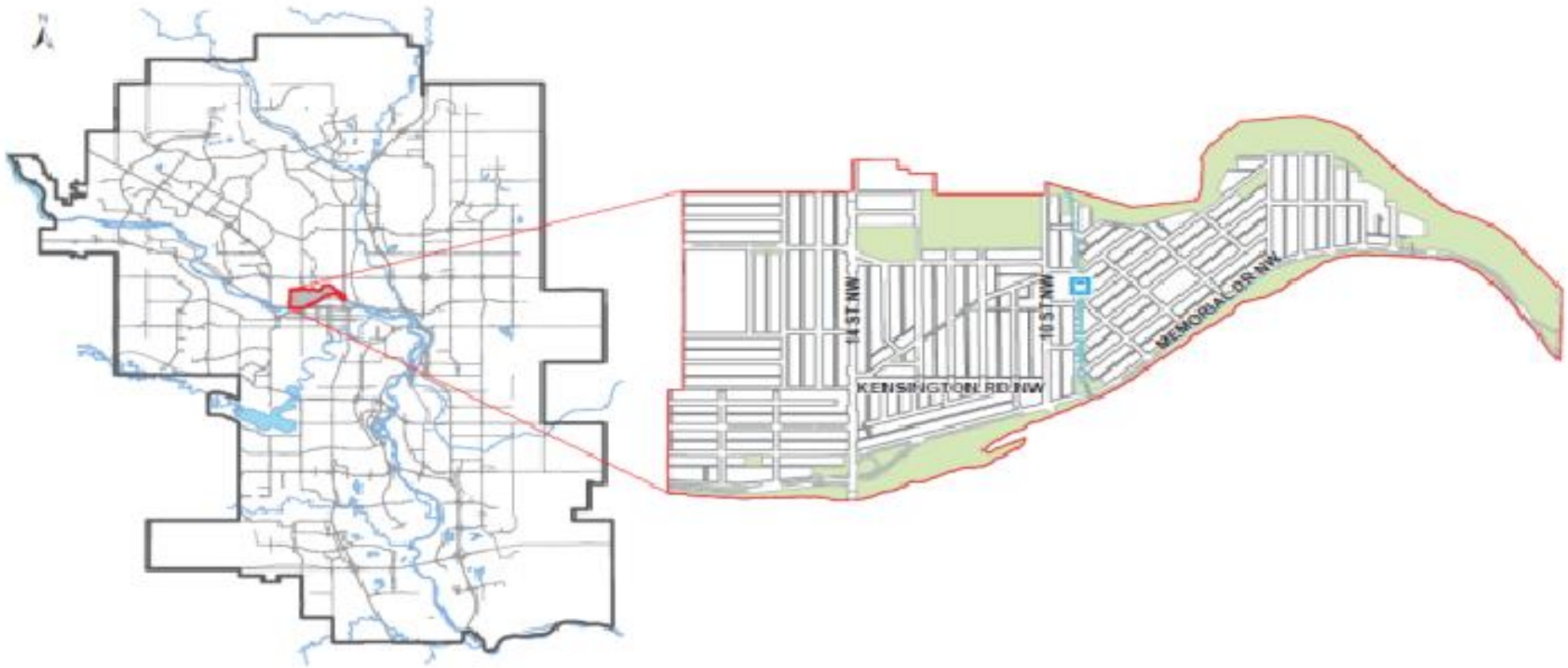
Hillhurst-Sunnyside is an amalgamation of two communities (Hillhurst and Sunnyside) in Calgary, Alberta. The communities are located on the north side of the Bow River across from the downtown core, situated between two major north-south traffic corridors, and contains Sunnyside Station, the first stop on the NW light rail corridor (see Figure 3). As of the most recent (2014) municipal census, the community has a population of 10,345 (6,497 and 3,848 in Hillhurst and Sunnyside respectively) and features a variety of residential types from single detached housing to large mixed-use mid-rise buildings.

While some sporadic settlement in the area did exist prior to the 1900s, the community was first surveyed into lots in 1906 before being incorporated into the city in 1907, receiving its first paved roads on 10th, 14th, and Kensington Street (later renamed Memorial Drive following WWI), many of which followed the original trails and paths settlers had used. As the community lies in a flood plain, regular flooding remained an issue until river dredging and dam construction was completed in 1953. As development in the community continued, extensive engineering projects to encourage drainage and reduce landside risk from now Crescent Heights was also undertaken and completed in the mid-50s following the destruction of several homes. The community was also home to two of Calgary's streetcar lines which ran along 10th Street NW, a corridor that acted as the centre for community commerce and activity and the majority of its employment (HSPC, 1978).

These main roads (10th, 14th, Kensington Rd, and Memorial Drive) remain the most important as retail and transportation corridors as the community has begun to further intensify, zoned for increasing levels of density throughout its history, and presently the predominant location for new large scale development. In addition to these major roadways, the community is also connected to several pathway systems along the Bow River and Crescent Heights escarpment acting as alternate transportation corridors into the downtown core. This adjacency has been a consistent source of pressure that both the City and community have sought to address in the creation of various ARP and design guideline documents (See Section 4.3). As a result of these pressures, the role, pace, and type of development occurring has been a consistent concern

for the community, characterizing much of its organization and interactions with the City from the 1978 Design Guide to the current 2009 ARP.

The following sections will explore in further depth the demographic characteristics of the community, focusing on current demographics, housing types, affordability, income, and education.



(Figure 3: Hillhurst-Sunnyside Community Boundary, City of Calgary 2009)

4.1.2 Population:

To better understand the dynamics and views in the community, it is important to understand the population that composes it. Hillhurst-Sunnyside deviates from the average in Calgary in several important ways, particularly in terms of its age profile. As seen in Figures 4-6, the population makeup of these two communities trends remarkably younger than the Calgary average.

While all 3 graphs have the 20-24 year old group as the single largest age bracket, both Hillhurst and Sunnyside contain far fewer older residents as a proportion of their total population, as well as proportionally fewer children. This concentration of younger adults is also present in other inner city communities in Calgary and other large cities in North America, while also matching up with the expected age distribution proposed by Ley (1986, 1994) for gentrifying communities.

What is also readily apparent in this age breakdown is the differences between these two adjacent communities. Sunnyside in particular has a much greater spike in its 25-34 age group with relatively few other predominant age groups. When compared with the more evenly distributed population in Hillhurst, we can see that despite their similarity in location and characteristics, two very different populations exist likely linked to the differing housing stocks to be explored further in this chapter.

In addition to the make-up of these populations, the total number of individuals in these communities also shows differences in their history. As seen in Figure 7, the total population in Sunnyside has remained stable for the last 40 years, with only an average of 10-20 units change either positive or negative per year across this time frame. Hillhurst, on the other hand, has seen more significant changes over the same period of time that can be more closely linked to historical events. The low point in the 1984-1988 period coincides with the construction of the northwest leg of Calgary's LRT system, with growth beginning more significantly again following the creation of the 1988 ARP (See Section 4.2.1). The second major period of growth seen in Hillhurst coincides with the adoption of the 2009 ARP and the communities TOD designation which greatly increased the height and density allowances in many areas of the community, the effects of which are now being reflected in a total population increase.

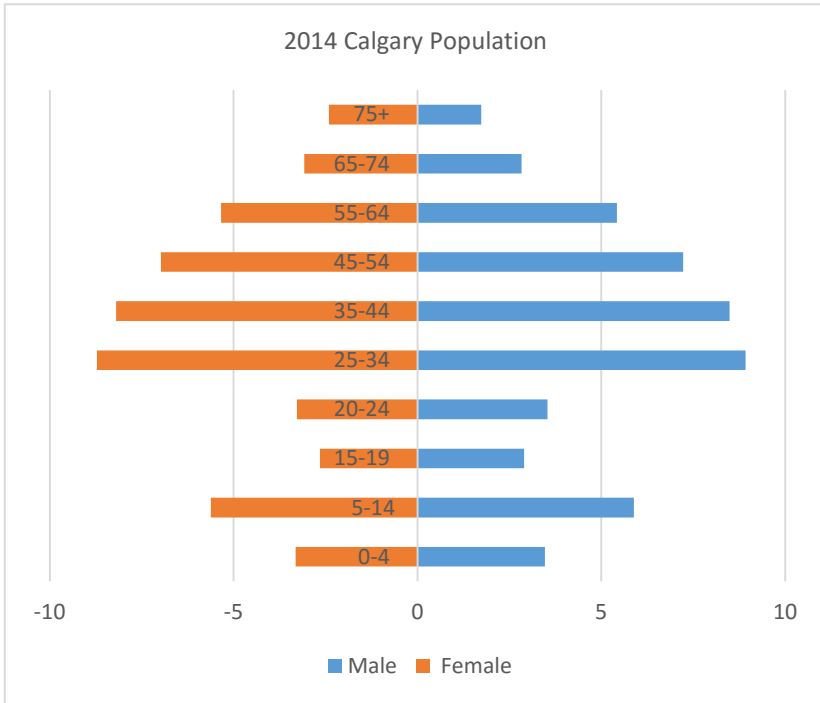


Figure 4. Source: City of Calgary Community Census

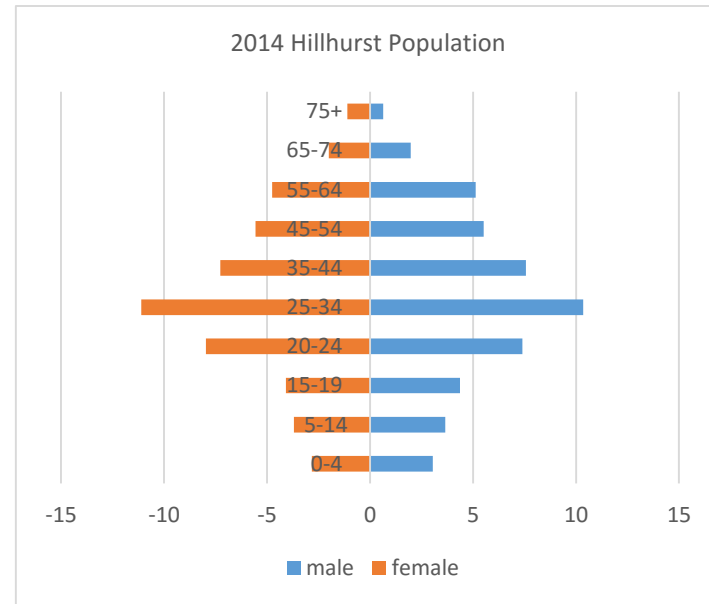


Figure 6. Source: City of Calgary Community Census

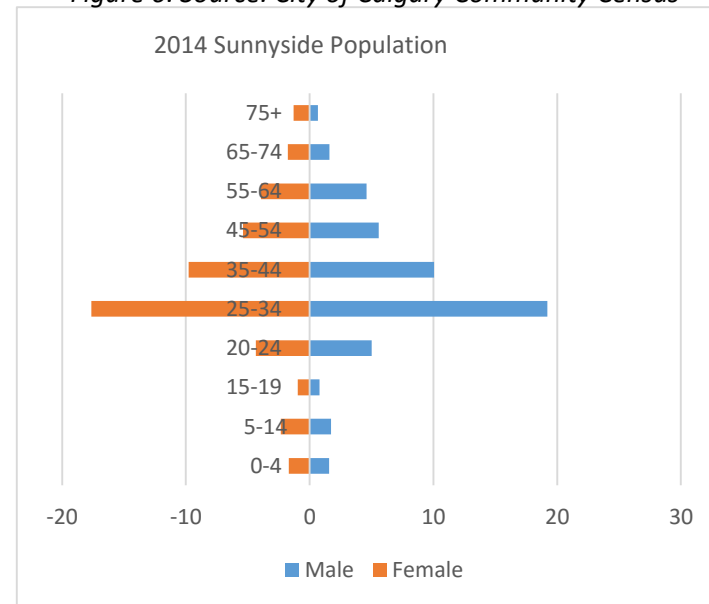


Figure 5. Source: City of Calgary Community Census

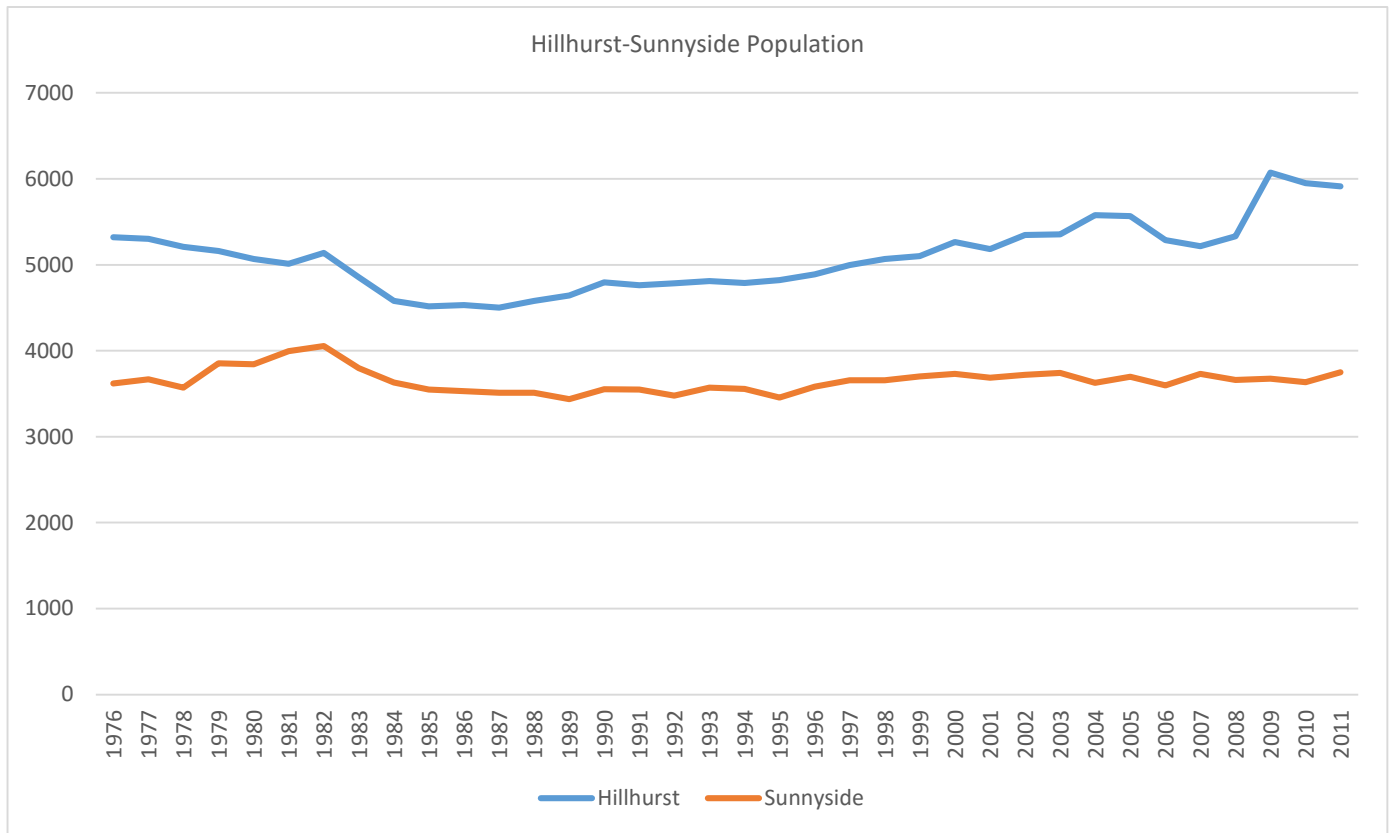


Figure 7. Source: City of Calgary Community Census

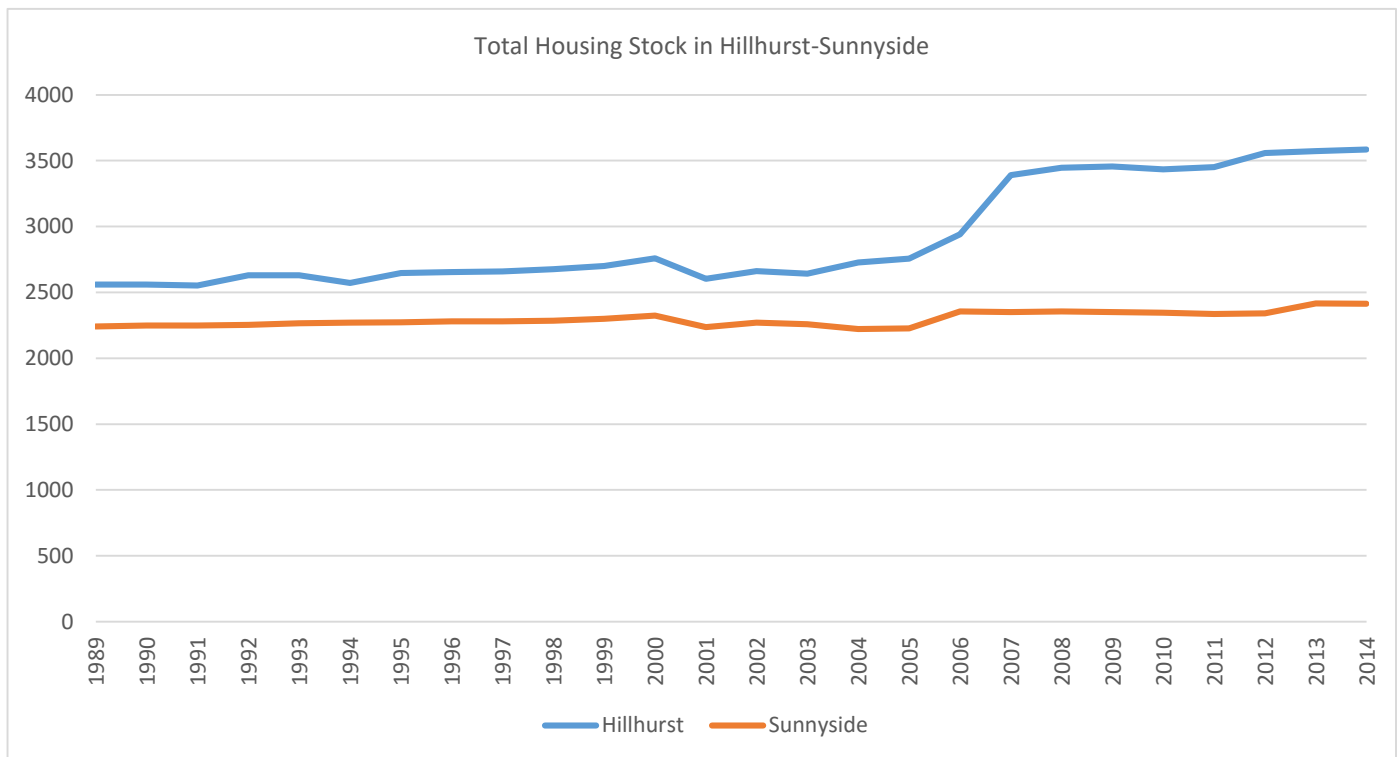


Figure 8. Source: City of Calgary Community Census

4.1.3 Housing:

Figure 8 describes the total available housing stock in both communities since 1989 when data first became consistently available, and shows a similar pattern seen in the population data discussed previously. Again, the differences between the two communities becomes apparent with the total available housing stock in Sunnyside only increasing slightly in 2007 relative to Hillhurst, remaining relatively stable. Hillhurst conversely saw a much greater shift in the total housing stock around the same time as density increases and new projects begin getting discussed at the community level.

The lower total increase in density for Sunnyside appears to be reflected in its smaller change in total housing numbers following the 2009 ARP as the community was not subject to the same level of intensification of land uses included in the areas TOD designation. However, this data can be misleading because it fails to capture a major process occurring in both communities, namely that of infill developments. Typically these infill projects take two different forms, either as subdivisions of single properties into multi-family units, or as consolidation of multiple lots into larger, more expensive single detached units. Both of these modes of infill development represent distinct and significant challenges for the community, but for the purpose of exploring the state of housing stock in these communities, it is important to note that total growth does not mean total density increases. Rather, growth is occurring unevenly across the community, with some of its more residential areas even seeing a loss of total density.

Calgary has a reputation for being a largely suburban city, and this view is reflected in Figure 9, showing the total proportion of housing types in the city with 67% of the total housing stock taking the form of single family homes.

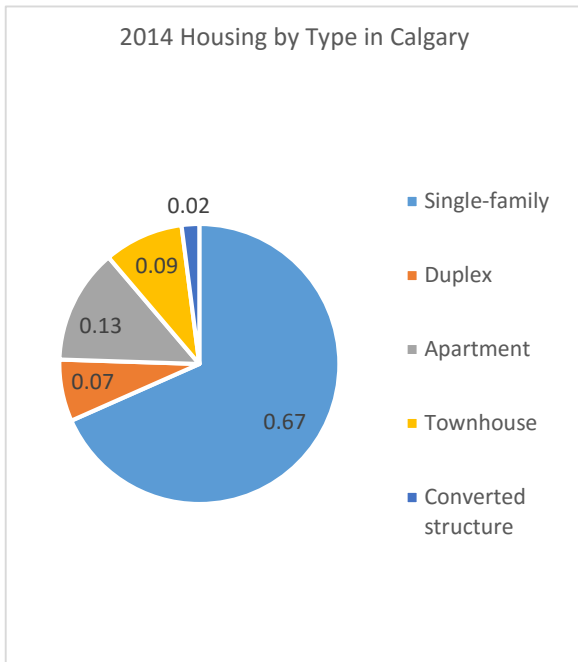


Figure 9. Source: City of Calgary Community

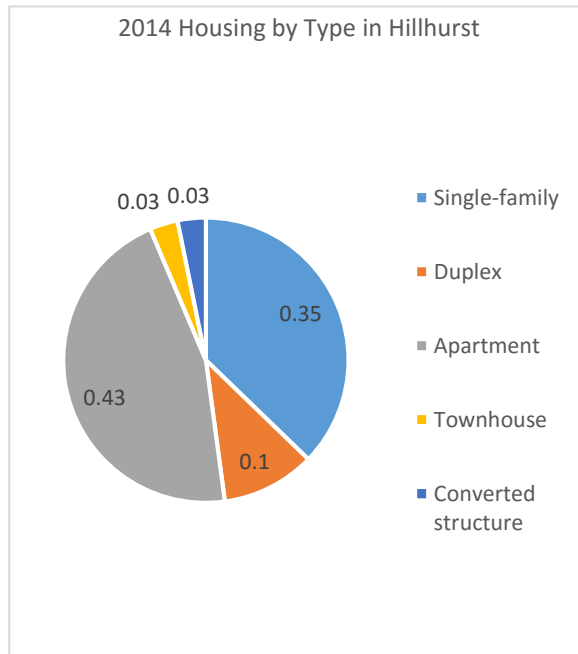


Figure 10. Source: City of Calgary Community Census

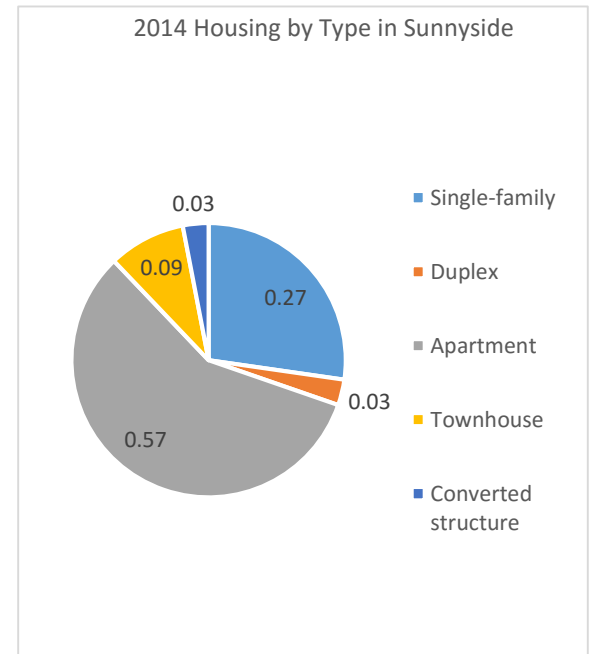


Figure 11. Source: City of Calgary Community Census

As shown in Figures 10 and 11, both Hillhurst and Sunnyside contain a larger proportion of multi-family units (apartments/condominiums, duplexes, and townhouses) with only a minority of total housing units as single family units. Historically both communities have contained a larger proportion of multi-family dwellings since the 1970s, but this proportion has increased steadily over time, likely as a result of increased medium-high density development along the major corridors identified in both the original 1988 and the 2009 ARP. Changes in housing stock as a result of infill re-development can positively or negatively affect this number depending on its form. Overall though we see a mixture of higher density multi-family units with more suburban single-family homes in both communities, all of which are being influenced by land use and zoning changes dictated by the ARP.

4.1.4 Affordability:

Obtaining accurate data on affordability at the community level remains a significant constraint in any analysis of Hillhurst-Sunnyside due to lack of community scale data in either census reports or market data. However, some information from the City of Calgary civic census is available regarding rental and housing costs in the area. While the 1990-2014 average for home ownership in Calgary hovers at around 69%, both Hillhurst and Sunnyside have a much smaller proportion of homeowners at 39% and 30% respectively. This higher proportion of renters becomes especially important when considering the vision and direction of the community, as according to residents interviewed there are concerns that despite being a larger proportion of the population, renters feel they have little say in the development of the community.

Similar to information on rates of homeownership in the community, consistent longitudinal data on actual home cost and affordability at the community level is scarce. Recent versions of the City of Calgary municipal census include the proportion of households spending more than 30% of their income on housing costs (considered in the census the level at which housing costs are unaffordable). As of the 2014 civic census, 27% of those living in Hillhurst, and 34% of those in Sunnyside were classified as living in unaffordable housing compared with the Calgary average of 25%.

While the numbers for Hillhurst did not differ significantly from the city average, Sunnyside contains a much larger percentage of the population facing affordability issues. When

looking specifically at renters only in Sunnyside, this proportion rises to 37%. While additional information would be useful for a more thorough analysis, this data suggests that amongst renters, who already represent a greater proportion of the community's population, affordable housing remains an issue.

4.1.5 Income and Education:

As was discussed in Chapter 2, the levels of economic capital in a community, as well as the education levels of its residents, are often related to the types of views and values they hold on issues such as public space, development type and intensity, and social services. As such, when looking at inner city communities like Hillhurst-Sunnyside that experience challenges in a number of these areas, understanding these demographic factors becomes especially important.

While precise data on the income breakdowns in these communities is not readily available due to gaps in census data and differences in methodology between what does exist, three basic data points from the community profiles conducted every 5 years does allow for a basic comparison of household incomes in Hillhurst-Sunnyside to be conducted. The proportion of individuals in the top income bracket has remained consistently higher in Hillhurst compared with Sunnyside, likely a reflection of the greater proportion of single detached houses to rental units compared to Sunnyside. As a whole, both communities have median incomes comparable to the rest of Calgary.

Longitudinal data on education at the community level remains a limitation of this research again due to limited data and differences in methodology, however more recent versions of the City of Calgary civic census do contain some information on education levels for Hillhurst and Sunnyside. As seen in Figure 12, both communities have significantly higher levels of individuals with some form of post-secondary education, and much smaller proportion of residents holding no certificates at all when compared with the rest of Calgary. As a key area of exploration for this research is the education and knowledge that residents possess, particularly in planning process and context, their ability to learn and navigate complex topics will become particularly important. As figure 12 suggests, the population in the community is highly educated compared to the Calgary average.

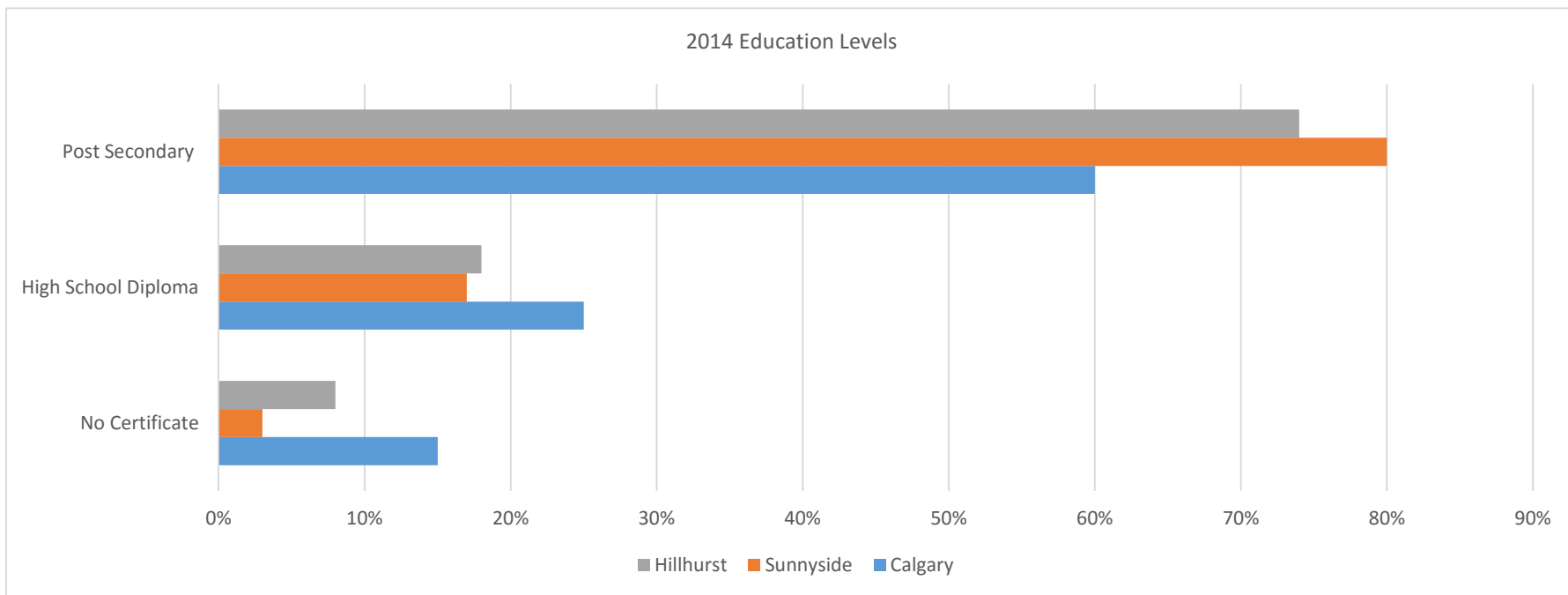


Figure 12. Source: City of Calgary Community Census

4.2 Community Organization:

4.2.1 Early Development and Community Activity:

While a community association in the area can be traced back to the 1940s, it had been primarily focused on sport league organization until 1973 when, upon being given NIP (Neighbourhood Improvement Program) status, the community association was reorganized to respond to development the improvement plan sought to stimulate. The NIP was a federal-provincial-municipal cost-shared program that subsidized public realm and infrastructure upgrades in various Canadian cities and with it, bringing pressures for more intensified development (HSCA, 1978). Prior to these initiatives and development pressures, the Hillhurst-Sunnyside Community Association (HSCA) was primarily concerned with social and sports programming but, following the changes these early development initiatives brought, the community became much more conscious of the potential changes development was bringing. Even from this early date, the new community association organized and fought against what it called “drastic redevelopment” initiatives such as the NW LRT line (of which Sunnyside station is apart) that they felt would cut the community in half (HSCA, 1978; City of Calgary, 1978).

This concern about changing demographics has been a consistent source of concern for the community dating from the early 1970s all the way to present, and appears to be based on two main factors. First, the natural lifecycle of the neighbourhoods saw a shift away from families in the community towards elderly residents or young single person households. Second, with this shift in demographics redevelopment began favoring single bedroom units and apartments that were generally seen as unsuitable for attracting families back to the area. This concern about the loss of families and the change in housing and amenities that follows has remained an area of consistent emphasis in the 1978 Hillhurst-Sunnyside Design Brief, the 1988 and 2009 Area Redevelopment Plan (ARP), and even in historic information dating before the 1970s such as the 1978 “Hillhurst-Sunnyside Remembers” which documented resident views dating back to the early 1900s (HSCA, 1978). Importantly, these are the same kinds of concerns that are being repeated, although slightly altered, about the wave of development the community is currently feeling.

This conflict between existing community structure and the housing pressures that has arisen from proximity to the downtown core has characterized many of the discussions about the community, with current concerns emphasizing the pace and scale of redevelopment.

4.2.2 The Hillhurst-Sunnyside Planning Committee:

While the HSCA undertakes a number of activities in the community from event planning to activities programming, it also contains the Hillhurst-Sunnyside Planning Committee (HSPC), a sub-committee answering to the HSCA board of directors (HSCA, 2016). The mandate of this committee is to evaluate and respond to development projects in the community, varying from city infrastructure projects (streetscape and public realm improvements), infill applications, and large scale multi-family developments. In addition to responses to development, the HSPC has also functioned as a contact point in the community for city planners and developers when requiring insight into community desires, although the formality and representativeness of the HSPC in the planning process for the City of Calgary differs strongly depending on whom is asked. There exists no formal authority given to community associations for planning decisions at either a provincial or municipal level. Despite the unequal organization of community associations across the city, more established community associations like Hillhurst-Sunnyside still often serve as a starting point of contact for both the city and developers.

While the HSPC has existed in the community since the 1970s, its mandate and resource levels have changed considerably over its lifespan. Previous to the 2009 ARP, the community had a part time planner on staff to coordinate the communities' response to development, but with that person's departure this workload was assigned to a small number of volunteers with limited planning knowledge and availability to respond to increasing workloads. As a result of increased frustration from the community the previous planning committee was recreated as the HSPC and a full time planner was hired to co-ordinate responses to proposed development. In 2015 the HSPC has a dynamic and fluctuating structure which consists of anywhere from 5-10 full committee members with changing numbers of partial members. The requirements for full membership consist of being a resident of the community, attendance to three previous meetings, active participation in the communities online planning forum, and a level of planning education completed through programs with the Federation of Calgary Communities (FCC), a body that

seeks to educate and empower community associations in Calgary to understand and participate in the planning process (Federation of Calgary Communities, 2016).

The need for, and shortage of educated volunteers on the HSPC is particularly important and noted as a concern. The committee meets at least once per month for an overview of activities, with a number of smaller sub-committees focused on specific developments meeting as needed to respond to or meet with other stakeholders, whether other community bodies, developers, or the city itself. The intent of this committee structure is to allow for interested community members to get involved with projects of particular interest to them and contribute their views and education towards improving their community. While this structure has been somewhat successful, high rates of volunteer burn-out, and maintaining volunteer interest in broader community issues outside of specific projects was commonly cited during the course of interviews with residents.

4.2.3 The Multi-Stakeholder Task Force (MSTF):

The Multi-Stakeholder Task Force (MSTF) is a recent document created as part of a consultation process initiated by the HSPC comprising stakeholders from local residents, local businesses, developers, and City of Calgary planning staff coming together to in 2013 to address the significant workloads the pace of development was placing on the HSPC. The MSTF's stated mission is to answer the question of *"How can we, the MSTF, successfully achieve a great community, through a community engagement and stakeholder feedback process that is inclusive, efficient, and influences good decision making?"* (HSPC, 2014). The MSTF's initial consultation meetings identified five main leverage points that were felt to hold the greatest potential to meaningfully address the concerns of stakeholders early in the development process:

- 1) Working with the ARP as a living document
- 2) Backing up the front end of the engagement process
- 3) Telling the story of the vision of Hillhurst-Sunnyside
- 4) Providing multiple ways to provide feedback
- 5) Engage in research and inquiry to find promising practices

With these 5 elements as a starting point, and through regular meetings between stakeholders, regular and ongoing conversations about development were held in the community.

In a reflective document “*Lessons Learned from Rapid Cycle Prototyping*” (HSCA, 2015) presented in February 2014, the following outcomes of the MSTF process were identified:

- 1) Hosting of regular conversations about planning and development activity in the community, allowing more cumulative effects of development to be understood rather than on a piecemeal basis.
- 2) Documents and decision making process becomes more well-known and understood by different stakeholders, allowing for shared understandings of how decisions are being made.
- 3) Acting as an early warning system where, by having conversations earlier in the development process, differing stakeholder needs and concerns can be addressed and ideally have those concerns reflected in the eventual application.
- 4) Collective designing of the conversation as a means to understand as a group the extent of community engagement and use of feedback ahead of time, matching those requirements to the type of development proposed.
- 5) Delivers creative solutions through dialogue in a place where different options can be safely explored and tested.
- 6) Building the commitment and capacity of all stakeholders to continue with this approach moving forward. The intent of which is that even though individual attendees to meetings may change collectively all stakeholders will have increased capacity to work through this approach.

This last element in particular is especially important and reflects many of the themes in the literature on capacity building within stakeholder groups in order for them to be educated and engaged with the broader planning and development process. The monthly general MSTF meetings ended in 2015 with the HSPC feeling that the MSTF had matured enough to be used as a process that could be readily applied as an engagement tool with willing developers as needed in addition to the regular activities of the HSPC.

While not explicitly stated, based off of interviews with residents their understandings of the MSTF was that it provided an opportunity potential developers to work with the community and City to address concerns earlier in the development process rather than face stiffer opposition down the road. Even though many of the principles of public engagement reflected in

the MSTF process are based on IAP2 best practices (HSPC, 2014), the fact that this is a community led initiative with no binding requirements to participate limits its effectiveness on smaller infill projects or, based on feedback gathered from interviews, with developers unwilling to engage beyond the required minimums. In its 2014 report document, the HSPC also identified many of these weaknesses, noting that further progress will need to be made on formalizing this document and make it a meaningful part of the city application process. As the MSTF is still a relatively new part of the communities toolset, it remains unclear how effective it will be in the long term and how it will be incorporated into the community planning process.

4.3 History and Planning Context:

4.3.1 City of Calgary Planning Structure:

The Province of Alberta's Municipal Government Act (MGA) is the overarching legislation that governs the City's planning and development process and ultimately provides the legal framework for all planning decisions in Calgary. This legislation requires the City to produce and keep to date a Municipal Development Plan (MDP) that sets out the general direction to guide the City's planning process and includes information such as city-wide goals, objectives, and policies as well as specific descriptions for the future of the transportation network and the type of development sought which has most recently (2015) encouraged the intensification of existing City lands rather than acquiring new development lands. The purpose of the MDP beyond these general policy directions is in providing context for local community plans and ARPs, which then serve as guides for individual developments in communities like Hillhurst-Sunnyside. Figure 13 below summarizes this general plan hierarchy for Calgary.

Hierarchy of Plans in Calgary

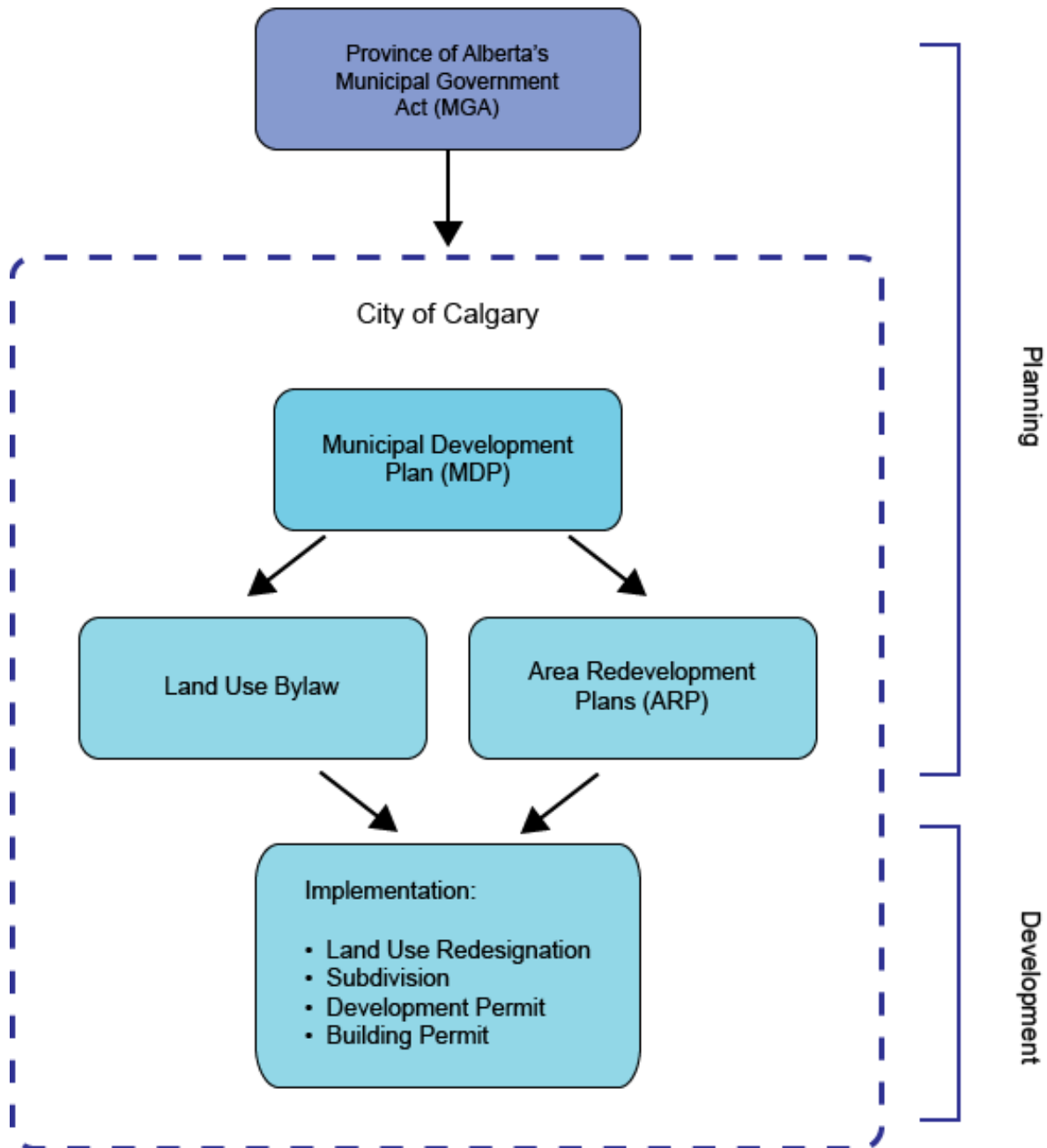


Figure 13. Hierarchy of Plans in Calgary. (Source: HSCA, 2015)

4.3.2 1978 Design Brief:

Prior to the completion of the 2009 and 1988 ARPs, development in the community roughly followed the recommendations of the 1978 Hillhurst-Sunnyside Design Brief, a document created by the City of Calgary describing its recommendations for the future of the community as well as the predominant concerns the community held in areas from transportation, building design, and use of amenity spaces. However, the most significant concern identified in this document is on the changing demographics of the community away from families towards single person households. As it describes, the largest concern in the community has been the need for the establishment of a “positive future based on redevelopment control and maintenance of population mix” (City of Calgary, 1978).

There are two reasons for this position. First, this concern for redevelopment controls appears to have stemmed from the previous deterioration of existing housing stock by prospective developers sitting on, but not maintaining properties in anticipation of denser future uses (City of Calgary, 1978). The second factor reflects concerns about the demographic shift away from families as the predominant demographic profile in favour of single person households and the change in housing pressure they bring (i.e. away from single detached towards denser multi-unit housing/apartments). This concern in particular appears to have been expressed since at least 1973 according to the document, with similar mentions in other community documents going back to the early 1960s (HSPC, 1978), continuing to a lesser extent to the present.

The design recommendations in the 1978 brief are mostly in keeping with the nature development in the community in that period, although the design brief does mention that as an inner city community, there will be a need to intensify at some point. The 1978 Design Brief does set a number of the design standards that would make their way into later ARPs; however, it does not give any clear direction for the future of the community other than “a distinct need to resolve the community’s future before further redevelopment is needed” (City of Calgary, 1978), a rather weak recommendation that does not appear to have been addressed before the 1988 ARP. What is also interesting to note in this document, is that some of the strongest resident concerns of limiting multi-family housing, maintaining amenity spaces, and maintaining height

limitations remain issues in the community, although in more extreme forms than were imagined at that time.

4.3.3 1988 ARP:

Following up on the general themes of the 1978 design brief, 1988 saw the creation of the first official ARP for the communities, created with the input of the community as a response to several unpopular apartment style buildings that were built in the 1960s and 1970s. Beginning in the 1960s, medium density land use designations in large areas of the community, and the expansion of the downtown core resulted in a number of large concrete apartment blocks being developed along the main corridors of 10th and 14th St NW. As the 1988 ARP itself mentions, the community strongly felt was an inappropriate building form in a predominantly single family neighborhood. As a result of this backlash, the 1988 ARP goes to great lengths to identify specific design requirements for all future development in the community (including factors such as set-back requirements, height limitations, frontage design guidelines, rooftops, and streetscapes) speaking not only to the larger developments that the zoning allowed, but also to the form of new single family housing as a means to keep community identity.

The additional changes that the 1988 ARP brought was a downward change in zoning densities in its more residential areas in an effort to keep what development did occur contained within the communities main corridors. Several interesting views come to light in this plan, the most important of which includes the view of the future that the ARP envisions for the community and the city as a whole.

The 1988 ARP provides several projections for future population, dwelling, and retail space that was expected as a result of new development, all of which which reflects a conservative view of the amount of future growth that both Calgary and the community would see. The actual amount of development and growth that the community experienced was much more significant than was anticipated and, in conjunction with a change in direction at the city wide policy level, resulted in the need for an updated plan in 2006. This difference in growth is quite reflective of the tone of the 1988 ARP which did not anticipate significant development and was primarily concerned with ensuring community character was maintained through its design standards and directing development along the major community corridors of 10th, 14th, Kensington Rd, and Memorial Drive (City of Calgary, 1988: Section 2.4.1.2).

4.3.4 2009 ARP:

The 2009 area redevelopment plan takes on a very different tone and focus that is more conscious of the pressures of development the community faces, in addition to a shift in city planning policy to encourage more intensified land use in the Hillhurst-Sunnyside community and Calgary as a whole. These changes to the 2009 ARP take two major forms; an update to the original standards, and the designation of areas of the community as a pilot transit oriented development (TOD) project.

The update was prompted by what is described by the ARP as “imminent development opportunities, presence of large parcels of city owned land that is underdeveloped, and the need to assess the lack of significant development and investment along the 10th street corridor since the LRT became operational” (City of Calgary, 2009). The last point in particular was a long acknowledged issue, with the lack of intensification along the LRT corridor noted even in the 1988 ARP document (City of Calgary, 1988). The primary goals of the updated document were to implement the policies of the municipal development plan (MDP), Inner City Plan, TOD guidelines, and the recommendations resulting from an inner city open space study. Concurrent to the creation of the updated 2009 ARP was the creation and adoption of a modified MDP which stressed the need for increased density across the city, a shift away from more suburban styled developments that had characterized city growth previously.

In addition to these supporting documents, the 2009 ARP sought to encourage “diversified demographic mix for the community” with an emphasis on addressing the significantly higher number of single person households, promote more families in the community, as well as providing a variety of residential unit types that reflected the communities demographic goals. It should be noted that while the direction of these goals are often stated, they are not tied to evaluable metrics, a fact that, along with a general lack of enforcement in the document, has been noted as a source of frustration in the community in addressing new development. As with the 1988 ARP, the 2009 document goes into great detail on design standards required on buildings and is reflective of the visioning process conducted in the community when updating this document.

What is interesting to note, however, and as will be discussed in greater detail in Chapters 5 and 6, is that the perceived role of the 2009 ARP differs between city planners, developers, and

the community. While the document is quite comprehensive, this level of detail may be causing a number of significant issues in its application. The reason for this detail was due in part to a significant process of public engagement undertaken by the city in the community during the creation of the document. While the public engagement in its creation is credited as being an effective method to generate community cohesion, attachment by the community to the specificity in the 2009 ARP, and confusion on its flexibility as a policy document has proven to be a point of contention as different stakeholders hold different view on the importance of the ARP and its flexibility.

4.3.5 Planning Document Summary:

Table 10 provides a summary of the various areas of emphasis and related policies contained within the various ARPs and design documents that have shaped the community's development over the last 40 years. In it can be seen several consistent themes that have persisted over this time frame, as well as some that have seen significant change. An interesting fact to note is that the stated goals of all three (Bylaw 4P2009) reference the need to address the demographic gap in families in the community although none of them specifically cite actual demographics. While the emphasis on the demographic mix appears strongly in the 1978 Design Guide and 1988 ARP (City of Calgary, 1988 pg. 4, 1978 pg. 14), this emphasis appears to be diminished in the 2009 ARP with an acknowledgement that the 20-44 demographic was still large, but that the City was now content to monitor rather than address (Section 7.2.1) this imbalance. The tendency, especially in the 1988 and 2009 documents, to “address”, “encourage”, or “preserve” different elements without citing supporting information or providing actual goals is a significant weakness of the ARPs that makes evaluating their success or effectiveness difficult.

The second major area of emphasis in these documents concerns the concentration of development along major corridors previously bound by specific roadways (Section reference 1978, 1988) or by the TOD Area Boundary (Bylaw 4P2009) in the 2009 ARP in an effort to preserve low density residential areas. Furthering the idea of preserving low density residential areas, the 1988 and 2009 ARP's (with 2009 being a direct copy of the 1988 section) includes general guidelines for single detached units design (Section 2.4.1.1: City of Calgary, 2009) although again, the language is to “encourage” rather than outright mandate.

Table 10.	Policy Area:					
Document:	Goals	Community character/design	Transportation	Land use and development	Social Considerations	Other Notes:
1978 Design Guide	Address the need to establish controls to maintain population mix and impact of traffic ¹⁰	Introduction of height and density ceilings on commercial and residential development to prevent “downtown-type development” in community ¹¹	Shifting commuter traffic to high capacity roads such as Crowchild and 14 th St. while blocking off through traffic to residential roads ¹²	Downzoning of community to prevent large apartment style developments while providing new zoning to encourage housing for families ¹³	Proposes social and development policies to preserve mix of families and single individual households ¹³	Notes the distinct need to resolve the community’s future before further development is permitted, future versions do not address this fact ⁸
1988 ARP	Enact policies of conservation, infill, and revitalization of community to address City’s long term growth ^{4 15}	Design controls on housing and new development to maintain character, discourage large apartment style blocks ¹⁶	Encourage integration of new Sunnyside LRT station into surrounding community following backlash to its construction. ¹⁷	Downward zoning of single family residential areas to contain development along main roads, does not anticipate significant growth in the community ¹⁸	Encourage housing options that are attractive to families and address needs of low income and single parent households ¹⁸	First inclusion of design guidelines for single detached homes to conserve existing neighborhood community and character ^{4 15}
2009 ARP	Encourage diversified demographic mix with an emphasis on increasing number of families ^{1 9}	Preserve and enhance low density residential character of community while identifying where compatible infill development can be accommodated ⁴	Encourage increased density in TOD zones of 10 th , 14 th , and Kensington Rd proportional to surrounding developments, strongly encouraging developments remain under 5.0 FAR ^{2 3}	Identifies 3 types of residential land use in community (single, low density walk-ups, medium density towers) encouraging development of remaining medium density space ^{5 6}	Acknowledge large 20-44 demographic and monitor its changes. Modify public spaces to address needs of this group ^{7 8}	Very similar in detail to the 1988 ARP regarding residential design standards but with an up-zoning of TOD compatible areas
Policy Areas:	1: Bylaw 4P2009 2: 2009, 3.2.1 3: 2009, 3.4.3 4: 2009, 2.3.1 5: 2009, 2.3.2 6: Bylaw 10P2012 7: 2009, 7.2.1 8: 2009, 4.2 9: 2009, 1.3 10: 1978, pg. 13 11: 1978, pg. 30 12: 1978, pg. 46-87 13: 1978, pg. 16 14: 1978, pg. 8 15: 1988, 2.4 16: 1988, 2.4.1.1 17: 1988, 6.3.2 18: 1988, 2.4.1					

4.4 Recent Developments:

While the current wave of development spans over a number of years, the most recently data from 2014 gives an indication of the types and intensity of development project occurring in the community annually, and the workloads of the HSPC and its members. A summary of these data is presented in Table 11.

2014 Development Applications in Hillhurst-Sunnyside.			
Major Projects	Type	Number	Notes
	Development Permits	5	300 additional condo units, 25 of which are assisted living.
	Land Use Amendments	3	Increases in ARP allowance from 5 to 7 FAR.
Single and Multi-Family Residential	Type	Number	Notes:
	Single and Semi-Detached Contextual Developments	31	All 31 were approved by the City of Calgary, 4 of which were subsequently appealed.
	Multi-Family	7	Smaller developments of ~5 units, 2 of which were appealed and re-submitted as contextual developments, bypassing the appeal process.

Table 11. Summary of 2014 Development Applications in Hillhurst-Sunnyside

4.5 Community Summary:

Part of what makes Hillhurst-Sunnyside so interesting and complicated in a planning and development context is the sheer length of time it has been organized, the pace of new development, and its unique position within the city of Calgary. What has perhaps been most interesting about these current challenges is the similarity of concerns to those made in the 1980s and even the 1960s. Given the community's location and role as an established residential community adjacent to downtown Calgary, housing market pressures generated by professionals wishing to locate close to work, as well as the development pressures that follow these trends have been a constant source of pressure for at least 50 years. What has changed more recently appears to be the pace and size of development which is outstripping the ability of the community association and the planning groups contained within it to respond effectively if at all.

While not the only community in Calgary to be experiencing a recent increase in development, Hillhurst-Sunnyside is one of the very few communities that has a long history of planning experience to draw upon and an established planning organization with the capacity to respond on a more equal power footing to the City and developers. There is an informal acknowledgement that the HSPC, through its unique history and capacity, is a more significant stakeholder in the planning and development process than would be the case in other, less sophisticated community associations.

CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction:

This research sought to explore how the research literature about public engagement and urban redevelopment compares or contrasts with the realities of the case study community of Hillhurst-Sunnyside. Findings have focused primarily on the processes through which engagement is understood and applied (from both the municipal and public perspectives) as well as the types of outcomes that current strategies are producing.

Throughout the course of this research, in addition to an analysis of local policy documents, interviews were conducted with members of the community as well as a number of planners who had worked with the City of Calgary during the creation of the 2009 ARP, whose intensification policies are presently at work in the community. For ease of communication, findings have been organized along the themes that arose from the interviews, although the interconnected nature of our findings mean that there may be overlap between these categories. These findings also seek to incorporate and understand the difficulties facing the community as it responds to intensification pressures. As a broad category, quotes by residents are prefaced with an R, and planners with a P.

5.1.1 Interviews Summary:

Before moving too deeply into the specific themes that arose from the interviews, it is important to understand how the views of each respondent compare with others within their own group and how the responses and themes of each group relate to each other. During the course of data collection it was surprising just how much overlap in understanding there was between each groups, with members often expressing the same concerns and understandings even if they were not aware of each other's views. Table 12 provides a brief summary of some of the various themes each group expressed as well as any differences that existed. While many of the general themes were similar as a whole, the different interpretations between individuals show that common understanding of these topics is still not always present. Based on these interviews, 6 general themes were identified based on interview feedback using the academic literature as a framing device to determine where areas of commonality with the literature exist, where it didn't, and where the impact of local context was most apparent.

Table 12: Interview Themes

Interview	City Administration	Community Administration	Trust, Cynicism, and Burnout	Communication	Education	Resources
R1	Feels responses and flexibility on city's use of ARP is inconsistent and non-transparent	Pace of development more than community can handle, capacity has increased but turnover limits long term ability	Some cynicism, primarily concerned about volunteer burnout	Unclear expectations from city to community, gaps in communication or staff turnover creating additional issues in clarity	Education needs to participate are high and lead to limited individual ability to understand and contribute	Feels attention and support from city is lacking, and burnout amongst planners and volunteers in community limits their ability to respond
R2	Feels current engagement system disempowers communities and is adversarial	While well organized, the HSPC is too busy responding to big developments that it lacks the time to properly address infills	Feels burnout already despite short time participating, feels as if there has been little impact from participation	Notes city has done a poor job explaining its decisions to CA such as bylaw checks, and long term conversation has not been consistent	Notes FCC classes have been a useful tool but still not to the level of planning understanding required to contribute	No specific comments
R3	Understands ARP as a living document, but is cynical of the cities application of it for its own means	Given high turnover in residents, feels greater inclusion of new people to planning process needed	High cynicism about the engagement process and the city's motivations for undertaking it. Feels lack of perceived results has left them disengaged	Feels the city is communicating poorly and inconsistently	Notes the barrier to entry for layperson is high and limits ability for community to participate meaningfully	Understands both city and community have limited capacity compared to pace of development. Feels this is leading to negative planning outcomes
R4	There is a need for more continuous interactions from planners so that individuals can better understand community context	Hiring of fulltime planning staff has significantly increased the organizational capacity of the HSPC	Notes burnout has been a consistent and significant issue for the CA for those who don't feel they have been heard	Feels previous engagement strategies have been ineffective and that the city is still trying different approaches to see what works	The speed and complexity of new developments makes it difficult for committee to have enough time to fully understand and respond to developments	Feels lack of volunteers with the community, and the city no longer being in tune with resident needs is further compounding problems

P1	Notes need for some flexibility in application of ARP, city and community need to balance certainty and flexibility	Very unequal capacity from various CA's makes formal interactions with them difficult, feels CA's want to tackle everything but will need to prioritize	The number of communities in need of area plans has meant there is little will to review existing plans often. Burnout amongst planners both for ARP reviews and on open house engagements	City tried its best to adhere to best practices for public engagement but notes that reorganization of city departments has limited neighborhood level responses	Feels that engagement specific education within the city is lacking or poorly applied to the point outside consultants needed to be brought in for the Hillhurst-Sunnyside ARP	Turnover amongst city staff and lack of resources in face of Calgary's growth has limited the amount of attention they've been able to give to individual projects
P2	Felt city policy was restrictive when it came to working with smaller organizations like the HSPC that limited their ability to understand community needs	Relationship between the city and community turned more hostile following the ARP, and that impression framed many future engagements	Notes the expectations about what kinds of outcomes engagement will produce is not well laid out, and as a result people feel their engagement did not make a difference	Feels that the city has made improvements in its ability to communicate information to residents through new media options but that progress was being made	The differing capacity of communities to engage with planning activities is often very limited which requires significant effort be made on informing rather than truly engaging and seeking feedback	Felt that the lack of overall resources available to the planning department limited their ability to have more continuous communication
P3	Felt the city did a poor job of explaining what it was looking for with its engagements with community, sometimes it was only informing, other times it was feedback, but it wasn't consistent	Notes the city was not aware at first of the sheer number of developments overwhelming the HSPC and leading to burnout	Notes increasing frustration about timelines during initial ARP engagement was burning out staff and leading to confusion in community	Existing communication and informing tools were limiting, sought to use online media as a means to gather more feedback that is slowly being implemented into the planning system	Felt the HSPC was very well educated and engaged compared to other CA's but the type of feedback expected not being well established complicated the task of communities educating themselves in meaningful ways	Aware of resource constraints from all parties, and that their lack is complicating the task of building meaningful relationships between the city and community

While Table 12 is by no means exhaustive of the responses given during interviews, these were some of the more salient elements organized by the most significant themes identified during coding. Other common areas of discussion by residents concerned the changing nature of “community character” and specific spatial concerns such as maintaining street greenery on certain roads, the design of infill housing, or maintaining diversity of retail uses. Planners mentioned their histories with the community and their feelings on the City’s obligations to maintain existing low density “character” in the face of calls for intensification. On the whole, planners and community residents seem to share a common understanding of the issues with the planning and engagement. It is surprising that, despite some communication issues present between the City and community, there was a relatively common understanding of the issues that the other groups face.

While the interview summary in Table 12 does communicate some of the most pertinent themes and the views of respondents, but it is by no means exhaustive of the multiple views and topics of conversation that were raised. With this overview as a basis, each of these theme areas is explored in detail below.

5.2 Process Issues:

This research has highlighted a number of major process related findings in the current engagement policies undertaken in the community of Hillhurst-Sunnyside, concentrating on administrative and resource constraints on both the City and community sides.

5.2.1 City Administration:

The administrative theme reflects its profile in the literature as well as feedback from both residents and planners who identified issues with the way the City of Calgary’s engagement programs are organized and administered. The literature is filled with analysis of how administration can be handled during the engagement process to produce desirable results, with Fontaine’s (2008) 5 fundamentals of public participation laying out approaches to efficient administration of engagement programs, and Welber’s (1999) 6 essential elements of effective consultation serving as excellent scaffolds from which to build efficient and effective participation from.

Looking first at the work of Fontaine (2008), out of the 5 fundamentals he describes; project narrative, local champion, managing project narrative, creating flexible solutions, and creating small connected steps and timeframes, only the establishment of a project narrative can truly be said to have occurred with any significance as part of the visioning process used by the City of Calgary in the creation of the updated 2009 ARP. While this visioning process was regarded in a mostly positive light by both community members and planners interviewed, its usefulness as a narrative for the long term goal of managing and steering intensification in a way broadly acceptable to the city and the community has been seriously called into question. This is highlighted by one of the largest issues facing the study area, namely the applicability and enforceability of the current ARP's details.

While the "creation of the project narrative" was successfully undertaken as part of its visioning process, its management over the long term has presented significant challenges to the city and community as the amount of flexibility it should be given is understood very differently by the City and residents. On one hand, the community wants surety that the vision they've created is respected while on the other, stakeholders like the city and developers are seeking flexibility to promote the broader intensification initiatives.

P1: "Communities and developers both want that [certainty] but it's not always possible....What you really need is enough flexibility and certainty to balance those two things. There's some planners acting only as bylaw checkers simply ticking boxes, but I'm critical of approaches like that. While it speeds up the process, it may not get you the best results. On the other hand, you can't approach every single development individually and with full flexibility."

This sentiment from one of the planners interviewed was common from many of the respondents whom in general held the view that while the ARP was a useful exercise in visioning for the community, the document produced (analogous to the project narrative) was not being utilized as a concrete document from which all future development must strictly adhere. Rather it was understood as a set of ideals and direction for the community at the time of its creation (2009) that becomes less representative as time passes. This emphasis of the ARP as a living and flexible document rather than an enforceable community vision runs counter to many of the sentiments expressed by residents in the community involved in its creation:

R1: *“I feel if a development has merit, you can look at or entertain amendments [to the ARP], others would say that the ARP is rock solid and cannot be changed. For myself there’s principles and higher vision of the ARP which should be adhered to, like streetscapes and community character that should not be flexible.....Sometimes this picking and choosing can be more justified compared to others, but I’m cynical of the way the city picks and chooses what to keep...is it consistent?”*

Overall the responses from residents on the issue of ARP flexibility were varied. Members of the HSPC with longer tenure and more experience with the planning department were somewhat ambivalent as exemplified by R1, still viewing the ARP as having central pillars to be maintained and respected while accepting that on a large number of issues the City was willing to make amendments to meet the needs of larger policies. Residents with less experience or interactions with the City’s Planning, Development, and Assessment Department were more likely to view the ARP as a solid document and were more critical of any changes. These findings suggest that at the community level, the City has failed to fully explain the project narrative. As a result, individuals have different understandings regarding the enforceability of the ARP and the documents intended outcomes. Such lack of clarity goes directly counter to the best practise identified in the literature (Eiser et al., 2007; Fontaine, 2008; Margerum, 2002; Laurian, 2003) stressing the need for common understandings between stakeholders to avoid additional conflict. While it appears that members of the community are beginning to accept (if reluctantly) the City’s view of the ARP, it is clear that common expectations for the document and its uses were not created at the outset of engagement.

There was a perception that if the City had carried out an extensive engagement program to gather this community vision to begin with, then it should respect that vision and projects that run counter to it should not be permitted, whether large scale development or single infill. Infill developments in the community were actually a commonly-held concern by residents because the appeals process from the City was easier to circumvent by property owners or developers. While the total impact on the community and its character per infill is smaller than the major development projects, their numbers combined with the HSPC’s limited resources mean there is little ability to respond to projects they feel are inappropriate. Thus far, the HSPC as a whole has

not commented on most of the single infill developments underway despite their concerns, highlighting a common issue for many communities in Calgary as exemplified by P1:

P1: “Community associations need to choose what they really feel is important and move forward from there. In any community there are bigger fish to fry, those with bigger and longer term projects. Often they want to fighting every inch on smaller ones rather than focusing on the big ones, and end up wasting resources in doing so.”

This issue of resource limitations will be more fully explored later, but what is important to note is the difference in understandings by the two primary stakeholder groups, even on a central element like the ARP, highlights a failure to manage and communicate the long term narrative described by Fontaine (2008) for both the ARP, the broader intensification strategy underway in the community, and the extent to which the public is able to generate change through their engagement. To the City’s credit, the examples given by Fontaine (2008) are primarily projects with shorter time frames, typically under 5 years, noting that long term projects with broader scopes become much more difficult to administer, but it appears that after the adoption of the new ARP, significant management of the project narrative essentially ceased. This lack of emphasis on the long term management narrative, i.e. the long term process of intensification, has been to its detriment as different understandings of this narrative have created additional issues in communication and trust from the community. As care of the narrative by the City ended, it was replaced by community groups with their own vision and understandings, some of which appear to have run contrary to the understandings the City has developed on its own in this period.

The second major area of administration concerns the effectiveness of existing engagement processes based on Webler’s (1999) 6 elements of effective engagement; access to the process, structural characteristics, access to information, adequate analysis, power to influence process and outcomes, and enabling the social conditions for future processes. With regard to these categories, the City’s process fares better with most areas having only small complaints, and with the last two categories in need of significant improvement. Of the other four, each can be seen based on feedback from the community members and planning staff. Of these, access to the process and access to information appear to be the areas of greatest emphasis from the City, with respondent P3 providing the clearest insight:

P3: *“We sent out updated newsletters and started to see an increase in website use for communicating to residents...Mostly for informing people, and mostly focused on the more intense development....Because of the sheer numbers [of developments], open houses were still seen as a valid approach...There was also a need to find other ways to communicate with multi-family units...newsletters weren't really feasible and excluded some people.”*

This sentiment was echoed by the other planners interviewed, showing that on the city's part there was a concerted effort to use a number of different techniques to ensure the maximum number of people in the community were informed of city projects, with many of these techniques being carried on to subsequent engagements. Similarly, on the element of access to information, the city appears to have given consideration to the ways in which information flows:

P3: *“Lots of our feedback was through surveys and through the face to face discussions at open houses. We saw lots of committee groups that were representative of the community...Having only face to face interactions was limiting, we started looking into twitter for feedback from the community as well as other online platforms...The community was very involved, and it served as a good example of how to deliver information and education for involvement compared to newer more suburban areas.”*

This quote highlights two common notions from the planners interviewed, an acknowledgement of a need to gather better feedback from the community by addressing current gaps in their collection programs, as well as the larger point of the unique status of the Hillhurst-Sunnyside community compared with other neighbourhoods in the city. What it also highlights, however, is that the intention of these new media initiatives was to inform and educate the public rather than engaging and generating substantive feedback on projects. A side effect of this lack of emphasis on the two way flow of information has been that understandings amongst residents on the extent to which their participation will produce changes has not been well established, leading to additional burnout by dissatisfied residents who feel their work has had no difference. While the role of burnout in this process will be explored in-depth later, the lack of communicated expectations through the project narrative remains a source of cynicism and burnout. All respondents noted the unique status of the community, namely one with much greater resources at its disposal due to the amount of time and organization that has gone into

groups like the HSPC compared with other, less established and more suburban communities. The previous two quotes suggest there is an issue with the directionality of information, with a much greater emphasis on the delivery of information rather than the collection of feedback.

There is however one major element of Webler's (1999) elements for effective participation in need of much greater attention from the City, namely the enabling of social conditions for future processes to better succeed. While there has been effort to create constructive atmospheres from both the City and from residents, responses from both sides show it has not been without issues:

P3: "They were friendly for the most part, then the plan [The 2009 ARP] was completed and brought forward to Council. Things were quiet until development actually started, the policy planners weren't aware that, even for single family developments, the sheer number was overwhelming the community association and they were burning out."

This more constructive initial relationship contrasts with the views planners felt following the adoption of the ARP, when major developments began their approval process and pressures on the community association increased:

P2: "There was a perception that the community was resistant to change and because of their dissatisfaction they [the community] wanted things shut down entirely...the community didn't feel there was good communication, and the process caused a lot of frustration on both ends."

R1: "...The planners sometimes think that communities are just being NIMBY about development and assuming that communities are all opposed to change...They seem to think that the community is anti-development when in fact it's more about ensuring sensible development. Planners who are more involved with us tend to be more understanding of our position, but we don't often have consistent contacts for the day to day stuff."

In the short period of time from the ARP's creation to new development beginning the City's impression of the community association and their working relationship had become more confrontational, which in turn affected the City's willingness to undertake potentially more emotionally draining open house sessions or other face to face engagement programs. In reality,

the attitude amongst residents was not as hostile as the interviews with planners would suggest, but we can still see how administrative processes at the City have not effectively addressed the need to create conducive working atmospheres for future engagement, and have not managed the project narratives after the ARP was created. Interestingly, this notion of ensuring sensible development, rather than opposition to all development appears to have been the common understanding amongst residents dating back to at least the 1978 design brief, continuing through ARPs to the present time, and is by no means a new phenomenon (City of Calgary, 1978).

While the City does appear to fulfill several of the 6 elements identified by Webler (1999), despite their emphasis on the open flow of information, resource constraints on the City and community remain the most significant issues identified through this research.

5.2.2 Community Administration:

Administrative issues also exist at the community level where the number and scope of development appears to be overwhelming the ability of the community association to organize and respond to local development. Prior to 2011, a planning coordinator was on staff with the HSPC to help organize community responses to development. However, due to being “overwhelmed” (R4) with the workloads on both the coordinator and volunteers, the committee was restructured to its current form and included a full-time planning staff member to take pressure off volunteer members in an effort to reduce burn-out:

R4: “Having her [the full time planner] on staff was the best thing to happen to the committee in a long time, she’s been able to do a lot of the heavy lifting and coordination that was much more difficult when it was just volunteers.”

The hiring of a full time planning staff member for a community organization is not common in Calgary but was seen as a necessity amongst committee members interviewed due to the complexity of the work, the knowledge required to complete it, the constraints of a volunteer organization in coordinating responses to multiple developments, and also in educating the wider public on developments in the area:

R1: “...there’s some newsletters but where on earth do you go? Often for these developments you really need to go out of your way to get updates. They’re [the City]

doing a good job sending out some updates, but people need to know something is even happening before they can act or respond, and this step is a little weaker form the City.”

Early notice on planning and development activities is a complex issue for both the city and the community, connected to the larger issue of communication and expectations. On the community's part, while there is an understanding amongst the committee members that the community association is only one stakeholder in the development process, there also appears to be frustration that the complexity and speed of the development process limits the ability of the wider community to organize in ways other than through the community association.

The planner respondents shared many of these understandings, but the perception of outcomes were quite different with all acknowledging that the community association is an easy source of consultation on projects but is still not a representative voice of the community. This structure has proven quite frustrating for the community association. The HSCA is one of the few groups that is organized enough to make comments, engage, or has the ability to influence the City and developers in a constructive manner. However, the City diminishes this role in favour of more widespread public response that due to education, time, and information constraints has limited ability to materialize. Part of this is understandable on the City's part, as the vast majority of community organizations in Calgary are less well organized on planning issues or representative in comparison, with several planners noting previous negative experiences with what they affectionately referred to as “little fiefdoms” in less active community associations.

The need to be democratic and equal in its handling of issues across the city then appears to favor limiting the relative power of community associations in the decision making process. While this is a rational choice on the part of the City, it also fails to address the unique development pressures that Hillhurst-Sunnyside faces. This lack of emphasis on community associations in the process makes sense in suburban communities where any development after build-out is rare. However, as the City as a whole, and especially inner city communities like Hillhurst-Sunnyside move towards more intensified urban forms, the ability of grass-root feedback or opposition to mobilize and organize in this complex environment may not be realistic nor feasible.

5.2.3 Resources:

While a number of different resource related issues were determined in this research, education in particular requires some additional discussion due to the ambiguity of the term. Education was understood in terms of individual knowledge of planning matters, as well as in terms of organizational education capacity. At the individual level education was understood as either the required knowledge of planning specific matters needed to contribute at the community level or on public engagement specific knowledge for City planners. Additionally, while it was not seen to be a significant issue for Hillhurst-Sunnyside, basic education and technical literacy is a significant theme in the literature and worth consideration in these discussions and their applicability to other communities. At an organizational level education was understood as the cumulative knowledge of stakeholder groups on planning matters and their ability to use this experience in the engagement and planning process (general planning for community residents, and engagement specific knowledge for City staff).

Beginning with the education deficiencies at the City, our findings indicate that the most significant single issue lays in the lack of training amongst City staff specifically regarding how to conduct and formulate public engagement programs:

P1: “There is a big difference between what is projected and the reality of these processes. Engagement was viewed as a small specialty area, and there was a reluctance for the planners to bring in a specialist...Many felt they already had the experience to do it themselves based on their general planning degrees...They think they can handle an engagement program but they really weren’t budgeting it appropriately”

Sentiment on the lack of specific training in public engagement amongst City staff was common amongst the other planners interviewed and closely mirrors the literature (Chipenuik, 1999; King et al., 1998; Roberts, 2004; Tuler et al., 2001) regarding the importance of the planner’s skill and education. While the basic concepts of public engagement are a part of many university planning programs in the United States and Canada, very few offer courses specific to effectively conducting an engagement program. As a result, while many planners understand the basics of how engagement should be conducted, their lack of specific skills often results in less effective participatory programs which produce unsatisfactory results. This lack of engagement education has effects beyond simply failed programs, with the results often running contrary to

Welber's (1999) factor of "enabling the social conditions necessary for future processes." Failed or confrontational public engagement does more than complicate a single project, it has additional effects on both the public and on planners that can include increasing hostility and disengagement from the community to resentment from future planning staff less willing to engage with a hostile audience.

This lack of engagement specific education has already caused issues in the community during the creation of the 2009 ARP, a process which in itself took several years to complete. Based on interviews with respondents, as the engagement process continued, a lack of coordination and communication of the engagement processes primary goals and narrative resulted in increased dissatisfaction amongst both the planners and community. Many felt the process dragged on too long with participant burn-out and staff turn-overs adding additional layers of difficulty in completing the project. Eventually, the City hired a consultant with specific engagement experience to bring the project to completion. While it is impossible to say with certainty that the inclusion of a specifically trained individual in public participation at the outset would have lessened these issues, based on our interviews it would appear that the lack of management of project narrative as set out by Fontaine (2008) resulted in a more complicated and too specific a document than originally intended. This lack of clarity about the documents purpose, and the expectations each group had for it remains a source of conflict.

On the part of the community, education issues are also a significant barrier to more effective participation. Here, the primary deficiency is the significant planned related education required by the public to effectively contribute. The HSCA had a significant advantage in the experience and education of its members in planning related issues, with the completion of free planning education programs by the FCC a requirement for membership on the HSPC. Despite this, respondents from the community identified education deficiencies as a significant limitation:

R1: "...a lot of handholding is needed due to lack of expertise from new members. There is absolutely a need for planning education, but I've found that the FCC courses aren't very helpful for the inner city and focus too much on suburban issues. Their programs lack the same kind of support for inner city communities and their education needs."

As the FCC is a non-profit support organization for community associations in a predominantly suburban city, it is unsurprising that the planning education it offers may be helpful but insufficient for an inner city community like Hillhurst-Sunnyside. Regardless, deficiencies in available public planning education have been compounded due to communication issues from the City that even the planners involved recognized:

R4: “The FCC has helped provide some needed education for people, but a lack of long term consistency [turnover] at the community level and from the city has not helped issues.”

P3: “People try their best, but the city isn’t clearly communicating what it is they want out of communities, did they want general comments on a development or by-law checkers?...The City had an education program around bylaws and communities responded by being more bylaw oriented.”

Highlighting the long-term difficulty that the community association faces with regard to the education of its volunteers, one resident mentioned the following:

R2: “They’ve taken away some power from the community recently by removing the bylaw checks for infill we used to do and are instead only asking for input through questionnaires...I guess the City thought it was not the community associations place to comment on these things and that the City was responsible. We haven’t really had a good answer from the City on why they don’t want that [bylaw check] anymore.”

Contradictions such as these exacerbate the difficulty the community is facing in educating its members in the skills necessary to have meaningful participation in planning activities in their community, and speaks to different understandings of the role and level of involvement expected from community associations in the planning process. As this example shows, after reorienting themselves to respond to bylaws as the city indicated, the effort undertaken by the community was wasted when the City changed emphasis from bylaw. The importance of planning education as a means to get involved in the community’s development is understood by stakeholders, but many note that the issues they face are more than just ones of education:

R1: “...one of the biggest concerns day to day is the huge number of developments and infills proposed, and how we [The HSPC] can manage that. Sheer manpower [sic] may not

solve this problem, it might help in the short term but it's only a Band-Aid, We're limited in how much we can impact outcomes."

The perception amongst members of the community is that educating its members, while an important pre-requisite to more in depth engagement in local development, is still hampered by the rapid pace of development which overtakes for the community's ability to organize responses with its limited resources, and more importantly that the unequal distribution of power between the City, developers, and community meant that what action they did take was perceived to have little effect.

The community is not the only group that appears to be facing resource constraints. Based on responses from the planners interviewed there appears to be consensus that both money and staffing issues have been a limiting factor in the City's ability to communicate and engage with the community on development in both the long and near term.

P3: "...Ideally there would have been storefront stuff. The community only wanted 1 planner to deal with but this doesn't really work well with the City structure...Often there were gaps and delays in information where the community wasn't hearing anything, and we knew that was a problem."

P2: "...from the City's perspective, it was a resource problem causing the communication issue."

P1: "...A big limitation is the amount of work that they [City staff] face. It was a matter of staff and a matter of budget...Often more experienced staff get called in after things have already gone sour, and it's much harder to salvage than going in fresh...There's also the complexity of some of these projects, we often need to spend time and money educating people before you can have meaningful conversations."

Community associations were not the only group trying to respond to large volumes of work. It appears that the pace of growth in Calgary in the last decade has placed City planners under heavy workloads that have limited their ability to spend more time with individual projects, with this lack of resources likely contributing to communication issues. As P1 notes, and this was a common comment from the planners interviewed, the result of these constraints on staff in addition to education gaps on the City's side is that a number of engagement

processes have been mishandled to the point of breakdown. In addition to issues with communication (and its knock-on effects of trust issues and cynicism as identified in the literature (see Bloomfield et al., 2001; Creighton, 1981; Stukas & Dunlap, 2002)) the City has then had to expend extra time and money for consultants to come in and attempt to repair this process, as they ended up doing towards the end of the 2009 ARP creation process. It remains unclear if increased staffing alone would assist with these issues as responses from planners was mixed, but all recognized that there was room for improvement.

5.3 Outcomes:

Findings from this research stretch beyond issues with the current participatory process in the community and also concern a number of effects that the existing structure is having on the community, its volunteers, and future participatory processes as a whole.

5.3.1 Trust and Cynicism in the Participatory Process:

The dynamics of trust and cynicism amongst participants in public engagement are a very common one throughout the academic literature and findings from this research appear to match with many of the findings they describe. On the notion of trust, Yang (2005) describes a “fundamental distrust” between the public and officials operating in both directions. On the public side, while the community is seeking continued conversation with authorities, there were still trust issues regarding City planners, but more so with the broader political process of planning in the city, highlighted by a planning proposal that went through Council in 2015.

It is clear that communication deficiencies and different understandings of issues like the role of community associations and the ARP do not help the broader planning decision-making process. Trust issues, while present and noted, were not considered the defining feature of these relationships for either planners or community members. Instead, community members seemed to understand that City planners operated according to City-wide interests, which, while sometimes in opposition to community interests, was not understood as malicious. However, tension between both community members and planners, even in constructive engagements, remains. Much more common sources of distrust are those between community members and City politicians as exemplified by the Osteria example, where consistent opposition from several Alderman on issues affecting the community remain a source of distrust.

Case Study: 2015 Osteria Development

During the course of data collection, a development application in the community went before City Council for voting. The proposal was on the most prominent retail corner in the community where existing height and density had already been specifically addressed in the ARP. The corner in particular had already been given a higher floor density ratio (FAR) compared to adjacent lots due to its prominence, with the applicant seeking an even larger height (seeking an FAR of 11 compared to its current 7) and density allowance on top of what the ARP had granted. This might have been a relatively uneventful development application had it not been for the politics that surrounded it.

The City's planning department, as part of these council hearings, had given its recommendation to deny the development proposal based on the proposed density being far out of line with the bonuses already given in the ARP. Local community opposition to the development had also resulted in the largest organization and mobilization of community members in recent history to speak against it, primarily due to concerns that without vocal local opposition, the other issues with the application may be overlooked. Even with the City's planning department, the councillor for Hillhurst-Sunnyside, and the HSCA voicing strong opposition for the project, it is required that major development proposals go before the 15 member city council (14 wards including the Mayor) for voting during a council session.

During this session, very serious allegations arose in which the applicants previous history of threats against city staff (which resulted in them being banned from City Hall), potential falsification of the applicants engagement data (an online survey whose authenticity was called into question), previous negative interactions with local resident groups with the applicants current business on the site, and most seriously, allegations of threats against local councillor Druh Farrell (who brought them forward during this meeting) by the applicants associates if she chose to vote against the development, noting the current owner would "Find out if she voted against him". Highlighting the frustration and often helplessness the community felt when attempting to oppose certain development, even with the above issues brought before council, and the recommendation the application be denied by the planning department, the development was only rejected by a single vote.

When planners interviewed were asked (and many had heard about the case) their responses were more diplomatic and highlighted the fact that in democratic systems, elected leaders should ultimately have the final say. Responses from community members interviewed after the fact were less diplomatic in their responses, with their impressions being that even with all of the significant issues associated with the development application, the community felt the politics of ward councillors could not be trusted on their own to make sound planning decisions for the community, necessitating their need to be proactive in their involvement with potential developments. There also was a certain sense of apathy following the proposals rejection, as even with all of their work on a project with such significant issues was only barely successful. (City of Calgary Council Meeting, May 11th, 2015)

While the notion of trust amongst different stakeholders appears to be fluid and situational, the notion of cynicism described by Berman (1997) was a constant theme for respondents from both the City and the community. On the community's part, this cynicism appears to stem from their experiences following the creation of the ARP (2009). As the City has moved forward with its own understanding of the document and with its own broader City initiatives taking priority, the perception amongst volunteers in the community was that regardless of the effort or work they had contributed, their efforts seemed to be making little difference. Amongst volunteers with more tenure, this feeling was magnified as consistently high workloads with little perceived payoff or effect resulted in increasing disengagement from the participatory process and greater dissatisfaction with planning activities in general. This increase in cynicism amongst community members has led directly to another major outcome produced by this process: participant burnout.

5.3.2 Participant Burnout:

In addition to education and experience issues on the part of the community, burnout amongst participants and the wider community remains one of the most significant issues because a lack of long term volunteers limits the resources available to undertake more focused responses to development, or ability to pursue engagement activities more thoroughly when they do appear.

R1: "Higher turn-over forces community volunteers to learn a lot of information to be able to even respond, and a lot of it is inaccessible for the average resident... Often we've had people come on board for a single project burning out towards the end, and often they don't stay on board for issues other than what they were interested in. Keeping people engaged over the long term has been difficult."

Examples such as this were common, where volunteers would burnout or become dissatisfied with their ability to make changes even on small projects, with several of the current members interviewed expressing similar concerns. This phenomenon appears to have played out on a much larger scale during the engagement process for the 2009 ARP. In that experience, participants perceived little impact on the total process and thus became increasingly dissatisfied, eventually requiring the use of an outside consultant to speed up and complete the process. This is not entirely surprising as both Fontaine (2008) and King et al. (1998) note that 2 years is

typically the longest length that any one individual can expect to stay engaged before burnout happens, a shorter timeframe than the visioning process that the 2009 ARP took. This 2 year figure also matches up with the average tenure of new volunteers with the HSPC, where long term engagement in community planning remains difficult. As Fontaine (2008) notes, longer term engagement is entirely possible provided the project is planned and managed correctly by breaking it up into smaller blocks, but it is not apparent that the City has organized the redevelopment in this manner.

On the City's part, burnout is also an issue although it manifests more as planners exhaustion on individual projects:

P1: "Policy planners are far behind in getting everybody up to date, they spend a lot of time and effort creating these things, and there's not much will to go back and re-do all your work to update them even 5 years down the road. After a while the people in approvals don't even look at them [ARP's]. Sometimes this is a fault in the planners, sometimes this is a fault in the work loads. It all leads to a kind of paralysis."

Again we can see that limitations in staffing with the City affect how it interacts with the community. Burnout amongst planners during the creation of these plans has meant that they are not updated as often, and as a result see less use by the City's planning department. In turn we can see that this lack of emphasis on the ARP past a community visioning and engagement exercise leads to additional frustration and burn-out amongst residents who feel their participation was not worthwhile. The long term nature of the redevelopment and intensification process in the community will remain a significant barrier to continued public engagement as long term engagement on this project, while needed, may be in short supply from both the City and community.

5.4 Communication:

Communication, as an overarching theme was also subject to ambiguity in the literature over how it was being applied. To clarify further, communication here was being understood in 3 main ways. First, emphasis in communication as a theme revolved around the actual mediums in which communication was occurring, noting that certain methods such as survey drops or open houses were limiting the information, audience, and ability to generate feedback in ways that

may not have been constructive to the overall process. Secondly, communication was also being understood as the messaging that was occurring, i.e. “what” the content of the messages were, with frequent examples of content that differed, was contradictory, or simply not relevant to the community, with these differences in messaging a significant source of confusion for stakeholders. Lastly, communication was identified as a major theme due to the timelines and influence messaging was occurring on. Commonly cited were issues in large gaps and absences of messaging that left stakeholder groups in the dark, needing to create their own understandings. It was through these understandings of communication as a theme that the following roles of communication in the engagement process were articulated.

While there was acknowledgement amongst most respondents that communication issues were central to many of the difficulties they were currently facing, when asked what possible solutions they might envision all participants responded with some variation of “it’s very complicated...I don’t know”. The impressions from these interviews was that the scale of the process, and the existing communication issues limited the ability of any one stakeholder to offer system-wide solutions. One common theme was the need for consistency in points of contact with the City and community to ease communication, and as a way for those involved to have longer term context and understandings of community planning issues that are overlooked because of the current siloed structure of the City’s planning department:

R4: “I’d like to see a planner more focused on individual communities, there’s a need for someone at the City to really have an understanding of communities issues...The current structure of the City planning department really doesn’t allow for that, so we just get blanket solutions to our problems that don’t really address our community specific problems...Its certainly not helped with our communication issues.”

Based on responses from the planners interviewed, the issue of project tenure was something they were aware of but have limited ability to change, partly due to staff limitations but also due to the larger structure of the City’s planning department. While the siloed structure is weak in dealing with site-specific issues, impressions from planners indicated that this structure was more favorable when dealing with macro-level and city-wide issues that required coordinated departmental responses. Interestingly enough, one possible solution that arose a number of times through the interviews was the concept of a planning “storefront” of sorts in the

community to communicate with stakeholders and allow a better understanding of local issues to make it into plans:

P3: "...Ideally there would have been storefront staff. The Community only wanted 1 planner to deal with but this doesn't really work well with the city structure... Often there were gaps and delays in information where the community wasn't hearing anything, and we knew that was a problem."

Previously, the City of Calgary did in fact operate planning offices like this in various communities, but the initiative was shut down partly due to inter-departmental coordination difficulties that multiple offices presented, as well as what one respondent described as "issues of little planning kingdoms" with local offices operating too independently for city-wide initiatives. While the effectiveness of local planning offices in the wider planning structure is open to debate, the notion of having a single point of contact with the City's planning department for communities was that it would serve as a way to bridge the communication gap.

Unofficially, there have been several common contacts from the community association and the planning department that community members described as having been highly beneficial in their understandings of the City's motivations, and an expansion or formalization of this relationship may represent a useful starting point in improving communication between the two groups.

As noted in previous sections, the method by which the City communicates developments to the community remains a significant barrier to the community's ability to respond to these activities, but it does appear to be one that is improving since the creation of the 2009 ARP:

P2: "...Technology has expanded our ability to conduct public engagement, absolutely. There's an increased ability for city wide users to give their input through wider accessibility...our limitation at the time [2009] was how to access a larger engagement base. Back in 2009 there was a much more limited internet outreach program and for much of the ARP process, the only ways we had were the big signs and drops by Canada Post which had lots of problems with people getting notices or postal code areas not aligning to the community well. On top of that, we needed to educate and inform people about the planning process before we could get usable feedback."

The City's capacity to educate, collect, and utilize feedback through online tools has only grown since the creation of the ARP in 2009, and does appear to be a significant improvement in the City's ability to communicate information to the public as well as, to a limited extent, collect feedback through these online tools. The community association as well has expanded its ability to communicate with and collect feedback from the wider community through its use of online tools like MightyBell and social media, platforms that residents have said have been crucial to their ability to organize, inform, and respond to developments. While these initiatives in expanded communication represent a step in the right direction for both groups, respondents noted that unless you knew where to look, and were engaged enough to actually seek it out, the ability of these platforms to affect wider change outside of those already involved may be limited.

5.5 Connections to Literature:

When considering the themes identified through this research it is important to understand that these are not themes in isolation but rather a continuation of many elements of the literature reviewed in Chapter 2. In particular, we can see that the role of communication in public engagement, capacity of stakeholder groups, and the process/anxieties around gentrification are especially prevalent in the case study community.

Looking first at the overarching issue of communication we can see how several of the larger themes identified in the public engagement literature have proven to be important in understanding the strengths and difficulties experienced by stakeholders. In particular, the works of Tuler et al (2001) and Fontaine (2008) have emphasized the importance of designing public engagement in such a way that clearly communicates the intended outcomes of engagement while at the same time urging continued stewardship of the engagement process for its full lifetime in a consistent way. During discussions with stakeholders, it was gaps in communication and inconsistencies in information and project outcome that was felt as causing significant disagreements and misunderstandings amongst stakeholder groups, which, in turn damaged the ever crucial factor of "Enabling of the social conditions necessary for future processes" (Webler, 1999). The literature explored on public engagement above all else highlights the need to organize if projects are to be successful, a task that was not met in Hillhurst-Sunnyside due to

limitations in capacity and experience of project stewards, compounded by the long timeframes the project was operating under.

Similar to Tritter & McCallum (2006), these findings have also shown the importance of stakeholder capacity in the engagement process, something that had also been identified by community residents and communicated through the MSTF (HSPC, 2015). Specifically, and as emphasized by authors discussing equity (Arnstein, 1969; Fontaine, 2008), there must be an acknowledgement that stakeholder groups or individuals within them are not operating with equal capacity in organization or education, two elements that have proved particularly important in this research. While there was a general consensus amongst all groups that these inequalities were present and should be addressed, options to address these deficiencies (such as through more applicable planning education for residents, or the means through which engagement was communicated) were limited in addressing these issues.

Beyond engagement, the gentrification literature has also matched up well with the changes in built form seen in the community and the anxiety of residents around these changes. While the specific demographic transitions ascribed to gentrification are present in the community to differing extents due to previous waves in the 70s and 80s, the causative factors of redevelopment in the community do match well with larger, conscious pushes to intensify and promote certain types of development by City officials (namely young, single professionals described by Walks & Maaranan (2008), Rose (1996) and others typifying gentrification). As such, much of the push to redevelop areas of Hillhurst-Sunnyside shares similarities with state-led gentrification described by Lees & Ley (2008) and an continuation of larger shifts in the way cities like Calgary are adapting to the post-Fordist economy (Walks, 2001).

When viewed together then, it can be seen that while local context has influenced specific details of how engagement is understood and applied, or how the physical and social outcomes of gentrification are occurring, as a whole this researches findings have matched up well, highlighting successes when applied to best practices, as well as frustrations and deficiencies when absent.

5.6 Reflections and Limitations:

It was felt that the range of respondents in this research was a representative cross-section of the involved stakeholders, but there were some limitations to the research methodology and data that should be understood when considering its findings. Despite methodological efforts to include as wide an array of stakeholders as possible, there were some notable gaps in this discussion that, while discussed by other stakeholders, does pose some limitations to this discussion.

The most significant limitation encountered during the course of research and analysis of findings was the role and views of developers in this process, while nearly all stakeholders interviewed did have some views or experiences with developers in the community, efforts to interview and discuss this research with developers themselves proved to be very difficult. During the course of data collection, requests were sent to several developers with projects at varying stages in Hillhurst-Sunnyside asking if they would be willing to speak about their experiences with redevelopment and engagement in the community. Despite repeated efforts at contact, ultimately none of the developers were available to participate, limiting the ability of this research to explore developers' views.

While this was unfortunate, discussions with other stakeholders was still able to shed some light on developers' interactions with the City and community, and in doing so highlight the variability between them. Conversations with community members showed that the willingness of developers to engage with the community was highly dependent on the personalities of the organizations, with some much more willing to engage than others which, in turn, influenced the relationship between them and specific developments in more positive or negative ways. As a whole, while lack of developer views in this research does limit the amount of insight that can be gained on developer-community interactions, views from community and City officials who did have extensive experience, either as employees or in professional interactions, did allow some insights to be gained.

Beyond developers, the issue of representativeness of community stakeholders to the wider community will always remain a question for consideration. Effort was made to ensure community respondents contained a large a cross section of age, gender, and socio-economic status as was possible, however the more transient nature of many young professionals in the

community does represent a more difficult to incorporate element of this discussion, and one that both the City and community has also had difficulty engaging with. In fact, information in general on the more highly mobile young professionals represents a gap in understanding of community dynamics that has also seen discussion in the literature (Criekingen & Decroly, 2003; Rose 2004), specifically noting the difficulty in collecting data on or engaging with populations who may not be represented well in census information or may not be interacting significantly with communities. Effort was made to ensure a portion of community respondents were from this young and mobile group, but full representativeness remains an issue for both this research and for City/community initiatives.

5.7 Conclusion:

This chapter has explored a number of the most significant findings arising from interviews with local residents and with planners involved with the community. There are significant deficiencies remaining in the way in which the intensification and re-development of the community has been handled. These include resource limitations for both major stakeholder groups, education deficiencies that have manifested in different ways, and the omnipresent issue of communication and different understandings compounding the difficulties and conflict that both groups face.

Despite these issues, both the City and community association are still attempting to engage with and communicate to each other, which does open opportunities for improvement. One such approach brought forward towards the end of our data collection was the Multi Stakeholder Task Force (MSTF), an engagement approach developed by the community based on the IAP2 engagement principles that attempts to open more constructive and equal conversations between the community, the City, any prospective developers, and other relevant stakeholders. The intent of the MSTF is to use round-table dialogue at open meetings to build relationships among stakeholders, provide a forum for early engagement, and make decisions that help address the needs and concerns of various stakeholder groups. The MSTF has been marketed as a way to gain buy-in from the community during the development process and in doing so, face less conflict from the community through addressing their concerns before formal applications have begun. As this is still a very new process, it remains to be seen how effective it

will actually be at addressing some of the issues identified thus far, but its IAP2 (2015) roots provide a promising foundation for the future.

One last major area that has thus far not been well explored in this chapter are the wider implications for these issues on other communities in the City of Calgary facing their own development pressures. While Hillhurst-Sunnyside is not the first community to experience pressures to intensify, it is arguably the best organized and capable given its long term experience with community planning and the work of its staff and volunteers. Therefore, while the experiences and challenges it currently faces may not be unique in the city, its capacity to respond is.

As the pressure to intensify continues, other communities, many of whom have significantly less educational or resource capacity, must contend with the same pressures currently facing Hillhurst-Sunnyside. However, it seems unlikely they will have the same capacity to respond effectively. During the course of data collection, it was apparent that a number of other inner-city communities that experienced intensification pressures were coming to the HSPC asking for advice about how to organize and respond to the pressures they were beginning to experience. Given the difficulties in communication and resources experienced by the two well organized groups we have explored, it seems likely that these same issues are going to repeat themselves in other communities to even greater extents unless significant changes to address these deficiencies are made.

CHAPTER 6: RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Overview:

The purpose of this research was to explore how public engagement and participation techniques and processes are used in communities that are experiencing redevelopment pressures and if current engagement techniques are effective at addressing stakeholder concerns about redevelopment issues. In order to undertake this research, the community of Hillhurst-Sunnyside in Calgary was examined to see how community and city wide objectives were being balanced, how the education and resource capacity of various groups were influencing their ability to engage with other stakeholders, and to determine any opportunities to improve the communication and engagement process for other communities. In this regard this research has determined that the experiences of Hillhurst-Sunnyside reflect many of those described in the literature with some exceptions that reflect different local contexts.

Despite the focus on local scale issues in documents like the 2009 ARP, the balance between local and city wide objectives appears to be quite weighted towards the latter. While this emphasis on city wide objectives does not always come at the expense of community issues, deficiencies in communication have created divergent expectations that are only recently being addressed as the pace of development has increased. Secondly, we have seen that the resource and education capacity of both residents and the City's planning department have deficiencies that are negatively affecting their ability to organize, communicate and engage fully to the standards held as best practice by the IAP2 (2015) and the broader literature (Freeman & Lipsey, 1999; Petts, 2007; Rowe & Frewer, 2004; Tuler & Webler, 2006; Tuler et al., 2001)

In particular education, staffing, and the long term nature of intensification seems to present barriers to fuller participation from the community due to their more limited capacity in comparison to other stakeholder groups like the City or individual developers. The City appeared to lack planning staff with experience in engagement, people who could contribute to the broader intensification effort at work in the community. The concern is that this lack of capacity can produce different understandings and increased frustration from the HSPC or other community groups that are only beginning to be addressed.

Finally, the role of communication between stakeholders has been seen as an overarching theme that compounds the issues of resources, education, and overall organizational capacity. An additional concern is that of intermittent communication rather than the continuous and structured approach called for by theorists such as Fontaine (2008), King et al. (1998), and others. The expansion of planning activities and conversation spaces with the adoption of new technologies appear to have increased the capacity of the City and community to engage on a wider and more comprehensive basis, but consistency in its application and reach of audience remain issues to be overcome. With the primary issues identified previously, there are a number of steps that could be taken to address or at least mitigate many of the negative processes and outcomes currently at play.

Central to this discussion is the willingness of the City to undertake changes that, while ideally improving their relationship with communities and their development, would still require additional funding, staffing, and focus that thus far have been missing. Given the size of the organization and the bureaucracy contained within it, many city-focused recommendations would require more concerted efforts than those directed at the smaller and more flexible community level. This caveat is included for two reasons; 1) the recommendations provided below require long term engagement with a community in its development that thus far has not been seen as a priority by the city, and 2) the differences in relative capacity between different community associations in Calgary, and the different challenges they face mean blanket wide policies may not be effective everywhere and would require greater resources to undertake effectively.

As other inner city communities experience the same pressures, new approaches will be needed to avoid the issues currently playing out in Hillhurst-Sunnyside from occurring elsewhere. The main overarching theme is the need for the City to better engage and understand often unique community-level issues that are currently being addressed with blanket solutions. There will always be a need to balance community concerns with city-wide objectives, and it may very well be that the varying stakeholders involved in each would hold objectives in opposition to each other. Conflict of goals between stakeholders has always been an inherent part of the planning process that is unlikely to change in the near future and is no different in this case study community.

What this research has highlighted more than anything else is the need for communication between stakeholders as a means to address this conflict before it becomes more entrenched and confrontational. The lack of or inadequate communication between the City and community has caused a number of negative outcomes, even years after the fact as each group begins to fill the voids of information with their own different and diverging understandings. While the pace of development in the community has compounded many of these issues in addition to creating new ones, the further they move from their shared understandings the more difficult it will be to reconcile those views in the future. Both of these groups have made progress in the years since the creation of the 2009 ARP, but more progress is needed from the community and with the City of Calgary.

Hillhurst-Sunnyside, with its unique status in the city, and its already significant capacity to meet development pressures have allowed it to be much more proactive in its responses than other inner-city communities in Calgary. Without concerted effort and change this same situation is likely to repeat itself around the city as pressures to intensify begin manifesting in other communities more poorly equipped to address them. With this in mind, the following recommendations can be made to address some of the more salient issues.

6.2 City Administration:

Recommendations for the City of Calgary are based on two deficient areas identified through the literature by Fontaine (2008) and Welber (1999). The first recommendation identified is on better establishing the small interconnected steps to bridge the gap between the community as it currently stands and the end result envisioned in the 2009 ARP. There were concerns from both groups that the balance of certainty and flexibility within the current application of the ARP leaves too much uncertainty regarding how the final densities would be achieved while containing too many restrictions on small design details that complicate the process.

A recommendation to address this would be the creation of a project narrative, ideally using the existing vision in the ARP, which explains how the different phases of intensification would occur. A better explanation of how the community will transition from A to B would help address some of the uncertainty the community feels for its future, and ideally allow for more meaningful engagement with developers by spreading development across more manageable

timeframes rather than the front heavy loading it currently faces. Establishing this long term narrative for intensification and breaking it into smaller, more manageable steps would also assist with the second major recommendation regarding the City's interactions with communities undergoing intensification, and speaks to the notion of constructive atmospheres and ensuring shared understandings. Such an initiative, in addition to helping build bridges in Hillhurst-Sunnyside, would also prove useful for any future engagement programs in other areas of the city, and should be a significant part of the creation and management of engagement plans moving forward.

Deficiencies in communication of expectations of the community association's role in development, as well as differences in understandings of community trajectory that have arisen since the completion of the 2009 ARP have undermined the ability for these two stakeholder groups to engage in constructive discussion. As such, the re-establishment of a project narrative would assist in fostering positive relationships. The building of constructive atmospheres for future engagement is one that will need to move beyond Hillhurst-Sunnyside and will require action on the City's part to build and support increased capacity in other communities undergoing redevelopment if the City wishes to avoid repeating the same mistakes in other communities. The unequal starting point for many communities in terms of current capacity to undertake planning activities similar to the HSCA does represent a significant barrier. However, the ability for community associations to organize and engage with the city on development does represent a good opportunity, when done well, for development to occur more smoothly and with greater local buy-in.

6.3 Community Administration:

The pace of development and the effect of heavy workloads on a predominantly volunteer group are significant challenges for the HSPC. Some of this could be alleviated by the capacity building exercised discussed previously. One potential solution that is currently being explored by the community is the MSTF program which would allow the community and developers to be more proactive in their interactions rather than reacting after the fact. In addition to creating greater community buy-in for developments when they do occur, the process places greater emphasis on open communication and more equal power distribution between stakeholders than the current development process, which can often skirt community concerns entirely.

While its effectiveness will remain to be seen on the long run, the transferability of the MSTF framework to other communities facing development pressures would allow even communities with less organizational capacity to still engage on more equal footing and allow any concerns raised by stakeholders to be addressed earlier in the process while still contributing to more constructive atmospheres for future development if the MSTF proves successful. Increased use and support of frameworks like the MSTF will not solve all issues with the workloads currently facing the HSPC, but still represent a step in the right direction and could prove a useful tool in other communities.

6.4 Municipal Resource Constraints:

Resource constraints at the City of Calgary represents some of the largest but most straightforward issues identified. There is a lack of funding and expertise for the type of planning activities that facilitate public engagement. The lack of experienced public engagement staff with the Planning Department, or at the very least poor use of any resources that are there, has meant that engagement with the community has not been structured in such a way to create constructive atmospheres for future engagement.

A recommendation to relieve this issue then would be the creation of an engagement focused group within the City of Calgary's planning department to oversee the creation, implementation, and administration of community-based public engagement programs. Having staff educated in the specifics of effective public engagement would address many of the existing deficiencies identified through this research, allow for the creation and continuous management of project narrative, as well as better pacing and management of engagement expectations from the public on its eventual outcomes. The inclusion of engagement oriented planners in the planning process might not solve the larger issue of communication on its own, but it would help avoid many of the smaller issues that have arisen from poorly communicated expectations and the flow of information to and from the community. Ideally, this would minimize opportunities for confrontational interactions with stakeholder groups, and reduce the current social and financial costs that bringing in consultants after engagement has broken down represent.

The concept of a pop-up planning engagement office for the community came up several times during the course of data collection although with some mixed responses. Prohibitive costs and accountability issues experienced when the concept of planning storefronts was attempted

previously were mentioned as possible problems with this concept. While these may not be entirely avoidable issues, particularly when it comes to cost, even the creation of semi-regular engagement centres in the community would go a long way to addressing the need to engage and communicate with the wider community more continuously. At present, the method of gathering engagement feedback or even public education of planning initiatives is done primarily through generic, impersonal methods with the occasional open house thrown in. If the City wishes the planning process to be more accessible to the wider public, putting a human face in the community through a temporary pop-up/storefront initiative would be worth exploring.

6.5 Community Resource Constraints:

Education shortfalls and the better utilization of existing volunteers were among the biggest constraints facing the community association in its ability to respond to development pressures, and it is an issue that many other communities are even less well prepared to face. While some education opportunities through organizations like the FCC are available, they do not address the planning education needs of inner city communities. Therefore, the support and tailoring of education programs that address the complexities of development would be ideal in ensuring a lower barrier of entry for both volunteers working with groups like the HSPC, as well as those seeking to participate more in their own communities. As the planners mentioned, much of their outreach involved educating and informing the public before more meaningful engagement could take place, thus support for basic planning literacy in the city could be very helpful.

As the communication of expectations from community associations and the public to the City have become a point of frustration, it will be important that any initiatives are properly oriented to provide useful and relevant education that participants can use in their interactions with the planning process. Such an education initiative would not fully solve the resource constraints facing Hillhurst-Sunnyside as the rapid pace of development has limited the ability for coordinated responses. However, increasing the capacity of community associations and the wider public to respond to development could at least ensure that less hand holding of volunteers would be required, and that other communities would have greater capacity to organize when their own development pressures begin to arise.

6.6 Trust, Cynicism, and Burnout:

Trust and cynicism in the development and engagement process were identified as major issues during the course of the research, and are some of the most nuanced to address. While increases in capacity building for the community association and more coherent communication between the city and various stakeholder groups would likely assist in addressing some of previous trust issues, much of the community's cynicism appears to stem from the political aspect of the planning process as exemplified by their experiences with the Osteria development. As long as residents feel they cannot trust their own or other City councillors to vote on planning matters according to resident wishes or the recommendations of the planning department on what constitutes "good planning", it appears that issues of trust and cynicism with the planning process as a result of political agendas are unlikely to see significant improvement on their own.

Burn-out issues are another major area identified by this research without any clear solutions. Shipley and Utz (2012) as well as Fontaine (2008) both note that continued engagement by participants longer than 2 years becomes increasingly difficult, which when compounded with the lack of impact community members felt they were making, means that long term retention of educated and engaged volunteers is likely to remain a problem moving forward. While improvements in communication between the City and community, as well as improvements in the education available to residents would likely assist in reducing some of the barriers to entry for new participants, its correlation to increased length of tenure is not well established.

6.7 Reflections:

A number of City and community specific recommendations have been explored here so far, but there is one general factor for the field of planning as a whole in need of change, namely the need to fundamentally re-think the way in which we are educating planners. As many residents and staff members, as well as the wider literature have shown, there are major gaps in the education and experience held by planners today. While many of those interviewed did have planning specific educations and backgrounds, a common theme was that none interviewed had received or undertaken engagement specific educations in the course of their careers, or if they had they were in the extreme minority. Indeed, as was exemplified by many of the planners interviewed, a common issue is that many planners who think they have even partial engagement

experience or education are often out of their depth when attempting to apply their knowledge to large scale community initiatives like the ARP.

While many planning programs do address stakeholder engagement as part of the planning process to varying extents, we have seen that specific and comprehensive education on effective and efficient public engagement is limited to a small number of planning programs and then often only as options. As public engagement is more important than ever as a means of gaining local buy-in, especially in major redevelopment projects, we will increasingly require planning practitioners who understand its fine details and proper execution. The specifics of local context may change, but this research in Hillhurst-Sunnyside still highlights the need for well thought out and long term engagement strategies if we wish to avoid the conflict, push-back, and frustration with the planning process stemming from incomplete engagement strategies seen here. If we wish to address these issues, we must place greater emphasis on educating our practitioners in these skills beyond what is currently available and place greater emphasis on its proper execution. Through the literature and this case study, we have seen that public engagement, when conducted ineffectively, can derail even the most well intentioned initiative and make it more difficult for those in the future.

6.8 Areas for Future Exploration:

While this research sought to understand how public engagement and participation is being used in communities experiencing redevelopment pressures, its findings are only one part of exploring the role of engagement in the decision making process. As such, while the themes and outcomes explored here are important, there still exists many other areas ripe for future research.

In particular, the case study of Hillhurst-Sunnyside has shown that community associations, when in organized and with resources at their disposal, can be an important and proactive player in the development of a community beyond opposition or NIMBY activities. While the HSCA has had the benefit of decades of organized planning activities to build on, it was discovered that a large gap in capacity remains between it and other community associations, many of which appear unsure how best to build their own capacity and organize in the face of development pressures. While literature on capacity building in planning related organizations has been explored in this research, their applicability to small scale and less

formalized groups like community associations does not appear to be as well established and may represent an opportunity for further research.

Additionally, as the importance of local context has been significant in this research, further study into the contexts and experiences of communities and organizations in other cities facing redevelopment pressures may be useful to determine the extent to which the experiences described here are comparable to those in other cities.

Lastly, while the role of local political structure was not explored in great depth here, the role of elected officials in changing perceptions of trust and cynicism in the planning process is an important one. As exemplified by the experiences of the HSPC with the Osteria development, even when sound planning is conducted and recommendations for or against development are made, distrust in the politics of Councillors to follow those recommendations does leave a lasting impression upon residents that could be further explored.

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