

THE REDEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING OF
THE INNER HARBOUR AREA
OF VICTORIA, BRITISH COLUMBIA.

ACCEPTED

STUDIES

by

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B.A., University of Victoria, 1982

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS
in the Department
of
Geography

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ABSTRACT

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The history of contentious political debate over the future of the Inner Harbour is examined in an effort to determine the causes of past contention and the extent of current consensus over the future of Victoria's Inner Harbour area. Data were obtained through a review of historical documents, newspaper reports, interviews with participants, and a questionnaire distributed through a local weekly newspaper.

The high level of political controversy that has plagued Inner Harbour redevelopment was found to be due to five factors: the physical location of the area which makes it a centre of attention; use of the Inner Harbour as a political weapon by local politicians; a lack of communication between major political actors; the conservative tendency of the local community; and differences of opinion within the local community as to whether Victoria should be developed as other large urban centres have been.

It was found that the extent of current consensus over the general goals of Inner Harbour development is considerable. This was attributed to frustration with unproductive political debate over the years, a relatively harmonious City Council, and the potential for increased co-operation between levels of government.

Several recommendations emerged regarding physical changes that could be implemented to improve the Inner Harbour in the short-term. More general recommendations were also made regarding the process of planning the Inner Harbour. It was suggested: that the planning of the Inner Harbour should not be carried out on the basis of short-term economic considerations; that the nature of public participation in harbour planning should be better defined; that the City of Victoria should become more aggressive in pursuing implementation of its planning objectives; and that the development of the Inner Harbour should become a priority for action rather than discussion.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank all the people whose co-operation helped me complete this thesis. All three members of my supervisory committee: Dr. J. Douglas Porteous; Dr. Peter Murphy; and Dr. Neil Swainson, deserve thanks- especially Dr. Porteous for his aggressive editing of earlier drafts of the thesis.

All of those who gave their time to be interviewed also deserve my thanks, particularly Peter Pollen and Peter Crisp whose contributions were numerous and important.

Peter Ladner of Monday Magazine readily agreed to cooperate with this project, thereby making its unconventional survey method possible. My good friend Wayne Irving deserves thanks for his work on all the maps and diagrams included here.

I would be remiss if I did not also acknowledge the role of my Apple computer, which contributed near-flawless statistics, word processing, and printing of this thesis.

Finally, I would like to thank my friends who put up with me during the past two and a half years and helped make the experience of writing this thesis an enjoyable one.

To my father, John Webster.

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Growth and change in Canada's urban areas has always involved some degree of conflict. This conflict has ranged from debate over disruptive piglets in the back yard of a home in the 1920's to massive concrete towers proposed for 1980's neighbourhoods. Throughout this contention, the basic issues have been similar: individual versus community rights, economic growth versus aesthetics and community vitality, diversity versus incompatibility, and government intervention versus private initiative. These issues have been central to conflicts over both urban and rural land-use planning as well as in debate over social and economic policy at all levels of government.

Conflict often appears to be most intense when physical change to the urban environment is being debated. Perhaps this is because urban change is so tangible and visible, or maybe because it takes place where we live, work, and spend most of our leisure time.

It has been suggested that conflict in Canadian urban planning has increased in recent decades (Blecher, 1971;

Bregha, 1973, Glass, 1973). For example, Leo (1977) points to the headlines produced since the 1960's by debates such as the Spadina Expressway dispute in Toronto and the Third Crossing proposal in Vancouver. In contrast, descriptions of urban government or planning published in the 1950's or earlier rarely recognized the existence of significant conflict and sectionalism over community planning issues (Brittain, 1951; Crawford, 1954).

News reports and planning literature in the 1980's devote much more attention to conflict over these issues than twenty or thirty years ago. It is unclear however, whether this represents an increase in the number of planning decisions that cause distress in affected communities, results from more animated protest by those who oppose certain planning decisions, or is attributable to increased visibility of a similar number of controversies. Two pieces of evidence support the two latter alternatives. First, the increasing pervasiveness of communications media such as television has amplified conflict, transforming issues that would previously have been resolved quietly into major sources of community discord. Writers such as Allensworth (1975) have argued that the news media gives such conflict more attention than it deserves (1). Secondly, some groups which previously had little interest

and even less influence over community decision-making began to take a more active role during the 1960's (Loebel, 1973; Sewell and Coppock, 1977). This new activism led to conflict when these previously silent and powerless groups began demanding a role in community decision-making (Burke, 1968; Talbot, 1972; O'Riordan, 1977).

These evolutionary changes combined to produce an image of cities filled with contention and disagreement. It is difficult to determine whether conflict is actually increasing or is simply more obvious. Either way, conflict over urban decision making has become an important feature of Canadian city politics (Lorimer, 1972).

1.1.1 Evolving Priorities and Participation in Planning

Prior to the mid-1960's, the primary emphasis of urban planning was on the provision of basic services in the most economically efficient manner possible (Brittain, 1951, 110). During the 1960's and 1970's, however, the focus of urban planning began to change from this concentration on economic growth to concern for environmental and community problems (Gans, 1970; Bruton, 1974). This new emphasis was a result of growing distrust of government and a belief in many cities that real estate developers influenced decision-making to the detriment of the community as a whole (Ficker, 1971; Lorimer, 1972; Walker, 1979).

Conflict over proposals for new development increased

greatly during this period, and was accompanied by optimism among activists who believed their cities were being saved from the greed of land speculators and developers. Much of this optimism can be attributed to the rise of citizen participation in urban decision-making (Davidoff, 1965; Hyman, 1969; Friedman, 1973). During the 1960's, many observers of municipal government came to believe that "planners and politicians no longer have a choice as to whether or not to involve the public in major issues- they only have a choice between whether they will create opportunities for sufficient, early and positive public participation or will suffer the consequences of neglecting the public" (Connor, 1972, 31). Proponents of direct citizen participation in planning were convinced by the end of the 1970's that concern for the urban environment and active citizen participation had both become permanent features of urban decision-making (Fagence, 1977).

Yet during the early 1980's, many assumptions formed during the 1960's and 1970's have been called into question. Steady economic growth can not always be expected, and neither can the expansion of government services. Difficult economic conditions threaten to change the priorities of urban decision-makers. Unemployment and slow growth make arguments in favour of sensitive or small-scale development seem unrealistic in the face of persuasive economic

arguments used to support larger and sometimes less desirable schemes. There is a significant chance that opponents of large scale development in general or any specific proposal in particular, will lose credibility because of this.

1.1.2 The Complexity of Planning Debate

Conflict over planning and development often follows a predictable script: a developer or public agency produces a plan (whether general or specific), whereupon some organized group or groups rise to question the value or suitability of the proposal. The result of this scenario is conflict which often proceeds simultaneously on two stages- one involving a search for institutional support, the other for public support. Institutional support is won by gaining the approval of relevant agencies in both the public and private sectors. These agencies can be regulators, land-owners, sources of funding, or influential allies who can 'put in a good word' to decision-makers on behalf of the competing party.

The struggle for public support almost always takes place through the communications media. This aspect of the conflict is primarily a public relations campaign. Proponents of a plan might offer glossy brochures, public information meetings, displays in public places, and even television commercials- all aimed at gaining the support, or

at least the quiescence, of the community. Detractors of the plan might use similar tools as well as the weapons of political protest that became so well-known during the 1960's, including marches, rallies, meetings, and civil disobedience.

These two disputes are interdependent. The struggle for institutional support affects that for public support by helping determine the image of each party in the eyes of the public. If one party in a dispute gains no institutional support while the other receives much, the views of the former are more likely to be seen as unrealistic or irrelevant. On the other hand, the struggle for public support affects the efforts of both sides to gain institutional approval by influencing the decisions of elected officials and corporate managers, both of which groups have some concern for their public image.

The complex and ill-defined links between the players in a planning debate further confuse this picture of motivations and causations, as do their varying and fluctuating levels of power. Changes in setting, whether physical or institutional, and divergent community priorities are yet two more factors that make rational analysis of planning disputes extremely difficult. This complexity forces us to look at important individual planning controversies in detail if we are to make any sense

of them. This is precisely the goal of this thesis.

1.2 Study Area

This study is concerned with the planning of the Inner Harbour area of the City of Victoria, British Columbia (Figures 1 and 2). The Inner Harbour is located immediately to the west of Victoria's downtown area. For the purposes of this study, the Inner Harbour is defined as the land area located south of the Johnson Street bridge between the harbour and Wharf, the Causeway, and Belleville Streets. Laurel Point is the southern and western boundary of the Inner Harbour.

The opposite side of the harbour to the study area, known as the Songhees area, is not considered in this study. The Songhees area is important to the Inner Harbour because of its physical and visual links to the harbour, and because changes in the Songhees area will strongly affect other harbour lands.

The Songhees area is not included in the study area because it has been planned and administered separately from the Inner Harbour and is generally considered to be distinct from the other side of the harbour. While this distinction may seem artificial, the relative isolation of the Songhees area relative to Victoria's downtown, and its occupation over the last fifty years by industrial land uses makes the

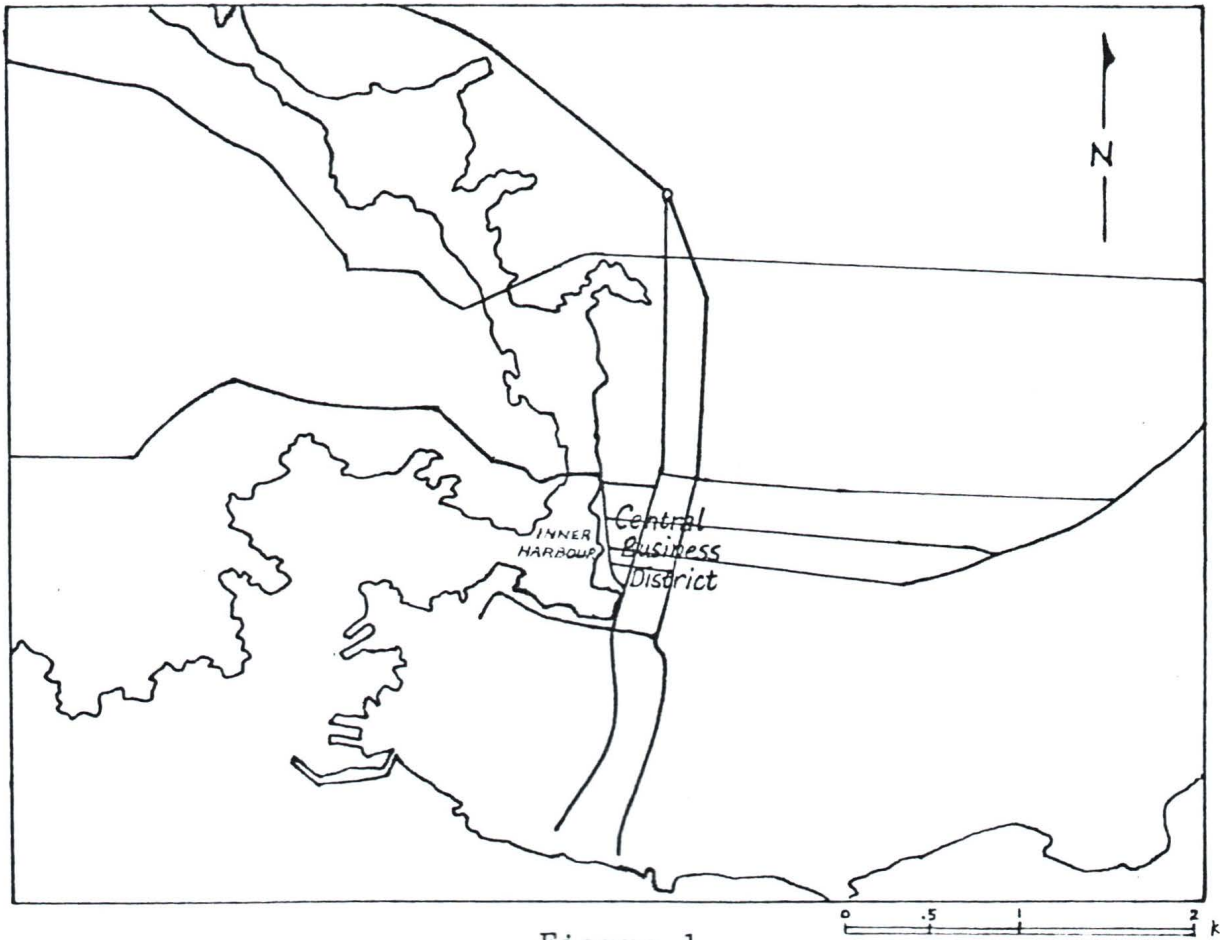
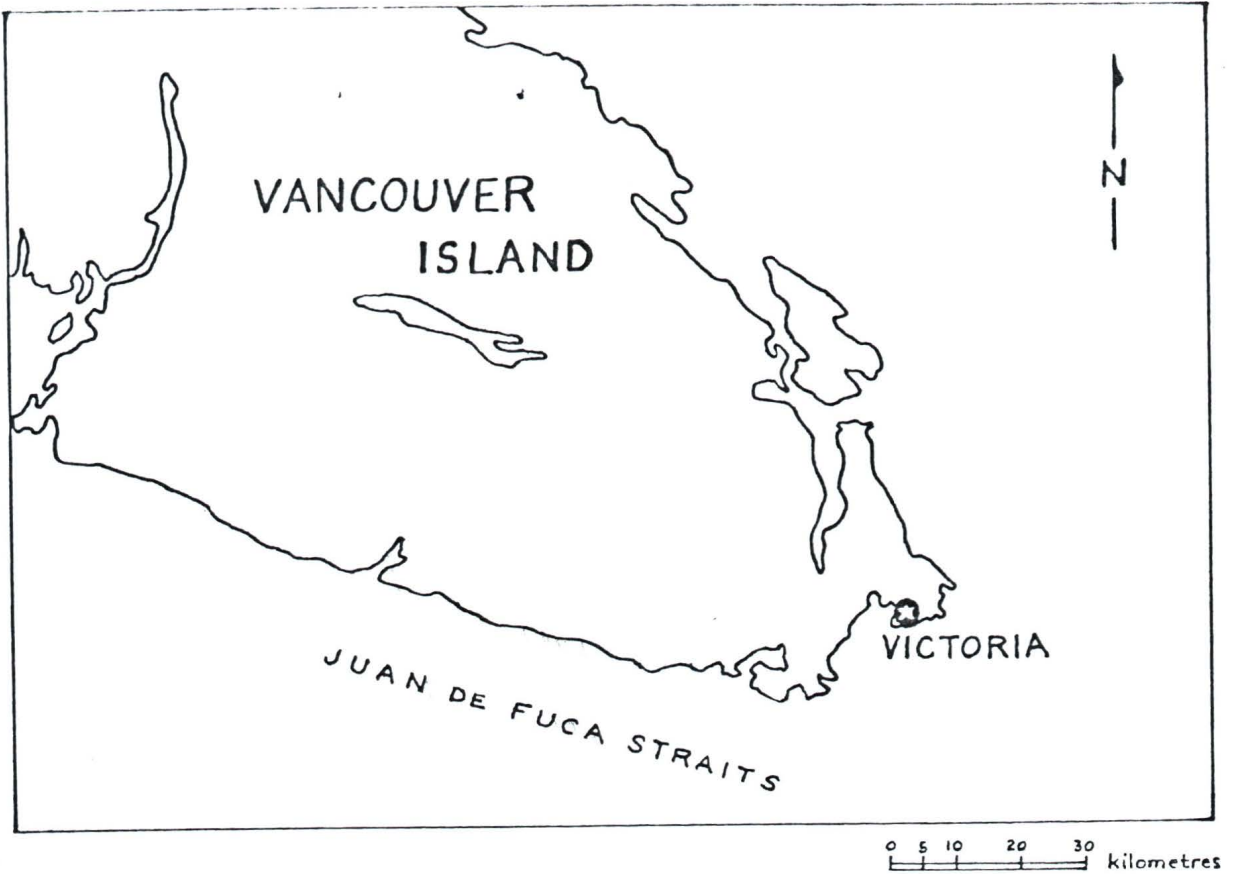


Figure 1
Southern Vancouver Island and Victoria

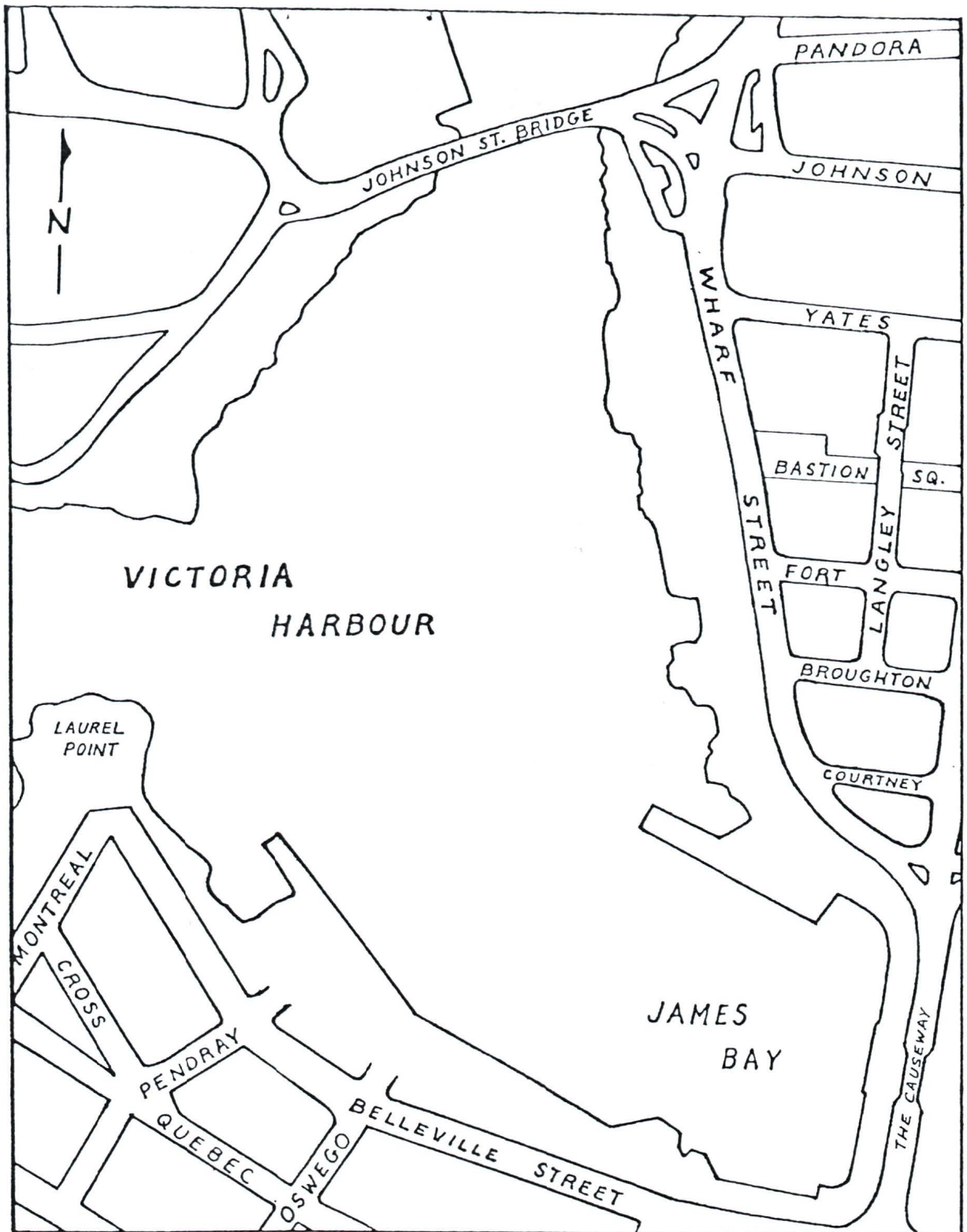


Figure 2
Victoria's Inner Harbour

0 50 100 200 metres

Songhees area quite different from the Inner Harbour.

For these reasons, this study has considered the Songhees area only as a peripheral issue. Brief mention of the area is made in Chapter 5.

1.3 Aims of the Study

Victoria's Inner Harbour provides an excellent example of the difficult planning issues described earlier in this chapter. Four characteristics make the Inner Harbour a particularly useful and relevant case study:

1. Time: Debate and indecision over change have been continuous over a fifteen year period;
2. Complexity: Due to overlapping political jurisdictions, varying economic conditions and changing electoral results, planning of the Inner Harbour has become a relatively complex issue;
3. Location: The strategic location and physical nature of the Inner Harbour render it extremely important to the Capital Region in both economic and aesthetic terms;
4. Uncertainty: For the above reasons and others, the future of the Inner Harbour remains to a large extent unresolved.

These characteristics make the Inner Harbour a fascinating and perplexing example of a major Canadian planning issue. Here is an opportunity to examine, in microcosm, issues such as conflict over planning and urban

change, the future of public participation in planning, and the politics of planning decisions.

Specifically, this study seeks to determine:

1. The nature and sources of conflict and disagreement over change in Victoria's Inner Harbour between 1970 and 1984;
2. The extent of and potential for consensus between various groups and interests over goals for the future of the Inner Harbour.

An understanding of the issues which have led to conflict and disagreement over plans for the Inner Harbour is clearly relevant to an attempt to analyze present and future change in the area. This is especially true of the Inner Harbour, where many issues important fifteen years ago remain unresolved today. Further, by reviewing the actions and motivations of both current and past actors, it is hoped that a better understanding of the conflicts and their possible resolution will be gained.

1.4 Summary

The complex problems of urban planning will be appraised through review of the redevelopment and planning of Victoria's Inner Harbour area.

In Chapter 2, a review of some related research and literature will be presented in order to set this study in

the context of experience elsewhere. Chapter 3 discusses the research methods used in this study, including the limitations imposed on the study by the methodology chosen. Chapter 4 explores in some detail the history of planning controversies on Victoria's Inner Harbour, concentrating primarily on the experience of the past fifteen years. Chapter 5 examines the major actors in harbour planning decisions, including government bodies, private entrepreneurs, and community groups. Chapter 6 looks at the role of the general public in harbour planning, and chapter 7 briefly summarizes the findings and makes recommendations for the future.

Notes

1. Several people interviewed for this study noted the role of the local press in creating or magnifying urban issues. Victoria Mayor Pollen and Alderman Baird spoke particularly harshly about the media.

Chapter 2

RELATED RESEARCH AND LITERATURE

This chapter presents a selection of the published literature in several areas relevant to this study. First, basic contextual issues are discussed in order to provide an understanding of the broad issues touched upon later. This is followed by a review of substantive literature in specific areas of importance to subjects explored in this thesis. Finally, methodological issues are presented in an effort to provide a background to the methods employed in this study (Chapter 3).

2.1 Contextual issues

Urban development and land-use planning present a wide variety of issues to the interested observer. Planning is a tool used by governments to regulate change, so some attention must be given to the nature of government if we hope to understand planning. It is similarly necessary to review broad themes and issues that relate to the practice of urban planning. Hence, this section explores three contextual issues: municipal government; urban planning; and public participation in planning.

2.1.1 Municipal Government

Although all levels of government plan, and all have a role in determining our urban future, it is municipal government which is charged with responsibility for the day-to-day planning of cities.

The nature of public policy implemented by municipal governments and its formation has been a concern of social scientists, especially those who label themselves as "applied" social scientists (Rein, 1976). Prior to the Second World War, and for some years thereafter, social scientists concerned themselves primarily with issues such as the economic efficiency of public policy, descriptions of decision-making processes, and planning theory (Altshuler, 1965; Keyes and Teitcher, 1970; Carter, 1972). The aims of municipal government were not seriously challenged. Brittain described those aims as the "increased utility of civic services and increased facilities for business and industry" (Brittain, 1951, 110). The role of municipal government was extremely pragmatic and limited. Issues such as the cleaning of streets were viewed as relevant to municipalities while broader concerns were usually left to senior levels of government.

In fact, municipal governments in Canada have evolved at the whim of the provinces, developing to their present significance only over the past fifty years (Young, 1969).

The structure of Canadian municipal government has varied widely over time and remains inconsistent from one province to another. During the first half of this century there was more concern over the corruption of civic officials than there was over the poor definition of the role of municipal government (Eaton, 1899; Goodnow, 1910; Beard, 1912).

Some more inquiring social scientists have concentrated on the nature of decision-making in municipal government (Dahl, 1961; Altshuler, 1965). The prevailing image of local government was that it served as a tool for the adoption of the community's will. However, more recent writers such as Davidoff (1965), Lorimer (1972), Allensworth (1975) and many others, have concluded that the political power of the vast majority of individual citizens was not relevant on a day-to-day basis. While analyzing major redevelopment projects in the United States, Dahl (1961) concluded:

In effect, the role of the electorate was not to demand redevelopment, to initiate it, or directly to influence concrete decisions, but at two-year intervals to vote for or against a leader identified with redevelopment and to express what would be interpreted as support for, or disapproval of, the program.

Other critics have been much more harsh than Dahl, challenging the assumption that political power was distributed evenly among voters (Goodman, 1971; Mazziotti,

1974). This claim is fundamental to the elitist, or stratification, model of community power (Mills, 1963; Schneider, 1968; Heywood, 1974). Elitist theory views local politics as a process dominated by a single class within the community (Wood, 1977). This power elite rules in its own interests, while attempting to deal with social conflict between itself and lower classes.

Pluralist theory, which contradicts the elitist model, suggests: that nothing categorical can be assumed about power in any community; that society is composed of many small interest groups; and that power is tied to issues which provoke impermanent coalitions among citizens (Rabinovitz, 1969; Polsby, 1980).

During the 1960's and early 1970's, the social revolution that swept North America had a significant impact on academic research concerning local government and public policy formation. The pluralist model of community decision-making was rejected as unrealistic by many forceful critics such as Goodman (1971) and Lorimer (1972). These authors challenged existing political institutions, arguing that "city hall all too obviously does not put the interests of the citizenry first" (Lorimer, 1972, 192).

Moderate critics of municipal government in the 1960's and 1970's proposed the reform of government institutions in an effort to make them more sensitive to the

needs and priorities of local residents (Burke, 1968; Hatch, 1968; Hyman, 1969; Loebel, 1973). An interesting example of such reform was the massive revision of municipal institutions implemented in Winnipeg, Manitoba in 1971 and 1972. Axworthy (1973) has described these reforms, which he helped formulate, in optimistic terms, while Walker (1979) interpreted the results of such reform more pessimistically.

2.1.2 Urban Planning

One of the primary areas of municipal government with which these activists became involved was urban land-use planning. Municipal planning developed as a reaction to the fact "that the purposeful actions of individuals often produced by-products that harmed the public's interests" (Altshuler, 1965, 340). Planning has since become a prime function of municipalities along with the provision of basic services.

During the first half of this century, planning concerned itself almost solely with technical matters regarding physical planning. In the mid-1960's, Davidoff warned that "the city planning profession's historic concern with the physical environment has warped its ability to see physical structures and land as servants to those who use them" (Davidoff, 1965, 336).

Planners saw themselves as "neutral experts, independent and superior to laymen or even other

professionals" (Judd and Mendelson, 1973, xvii). Politics was viewed as entirely separate from planning, and planning was dominated by an arrogant and paternalistic view of the profession's role in society. Many of the same writers who began criticizing municipal decision-making in the 1960's and 1970's also questioned planning doctrine:

Claims that planners were uniquely rational, that they viewed the whole and not its parts, that they presided over ordered change and often championed the interests of the poor and disaffected, read more like religious statements of faith than like descriptions and prescriptions of actions which could be taken in the present rather than future life. (Judd and Mendelson, 1973).

As Davidoff (1965) noted, "appropriate planning action cannot be prescribed from a position of value neutrality, for prescriptions are based on desired objectives". Planning had become "a sophisticated weapon to maintain the existing control under a mask of rationality, efficiency, and science" (Goodman, 1971, 171).

By the late 1960's, planners, especially younger members of the profession, came to believe that their work could not be value-free, and that claims to the contrary were "a snare and delusion" (Bruton, 1974, 24). In a move described as "inevitable and healthy" (Linowes and Allensworth, 1973, 23), planners and politicians began to accept the fact that planning and planners are inevitably

and deeply involved in politics.

2.1.3 Public Participation in Planning

An awareness of the elitist nature of decision-making in many cities (section 2.1.1) and the political nature of planning (section 2.1.2) resulted, by the 1960's, in pressure for greater participation by the public in planning decisions. In addition:

The failure of governments to provide for the common man has led to frustrations. The little guy feels that politicians have broken faith with him, that his interests have been overlooked or forgotten, and that existing governments cannot be relied upon for solutions to his problems as he sees them. (Ficker and Graves, 1971, 138)

Since the 1960's, the planning literature has contained much comment about the lack of sensitivity of planners for the interests of the average citizen (Altshuler, 1965; Collier, 1968; Blecher, 1971; Lorimer, 1972; Heywood, 1973; Fagence, 1977). Some authors have interpreted this insensitivity as the natural result of increasing complexity of urban decision-making (Bregha, 1973; Friedman, 1973; Loebel, 1973), while others attribute it to the undemocratic economic and political system that dominates North America (Goodman, 1971; Mazziotti, 1974).

Reform-oriented professionals tended to favour the first explanation. It was then widely believed that "plans

that are worked out in the community build up a committed constituency to support and bring pressure on public and private officials to insure that the plan is implemented essentially as approved by them" (Hyman, 1969, 112).

Although most planners came to accept citizen participation as an important goal, the specific nature of desirable participation strategies remained unclear. Arnstein (1969) and Burke (1968) each proposed a model of citizen participation which suggested that participation could take place at a number of levels. Arnstein's "ladder of citizen participation" and Burke's "five citizen participation strategies" both recognized that traditional planning actors could either open the process to community members or simply offer manipulative public relations exercises.

A range of participation methods was adopted in different jurisdictions during the 1970's. These included advocacy planning (Davidoff, 1965; Hatch, 1968; Blecher, 1971; Mazziotti, 1974), community planning boards (Collier, 1968; Loebel, 1973), public meetings (Hyman, 1969), and neighbourhood planning offices (Blecher, 1971). The reaction of planners, social scientists, and the public was mixed. Some planners viewed public participation strategies as a barrier to planning efficiency (Keyes and Teitcher, 1970). Most, however, were quite prepared to tolerate this

new planning fad.

The economic prosperity of the 1960's and early 1970's permitted the funding of many public participation experiments in North American cities. Researchers noted the mixed success of these programs, but generally accepted that "these new urban planning process attributes appear to have achieved some success in dealing with the fundamental concern of democratizing urban planning and decision-making processes" (Blecher, 1971, 153).

Despite this optimistic view of public participation in planning, by 1980 three factors had made the future of participation strategies uncertain. First, the economic cost of implementing these procedures was very high. It became obvious that "as public participation programmes become more sophisticated the expense both in money terms and in staff time will increase" (Hampton, 1977, 38). A second problem was the lack of enthusiasm many government planning actors (both professional planners and politicians) had for participation strategies (Fagence, 1977). These two factors alone posed a significant threat to the future of public participation in planning.

A third reality placed participation efforts in an even more precarious position. Initial supporters of participation strategies such as Hatch (1968), Goodman (1971), Mazziotti (1974), and Forester (1982), while

sympathizing with the goals of public participation, have condemned functioning participation programmes because, in their opinion, such programmes failed to address the fact that "structural change and reform within an inherently defective and corrupt system is not possible" (Mazziotti, 1974, 44).

Proponents of public participation had assumed that bringing the voices of previous non-participants into the planning process would make that process more democratic. What had been ignored was that "the demand for participation is ultimately a demand for some sharing of power" (O'Riordan, 1977, 165). While politicians and planners had shown a willingness to implement participation programmes when funding was available, this was not accompanied by any significant redistribution of political power.

Citizen participation in the form of public meetings and planning boards still takes place in 1984, but the above factors have combined to tarnish the lustre of political reform that initially seemed so bright. In 1981, Lorimer reported "there has been relatively little progress in developing new structures of city government that permit participation by citizens in the political process", and added "planners have too easily been reabsorbed by the administrative process and have reverted to the anti-democratic assumptions of technical expertise that rule ordinary citizens out of the decision-making process"

(Lorimer, 1981, 9). In a survey of American planners, Howe and Kaufman found that "on citizen participation, planners were basically favourable but within limits". They concluded that "planners are becoming less liberal" (Howe and Kaufman, 1981, 275).

2.2 Substantive Literature

The general themes examined in section 2.1 provide a background for the more specific subjects discussed in this section. The topics explored here all refer to planning problems: planning the urban waterfront; planning disasters; and the resolution of planning conflict.

2.2.1 Planning the Urban Waterfront

Ports hold a certain fascination for most societies. The port represents the fusion of economic opportunity and trade with the human and natural environment. The port can be the harbinger of opportunity as well as the source of problems and frustration. (Government of Canada, 1978, 2)

While there has not been a great deal of research into the differences between planning urban waterfronts and other parts of the city, there is little doubt that such differences exist. The United States National Research Council recognized this when commenting:

Urban waterfront lands are a special class of national resource. They are unique in their

potential to afford society diversified opportunities for economic development, public enjoyment, and civic identity. Changing technologies affecting air, land, and waterborne transportation and concurrent public concern for environmental quality have interacted powerfully to bring urban waterfronts under consideration by a wide variety of interests. (National Research Council, 1980, 22)

The special problems that make waterfront planning difficult include the demands of waterfront industry (Donaher, 1980), lack of co-operation on the part of major waterfront land-owners (Judd and Mendelson, 1973), complex and overlapping government jurisdictions (Gilliam, 1980; Wagner, 1980), the short-term nature of many municipal political decisions (Judd and Mendelson, 1973), and the "mystique" some harbours have in the minds of the public (Gilliam, 1980).

• Changes in technology and locational advantages have caused many urban waterfronts to decline from important industrial and port areas to blighted areas of economic stagnation. Assuming that port activities have entirely or virtually entirely vacated such an area, the waterfront land is then available for other uses. What these uses should be and how they should be introduced are important questions that have been answered differently in various waterfront cities.

For example, Boston (Donaher, 1980) and Baltimore

(Reich and Carroll, 1980) have experienced massive waterfront redevelopment schemes initiated by government in conjunction with private developers. New York City has seen government redevelopment on a gradual basis (Wagner, 1980), while San Francisco's waterfront experienced "a well-organized grass-roots revolt" where citizens prevented large-scale waterfront redevelopments from taking place (Gilliam, 1980). In short, there has been no consistent pattern of waterfront redevelopment throughout North America.

• The primary reason for much waterfront redevelopment has been a desire to return economic vitality to the core of the city. Proponents of such waterfront redevelopment rarely miss pointing out, however, that "in addition to developing commercial opportunities, accessibility of the waterfront for local citizens plays an important role in strengthening civic self-image and pride" (National Research Council, 1980, 14).

The challenge of planning a harbour area which is still heavily used by port and industrial activities is quite different from that of dealing with a harbour which has been substantially or entirely abandoned by such activities. In Vancouver, for example, the False Creek area was largely vacated by industry long before urban redevelopment began. Such a situation gives planners more

flexibility in terms of deciding what new activities are appropriate for the area.

A 1978 study of Canada's urban waterfronts led the Ministry of State for Urban Affairs to make four specific recommendations:

1. Waterfront redevelopment should be integrated with nearby land developments to provide greater access;
2. Existing structures should be retained and recycled when possible;
3. The scale of development should be kept smaller and more human with the use of such recycled buildings;
4. Water-oriented activities that are compatible with urban uses should be encouraged and retained.
(Government of Canada, 1978, 188)

Despite this kind of attention to the desired nature of waterfront redevelopment, the complexity of such projects makes the potential for unsuccessful (or disastrous) development great.

2.2.2 Planning Disasters

In his book Great Planning Disasters, Peter Hall (1980) defined planning as "processes that result in a physical plan showing the distribution of activities and their related structures", and disasters as "any planning process that is perceived by many people to have gone wrong" (Hall, 1980, 2). Both of these definitions are adequate for

use in this study.

Planning disasters have received increasing attention in recent years. There are numerous examples of important planning matters that have not been dealt with successfully (Lorimer, 1972; Walker, 1979; Kaplan, 1982). Two common types of planning disaster in Canada have been urban renewal projects (Meyerson and Banfield, 1955; Robertson, 1970) and downtown office tower construction (Lorimer, 1972; Walker, 1979).

Collier (1974) examined the tremendous growth of highrise construction in most large Canadian cities in the 1960's and 1970's, and concluded that many cities were not well served by giving in to the demands of large developers. Similarly, the massive urban renewal projects that were implemented throughout North America in the 1950's and 1960's have been called disastrous by researchers such as Kaplan (1982) and Robertson (1970). In his study of major planning disasters in Britain, California, and Australia, Hall (1980) concluded that disasters are heightened, if not caused, by planners' poor forecasting and equally poor assessment of costs and benefits.

The root cause of many planning disasters is, according to Walker, the fact that "the reality of city politics (is) based on irrational personality clashes,

competition amongst interest groups, the power of the development industry, and the fragmentation of civil service groups" (Walker, 1979, 18). These failures are all evident in this case study of Victoria's Inner Harbour.

2.2.3 The Resolution of Planning Conflict

Despite the considerable literature on urban conflict, little has been written about its resolution. Most of the work in this area has been in the fields of labour relations and resource allocation (Deutsch, 1973; Likert and Likert, 1976; Ford Foundation, 1978; Ducsik, 1981). A number of strategies have been proposed for the management or resolution of conflict (Likert and Likert, 1976; Ford Foundation, 1978). Most of these are variants of mediation and arbitration strategies that involve bringing concerned parties together in an effort to bring about compromise over contentious issues. For conflict to be successfully regulated, a number of assumptions must be met. These include:

1. Parties to the conflict must be internally coherent and stable;
2. Each party must recognize the legitimacy of others and be willing to accept the outcome of the process, regardless of its nature;
3. The conflict must not be unprecedented;
4. All sides must be part of the same community;
5. Parties must have at least near-equal power.
(Deutsch, 1973)

Unfortunately, few urban planning disputes occur under circumstances that fulfill these assumptions. Many parties involved in planning debates are not internally coherent or stable groups. Opponents to planning decisions often participate for different reasons, at different times, and at different intensities. Also, planning disputes that occur between private developers or government and relatively poorly organized citizen's groups do not feature anything close to equal power (Goodman, 1971). Few government agencies are willing to surrender to an arbitrator their legislative right to make a final decision.

Murphy (1978) provided one of the few examples of social scientific research aimed at suggesting solutions to planning conflict. His study of planning actors in Victoria, British Columbia, attempted to identify areas of potential agreement between actors. Murphy found that simulation procedures were an efficient method to identify "the existence of both conflict and congruence".

However, just as many public participation programmes foundered because no real power was shifted from government to citizen participants, so have attempts to mediate conflict in urban planning (Goodman, 1971). Because of this critical problem, social scientists have been unable to meaningfully relate conflict resolution techniques to urban planning.

2.3 Methodological Considerations

2.3.1 Qualitative Versus Quantitative Analysis

In recent years, social scientific research has made use of a wide variety of research tools. An important question faced by the social scientist today is whether to attempt quantitative research or to make use of techniques that produce qualitative rather than quantitative data. There has been considerable debate within Geography and other social sciences over the relative merits of each approach.

Writers such as Krausz et al. (1974) have argued that quantitative techniques are most desirable because of the objective and precise data that results. Others, including Dean et al. (1969) defend qualitative analysis on the basis of its flexibility and efficiency.

Studies of urban planning have made use of both quantitative and qualitative research methods, but the more complex issues involved in many planning disputes make quantitative analysis difficult. Rein (1976, 53) described this problem quite accurately:

There are too many variables, all of which are important, and we seem to be unable to isolate a few crucial inputs. Moreover, there is an inherent paucity of reliable information about these variables. In addition, most data used to test theory or to develop public policy suffer from awkward problems of definition and quality.

2.3.2 Research Instruments

Once a preference for either quantitative or qualitative data (or some combination of the two) has been established, the researcher must choose among a number of research instruments. The opinions of individuals and groups relevant to one's research can be assessed using such survey techniques as questionnaires, personal interviews, and participant observation. Questionnaires are useful because of their consistency and efficiency (Oppenheim, 1966), while personal interviews offer flexibility and ongoing control of the researcher (Dean et al., 1969). Participant observation has the primary value of ensuring the honesty of subjects, particularly when carried out unobtrusively.

To obtain data regarding past events, the researcher may make use of interviews, analyze physical evidence of past events (for example, a building or artifacts from a past era), or review historical documents. The choice of research methods will depend on the nature of the subject being studied and resources available to the researcher.

2.4 Summary

This chapter has reviewed literature relevant to the present study. Broad contextual issues such as the nature of municipal government, land-use planning, and participation in planning were presented in order to provide a basis for comparison with the study area. More specific

issues were reviewed in the section on substantive literature. These issues included waterfront planning, planning disasters, and the resolution of planning conflict. Finally, methodological considerations were presented in order to provide a brief description of the research methods available for social scientific research of urban planning.

Chapter 3

RESEARCH METHODS

In selecting research methods for this study, the author accepted the claim of several writers that the distinction between actors in planning decisions is crucial to understanding those decisions (Linowes and Allensworth, 1973; Judd and Mendelson, 1973; Allensworth, 1975; Hampton, 1977). An understanding of the roles played by the various planning actors is more useful than a simple comparison of similar events or locations or the results of planning debate. There is an impressive body of evidence in the literature to support this assertion (Altshuler, 1965; Wood, 1977; Forester, 1982). To take only a single example, Hall (1980) found that "decisions arise from a complex process of interactions among actors. All these people think themselves rational, and are trying to behave rationally for much of the time; but their conceptions of the rational differ".

It is not enough to enumerate the issues raised in the debate that precedes a planning decision. Issues are important, but provide little insight if we do not know who raises them and why. Equally incomplete would be an

analysis or comparison of the results of a planning debate. While the final result is obviously very important, little can be learned if we do not understand how it is reached. It is the presence of a range of different actors in contention over public policy that creates the debate. Authors such as Goodman (1971) and Lorimer (1972, 1981) have noted that conflict is a result of the fundamentally different and incompatible interests of the various participants in public policy debate. Furthermore, the results of competition between actors is tied very closely to the power held by each actor and how that power is used (Galbraith, 1983).

With these assumptions in mind, the research procedure was organized into three main sections (Figure 3). First, an investigation of the historical evolution of Victoria's Inner Harbour was undertaken via a description and interpretation of the actors and events that have shaped the Inner Harbour. This portion of the study is intended primarily to set the stage for the substantive research that follows. The second part of the study examined individual actors involved in the Inner Harbour planning controversies. Most of these actors belonged to one or more of the identifiable groups who have participated in the debate over the future of the Inner Harbour. These groups include politicians, bureaucrats, community groups, and

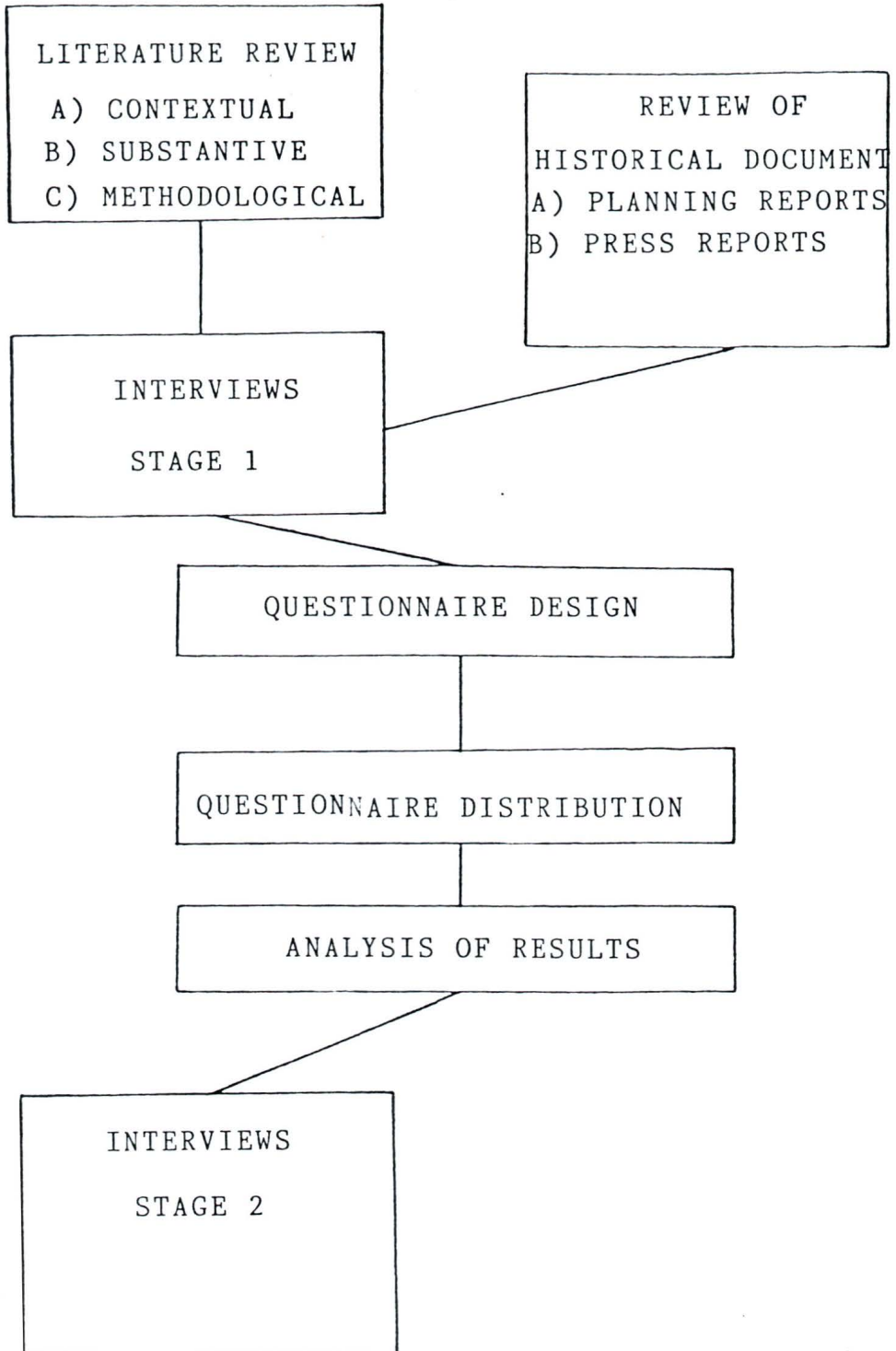


Figure 3 : Steps Undertaken in Thesis Research

businesspeople. In the third section, the opinions of the general public were investigated, the general public being defined as those local residents who do not belong to any specific group or category of interested parties. Each of these three sections required a distinct research methodology which is described below.

3.1 Historical Background

Any useful study of Victoria's Inner Harbour must include considerable attention to the historical background of the area. It is impossible to understand the current physical state of the Inner Harbour without at least a brief description of the changes that have occurred in recent decades. Even more important is an understanding of the history of contention that has plagued redevelopment of the Inner Harbour. To study the current situation in isolation from the past would ignore the fact that the sources of discord over the Inner Harbour's future have deep roots. While most change and debate has taken place over a relatively short period, roughly the fifteen years 1970-1984, much has happened during those years. Without a basic understanding of these events and their origins, the current status of the Inner Harbour would appear even more confusing than it actually is.

Two historical time periods are reviewed. First is the history of the harbour prior to 1970, a long period of relatively gradual change. This early era is discussed only briefly in order to provide the context for later events. The primary data sources used here were published accounts of Victoria's history, supplemented by information gleaned from personal interviews.

The second historical period runs from 1970 to 1984. The division between these two periods is an arbitrary one. 1970 roughly marks the point when older industrial and transportation facilities began to be cleared from the Inner Harbour on a permanent basis and when debate over the harbour's future began to intensify. Data for this later period are drawn from a review of documents (as for the earlier period), and also from a comprehensive review of local newspaper reports from 1970 to 1984, as well as interviews conducted with individuals involved in the controversies throughout that period (Table 1).

3.2 Identifiable Planning Actors

As mentioned above, this study emphasizes the role of actors in planning decisions rather than a comparison of events or specific locations. It is therefore important to identify the range of actors involved in Inner Harbour debates during the period 1970-1984. Actors who are part of

organized groups are relatively easy to identify.

Politicians are an obvious and relevant group for study, as are bureaucrats at both the provincial and municipal levels of government, business people, community groups, and notable individuals such as architects and journalists.

The important actors were identified by three methods. First, the review of historical documents revealed the major planning actors who have participated in a visible manner. These actors were supplemented by the addition of several individuals who participated in the rezoning of the Inner Harbour conducted in 1983. A third method was used to identify less obvious (but still relevant) actors. This involved interviewing individual actors who were identified by other actors when they were interviewed. Krausz and Miller (1974) have called this latter procedure "snowball sampling".

The views of these planning actors in the redevelopment process were elicited through interviews. Twenty-four such individuals were interviewed (Table 1). Due to time constraints and other factors, interviews were conducted by several means: in person; by telephone; and in writing. The purpose of these interviews was to gain a comprehensive understanding of various relevant actors and issues, so the interview format for personal and telephone interviews was open and relatively unstructured. Dean et

Table 1
Individuals Interviewed

<u>NAME</u>	<u>POSITION</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>METHOD</u>
Hugh Curtis	BC Minister of Finance	16 July 1984	personal
Brian Smith	BC Attorney General	8 May 1984	personal
Robin Blencoe	Victoria MLA	31 August 1983	personal
Ken Patten	Project Manager, PCC	1 October 1984	personal
Gordon Cross	Marketing, BC Steamships	7 June 1984	personal
Peter Pollen	Mayor of Victoria	4 September 1983	personal
		September 1983	written
Janet Baird	Alderman, Victoria	16 April 1984	personal
Gretchen Brewin	Alderman, Victoria	July 1984	written
Frank Carson	Alderman, Victoria	9 July 1984	telephone
Eric Simmons	Alderman, Victoria	16 April 1984	personal
Geoffrey Young	Alderman, Victoria	1 May 1984	personal
Claude Maurice	Former Chairman, APC	July 1984	written
Peter Crisp	Deputy Planner, Victoria	30 August 1983	personal
		5 October 1984	personal
Adrian Cownden	Restaurant owner	July 1984	written
Ronald Mackenzie	Businessman	30 June 1984	written
Jack Mumford	Manager, Royal London Wax Museum	14 June 1984	personal
R.B. Strongitharm	Asst. President, Undersea Gardens	5 July 1984	written
Rita Wilson	Hotel manager	July 1984	written
Anonymous	Businessman	July 1984	personal
Graham Taylor	President, VWES	July 1984	written
Colin Gorrie	Victoria Harbour Festival	26 June 1984	telephone
Patrick B. Murphy	Journalist, <u>Victoria Times-Colonist</u>	July 1984	written
Terrence Williams	Architect	July 1984	written
Michael Young	Lawyer, former Mayor of Victoria	July 1984	written

al. (1969) and Krausz and Miller (1974) have noted the value of this approach. Respondents had a wide range of interests, varying depths of knowledge, and were involved in harbour issues at different times. Consequently, each personal interview was unique. A basic script, however, was used for written interviews (Appendix 1).

Interviews were conducted in order to obtain a balanced perspective on Inner Harbour planning issues both in the past and at present, and also to gain information regarding the goals and strategies of planning actors.

No attempt was made to obtain quantifiable data. Instead, the goals and interests of organized groups were evaluated in a subjective manner through the interviews and a review of press reports. This path was chosen because of the small number of subjects interviewed and because it is very difficult to obtain quantifiable data that can help explain planning issues as complex as those surrounding redevelopment of Victoria's Inner Harbour. The present study features all the characteristics that Dean et al. (1969) have described:

Sometimes quantitative data is difficult, almost impossible, to obtain; sometimes the relationships we want to examine are not explicit; often the problem is in the exploratory stages of research; or perhaps we want to obtain elaborate qualitative data on an individual case history.

3.3 Views of the General Public

The general public, by definition, cannot be described as an organized group, nor one with unvaried views. Since the public has played a role in past planning disputes and deserves to participate in future decisions, it is important to gain some understanding of their views on planning issues. It must immediately be recognized that this is a very formidable and potentially deceptive task, mainly because "it is rather difficult to ascribe a definitive objective to the 'city population at large' owing to the obvious diffusion and heterogeneity of this group" (Alexander, 1974, 35). No efficient means exist to canvass the views of the entire community. Municipal elections, which try to do so, have frequently involved the participation of less than 20 per cent of Victoria's eligible voters. This difficulty prompted the author to seek the views of concerned citizens while forgoing any attempt to assess the views of the entire community.

An arrangement was made with the editor of Monday Magazine, a local news and entertainment periodical published on a weekly basis, to print and distribute a questionnaire as part of their publication. In exchange for my writing two articles discussing Inner Harbour issues, Monday Magazine agreed to insert a short questionnaire which

readers could cut out, fold up, and return postpaid. An article discussing Inner Harbour planning issues appeared in the September 23, 1983 issue of Monday Magazine. It was accompanied by the questionnaire. A total of 293 responses was received, and a second article summarizing the results was published in the October 14, 1983 issue.

According to its editor, Monday Magazine is a publication which is oriented to a young, urban, and middle to upper-middle class audience. It is available throughout the city (especially downtown) at no charge in boxes on street corners and at newspaper stands.

The use of newspapers to distribute social scientific or planning surveys is not common, but has been carried out in the past (Goodey et al., 1971; Connor, 1972). In 1971, Goodey et al. used the Birmingham Post to distribute a survey of residents' images of the city. The project was advertised in advance in the newspaper, and included a series of articles which introduced the topic of the survey. The project dominated the Post's weekly features supplement for four consecutive Saturdays, but its success was handicapped by a postal strike. Over a period of one month, 167 responses were received.

While the newspaper editors in Birmingham were satisfied with the response, the researcher questioned "whether the size of return merits the use of this method"

(Goodey et al., 1971, 56).¹

In 1972, a larger research project of a similar type was conducted in Ottawa (Connor, 1972). Proposals for a new highway had encountered stiff community opposition in 1970. Ontario's provincial government established a study to evaluate alternatives, deciding to "respond to the expressed interests of individuals and groups rather than aggressively selling the study and its purposes" (Connor, 1972, 29). Information about the study was distributed to community groups and at public meetings, and eight groups came forward with alternative proposals for the highway. Five technically feasible alternatives were then presented to the public for comment. An information campaign using newspapers, radio, and television was conducted over a ten day period, culminating in a one-hour television program discussing the alternatives.

Mail-in ballots were printed in daily newspapers, and 8600 were returned in a four day period. The proposal favoured by participants was accepted and implemented by the government.

These two examples highlight four factors that appear to influence the success of newspaper questionnaires used for research purposes. First, participation will be extensive if the survey is oriented to a specific issue of interest to citizens. The Birmingham example involved

assessing residents' images of the city, a subject not tied to specific issues that would create interest in most potential respondents. A second relevant factor is the amount of resources available to the researcher. In the Ottawa example, extensive resources enabled the researcher to make the project extremely visible to the public. Another factor is the ease of returning the completed survey. A postal strike seriously crippled Goodey's Birmingham project. Finally, the survey will be more successful if participation is clearly seen by respondents as worthwhile. In the Ottawa example, respondents knew they were effectively choosing among several alternative plans, one of which was going to be selected and implemented.

These factors were considered when preparing the Inner Harbour questionnaire. The present study was issue-oriented, and the return of questionnaires was made easy. Unfortunately, adequate resources were not available to institute any kind of information campaign in advance of the questionnaire. Also, despite the efforts of both the author and the editor of Monday Magazine, it was not possible to have the official participation of the City in this project. City planners were approached in an effort to establish such a link, but they responded that only Victoria's political leaders could make such a commitment. Since the Inner Harbour rezoning process was already

assessing residents' images of the city, a subject not tied to specific issues that would create interest in most potential respondents. A second relevant factor is the amount of resources available to the researcher. In the Ottawa example, extensive resources enabled the researcher to make the project extremely visible to the public. Another factor is the ease of returning the completed survey. A postal strike seriously crippled Goodey's Birmingham project. Finally, the survey will be more successful if participation is clearly seen by respondents as worthwhile. In the Ottawa example, respondents knew they were effectively choosing among several alternative plans, one of which was going to be selected and implemented.

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underway as the questionnaire was being planned, no official participation was forthcoming.

The questionnaire comprised ten questions (Appendix 2). Nine of these questions were presented in a multiple choice format which asked the respondent to rank the possible replies in order of preference. The questions were derived from a combination of three sources: issues that appeared contentious from a review of past press reports; similar issues that became apparent in interviews conducted prior to the questionnaire; and issues that related specifically to the 1983 rezoning of the harbour.

Options were presented in a random order and space was provided for respondents to add their own choices. The tenth question was open-ended and asked for suggestions regarding the future of one strategic Inner Harbour site.

This survey method differs in many ways from the traditional approach to mail questionnaires. These differences are discussed as the advantages and disadvantages of the chosen method relative to the traditional mail questionnaire.

Disadvantages include:

1. Due to limitations imposed by Monday Magazine, the size of the questionnaire, and hence the number of questions, was extremely limited.
2. Since the questionnaire was self-administered, intended for a wide

audience, and small in size, both the questions and the response format had to be extremely simple.

3. The sample was self-selected and the questionnaire was available free of charge, leaving open the possibility of abuses such as a single respondent returning a number of questionnaires.

4. The self-selected sample was not likely to produce a representative sample of the local population.

5. Lack of space made it necessary to exclude the usual array of questions seeking personal data about respondents.

6. Time constraints imposed by Monday Magazine resulted in a questionnaire which was prepared more quickly than was desirable.

Nevertheless, this research design offers several advantages over alternatives. These include:

1. A very wide distribution of the questionnaire throughout the Capital Region.
2. An extremely fast distribution and return because of the method of delivery of Monday Magazine and the use of postpaid return mail.
3. Extremely low cost to the researcher due to the co-operation of Monday Magazine.
4. Added legitimacy given to the questionnaire since it was part of a well-known local publication.
5. Participation of far more interested citizens than would have been possible at similar cost with a different sampling method.

While the disadvantages of this method appear quite

serious, several of the more important criticisms can be answered in a satisfactory manner. Some social scientists might criticize the sample design because it is likely to result in a biased sample, but the seriousness of this problem is doubtful.

Clearly, this sample design will invariably produce a biased sample. Regular readers of Monday Magazine are likely to be over-represented, as are people with a specific interest in the Inner Harbour and people who spend time in the downtown area where Monday Magazine is most widely available. Mail questionnaires distributed on a random sample basis may appear to be free of this problem, but often are not. The people most likely to return a mail questionnaire share several characteristics with those who respond to a newspaper questionnaire (Oppenheim, 1966). These are likely to be people concerned about the issue and interested in getting involved. The only way to avoid this error due to non-response would be to have a truly random sample with a 100 per cent return rate. Since the intention of this questionnaire was to elicit the opinions of interested local residents, the author concluded that the sampling method chosen was appropriate.

The problem of abuse in the form of multiple responses by a single respondent turned out to be a more serious threat to the value of questionnaire responses. The

method of distribution made it easy for individual respondents to return more than one questionnaire. The questionnaire form was available free of charge in each copy of Monday Magazine and there was no postage cost to the respondent. The possibility that such abuses would take place was originally not considered serious because respondents had very little to gain by sending more than one reply. However, a check was made during the tabulation of results and written comments were compared in an effort to pick out duplicated responses. With a total of 293 responses, it is possible that a few duplicated responses passed by unnoticed. Any such duplication is likely to be insignificant in terms of influencing the total response.

However, one significant case of abuse was discovered. A group of 29 questionnaire forms was received with virtually the same response to each question and almost identical written comments. It is possible that this could result from the efforts of an organized group of 29 members with unanimous views which assembled to complete the questionnaire on a collective basis. Further evidence makes this explanation unlikely. The handwriting on each of the 29 responses appeared to be the same, and only three different pens were used. Virtually all were postmarked on the same day. In order to avoid seriously influencing the total response, only one of these 29 responses was included for analysis. The entire group of responses was checked

several times to ensure no similar abuses had taken place.

Results of the questionnaire were presented by the author to Victoria City Council during public hearings over the 1983 rezoning of the Inner Harbour area.

3.4 Summary

The study was organized into three parts: an historical review using historical documents, press reports, and interviews as data sources; a review of major planning actors using interviews; and an analysis of the views of the public using a newspaper questionnaire.

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Chapter 4

History of the Inner Harbour

4.1 Early Settlement

The first permanent European settlement on southern Vancouver Island was established in 1843. Prior to that date, the area that was to become Victoria had been populated by native Indians. It was known to them as Camosun or Camosack and the main native settlement was located in the Songhees area across from the present Inner Harbour (Figure 4). The harbour was an excellent site for native settlement. As elsewhere on the sparsely populated west coast, there was an abundance of game on Southern Vancouver Island and the climate was very moderate. Most important to the natives were the fishing grounds located close to their native settlement. Salmon were abundant and the Juan de Fuca Straits were frequented each year by migrating Grey Whales and other harvestable sea life.

To the European explorers and settlers of North America, Southern Vancouver Island had an appeal quite unrelated to its local attributes. During the early and mid-1800's, a westward race for control of North America's bountiful physical resources was taking place. On the

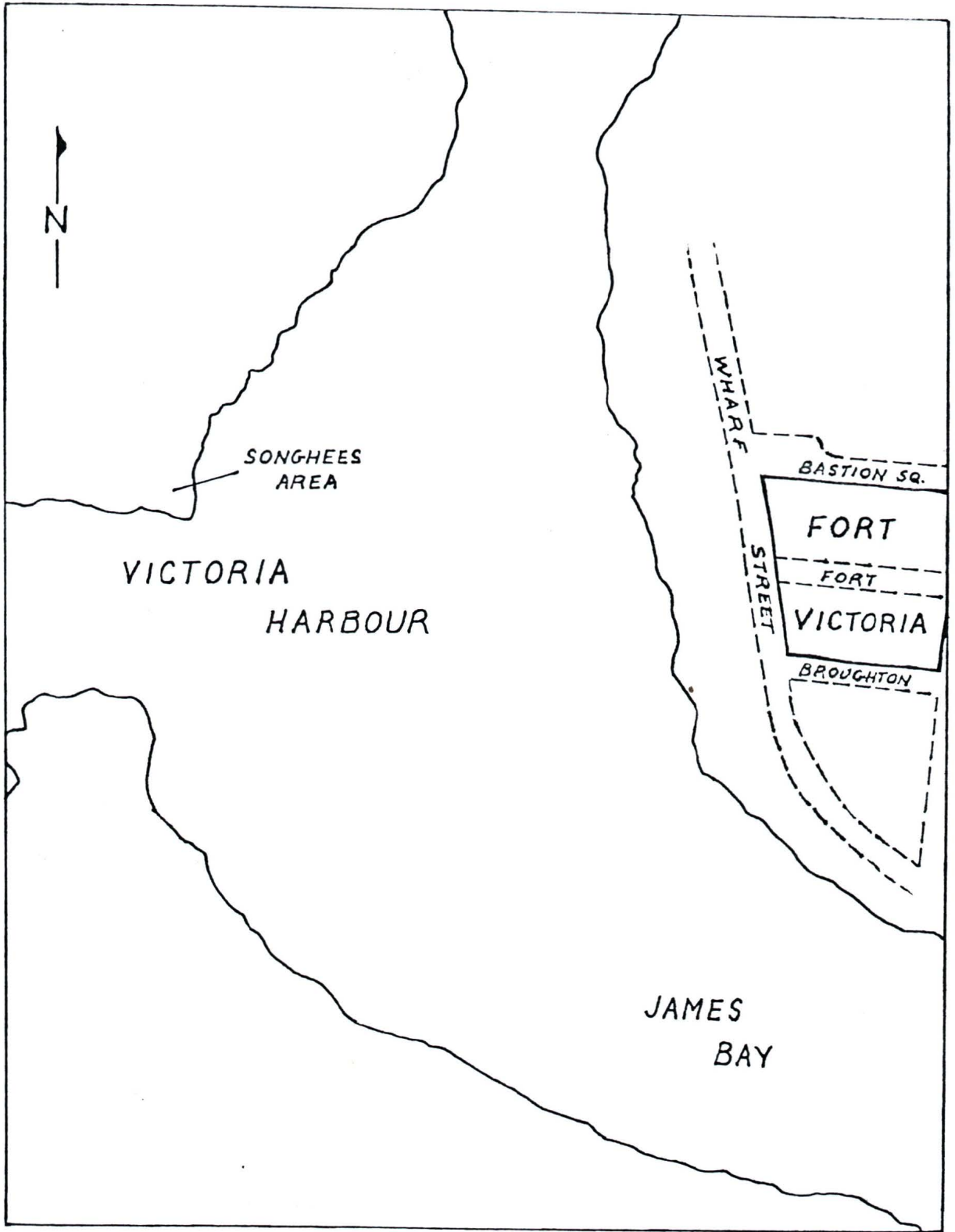


Figure 1
 Location of Fort Victoria (1843)

northern part of the continent, this race was between the United States and Great Britain. The boundary between the territories held by these two powers had long been a source of dispute. By 1843, concern over the intentions of the Americans caused the British to establish a permanent presence on the West Coast in order "to check the rapid encroachment of American settlement northward" (Victoria Heritage Advisory Committee, 1974, 1).

In March of 1843, James Douglas and a crew of fifteen men arrived in the small harbour that was to become Victoria and started clearing the site for a fort. The fort was built across the harbour from the village of the Songhees Indian band. Completed in the fall of 1843, the fort was named for Victoria, England's young Queen. Fort Victoria was located in an area later to be bounded by Government, Broughton, and Wharf Streets and Bastion Square (Figure 4).

The locational factors that had led to the construction of the fort also resulted in growth of colonial settlement during the 1840's and '50's. During those years, the Inner Harbour was not so much important to Victoria, it was Victoria. The settlement soon became more than just a military base. As the gateway to British Columbia, Victoria was destined to grow as long as the colony grew. The harbour was ideal for the sailing ships depended upon for

all contact with the outside world, so the small community of Victoria grew up beside the Inner Harbour.

4.2 The Evolving Harbour

The Fraser River Gold Rush of 1858 marked the start of Victoria's heyday. All goldseekers passed through the Inner Harbour on their way to the goldfields. Growth was further stimulated in 1860 when Victoria was declared a duty-free port. "Rapid growth of the commercial sector along Wharf Street, then a narrow band squeezed between the facade of the Fort stockade and the harbour shoreline, is evidence of the success of free trade" (Victoria Heritage Advisory Committee, 1974, 1). Victoria became a major Pacific port, second only to San Francisco (City of Victoria, 1971).

Growth was fast and uncontrolled, so the City of Victoria was incorporated in 1862. What is now known as the Old Town of Victoria "was B.C.'s major settlement and cultural centre from the Colonial period and Caribou Gold Rush days of the 1850's and '60's, through to the turn of the century" (City of Victoria, 1983, 1).

The role of the Inner Harbour gradually changed during this hectic period. With a huge volume of traffic passing through and a congregation of harbour service industries lining its shores, the harbour was becoming

specialized. The population of Victoria began to move away from the Inner Harbour, a development facilitated by the removal of the Fort stockade in 1861. By the 1870's the Inner Harbour area was covered with industrial and transportation functions which were to dominate it for many decades.

Before the turn of the century, business people who built much of Victoria were extremely optimistic about the future of the city. The physical growth of Victoria demonstrated that enthusiasm in a tangible form. A number of impressive buildings were constructed in the central area of the city. "To become the great commercial metropolis of the Northwest, a twin city to San Francisco, was the underlying vision which inspired Victoria's architectural precocity" (Victoria Heritage Advisory Committee, 1974, 4). Written in the mid-1880's, the following words demonstrate the enthusiasm Victoria inspired at that time:

A person unfamiliar with the marvelous progress of civilization in the new world, surveying its busy marts of trade, ships of commerce laden with exports for the most distant ports, numerous manufacturing industries, well graded streets and good public and private buildings, would scarcely believe that all these things are the creation of a little more than 20 years, and that only a generation has passed since the Hudson Bay Company first planted the English flag on these shores. (Chittenden, 1884, 296)

The rim of the Inner Harbour was entirely built up by

the 1870's, but change was continuous. Victoria had been made the capital of British Columbia in 1868, and new Parliament Buildings on the Inner Harbour were completed in 1898. As if to mirror the affluence and growth that predominated both in Victoria and throughout B.C., those Parliament Buildings were both massive and magnificent. Total cost of construction was \$923,000, which was two thirds of the province's annual budget at that time. In terms of today's costs, an equivalent investment would be about one billion dollars (Morgan and Disher, 1977).

The Inner Harbour was permanently altered again in 1908 when the James Bay mudflats were reclaimed and the Empress Hotel was constructed on the reclaimed land. The harbour accommodated several different activities simultaneously during the early years of the twentieth century. The port function that had brought development to the Inner Harbour was still very important, but it was now joined by industry such as furniture factories, recreation uses that included clubhouses and boathouses on the harbour, and the frontage of the Legislature and Empress Hotel.

Although Victoria was prosperous as the twentieth century began, there were signs that growth might slow down. By 1900, Victoria had fallen behind both Vancouver and Seattle in terms of population size, and the rate of growth in those cities had become much faster than that of

Victoria. Victoria had a population of 20,000 while Vancouver had reached 27,000 and Seattle 80,000. During the last decade of the nineteenth century, Seattle's population had doubled.

Victoria's location had been ideal for the arrival of passengers and cargo from overseas, but the City was not well sited for the shipment of goods from the mainland to overseas destinations. The previous advantage was transformed into a serious handicap.

4.3 The Decline of the Inner Harbour

A walk today through Victoria's downtown area, including the Inner Harbour, quickly makes apparent the fact that "the quantity and quality of (Victoria's heritage) buildings is exceptional in North America" (City of Victoria, 1983, 5). This is not the result of enlightened heritage planning, but is due to a protracted economic slump that gripped Victoria for more than fifty years, starting during the First World War. Victoria gradually lost many of its important functions, and the rate physical growth was much reduced.

At that time the Inner Harbour was, as it has always been, a microcosm of the changes that were affecting the entire community. All the factors which led to the decline of Victoria and her Inner Harbour were related to the city's physical site and location. These problems included the

move from smaller wooden sailing ships to larger iron-hulled steamships that did not fit comfortably into Victoria's small, shallow harbour. Also, completion of the transcontinental railway at Vancouver rather than Victoria altered B.C.'s transportation pattern "and led to the eclipse of Victoria's economic ambitions" (City of Victoria, 1977, 19).

Furthermore, Victoria's island location made the city inconvenient as a port for shipping goods from the mainland to overseas destinations. A fourth reason for the decline was the smaller scale of Victoria and its harbour which simply did not compare with the lower mainland. Finally, changes in transportation technology early in the twentieth century favoured road and rail transportation over ocean transport.

These circumstances combined to greatly lessen Victoria's role as an international port. The great expectations held prior to World War One were dashed. The city had been over-built by enthusiastic businessmen who realized too late that "the future had been grossly over-estimated" (City of Victoria, 1974, 3). On the Inner Harbour, the C.P.R. Steamship Terminal was completed in 1924, representing "Victoria's final triumph in establishing itself as the tourist gateway to Western Canada" (City of Victoria, 1983, 25). Vancouver was soon to steal away this

title just as it already had supplanted Victoria as the economic centre of Western Canada, Canada's primary western port, and British Columbia's largest city.

There was little debate over the future of the Inner Harbour during the interwar years. As its transportation function declined, the Inner Harbour area filled with industrial activities. "The streetcar and later the automobile, contributed to shifting the centre of activity of the city from the Wharf Street area to the east. In its wake it left an area where only the ornate architecture of the buildings suggested past activity" (City of Victoria, 1971, 1). The Inner Harbour had been Victoria's front door for fifty years, but now it became a back door to all but the passengers of West Coast steamships, which still were based in the Inner Harbour.

Along with docks for passenger ships, the Inner Harbour accommodated a paint factory, a fish canning plant, a cement mixing plant, and numerous warehouses and vacant structures (Figure 5). Most development associated with Victoria's declining port function had re-located to the outer harbour.

During the 1950's and 1960's, the industrial activities which had replaced the international port function of the Inner Harbour, themselves began to recede. Lessened dependence on water transport, increasing economies

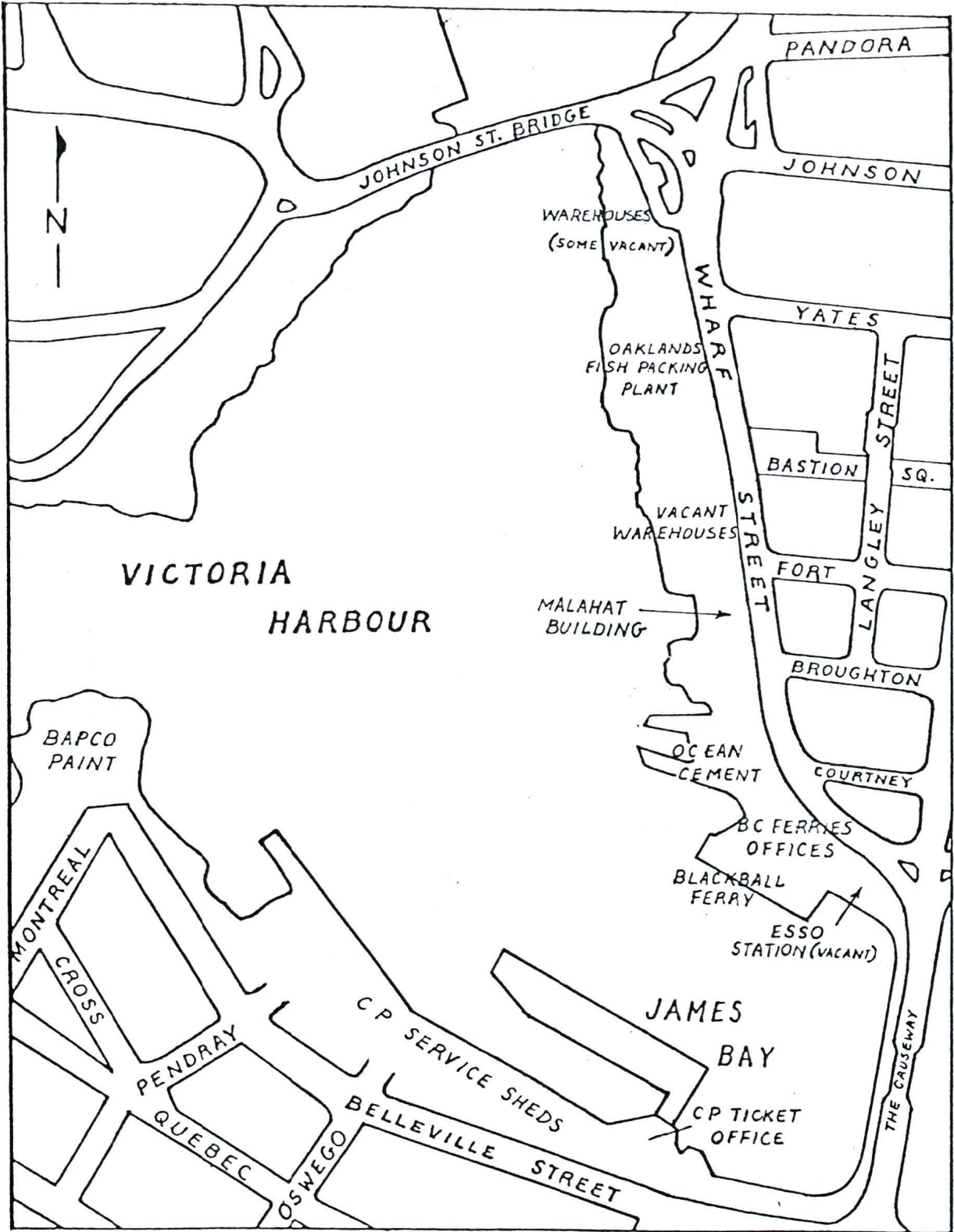


Figure 5
Inner Harbour Land Uses (1965)

of scale in manufacturing, and the better location of Vancouver and Nanaimo, combined to produce a decline in manufacturing and distribution industries. An increasing amount of land on the Inner Harbour became vacant and many of the industries that remained showed a lack of confidence in the future by poor maintenance of their properties. By the middle of the twentieth century, "a state of advanced dereliction was well established" (City of Victoria, 1971, 1).

4.4 The Move for Renewal

During the 1950's and 1960's, most of North America experienced an economic boom that allowed governments to pursue massive physical changes in cities. Freeways and bridges were built to increase economic activity and improve commuting. Slums were razed and replaced with urban renewal housing in an effort to rid cities of blight and the problems that accompany poverty (Meyerson and Banfield, 1955). This was a period when simple physical change was offered as a solution for problems which later turned out to be more complex (Robertson, 1970; Lorimer, 1978).

Urban renewal did not miss Victoria, as one major project near downtown was completed in the 1960's (Robertson, 1970). Stimulated by the availability of federal funds and

a fear that the Inner Harbour would otherwise continue as an industrial slum, Victoria's political leaders pursued the possibility of using urban renewal funds to clean up and re-energize the Inner Harbour.

In 1967, the City applied to the federal and provincial governments for funding to prepare an urban renewal study. In the application, the condition of the Inner Harbour frontage on Wharf Street was described:

This blighted section of Victoria's Inner Harbour presents itself as a visual incongruity. On the one hand, the harbour is flanked by the classically imposing Legislative Buildings and the almost equally impressive Empress Hotel and on the other, shabby warehouses, broken wharves against a background of derelict structures give clear testimony to the obsolescence of the area (City of Victoria, Downtown- Inner Harbour, 1967, 3).

Bastion Square, located immediately to the east of the Inner Harbour, was rehabilitated in 1964. This project emphasized the preservation of many valuable structures that had avoided demolition for many decades only because of Victoria's slow growth. By the mid-1960's, Victoria was beginning to grow again. The population of the city increased mainly because of expansion of the provincial government, a burgeoning tourist industry, and growth of Victoria as a retirement centre. New development downtown started to appear, as did expansion of Victoria's suburbs.

Local politicians viewed the Inner Harbour as

requiring economic help from the public sector, because private enterprise was unlikely to improve the area without public initiative to provide "amenities and conditions" to encourage private investment in new construction (City of Victoria, Downtown- Inner Harbour, 1967, 3). One of the initial proposals during this period was a City plan for construction of a convention centre on the harbour. The City selected a harbour location "not only because of its intrinsic suitability for a convention centre, but also because of its wider impact, in its ability to stimulate new development in the waterfront area" (City of Victoria, Convention Centre Report, 1967, 19). Included in the proposal was the suggestion that a major hotel be constructed on the harbour.

The convention centre proposal was rejected for lack of funds, but the move towards renewal of the Inner Harbour was underway.

4.5 Fifteen Years of Controversy

The high level of interest in urban renewal of the Inner Harbour during the 1960's marked the beginning of a long series of government reports, plans, and proposals for the area (Table 2). At the same time, private developers were presenting plans for new development throughout the city. The scale of these development proposals was unlike

Table 2
Major Inner Harbour Planning Documents

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>TITLE</u>	<u>COMMISSIONED BY</u>	<u>MAIN PROPOSAL</u>
1967	<u>Downtown- Inner Harbour</u>	City	Argued for urban renewal of the Inner Harbour area.
1967	<u>Convention Centre Report</u>	City	Favoured Ocean Cement site for convention centre.
1970	<u>Inner Harbour Renewal</u>	City	Proposed removal of Ocean Cement to be replaced by a park.
1972	<u>Waterfront- City of Victoria</u>	City	First comprehensive look at harbour, nothing new proposed.
1973	<u>Inner Harbour Study</u> (Erickson Report)	City	Proposed medium density commercial development combined with recreational land uses.
1974	<u>Wharf Street Heritage Designation Report</u>	City	Proposed heritage designation of historic buildings on Wharf St.
1974	<u>Inner Harbour Development Recommendations</u> (Clack Report)	Province	Proposed medium-density development of the harbour.
1977	<u>Community Plan for the City of Victoria</u>	City	Proposed continuous shoreline access and preparation of a comprehensive plan for the Inner Harbour.
1981	<u>South Shore, Inner Harbour</u>	PCC	Consolidate transportation activities on the south shore, build a deck to the height of Belleville Street.

anything the city had seen before. For example, plans for four new buildings ranging from 20 to 38 stories in height were made public in January of 1970 alone (1).

There was considerable support for these developments among local politicians and the news media. An editorial in the Victoria Daily Colonist on January 7 1970 supported large-scale projects because of the property tax benefits they would provide. Political support was demonstrated by near-unanimous City support for a 38-storey building proposed for the downtown area. Alderman Peter Pollen said "it should not only be approved, but encouraged" (Victoria Daily Colonist, 24 January, 1970). On February 4 1970, Pollen criticized the local press for failing to inform the public of the merits of highrise construction downtown.

The City also supported the first specific proposal for large scale private redevelopment on the Inner Harbour, the Reid Centre (Tables 3 and 4). This development involved two components: a publicly financed urban renewal project which would replace the Ocean Cement mixing plant on the Inner Harbour with a park; and a large apartment-hotel complex at the foot of Bastion Square. This large development was to be known as the Reid Centre, and would comprise three towers of approximately 20 floors each.

Also in 1970, Marathon Realty, the real estate arm

Table 3
Evolution of Major Inner Harbour Sites

<u>SITE</u>	<u>YEAR</u>	<u>EVENT</u>
Laurel Point	1973	Paint factory vacated.
	1973	Hotel-condominium project proposed.
	1975	Land-use contract signed with City.
	1976	Hotel project delayed due to economy.
	1976	Hotel project started, City gets park.
South Shore	1970	Marathon Realty proposes redevelopment.
	1972	Marathon project delayed indefinitely.
	1975	Province purchases area from CP.
	1976	Eastern half turned over to PCC.
	1978	Black Ball ferry relocated here.
	1981	Black Ball terminal constructed.
	1982	Deck built without City approval.
Former Causeway Esso station	1974	Purchased by City from Imperial Oil.
	1975	Purchased by CIDC from City.
	1975	Fast-food outlet run by Province.
	1978	Visitors' Information Centre moved in.
	1983	PCC accepted proposals for restaurant and jet-foil terminal.
	1983	City rejected proposals for restaurant and jet-foil terminal.
Ship Point South	1978	Black Ball ferry moved to south shore.
	1976	Land turned over to PCC by Province.
	1976	Joint Federal-Provincial beautification.
	1982	First year of Victoria Harbour Festival.
Ship Point North	1971	Purchased by City from Ocean Cement.
	1971	Site cleared, no funds to build park.
	1978	Float-planes permitted "temporarily".
Former Reid Site	1970	Reid Centre proposed.
	1974	Site frozen by Province.
	1974	Site purchased by Province.
	1976	Marina built, site "beautified".
	1977	Redevelopment proposed by Province.
	1978	Convention centre proposed by Province.
1981	Convention centre plan rejected by City.	
Victoria Regent	1976	Subsidized housing proposed by Hartwig.
	1976	Subsidized housing rejected by City.
	1977	Hotel proposed by Hartwig.
	1977	Hotel rejected by city.
	1977	Office building proposed by Hartwig.
	1979	Bawlf buys site from Hartwig.
	1980	Victoria Regent constructed.

Table 4

Important Individual Participants
in Inner Harbour Redevelopment
Since 1970

<u>NAME</u>	<u>YEARS</u>	<u>ROLE</u>
Sam Bawlf	1970-72	Private developer
	1972-75	Victoria alderman
	1975-78	BC Minister of Recreation (responsible for CDIC-PCC)
	1978-79	BC Minister of Deregulation
	1979-	Private developer
Robin Blencoe	1978-83	Victoria alderman
	1983-	Victoria MLA
Hugh Curtis	1970-72	Saanich Mayor (member PCC)
	1972-75	Saanich MLA
	1975-79	BC Provincial Secretary
	1979-	BC Minister of Finance (responsible for PCC)
Murray Glazier	1974-	Victoria alderman
Courtenay Haddock	1970-71	Victoria Mayor
Hans Hartwig	1970-	Private developer
Peter Pollen	1970-71	Victoria alderman
	1972-75	Victoria mayor
	1976-81	Private businessman
	1982-	Victoria mayor
William Tindall	1970-79	Victoria alderman
	1980-81	Victoria mayor
Robert Williams	1972-75	BC Minister of Resources (responsible for harbour lands)
Robert Wright	1972-	owner of Undersea Gardens
	1974-81	Victoria alderman
Michael Young	1972-75	Victoria alderman
	1976-79	Victoria mayor

of Canadian Pacific, announced plans for a \$1 million project on the south shore of the Inner Harbour. This project "would include a variety of tourist attractions and speciality shops. The plans also included provision of a large shopping area, a seafood restaurant, a dance pavilion and a transportation centre" (Colonist, 11 March 1970).

Both projects received substantial initial political support, but soon met with controversy. The scale of development was the contentious issue in both cases. Pollen was the chairman of the City's Community Development Committee during this period. Pollen began building his reputation in 1970 as a high-profile politician by making frequent, sharp, and colourful comments about virtually all urban issues. It was Pollen around whom opposition to large-scale Inner Harbour development eventually crystalized.

Pollen was vocal, but inconsistent in his criticism of Marathon Realty whose plans for the south shore seemed to change constantly. Just four days after saying "I think this project should get council's wholehearted approval" (Colonist, 13 March, 1970), Pollen warned that it would "prostitute our environment for the benefit of a few big corporations" (Colonist, 17 March, 1970). Pollen's change of heart was at least partly due to additional demands by

Marathon Realty for relaxed set-back rules, but it remains perplexing how drastically Pollen's views regarding an issue such as this could change over four days.

This kind of inflammatory talk and reversal of position has dominated political discussion over the future of the Inner Harbour since Pollen became involved in harbour issues.

The futures of both the Marathon Project and the Reid Centre wavered for several years. The simultaneous existence of several such projects prompted interest in co-ordination of Inner Harbour development, but such co-ordination was very difficult because of the large number of private and public land owners as well as the existence of regulatory powers on the part of the City, the Province, the Federal government, and the Capital Improvement District Commission (CIDC). In 1970, the CIDC, a provincial body charged with beautifying provincially owned properties, admitted that the result was a "confusing pattern" (Victoria Times, 3 June, 1970).

Many individual citizens also were concerned about large-scale development on the harbour (Victoria Times, 16 December, 1970). Perhaps because of the long period of slow growth in the city, and perhaps because Victoria is seen by many of its residents as a refuge from large, ugly, and impersonal metropolises, there was a strong reaction against

proposals for new development.

Pollen positioned himself firmly in the middle of this debate. He warned that Victoria must choose between commercial development interspersed with waterfront access or a waterfront which is "primarily recreational, backed by sophisticated commercial development overlooking a walkway and the water" (Victoria Times, 17 August, 1970). While plans for commercial development went unchallenged in many other North American cities, similar proposals became embroiled in controversy in Victoria. The issue had become economic development versus aesthetics.

Pollen realized the importance of the Inner Harbour to the local population long before most of his political colleagues and the local press. Pollen often voted alone against development issues during 1970 and 1971. One of the few public indications of support for views similar to Pollen's was the criticism newspaper columnist Gorde Hunter directed at large-scale harbour development. Pollen's views were discounted as "a beautiful dream" in a Victoria Daily Colonist editorial on August 20 1970.

As a result of delay and indecision on the part of both the city and the developers, neither the Reid Centre nor the Marathon Project went ahead. An urban renewal plan which had intended to replace the Ocean Cement factory with

a park was partially implemented in 1971 when the senior levels of government contributed funds to purchase the site. Unfortunately, no funding was provided to do more than clear the property.

By 1971, the Inner Harbour was already a recurring development issue in Victoria, and it seemed clear to many planners, politicians and citizens that the entire area should be planned in a co-ordinated manner. Late in 1970, a Victoria Times editorial expressed this view while calling for:

A master plan, not dealing merely with traffic flows, expansion, area uses and similar necessary features, but also with the total appearance, the cityscape, the community environment of the whole area. Until this is decided it will be difficult to avoid the fumbling, mind-changing and frustrations which have marked the past few months of negotiations." (Victoria Times, 16 November 1970)

In November of 1971, Pollen was elected Mayor of Victoria. Some observers attributed his political success almost entirely to Pollen's identification with the battle to protect the Inner Harbour (Victoria Daily Colonist, 4 January 1972). This is probably an exaggeration, but there can be no doubt that Pollen gained a large amount of political exposure from his stands on harbour planning. Intermittently throughout Pollen's time as mayor, letters appeared in the local newspapers sanctifying him as a great

saviour:

Malefactors of great wealth and greater avarice were finalizing plans to transform our community from a 'city of gardens' into a highrise concrete jungle. Peter Pollen halted such madness... His vision of Victoria is as widely endorsed as his contribution towards realization of that vision is visible. (Victoria Daily Colonist, 22 June 1975)

During the 1970's, the Inner Harbour became an urban issue magnified totally out of proportion to other problems and controversies in the city. In 1972, a local newspaper columnist expressed the conservative feelings of many Victoria residents by suggesting that both the Reid Site and the Marathon property be purchased by the Province and, with the former Ocean Cement property, be made a park:

Hell's bells, put it down as a monument to the Social Credit regime. Call it Bennett Boulevard. It would be a lasting service to the citizens of southern Vancouver Island, a reminder that the great god progress finally met its match and that for once, something was done without thought of profit or tax base. Something simply for the eye to behold, or man and woman to enjoy. It's still not too late in the day. (Victoria Daily Colonist, 24 March 1972)

Local business people, however, were disturbed by the anti-development bias that had become so prevalent in Victoria. They were equally disturbed by the role being played by the new mayor. According to one prominent local

businessman, Victoria's mayors had previously been chosen by a group of businessmen who gathered to decide which of them should "take a turn" and devote some time to the city (2). There have been several Victoria Mayors who are exceptions to this claim, including Peter Pollen. Although wealthy, Pollen was not a friend of Victoria's established business community. In contrast, Pollen credits the elderly population of Victoria, "urban radicals" as he calls them, for supporting his efforts to improve Victoria's environment (3).

During 1972, Pollen aggressively pressed for a clean-up of the Inner Harbour by the City and remaining industries. The new New Democratic Party (NDP) provincial government expressed support for a rebirth of the harbour, promising "not only close co-operation, but also financial aid" (Victoria Daily Colonist, 4 November 1972). Within weeks of making that promise, the province lived up to its word by providing funds for the construction of a Lower Causeway in front of the Legislature and the Empress Hotel. This project, like many others on the Inner Harbour, was not the result of a long formal planning process, but of the personal co-operation of several important decision-makers. Pollen describes the Lower Causeway project as a city plan which he took to Premier Barrett one day, to be promptly handed a cheque for more money than he had requested (4).

By 1973, the last of the 'dirty' industries was

removed from the harbour (Figure 6). The city had purchased and cleared the Ocean Cement site in 1971, and the Bapco Paint factory at Laurel Point was vacated in 1973 in preparation for a proposed \$10 million apartment-hotel complex. Other changes included: the purchase of the former Causeway Esso station by the city (1974); negotiations by the city to purchase the Marathon Property; and a proposal to move the Black Ball ferry terminal to the south shore.

During this period, an impressive number of government reports and plans were produced that dealt with the Inner Harbour (Table 2). The Ocean Cement urban renewal project was the focus of a number of reports, all of which assumed the Reid Project would go ahead. These plans accepted the notion that private enterprise would bring economic vitality to the harbour. Preservation of the architectural heritage and character of downtown Victoria was a common theme, as was development of much of the Inner Harbour for public recreation and greatly increased public access to the waterfront.

The only truly comprehensive plan for the Inner Harbour ever produced was the Inner Harbour Study carried out for the City by Arthur Erickson Architects of Vancouver. This study was intended "to develop a detailed design concept" for the Inner Harbour (City of Victoria, Inner Harbour Study 1973, 2) and was awaited by politicians,

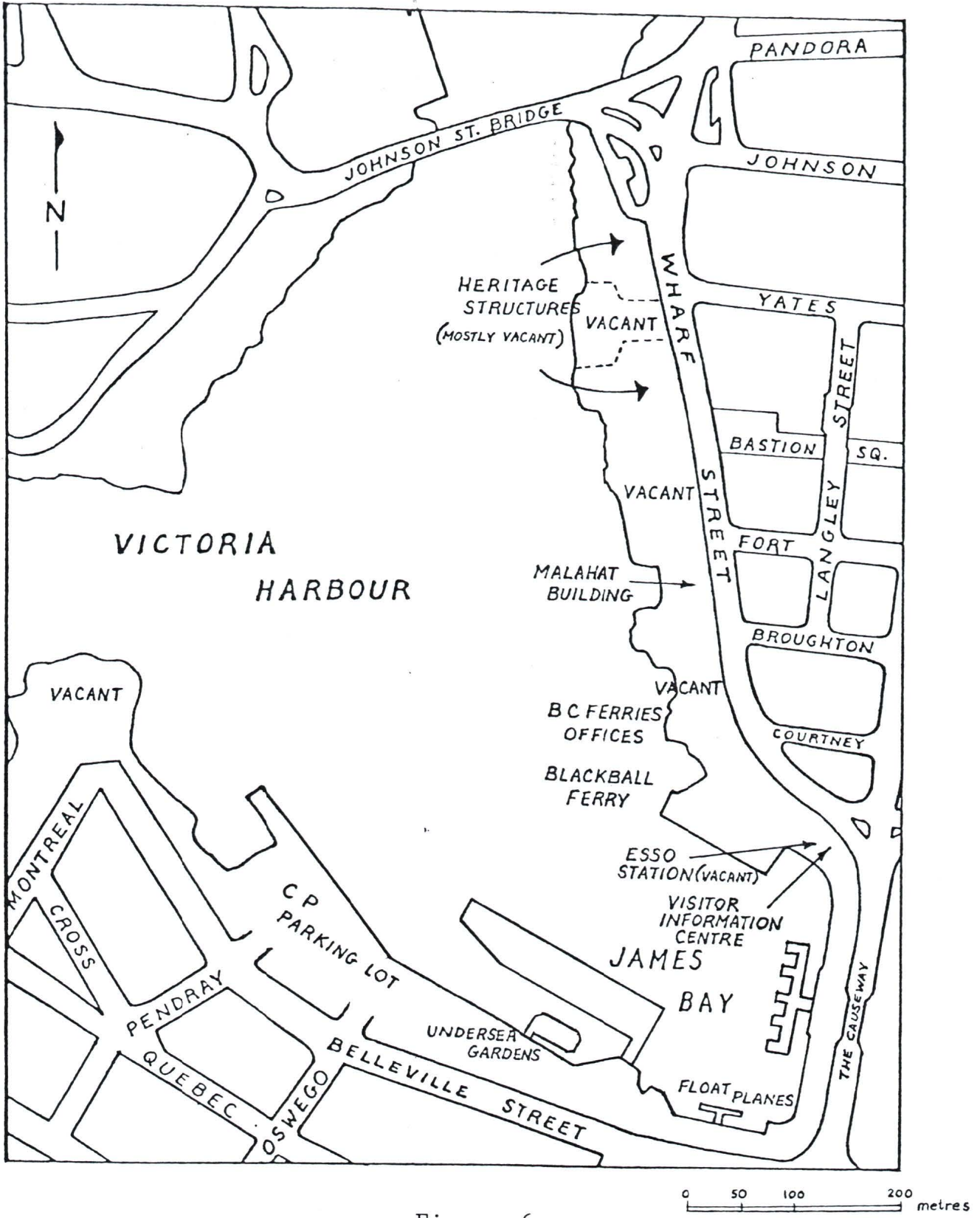


Figure 6
Inner Harbour Land Uses (1973)

planners, business people, and the public with considerable excitement (Victoria Daily Colonist, 11 April 1973). Many people thought Erickson's plan would form the basis for all future development of the Inner Harbour (5).

When it was unveiled, the plan met a "cautious" initial reaction (Victoria Daily Colonist, 1 June 1973). The Erickson plan presented a general theme for the harbour and made a number of specific proposals (Figures 7 and 8).

These included:

1. Construction of a footbridge which would close off the harbour directly in front of the Empress Hotel and the Legislature.
2. Construction of an outdoor amphitheatre on the Black Ball ferry terminal site.
3. Low-rise commercial development on the former Ocean Cement property.
4. Transportation facilities on the South Shore covered by a deck at the level of Belleville Street. The roof of the deck would be developed as a park.
5. Preservation of old stone buildings on Wharf Street, with the addition of "small scale" buildings and "shopping mews". (City of Victoria, Inner Harbour Study 1973, 30-42)

The Erickson study did not propose any new high density development on the Inner Harbour, but it assumed the Reid Centre would proceed.

The plan was comprehensive, giving critics plenty of

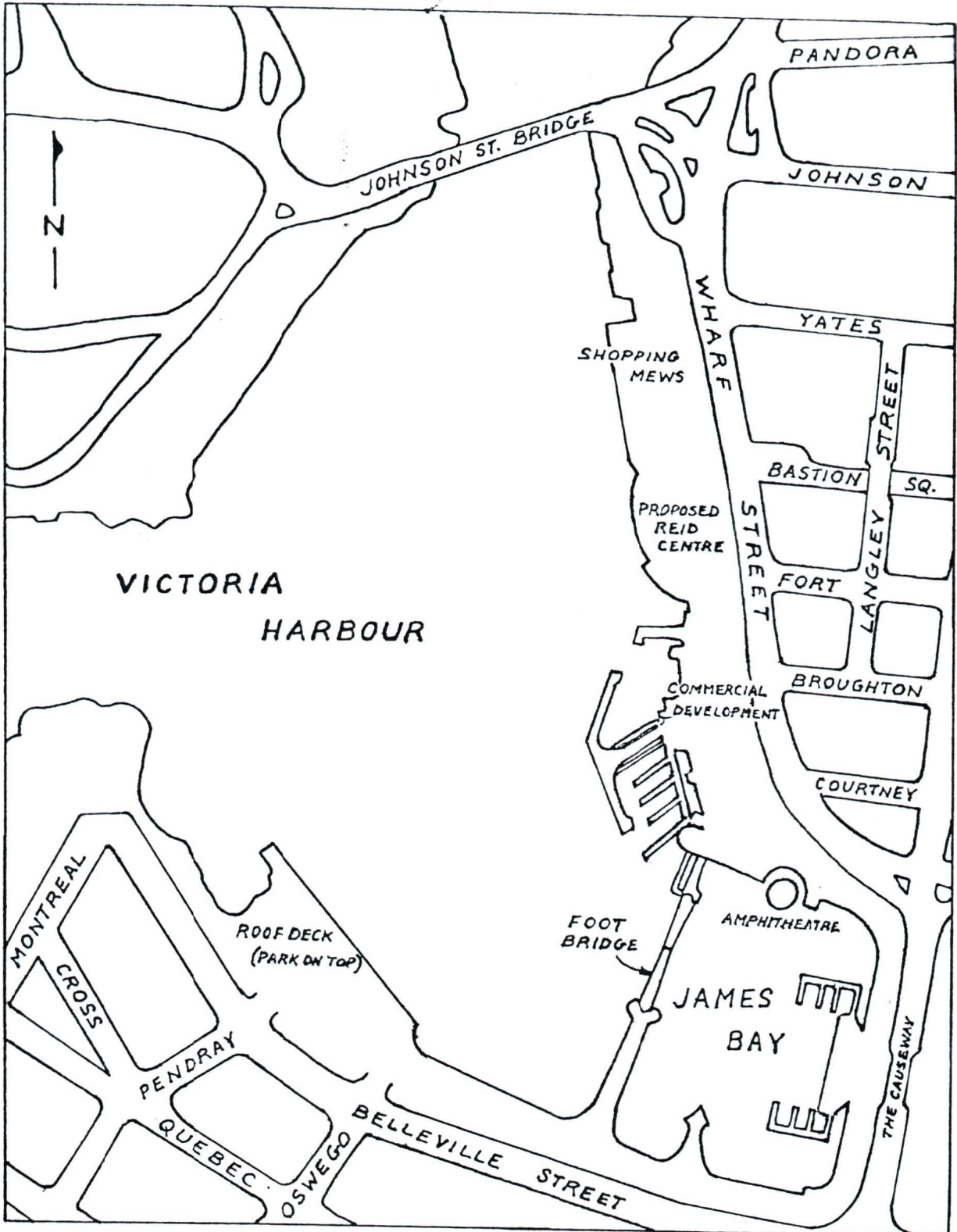


Figure 7
Arthur Erickson's Proposals (1973)

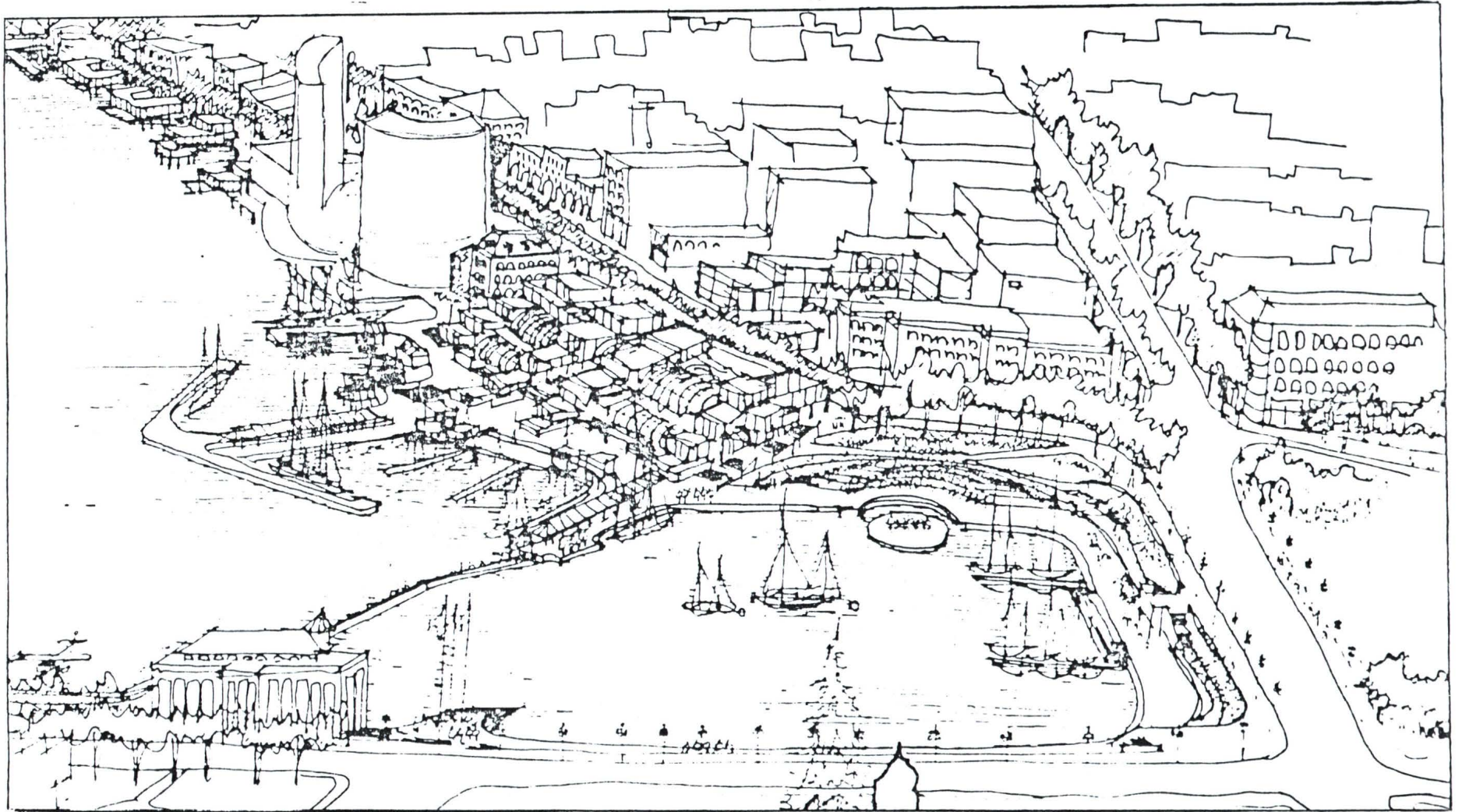


Figure 8
Sketch of Arthur Erickson's Proposals (1973)
Source: City of Victoria, (1973) Inner Harbour Study.

material to comment upon. While few of Erickson's specific proposals were implemented, his plan remains the closest to an official plan for the Inner Harbour that exists. In fact, Victoria's planning department was preparing an updated version of the Erickson plan as the present study proceeded—more than ten years later (6).

Much of the Inner Harbour was embroiled in controversy in 1973 (Figure 6): proposals for the Laurel Point hotel complex were under contentious debate; the Reid Centre had become an angry stalemate; the city was still trying to purchase Marathon Realty's south shore property; and the former Ocean Cement site had been cleared but lacked future direction.

Controversy was so great that in April 1974, the Province took action by placing "an absolute freeze on all lands lying between Wharf Street and the Inner Harbour" (Victoria Daily Colonist, 17 June 1974). The following month, the province purchased the Reid Site for \$1.7 million. Rod Clack, a former Victoria planner, was hired by the Province to make recommendations on the future of the harbour area. The entire planning process was underway yet again, less than a year after publication of Erickson's plan. Clack's report was released in July 1974, and recommended "low-density, low-rise construction with a

waterfront promenade" (Victoria Daily Colonist, 27 July 1974). The report was written in a narrative manner, rather than as a planning document, "in the expectation that it will become available to the public" (Province of British Columbia 1974, i). No maps, diagrams, or specific recommendations were made.

Considerable bitter argument and name-calling took place between the City and the Province during the mid 1970's. In 1984, Pollen referred to the brief period of NDP provincial government as a time of co-operation between the City and the Province (7). However, Pollen had little good to say about the provincial government in 1974 and 1975. During those years, Resources Minister Robert Williams was responsible for the Inner Harbour. An intelligent, strong-willed, and powerful minister, Williams was on poor terms with Pollen. Many Provincial actions, such as the 1974 land freeze and the 1975 purchase of south shore lands from Marathon Realty were taken without consultation with the city (Victoria Daily Colonist, 23 April 1975).

The Province had effectively removed the City from harbour planning, a move which caused a great deal of resentment on the part of the City. Pollen charged the Provincial Government with "gross administrative incapacity" (Victoria Daily Colonist, 31 July 1974) and claimed that the province "refuses to co-operate with the City on planning

the future development of "waterfront property along Wharf (Street)" (Victoria Daily Colonist, 26 September 1974).

This lack of co-operation between political decision-makers played a major role in holding up progress during this period (8).

With the addition of the south shore to Provincial land-holdings, the Province had become the major land owner on the Inner Harbour. In order to make planning of the harbour easier by further consolidating land-holdings, the City sold the former Causeway Esso station to the CIDC in 1975. The Province took advantage of its power over harbour planning by establishing a design competition for the entire area in the fall of 1975. City Alderman Sam Bawlf referred to this move as "a bingo game approach" to Inner Harbour design (Victoria Daily Colonist, 16 October 1975).

In December 1975, the future of the Inner Harbour was thrown further into a state of flux by the defeat of the NDP government and the retirement of Pollen from civic politics.

At Laurel Point, a land-use contract between the City and Canadian Freehold Properties had been signed, providing for a hotel and condominium complex on the site and a three acre waterfront park for the city. Canadian Freehold Properties had voluntarily conducted an extensive public information campaign which described its plans for the site.

City planner Peter Crisp has hailed that campaign as a major reason for the eventual success of the project, noting however, that only a wealthy development company could afford such efforts. The developer announced in January 1976 that the hotel portion of the project was unlikely to proceed because of economic circumstances (Victoria Daily Colonist, 14 January 1976). Later that year, construction of a scaled-down version of the hotel began.

One of the most important changes to Inner Harbour planning came in March 1978 when the Province turned over its harbour land holdings to the Capital Improvement District Commission. This occurred because the Province was disbanding its Ministry of Public Works which had been responsible for all government properties. British Columbia Buildings Corporation (BCBC) was created in its place to manage Provincial office buildings and facilities. Inner Harbour lands did not fall under this definition, so another body had to be found to manage them. The CIDC was an appointed commission composed of five nominees of local municipal councils and eight members chosen by the province. Its role had previously been limited to spending a budget of \$400,000 per year on "beautification programs in Greater Victoria" (Victoria Daily Colonist, 16 April 1976).

The role of the CIDC was greatly expanded when the following properties were turned over to it (Figure 9): the

south shore from Oswego Street east to the former Canadian Pacific Steamships ticket office; the ticket office; the former Causeway Esso Station; the Black Ball ferry terminal; and the former Reid Site.

The City, with Michael Young as its new, less colorful Mayor, reacted favorably to the Province's move. This feeling was echoed by the local press which suggested that "the way looks clear for co-ordinated planning to commence in earnest", but noted that the CIDC had been given plenty of land but none of the money that would be needed to make any changes to it (Victoria Daily Colonist, 30 April 1976).

As if to confirm that the land transfer had little practical significance, the announcement five months later of a \$100,000 "beautification and development" of the former Reid Site came from the Province rather than the CIDC (Victoria Daily Colonist, 28 September 1976).

Another Inner Harbour site became controversial in 1976 when developer Hans Hartwig proposed a subsidized housing development on the former Oaklands fish packing site on Wharf Street (Figure 5). Victoria's Advisory Planning Commission opposed the project because it would block waterfront access and was too large. Hartwig responded in 1977 with another proposal, this time for a 230 room hotel. Alderman Bob Wright, owner of the Undersea Gardens (a

harbour tourist attraction), welcomed Hartwig's plan as a much-needed "anchor development" on the Wharf Street side of the Inner Harbour (Victoria Daily Colonist, 22 February 1977), but this proposal also met with opposition, and Hartwig was forced to come back with yet another plan for a \$5.5 million office-retail building. Hartwig lobbied the City for approval of this scheme for more than eighteen months.

Meanwhile, Sam Bawlf, who had moved from Victoria City Council to the Provincial Cabinet in 1975, had taken control of the Province's share of Inner Harbour development. In 1977 the Province began a major harbour beautification project. Funded by Federal and Provincial grants, plans called for the relocation of the Black Ball ferry to the south shore, demolition of the Black Ball terminal building, construction of marinas at the former Reid Site and the old Black Ball wharf, and the addition of a pedestrian promenade from the Causeway to the Reid Site. The CIDC, which was renamed the Provincial Capital Commission (PCC) in 1978, was not a driving force behind this beautification project. Direction had come from its political masters (9).

In November 1977, Bawlf unveiled new and more grandiose plans for the Inner Harbour, plans that were to transform Victoria into the "Venice of North America"

(Victoria Daily Colonist, 4 November 1977). Included in the new scheme was a major downtown food centre on the former Reid Site which would be "something between a supermarket and a farmer's market" (Victoria Daily Colonist, 4 November 1977). The Daily Colonist newspaper greeted the proposal with enthusiasm: "the Inner Harbour of Victoria could be a magnificent place someday, a big bowl of salt water surrounded by space, colour and pleasing form, lifting the hearts of all who see it" (Victoria Daily Colonist, 10 November 1977).

In preparation for the development, the Province lifted its 1974 freeze on Inner Harbour development. The City was not notified in advance of this change (Victoria Daily Colonist, 3 May 1978). In June 1978, Bawlf called for developers from across the country to submit proposals for the former Reid Site, and began working out details of the project. Another example of continuing bad relations between the City and the Province occurred when a seemingly minor disagreement between them over the merits of a skywalk linking Bastion Square with the development versus a crossing at grade, nearly killed the entire project (Victoria Daily Colonist, 14 June 1978).

By October 1978, the Province had discovered that private developers were not interested in Bawlf's project. In order to save the scheme, Bawlf resurrected an idea which

had been shelved for more than ten years: that of a waterfront convention centre. Initially, political response to the expanded proposal was favourable. Mayor Young "had no hesitation" (Victoria Daily Colonist, 26 October 1978) in supporting the revised concept, and the City's Planning Committee endorsed the project within days of its suggestion.

However, more problems surfaced late in 1978 when Bawlf was demoted from Minister of Recreation and Conservation to Minister of Deregulation, a change which placed the Province's aggressive pursuit of Inner Harbour development in doubt. A local newspaper columnist suggested that Bawlf's demotion was in part due to his aggressive pursuit of Inner Harbour projects "at great expense to the Provincial Government and greater glory to himself" (Victoria Daily Colonist, 7 December 1978).

Inner Harbour development was further slowed in 1979 when Hartwig gave up on his Wharf Street plans after trying to get City approval for over 18 months. His original plans for subsidized housing had failed because the design was too spartan, and an office building was rejected because the City wanted a project that would keep the harbour active at all times (10). Hartwig had barbed-wire fences erected around the site and announced that he was prepared to leave it to "sit there for a hundred years" (Victoria Daily

Colonist, 22 March 1979). Alderman Murray Glazier had most aggressively opposed the project, a move that the local media interpreted as an attempt to repeat the earlier political success of Pollen's anti-developer campaigns (Victoria Daily Colonist, 18 March 1979).

Hartwig sold the property later in 1979 to Bawlf, who had been defeated in the 1979 Provincial election. This was the last major change in land ownership that has occurred on the Inner Harbour (Figure 9). Bawlf quickly obtained a development permit from the City which allowed him to build a luxury apartment-hotel on the site, a development which became one of the most controversial on the Inner Harbour.

Bawlf's project, the Victoria Regent, became infamous for several reasons; the building was totally out of character with the heritage buildings that surround it; it was out of scale both in terms of its height and its bulk; use of the building as a high priced apartment-hotel brought very little life to the harbour; the barren waterfront walkway that skirted the Regent made a mockery of the goal of continuous public access to the waterfront; and the speed and ease with which Bawlf completed purchase of the land and approval of the project aroused some suspicions of preferential treatment by the City (11).

Plans for a waterfront convention centre, another of

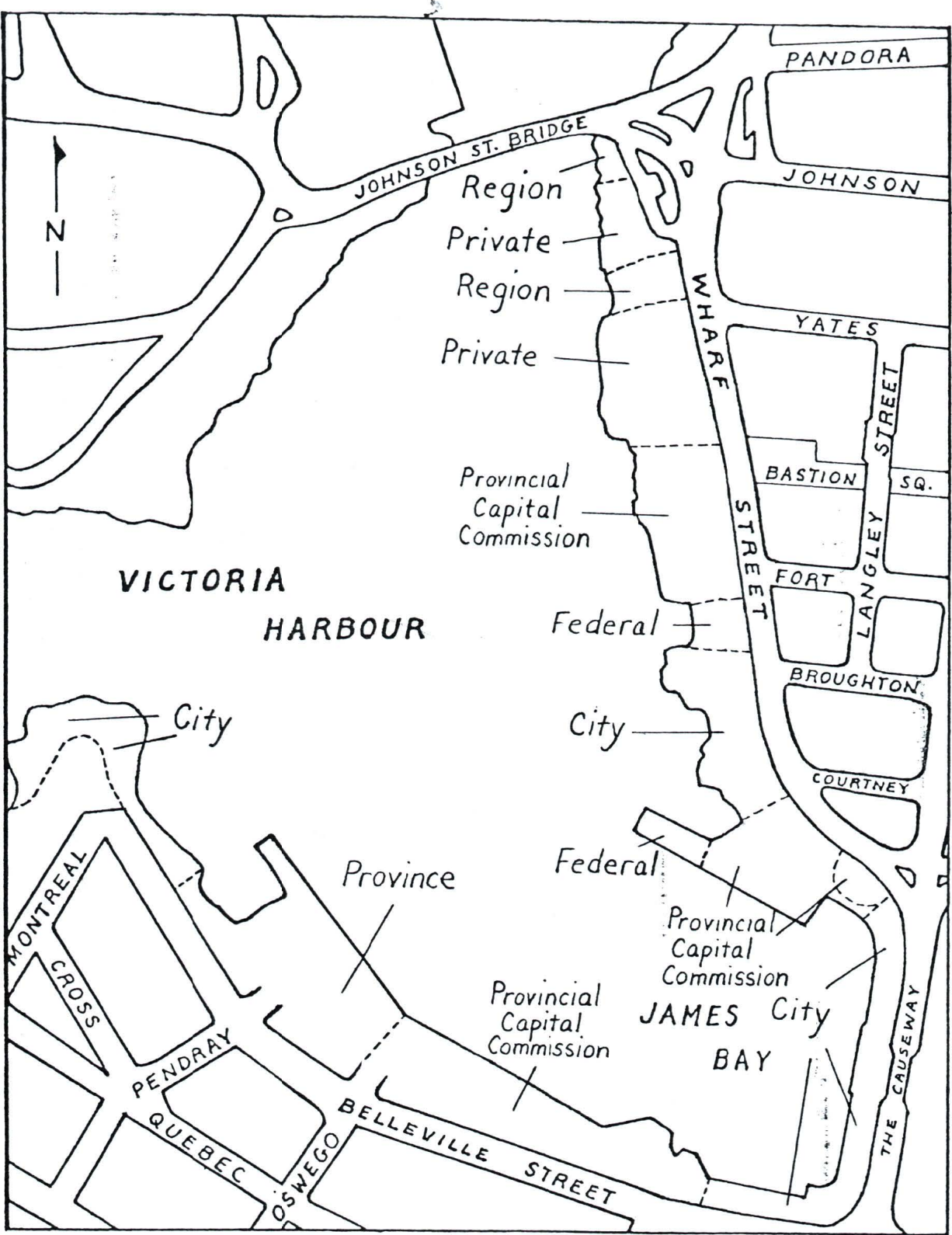


Figure 9
Inner Harbour Land Ownership (1978-1984)

0 50 100 200 metres

Bawlf's ideas, were swept by the tides of contention in late 1979 and 1980. The frustration of many Victoria residents was expressed by a letter that appeared in the Daily Colonist in 1979. Its author claimed "there has never been employed in Victoria a systematic process of programming and planning for the Inner Harbour involving fair and ample citizen's participation", and criticized previous planning studies as "often limited, involving sometimes ulterior motives, 'broadening the tax base', 'maximizing utilization', generating revenue, the pushing of pet projects, or they ended up with unacceptable results, recommendations and conclusions, or as 'porkbarrel politics'" (Victoria Daily Colonist, 25 August 1979).

Robin Blencoe was the only member of Victoria council initially critical of the convention centre project, but he was joined in 1980 by others throughout the community, including Pollen (then a private citizen). In April 1980, Pollen spoke out, claiming "we successfully fought for control over the waterfront, aided and abetted, I might say, by the NDP government and now Social Credit reborn is fouling up the Inner Harbour. It's a real heart-breaker to me" (Victoria Daily Colonist, 3 April 1980).

In August 1980, the Victoria Waterfront Enhancement Society (VWES) was formed in opposition to the convention

centre which they viewed as desecrating the harbour. Pollen was a co-founder of the group.

Opposition grew amid rumours of land speculation by people close to the project (referred to by Pollen as "conniving") and claims that the scheme had evolved from one using private money for public use to "a project that will benefit the private sector only, but is to be financed entirely with public funds" (Victoria Daily Colonist, 3 April 1980). The Inner Harbour location had become a secondary issue.

Pollen returned to civic politics in 1981, defeating William Tindall who had been the unspectacular incumbent Mayor. Along with Pollen was elected a council dominated by opponents to the now discredited convention centre scheme. Plans for the project were effectively dead, and in 1982 the Province withdrew \$5 million in funding that had been allocated for a convention centre.

In the years since the death of the convention centre proposal and the construction of the Victoria Regent, only one significant Inner Harbour construction project has been completed. In an effort to ensure that the Black Ball ferry would continue serving Victoria, the company was permitted to build a new terminal building on the south shore of the Harbour. In 1982, the PCC constructed a deck at the level of Belleville Street which linked the new terminal with the

former CP Steamship building (now occupied by the Royal London Wax Museum and offices). The new deck was similar to Arthur Erickson's proposal for a park-like deck on top of ferry terminal parking on the south shore. These principles had been updated and expressed in detail by Wade Williams Architects in a 1981 planning study of the south shore.

Unfortunately, the PCC constructed the deck without informing the city or conforming to its building regulations. Ken Patten, Project Manager for the PCC, referred to the oversight as a "communications problem", while City planner Peter Crisp called it "planning by surprise".

More contention followed in 1983 when the PCC agreed to redevelop the former Causeway Esso station. Along with Inner Harbour lands, the PCC had been given responsibility for the refurbished Crystal Gardens in 1978, and financial losses from this responsibility weighed heavily on the Commission. In an effort to increase its income, the PCC asked in 1982 for proposals to redevelop the former Esso station which then accommodated the Visitor's Information Centre in its top floor but had no tenants in its lower levels.

In the Spring of 1983, the PCC approved two of the eight proposals that had been brought forward. One plan called for the addition of a floor above the existing

Visitor Information Centre along with other external additions needed to accommodate a large restaurant. The lower portion of the building was to be used as a terminal for a jetfoil service between Victoria and Seattle. Both proposals incited controversy as soon as they were announced. Opponents from the VWES and the City charged that the plans would block views and impede public access along the Causeway at intervals throughout each day.

This quickly became another major harbour planning dispute, one which embarrassed Pollen because he was a member of the PCC which had unanimously supported the plan. Pollen was forced to explain what had happened to his concern for harbour preservation. Murray Glazier was the only member of City council to initially oppose the plan, but it soon became obvious that the plan would not go through. Expansion of the building and blockage of the Lower Causeway both were unpopular aspects of the proposals. Pollen quickly retreated from his initial acceptance of the plan, claiming he had not been aware of the proposals when they passed through the PCC. After several weeks of controversy, the jet-foil proposal was scrapped and restaurant plans were delayed until Inner Harbour zoning had been reconsidered.

4.5.1 Inner Harbour Zoning

Prior to 1980, Inner Harbour zoning had been very simple (Figure 10). The entire harbour area was designated

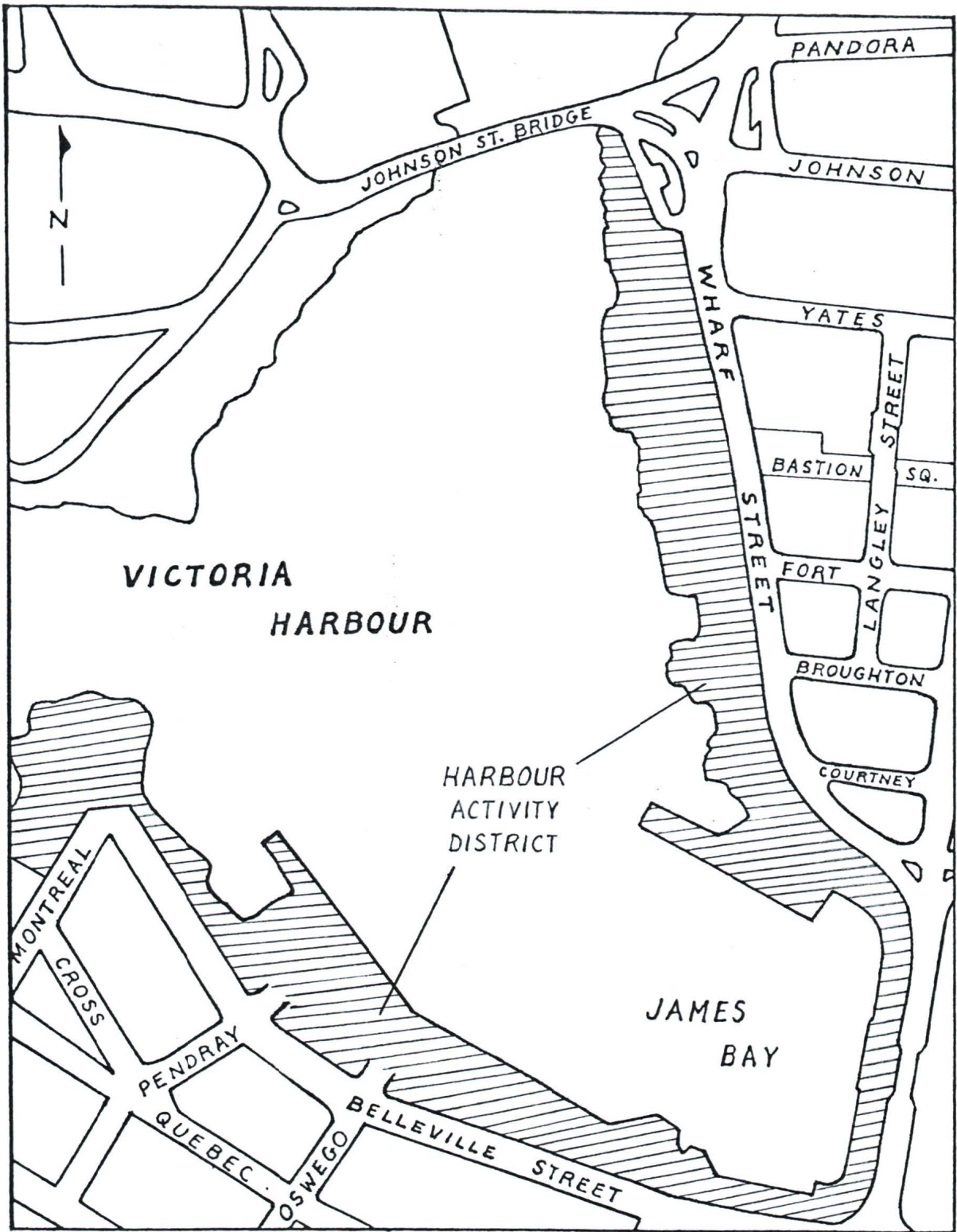


Figure 10
Inner Harbour Zoning (1974)

0 50 100 200 metres

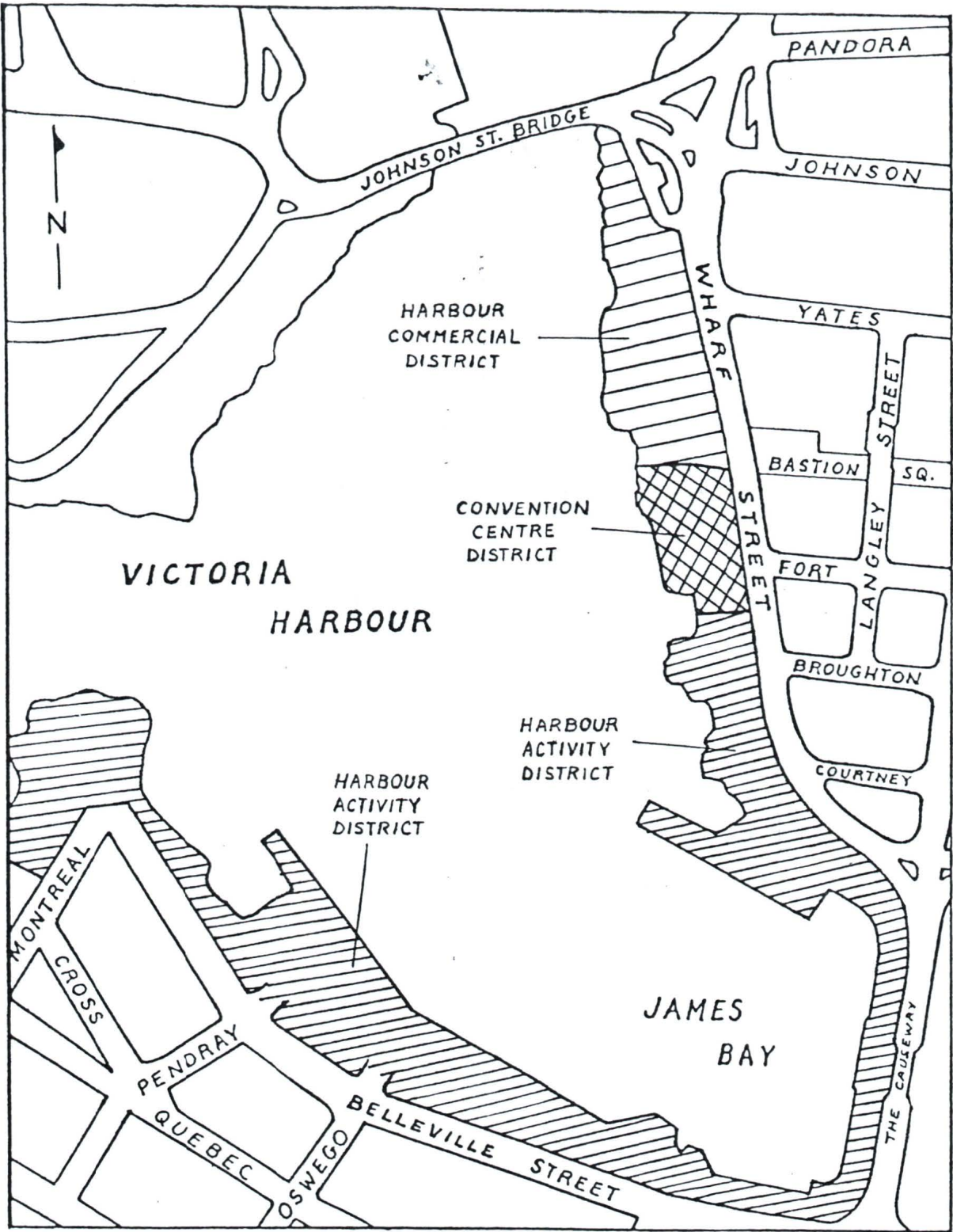


Figure 11
Inner Harbour Zoning (1980)

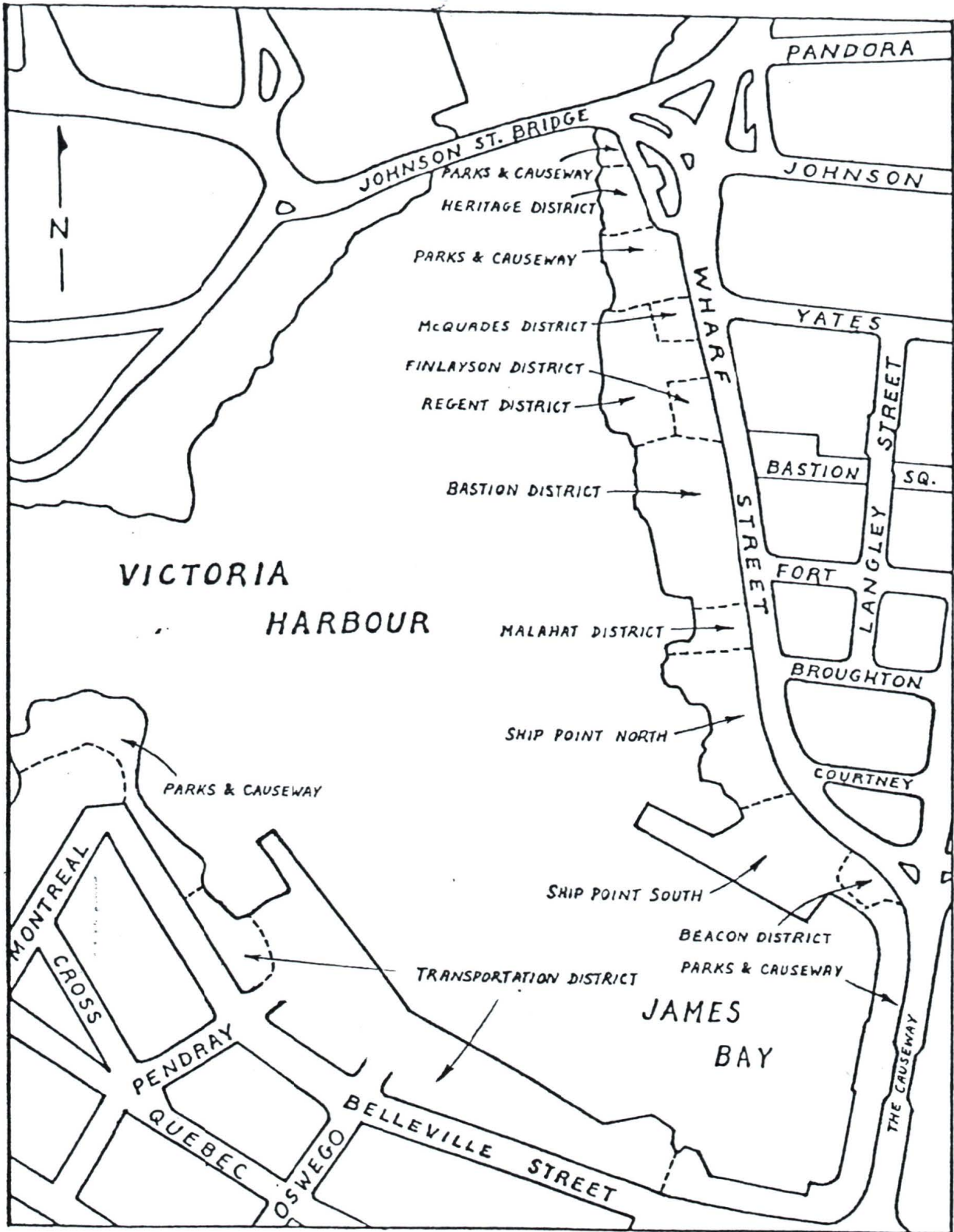


Figure 12
Inner Harbour Zoning (1984)

as the Harbour Commercial District. A wide range of land uses was permitted, including: docks, wharves and piers; commercial; residential; shops; restaurants; parking facilities; barber shops; artists' studios; and offices (only 15 per cent of floor space could be offices). The maximum permissible floor space ratio was 2 to 1, and buildings could be as high as 15.5 metres above grade. This zoning had allowed the owners of the Reid Site in 1971 to threaten construction of a "seven-storey concrete box" without needing zoning changes (Victoria Daily Colonist, 23 November 1971).

In 1971, the entire Inner Harbour was designated a special development area. This gave the City power to sign land-use contracts with Inner Harbour developers. The redevelopment of Laurel Point was completed under such an agreement. One of the terms of that land-use contract was that the developer would turn over a three acre waterfront park to the City.

In 1980, Inner Harbour zoning was changed (Figure 11). Rather than one zone, the harbour was divided into three. The area north of the former Reid Site remained in the Harbour Commercial District, which now permitted hotels and public buildings in addition to all the activities mentioned previously. The former Reid Site was placed in a

special Convention Centre zone in order to accommodate Bawlf's plans. The remainder of the Inner Harbour was placed in the Harbour Activity District, which was identical to the Harbour Commercial District except that hotels were not permitted and building height was limited to between 8 and 11 metres above grade.

The 1980 zoning was still very permissive. This broad and simple zoning was based on the assumption of the City that the Province, as major land owner on the harbour, would co-operate with the City before making any changes to its property. Disagreement between these two over deck construction on the South Shore in 1982 and use of the former Causeway Esso station in 1983 indicated to the City that more precise and prescriptive zoning regulations were required.

The City's appointed Advisory Planning Commission was asked to propose new zoning regulations, and spent much of 1983 conducting public meetings and hearings over the new regulations, which were adopted late in 1983.

4.6 The Inner Harbour in 1984

After fifteen years of redevelopment and rejuvenation, the Inner Harbour remains in the midst of major change. Permanent structures occupy only a portion of the harbour frontage (Figure 13), but enough proposals for

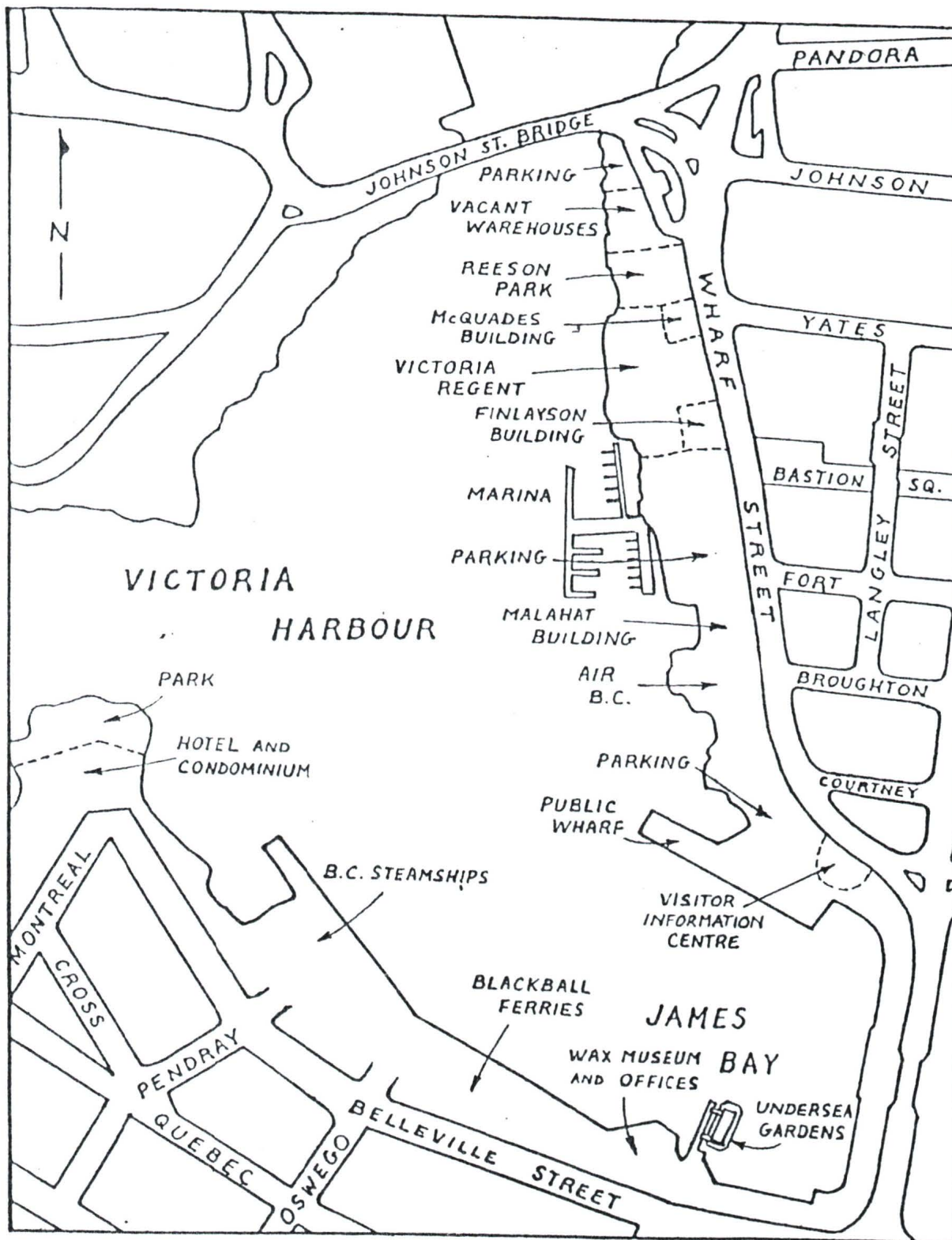


Figure 13
Inner Harbour Land Uses (1984)

0 50 100 200 metres

the vacant land have been made and rejected to cover the entire area several times over (Table 3).

The 1983 rezoning of the Inner Harbour divided the area into eleven distinct zones covering the entire waterfront from Laurel Point to the Johnson Street Bridge (Figure 12). The current status and zoning for each is described below (City of Victoria, Inner Harbour Study, 1983).

1. The Laurel Point area is dominated by two land uses: a hotel and condominium development inland; and a waterfront park between the hotel and the water. The park is passive in nature, and zoning limits its uses to parkland and to docks for pleasure boats. The park is visually appealing and is committed to that use for the long term.

The Lower Causeway, like Laurel Point, has been developed as a public park. The lack of development in this area permits open views of the Legislative Buildings and the Empress Hotel from throughout the Inner Harbour and the Songhees area.

Near the northern end of the Inner Harbour area is Reeson Park, a small open area which provides waterfront access to the public. The park is used primarily by vagrants as a comfortable dry-weather sleeping spot. Zoning for this park is the same as for the Laurel Point and

Causeway parks.

2. East of Laurel Point is the Inner Harbour Transportation District. This waterfront area accommodates transportation terminals for BC Steamship and Black Ball ferry services. At present much of the site is under-utilized as black-topped parking, and there are plans to eventually extend a deck at the level of Belleville Street over the parking lot below. The deck would be covered by a park. Current zoning allows for parks, docks, parking, and transportation offices, and only 25 per cent of the Belleville Street frontage can be obstructed by buildings. The Wax Museum presently located in the former CP Steamship ticket office and the Undersea Gardens do not conform to current zoning.

3. The Inner Harbour Beacon District includes two lots occupied by the former Causeway Esso station at the north end of the Causeway. The upper floor of this building is occupied by the Visitor Information Centre and an art-deco beacon tower rises above it. Zoning allows for offices serving tourists, restaurants, museums, parks and docks for pleasure boats. That portion of the building which is above street level may not be expanded, and is designated as non-conforming.

4. and 5. The Ship Point area was occupied by the Black Ball ferry terminal (moved in 1978) and Ocean Cement

(moved in 1971). The entire site is now used for surface parking except for a temporary building used by Air B.C. as a seaplane terminal. Zoning regulations designate the southern part of Ship Point as an open area intended for festivals, celebrations, and exhibits. No permanent structures are permitted. On the northern part of Ship Point, permanent buildings are allowed as long as they have roof decks. Activities permitted include public markets, offices serving tourists, docks, exhibits, and parking.

6. The Inner Harbour Malahat District is a small area occupied by the historic Malahat Building. Heritage regulations prohibit significant changes to the building, and zoning allows for uses such as restaurants, offices, artists' studios, and exhibits. It is presently occupied by offices for several community organizations.

7. The Inner Harbour Bastion District is the controversial site of the Reid Centre and convention centre proposals. The six meter vertical drop from the level of Wharf Street to grade makes possible extensive development without any structures needing to protrude above the level of Wharf, but it is currently used as a parking lot. A public marina was constructed off the site in 1978. Zoning regulations allow for a wide range of uses, ranging from shops and restaurants to theatres, parks, and travel agencies.

8., 9. and 10. Adjacent to the Bastion District is a group of three structures: the Finlayson, McQuades, and Regent buildings. The first two are heritage structures, and the third is the controversial apartment-hotel constructed by Bawlf. Zoning for all three reflects current activities on each site. The Finlayson Building (also known as Hartwig Court) and the McQuades Building are allowed restaurants, shops, offices and clubs. The Regent is restricted to transient accommodation, docks, and parks:

11. Just south of the Johnson Street Bridge is the Inner Harbour Heritage District. This area is occupied by two stone structures known as the Northern Junk buildings. Neither structure is currently in use and zoning permits a range of retail, recreation, and residential activities.

4.7 Summary

The Inner Harbour evolved from the centre of life in Victoria at the city's inception to a busy port prior to the First World War. As port functions moved elsewhere, industrial activities replaced them. By the 1960's, the Inner Harbour was suffering from serious dereliction. Political and development actors attempted to initiate revitalization through intensive redevelopment of the harbour in the early 1970's, but most of these efforts met stiff community and political opposition. A number of sites

were cleared of unsightly industrial slums, but relatively little new development proceeded. Since the early 1970's, numerous redevelopment proposals have come forward with a similar lack of success. These include: plans for a downtown food centre on the former Reid Site; a convention centre at the same location; plans to demolish the former Causeway Esso station (several times) as well as proposals for a jet-foil terminal and restaurant in the building; and a number of plans for the present site of the Victoria Regent.

The processes that led to the failure of these schemes have been dominated by political manoeuvring and personality clashes. This thesis now turns to specific consideration of the roles of individual actors in Inner Harbour decision-making.

Notes

1. These included two towers in the Reid Centre development on the harbour, a twenty storey tower in the area known as the Oak Bay Junction, and a thirty-eight storey tower proposed for a site opposite the Hudson's Bay department store on the edge of downtown.
2. Anonymous personal interview, July 1984.
3. Pollen, personal interview, September 1983.
4. Ibid.
5. Crisp, personal interview, 30 August 1983.
6. Ibid.
7. Pollen, personal interview, 1 September 1983.
8. Ibid.
9. Patten, personal interview, 1 October 1984.
10. Crisp, personal interview, 5 October 1984.
11. Pollen is harshly critical of the City council of the day, and particularly Michael Young, who was then Mayor.
12. Even those who discount entirely the significance of the VWES since that time, including Curtis and Pollen, agree that this was the case.

CHAPTER 5

MAJOR ACTORS IN HARBOUR PLANNING DECISIONS

As has been demonstrated in the preceding historical review, the role of individuals in positions of power is crucial to the success or failure of redevelopment projects. Community support or opposition can help push through or stop a project once it has been proposed, but the initial source for such proposals is usually one or more political, bureaucratic or business leaders. This reality does not bode well for those who favour extensive involvement of the public in planning, but the history of Inner Harbour redevelopment clearly demonstrates that this is the case.

As described in Chapter 3, a series of interviews was conducted with twenty-four individuals involved in the redevelopment of the Inner Harbour (Table 1). Some have been direct participants, others vitally interested observers. The interviews were conducted in an effort to determine the role of each participant and the opinions that he or she has taken into consideration of harbour issues. The actors fall into three broad categories: government (four levels); private entrepreneurs; and community groups.

5.1 Government Planning Actors

5.1.1 The Federal Government

The Federal government plays a somewhat limited, although important, role in harbour development. The Federal government owns little land on the harbour (Figure 9), that being: the Malahat Building; the end of the Ship Point public wharf; and a small wharf near the Johnson Street Bridge.

More significant is Federal administration of Inner Harbour water leases. The usual procedure for the granting or renewal of a water lease is for the Federal government to approve a lease only after the local municipality has approved the decision.

In 1970, the City was in the midst of a dispute with Marathon Realty over the redevelopment of the south shore of the harbour. In an effort to force the co-operation of Marathon, the City threatened to withhold approval for renewal of water leases off the property (Victoria Times, 31 March 1970). CP (Marathon's parent company) needed the leases in order to continue docking its ferries in the harbour. The Federal government ignored the City's obvious attempt at blackmail and granted CP a 21-year water lease without contacting the City. This move left the City with one less weapon to use against uncooperative developers.

The Federal government also affects development of

the harbour by providing funding for waterfront projects. With the greatest financial resources of any level of government, the Federal government is capable of making a large impact on harbour development. For example, over \$985,000 was contributed by the Federal government to Federal-Provincial projects on the Inner Harbour in 1977 and 1978. However, no Federal funding has been received for harbour revitalization since that time (PCC, 1984).

In addition to the projects mentioned above, Federal urban renewal funds played a major role in the acquisition of the Ocean Cement property in 1971. Clearly, it is possible for the Federal government to help revitalize the Inner Harbour in the future, perhaps as it did on Granville Island in Vancouver. For this to happen, however, specific proposals must to be formulated and supported by both the City and the Province. It would also help if there was a better working relationship between these two and the Federal government.

Another Federal body deserving mention is a possible Greater Victoria Harbour Commission. No such Commission presently exists, but there is currently a renewal of interest by the City in establishing one to administer the harbour areas of Victoria and Esquimalt. A harbour commission would provide local control over port decisions now made at the Federal level. While this is more important

outside the Inner Harbour at deep-sea port facilities, a harbour commission could also change the face of Inner Harbour development by adding a new level of bureaucracy to planning issues. It is the usual practice for harbour commissions to take over administration of all harbour lands owned by Federal, Provincial, and municipal levels of government (Willis et al., 1970). Such a harbour commission would therefore have jurisdiction over almost the entire undeveloped area of the Inner Harbour.

An unsuccessful 1970 proposal for a Victoria Harbour Commission stated that "it is expected that the proposed Harbour Commission would concern itself with all aspects of improving the Inner Harbour area to produce optimal development in the best interests of the region" (Willis et al., 1970, 8). The proposal was not implemented because of fears that such an independent appointed body might run roughshod over any person or organization that disagreed with it (1). City leaders who favour the 1984 harbour commission proposal have indicated that they would not want to turn over such broad control of harbour lands to a harbour commission (2).

Water leases, Federal funding and harbour commissions are all potentially important to the development of the Inner Harbour, but the Federal government has a much less active role on a day-to-day basis than does the Province or

the City. For this reason, no representative of the Federal government was interviewed for this study. The Federal government's role is essentially reactive and is thus dependent on initiatives from others to bring about change.

5.1.2 The Role of the Province

The role of the Provincial government has expanded greatly since 1970. The best evidence of this is the fact that the Province became the largest land-owner on the harbour during this period (Figure 9). The Province also owns land on the opposite side of the harbour, known as the Songhees area (Chapter 1). Songhees has been dealt with separately by the Province in its administration and planning and is not considered in this study, but it is important to the Inner Harbour. Current Songhees plans call for sale or lease of the land to private developers who will transform the former Indian reserve and industrial area into a medium-density residential community (Province of British Columbia, 1983). Both the Province and the City have agreed to these principles.

If this development was to take place, Victoria's population would increase by some 5-6000 people. Demand for services of all kinds from the central area, including recreation, would expand considerably. Pressure would increase for transformation of vacant and underused Inner Harbour land to more intensive uses. However, the nature of

Songhees development has not yet been confirmed, and any development that occurs will be spread over a period of at least 20 years.

The Victoria Waterfront Enhancement Society (VWES) has proposed an alternative for the Songhees that includes a large theme park. This alternative proposal is not likely to replace the government plan, but considerable debate and controversy is almost certain to occur before any large-scale change takes place. It therefore makes sense to consider the future of the Inner Harbour with Songhees proposals in mind, but not on the basis of assumptions about the precise nature of future Songhees development.

There are two main areas of Provincial participation in Inner Harbour issues. One is through the appointed 'housekeeper' of Provincial properties in the Capital region, the Provincial Capital Commission (PCC), and the other is the important role of political initiative, usually pursued by individual cabinet ministers. Examples from the recent past include Robert Williams and Sam Bawlf. Both of these Provincial roles are important but poorly understood by many observers of Inner Harbour change.

The PCC is composed of eight Provincial appointees and five members from the municipal councils of the Capital region's four core municipalities (two members come from the City). The Commission is responsible for such key areas of

the Inner Harbour as: the Black Ball ferry terminal; the former CP Steamship ticket office; the former Causeway Esso Station; and the former Reid Site. The PCC was formed in 1956 (then known as the Capital Improvement District Commission (CIDC)). The Capital Commission Act of 1983, a Provincial law that charges the Commission with its rights and responsibilities, makes the Commission a potentially powerful body. The Commission has the power to purchase, acquire and hold land, construct buildings, grant concessions, and lease the land it controls.

Two factors prevent the PCC from exercising the full potential of its power, thereby reducing it to a mere housekeeper able to do little more than follow the instructions of the Provincial government. First, the PCC is dominated by Provincial appointees, a fact which virtually guarantees the cooperation of the Commission. Even more importantly, the PCC is inhibited by its dependence on the Province for funding. Since the Province controls all income of the Commission except for the rents it charges, the Provincial government can effectively control virtually all actions of the Commission.

Two current members of the PCC, its Project Manager, two Provincial cabinet ministers, and several critics of the Commission were interviewed for this study (Table 1). Provincial Attorney-General Brian Smith, a local MLA and

former member of the Commission believes that the PCC has "been a responsible, conservative tool for developing the Inner Harbour", but admits "I can't say it has been a really aggressive, creative body". The PCC was originally conceived as a body that would spend small amounts of money on non-controversial projects intended to beautify the Capital Region. The decision in 1976 to give the PCC control of harbour lands (Chapter 4) had little to do with the appropriateness of such a move. The PCC was simply a convenient receptacle.

Local MLA Robin Blencoe, a former City alderman, identifies the PCC as "one of the main reasons there have been so many problems on the Inner Harbour". Pollen agrees, attributing the ineffectiveness of the PCC to the fact that it was not originally created to make major redevelopment decisions. The Commission is not elected, it meets in private, and it is extremely low-profile. It has not shown the ability to independently produce and implement major decisions, and should probably not be expected to do so in the future.

The individual initiative of several Provincial cabinet ministers has played a much more significant role in harbour redevelopment than has the PCC. The decision to construct the Lower Causeway in 1973 was such an individual political decision. The same is true of the 1975 purchase

of the south shore from CP and the establishment of the BC Steamship Company. In a similar manner, Recreation and Conservation Minister Sam Bawlf pushed for the establishment of Ship Point as a public wharf and for the construction of a waterfront convention centre. Co-operation of other levels of government, the presence of adequate funding, and at least the acquiescence of the local population are all necessary if such plans are to proceed, but the personal approach of major elected officials is vital to determining the future of the Inner Harbour.

Current Finance Minister Hugh Curtis and Attorney-General Brian Smith could play important roles in future harbour redevelopment. Each is a powerful minister in the Social Credit government which has been in power since 1975, each represents a riding in the Victoria area, and each has faced Inner Harbour planning issues as a municipal appointee on the PCC. However, neither has been especially aggressive regarding Inner Harbour issues. Perhaps this is because both men occupy cabinet posts which are extremely time-consuming and have no direct relationship to the Inner Harbour or planning (Curtis, however, is responsible for the PCC). Another possible explanation is the fact that neither Curtis nor Smith has a harmonious personal relationship with Victoria's mayor.

The animosity between Pollen and both Cabinet

Ministers is known publically, although Curtis discounts its significance by saying "one or both of us have mellowed in the last little while". Whether or not anyone has "mellowed", Smith blames this lack of constructive communication between the Province and the City for "greatly hurting" planning of the Inner Harbour.

Although it is the Province which owns most Inner Harbour land and is responsible for its future, both Curtis and Smith are unhappy with its barren and undeveloped nature. Smith warns that "the danger is that it has become a pretty, but sterile place", but disclaims responsibility for this state by suggesting that "Provincial politicians have been mostly frustrated by what they believe to be an attitude in Victoria of 'nothing should happen, there should be no growth', and any proposal will simply be flogged to death by going the route of being recycled through meetings of advisory planning committees, council, other committees, zoning hearings... and will not receive favourable support from the City council".

This opinion is shared by Curtis, although he views agreement between the City and Province on Songhees proposals as a sign of an end to an "anti-development bias" on the part of the City. Victoria alderman Geoffrey Young sympathizes with the Province's frustration, as does his colleague Janet Baird, who says "Victoria City Council has

behaved very badly" and blames members of council who have argued with the Province through the news media. "I don't think we should do business that way", she opines.

The present Provincial government has shown a penchant for the 'privatization' of government functions, but it appears unlikely that Inner Harbour lands will face such a fate. Whether this is due to principle, as suggested by Curtis- "I can't conceive of any government saying 'the old Reid Site is surplus to our needs, let's sell it'. That would be very unlikely", or for purely pragmatic reasons as stated by Smith- "There's nobody that wants to buy it or do anything with it", it seems the Inner Harbour will remain in public hands.

This leads to an obvious question: if the Province is not going to sell its land-holdings, what will it do with them? The answer in the short term is that nothing will be done. While approximately one billion dollars is being spent to redevelop part of Vancouver's waterfront at BC Place, no funds are available to revitalize Victoria's Inner Harbour. Curtis, who as Finance Minister should know, warns that the Inner Harbour "may have another two to five years of relatively little activity and change".

Consistent with the free enterprise bent of the Social Credit Government, the Province desires more entrepreneurial activity on the harbour. While he offers no

specific proposals, Smith wants the harbour to be more active, "with throngs of people instead of the kind of sterile little jewel that it sometimes is".

The Province has played a major role in harbour redevelopment, but it has been frustrated by the intransigence of the City on several occasions. While unwilling to provide funds for immediate action on harbour redevelopment, the Province favours substantial development of the area.

5.1.3 The Role of the Capital Regional District

The Capital Regional District (CRD) does not play a significant role in determining the future of the Inner Harbour. The Official Regional Plan for the Capital Region "is concerned with making decisions about the development of the Region over the long term and is not intended to be a rigid specification which controls the development of the area in every particular" (Capital Regional District, 1983). The Plan is therefore somewhat general and flexible in nature.

In the most recent version of the plan, produced in 1983, the Inner Harbour falls within two broad zones defined by the CRD. The south shore is included in an area of existing residential development within which the plan encourages increased densities. The remainder of the Inner Harbour falls in a central area zone. The plan calls for

maintenance and expansion of the economic vitality of the central area. Clearly, these general divisions and goals are not especially relevant to determining the future of the Inner Harbour.

The only noticeable presence of the CRD on the Inner Harbour is the small regional park it maintains. Reeson Park is located immediately to the north of the Regent Hotel. The park was donated to the CRD in the mid-1970's by businessmen Gordon Reeson and Peter Pollen (then out of politics). In addition, the Region owns a very small parking lot on the south side of the Johnson Street Bridge. Neither this property nor Reeson Park will have great influence on the nature of future redevelopment of the harbour.

5.1.4 The Role of the City of Victoria

Virtually every planning issue that affects the community is discussed at the municipal level of government. Victoria's City council does not have nearly the legislative power of the Provincial and Federal governments, nor the income-generating capacity of the senior levels of government, but the City has tremendous power over local planning decisions. This power commonly exceeds that which the City has been legislatively allotted. For example, the Provincial government is not bound by the City's zoning regulations but it is not common for the Province to proceed

with developments that break zoning regulations.

The City gains this power from three sources. First, municipal politicians are elected on the basis of grassroots political issues which, at least theoretically, give them an understanding of local issues that cannot be matched by politicians elected by larger constituencies and on the basis of broader issues. If Provincial or Federal politicians disregard the wishes of a municipal government, they stand to be accused of trampling over local priorities and might pay for this apparent abuse at the polls.

Also, since municipal councils tend to spend a large proportion of their time considering topics relating to planning and zoning, relatively small planning issues are much more important to local government than higher levels. This results in a greater understanding of, and priority given to, planning issues and forces senior levels of government to be especially careful about overruling municipal politicians.

Finally, since municipal politicians face elections every two years rather than the usual four years between federal and provincial elections, local politicians are likely to have a greater sensitivity to the priorities of the local community. Provincial and Federal politicians who disregard the decisions of municipal government risk a

backlash from the voters who choose representatives at all three levels.

In keeping with these unwritten rules, planning of the Inner Harbour has been dominated by debate at the municipal level. The Province has the legal power to develop its land-holdings without reference to municipal regulation, but it has little to gain and much to lose politically by doing so.

There are two significant types of municipal planning actors: elected politicians and planning bureaucrats. Planning departments in some cities are overtly active and influential in the determination of urban policy. This was particularly true in North American cities during the late 1960's and early 1970's. Perhaps the most notable example was the Cleveland, Ohio planning department (Krumholz, 1975).

Active political advocacy by professional planners is not pursued in Victoria. Victoria's planners say "we're not after newspaper headlines" (3) and they try to set a clear boundary between their technical recommendations and politics. While not pretending to be value-neutral or above politics, Victoria's planners are publicly quiet, careful, and try to avoid the sometimes heated debates that occur over planning policy.

A study based entirely on newspaper reports of

Victoria's planning would probably conclude that there was no planning department in Victoria. In fact, a planning department exists, one which concerns itself with quietly responding to the priorities of city council, producing advice and technical support without trying to overtly influence those priorities.

Rabinovitz (1969, 113) has said that "it seems clear that despite the repeated claims of urban planners to being nonpolitical policy and technical advisers, the city planner definitely is an actor in the urban political arena". It is difficult to disagree with the many writers who have shared Rabinovitz' view, but Victoria appears to be at least a partial exception. In Victoria, and perhaps in other cities with especially forceful political leadership, the influence of planning bureaucrats is lessened by the strength of the mayor's and perhaps also the city council's convictions on planning issues.

When asked how much difference a change in City government makes to his job, Victoria planner Peter Crisp does not hesitate to admit: "everything". The role of Victoria's planning department is to incorporate the political planning fashions of the day (urban renewal in the 1950's, downtown squares in the 1960's, environmental preservation in the 1970's) into an overall scheme that fits the planner's view of a healthy city. It would be foolish,

therefore, to look to Victoria's planning department for political leadership towards redevelopment of the Inner Harbour.

The political aspect of Victoria's planning role has two main elements: the appointed Advisory Planning Commission (APC) and the elected City Council. While the APC does important work in helping the City deal with planning proposals, it is, quite appropriately, the elected Council that makes final decisions and gains the most attention.

The APC is a group of ten laymen and five city councillors appointed by the mayor to review proposals for zoning changes and pass them on to council with a recommendation. The APC was instrumental in the production of new zoning regulations for the Inner Harbour in 1983.

The Chairman of the APC during the re-zoning was Claude Maurice, a local architect. Maurice is relatively happy with harbour redevelopment efforts, although he feels that most business people "haven't offered much or seized any opportunities with mutual benefits". He has high hopes for the future of the harbour, but wants "a unifying design concept to conceptualize the new zoning in 3-D".

Of course, as its name implies, the APC is advisory in nature and has no power to implement its recommendations. It is at the city council level where decisions are made and political controversy swirls.

Ten present and former members of Victoria City Council were interviewed for this study. Each of them presented a slightly different picture of the City's role in aiding or blocking successful redevelopment of the Inner Harbour. City council provides the forum for most public debate over the harbour because the City is responsible for land use zoning and other planning tools. Zoning constrains the actions of potential harbour developers through legal restriction of private landowners and political or moral influence on senior levels of government.

In addition to its legislative role, the City is important because it provides a forum for debate of specific planning issues. Changes in zoning, issuance of development permits, complaints about undesirable or noxious land uses, and applications for business licenses all draw the City into discussion of change. Often, as in the case of action by senior levels of government, little can be accomplished at the municipal level other than discussion. However, the presence of the news media at council meetings often translates what might otherwise be helpless protest into effective propaganda.

Pollen (in 1970) was the first municipal politician to make Inner Harbour planning issues an important part of his political platform. Since that time, a number of individual aldermen including Blencoe, Bawlf and Glazier

have been closely identified with harbour issues. Each of these men has been accused by his political opponents of trying to use the unique appeal of the Inner Harbour to gain political support.

The Inner Harbour has a mystique and importance to local residents which resulted in their giving Pollen the mandate to, as he puts it "successfully do battle with the all too often overwhelming forces of the commercial-developer interests". Pollen sees himself as a "visionary, dedicated, enlightened politician". He pursues his constantly changing political platform in a colourful manner, either endearing himself to or alienating almost everyone who watches him. Pollen has taken a vital interest in the Inner Harbour, and is extremely proud of what he believes he has accomplished.

As a personality, Peter Pollen has had a strong impact on Victoria. Whether he has been more constructive than destructive is difficult to assess. Pollen's abrasive manner has helped make the Inner Harbour a centre of controversy over the years, and controversy makes consensus difficult to reach. His arrogant style and sharp tongue have, according to his political opponents, prevented many constructive changes from happening in Victoria. Perhaps the most serious criticism of Pollen is that he personalized Inner Harbour planning, turning it from a question of what

should happen there to a choice between what he calls "dedicated elected leadership" or either the "mindless left, Sandinista- NDP" or the "Amway salesmen on the right". Those who disagree with Pollen are often verbally berated in public.

Despite Peter Pollen's bluster, his reversals on some issues, and his arrogance, he has displayed a strong personal concern for the Inner Harbour and the City of Victoria. Pollen has spurred debate and challenged assumptions that probably would otherwise have remained unchallenged. His opposition to large-scale development of the Inner Harbour in the early 1970's was successful, and it is now widely agreed by politicians, planners and business people that he was correct. Pollen's honesty and his commitment to what he sees as intelligent and sensitive Inner Harbour development are unchallenged. It is unfortunate, however, that Pollen's energy for revitalizing the harbour has extended only far enough to clear undesirable activities from the area. He admits "we have sterilized it", but does not offer much hope for, or leadership towards, Inner Harbour revitalization.

Inner Harbour planning disputes have often divided Victoria City Council along pro- and anti-development lines. While it can be deceptive to simplistically divide municipal politicians along these lines, there are differences in

views between actors which can be described as pro- or anti-development biases. These labels are used simply for convenience and do not imply perfectly consistent views.

Businessmen on Victoria Council have favoured relatively intensive Inner Harbour development. This group, which has always been well represented on the city council of Victoria and those of many other cities (Lorimer, 1972), has been challenged by community-oriented anti-development politicians who have become much more successful in electoral terms during the past ten years. This group tends to be critical of large-scale development and gives a high priority to the preservation of vital residential communities.

In the highly polarized political climate of British Columbia, the pro-development group has been identified with the Social Credit Party and the anti-development group with the NDP. Needless to say, the debates between these groups have sometimes been rancorous. It is unclear whether sharp disagreement on council is mediated or heightened by the presence of a strong-willed mayor who disdains both groups.

Inner Harbour planning controversies have been a prime example of what pro-development aldermen refer to as a lack of leadership by the city. This group also sees planning controversy as a political game initiated by opportunistic opponents of economic growth. Two aldermen

elected in 1983 tend to take pro-development stances on Inner Harbour issues: Carson and Young.

The same history of contention and indecision is viewed by anti-development politicians as healthy political debate and efforts by concerned members of the community to protect Victoria's environment. Aldermen Brewin, Levin, and Glazier have tended towards anti-development positions on the Inner Harbour.

There is a third group on Victoria city council made up of those who appear neither pro- nor anti-development. These people tend to be the least dogmatic and most flexible members of council. Most of their views are moderate, so they tend to push for compromise. Four members of the current Victoria city council fit this description: Pollen, Cooper, Baird, and Simmons.

Since 1981, there has been more consensus on Victoria council over the future of the Inner Harbour. This was demonstrated by the relative ease with which new zoning regulations were adopted in 1983. Although there was controversy over some details of the rezoning, the general principles were unanimously agreed upon. These principles favoured limited development of the Inner Harbour, with a great deal of attention to aesthetics, open space, and low profile structures.

A number of factors contributed to this move towards

consensus. First, the long periods of past inaction have encouraged co-operation in order to finally proceed with harbour development. All six municipal politicians interviewed for this study believed that the clearance of undesirable industrial activities from the harbour was a desirable move. At the same time, each of them also expressed frustration with the barren nature of the Inner Harbour. Strategic parcels of land such as Ship Point and the former Reid Site have been parking lots for such a long period (nearly fifteen years) that it would seem obvious that solutions require more City co-operation with the major landowner on the harbour, the Province, not simply the passage of time.

Another reason for increased consensus is a loss of legitimacy on the part of those who have previously taken extreme views of harbour development. Extreme pro-development sentiment, as symbolized by the Reid Centre, fell into disrepute in the early 1970's, and extreme anti-development sentiment has similarly lost popularity in recent years (Chapter 6). This is at least partly due to the realization that some opponents of harbour development (such as the VWES) are likely to oppose any scheme that involves change, regardless of its nature. Also, most local politicians now doubt how many Victoria residents actually support those who offer extreme criticism of harbour

development. Aldermen Carson, Young, Baird and Simmons along with Mayor Pollen, each expressed this view when interviewed.

Victoria's current economic situation provides a third reason for increased co-operation. Victoria was a fast growing and relatively prosperous community between 1970 and the early 1980's, but there has been a serious economic slump since then. It becomes much more difficult to oppose development proposals with any credibility when unemployment rates are high and tax revenues are suffering. Baird expressed this view when commenting that "the things we thought we could afford ten years ago, we see now we cannot afford".

The spirit of compromise that results from these realities, is threatened primarily by personality clashes and political manoeuvring. Such problems have been a regular feature of Victoria council since 1970, especially during the years Pollen has been mayor. Most people interviewed for this study described this political controversy at the City level as destructive. Carson sweepingly blames Inner Harbour debate and indecision on the fact that the area "has been a political platform for two generations of politicians". Simmons also decries public name-calling as destructive, suggesting "we would get a lot further if we remembered that".

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Unfortunately, poor relations between several present members of Victoria council, especially Pollen and Glazier, make more problems in the future quite likely.

In addition, there continues to be a lack of communication between the City and the Province. As noted earlier in this chapter, the Province has no intention of turning its harbour lands over to private entrepreneurs. Three Victoria aldermen, however, interpret the 1983 rezoning of the Inner Harbour as an invitation for private developers to come forward with proposals. Simmons says "I am hopeful that the plan that is now in place will allow entrepreneurs to bring forth their ideas". Baird agrees, and Young "would like to see the City taking a more active role in eliciting development proposals".

Unfortunately, neither the private developers who are expected to come forward with ideas, nor the Province which owns the land, have been made aware of this policy, one which all three aldermen appear to view as self-evident. Also, the City did not make clear such a policy during the public meetings and hearings that preceded official adoption of the 1983 rezoning.

5.2 The Role of Private Entrepreneurs

Because only six local business people were interviewed for this study (Table 1), generalizations

presented here are based on a combination of interview responses and newspaper reports. Opinions attributed to business people do not necessarily represent the unanimous opinion of Victoria's business community.

Despite a history of grandiose schemes for private redevelopment of the Inner Harbour (the Reid Centre, Marathon Realty's plans for the south shore), very little has actually taken place. The only major examples of entirely private development are the Laurel Point hotel and condominium complex, the Regent Hotel, and Hartwig Court (the Finlayson Building). Needless to say, the lack of private development on the Inner Harbour is a source of discontent for many local business people. Hotel manager Rita Wilson believes that "Victorians are a group of whiners. They do not like progress and yet want all the amenities that we can offer". Restaurateur Adrian Cownden noted that "criticism comes quickly in Victoria".

All the business people surveyed directed blame at the City for the seemingly endless contention and indecision over the Inner Harbour. B.D. Strongitharm of the Undersea Gardens pointed to a "lack of commitment by local authorities and their inability to come to grips with Inner Harbour redevelopment". Jack Mumford, manager of the Royal London Wax Museum agreed, adding that the harbour is "being

abused by a certain number of politicians for their own gain". Ron Mackenzie, a former City alderman was more specific, suggesting that "until Pollen is defeated there is little prospect of any major urban change or improvements".

Several specific Inner Harbour issues concern local entrepreneurs. Many business people were disappointed over the demise of proposals for a waterfront convention centre. Wilson commented: "because of the dissension caused by a group of self-appointed neurotics, we allowed our city to lose a golden opportunity that would have allowed our young people to be employed here in our own country and they wouldn't have become exports to other communities and to our southern neighbour". Mumford attributes the cancellation of convention centre plans to a "political snag" caused by Pollen.

There is a general feeling among business people that the harbour should be developed more intensively in an effort to draw more people and more money downtown, but there are differences within the business community over what activities should take place on the harbour. Many business people would favour any development that brought more income to the area. Strongitharm emphasized the need for "a more 'urban' approach to waterfront enhancement", while Mumford favoured a mix of harbour activities including more tourist attractions. Others, including Wilson, are

concerned that new facilities on the Harbour should not duplicate existing businesses elsewhere in the City, many of which are struggling financially.

The attractions industry (sometimes called tourist traps) has been made unwelcome by the City on the south shore of the Inner Harbour. Both the Royal London Wax Museum and the Undersea Gardens have been designated as non-conforming uses on the south shore. City council members such as Pollen and Brewin have publicly expressed contempt for the presence of such businesses on the Inner Harbour. Attractions operators feel mistreated and unappreciated by these local politicians. Mumford claimed public opinion has been manipulated and "orchestrated" against them for political gain. Strongitharm expressed disappointment that politicians listen to vocal minority groups with the result that entrepreneurs' "opinions are discarded as being 'avaricious'". Attractions operators view their businesses as important and desirable parts of the local economy which provide employment to residents and a service to visitors.

Some business people outside the retail and service sectors regret the lack of industrial base on the Inner Harbour. The fact that the area has become a "god-damn tourist yacht basin", as car-dealer and alderman Frank Carson described it, frustrates some long-time business people who would prefer a return of marine-related industry

to the Inner Harbour. Most business people, however, seem to accept the new role of the Inner Harbour as a 'people place' for both tourists and residents.

5.3 Community Groups

Since the Reid Centre controversy of the early 1970's, only one organized citizen's group has taken a regular active role in the planning of the Inner Harbour. Individual citizens from throughout the Capital Region, however, have regularly participated in public meetings and hearings regarding harbour issues. The lack of organized community participation is not surprising and can be attributed to the absence of a substantial resident population on the Inner Harbour. Community groups are usually formed to defend the interests of the members' residential community (Schreiver, 1972; Bureau of Municipal Research, 1973). Because the Inner Harbour is not a residential area, it has no neighbourhood organization.

In times of intense controversy such as the Reid Centre debate of the early 1970's, community groups from neighbourhoods near the Inner Harbour have participated in planning debate, but this has not occurred frequently. Additionally, the James Bay Community Association has shown a specific interest in the Inner Harbour when south shore planning issues have been discussed, but their interest has

been limited to the effects of south shore change on their community rather than concern for the entire Inner Harbour.

One community group, however, has focused its attention almost entirely on the planning of the Inner Harbour and Songhees areas. The Victoria Waterfront Enhancement Society (VWES) was established in 1980 to fight undesirable development on the Inner Harbour. The VWES played a significant role in opposing the waterfront convention centre at that time, and has been active ever since.

The Society is not a large group. While its membership peaked at around 200 during the convention centre controversy, a regular VWES meeting visited by the author in 1984 was attended by fewer than 30 people, most of whom were elderly women. The Society claimed that controversy over the development of the Songhees area boosted its membership to 160 by the fall of 1984.

The VWES views itself as defender of Victoria's harbour environment. Their methods are the standard tools of community groups involved in conflict: petitions, attendance at public meetings, and the distribution of literature on the street. The Society favours a referendum on alternative overall plans for the harbour.

The President of the VWES is Graham Taylor, an articulate young man who claims that "political decision

making is not democratic enough, as zoning public hearings are a whitewash". Taylor views the role of the VWES as one of providing "public information and suggesting methods of increasing public awareness of issues". He criticizes the "reliance on consumer-based enterprises to draw people to the waterfront" and suggests that "a publicly approved plan would guide and assist entrepreneurs who are essential to Victoria's well being".

The VWES played an important role in defeating the convention centre in 1980 and 1981 and has continued to earn newspaper headlines, but it has not wielded much political power in recent years. Brewin was the only alderman interviewed who shared the VWES desire for a referendum on harbour plans. No member of Victoria city council interviewed for this study saw the group as representative of community opinion. Some are extremely critical of the VWES- Carson referred to its members as "nuts", while former alderman Mackenzie said they are "grossly ill-informed". Both Provincial and City politicians generally agree that the VWES is not relevant to their considerations.

There are two reasons why these politicians have very little concern for the views of the VWES. First, the Society has been unable to demonstrate that it represents a significant proportion of the community. Politicians are sensitive to collective voter opinion, but five or six angry

people at a meeting are not likely to influence most politicians. The lack of power of the VWES is understandable given its small membership and its even smaller group of active members.

A second reason for the decline in significance of the VWES might also explain its inability to gain broad community support. The Society has not demonstrated an ability to compromise on planning issues. This was demonstrated in 1983 when the VWES dogmatically opposed proposals for a restaurant in the former Causeway Esso station. Even when the Society's doubts about expansion of the building and blockage of public access were answered, they refused to accept a restaurant proposal. This inflexibility has resulted in an image of the VWES among politicians and business people as a group of 'cranks' and perpetual critics.

The unrepresentativeness of the VWES and its inflexibility have combined to make it irrelevant to major decision-makers. This has been further demonstrated in the Songhees area where the Society came forward in 1984 with an alternative to government plans. Consistent with the VWES's reputation as being irrelevant, the alternative plan was ignored by both the city and the province.

5.4 Summary

This chapter has reviewed the roles presently being played by major actors in the planning of Victoria's Inner Harbour. Governments appear closer to consensus regarding Inner Harbour goals than in the past, but still lack efficient means of communication and are without money to act. Private entrepreneurs are supportive of development, but concerned about persistent delays and controversy. Organized community groups are relatively inactive on harbour issues, with the exception of the Victoria Waterfront Enhancement Society which has been substantially discredited. In order to complete the roster of parties concerned with the Inner Harbour, we now turn to the general public.

Notes

1. Peter Crisp, Personal Interview, 5 October 1984.
2. Ibid.
3. Peter Crisp, Personal Interview, 30 August 1983.

Chapter 6

The Role of the Public

The extent and nature of public participation in urban planning has been a controversial issue since the 1960's (Fagence, 1977; Sewell and Coppock, 1977) (Chapter 2). In Victoria, the Inner Harbour has been an especially active battleground over citizen participation issues. There remains disagreement over what form citizen input should take in Victoria. Politicians such as Pollen feel that the public has its say at election day and should expect no more. Others, including Brewin and the VWES call for increased direct participation by interested residents, including the use of referenda on planning issues. Before discussing the results of the questionnaire, it is important to address the questions of who should participate and how.

6.1 Is the Ballot-Box Enough?

To many North American planners and politicians, direct citizen input to planning decisions became an accepted fact of life during the 1970's (Axworthy, 1973; Howe and Kaufman, 1981). While the optimal extent and true value of such participation has continually been in

question, it has been generally agreed that participation is desirable (Connor, 1972; Fagence, 1977).

A limited amount of citizen participation was instituted in Victoria during the 1960's and '70's. This was in the form of increased effort by the City to inform the public of proposed zoning changes. These notices made public hearings on planning issues more accessible to the individual citizen than they previously had been. Also, public meetings were instituted as an informal method of gaining public input on planning issues.

The practical value of these public participation measures is doubtful. Carson claims that public meetings in Victoria accomplish little because only the same small groups of interested citizens (he calls them "ten vocal nuts") attend each meeting. Broad public participation does not take place. Former Alderman Ron Mackenzie agrees, suggesting that "the 'community' plays its role every two years at the municipal election". Gretchen Brewin was the only politician interviewed who did not emphasize that once concerned citizens have spoken, individual members of Council have every right to ignore them.

While the politicians mentioned above doubt the value of citizen participation as presently conducted, many citizen participants are even more cynical. Patrick Murphy, a local journalist, summed up these feelings:

"There was a start to community involvement when the city held town-hall forums on the harbour. These meetings generated many exciting ideas, but council then appeared to ignore them and pull the plan it had all along from its back pocket. The election day power is minimal in a city where 18 per cent of the voters go to the polls- possibly because of cynicism toward the politicians and partially because few of the promises on the harbour have been kept."

The "town-hall forums" referred to above was a single meeting held by the APC in June 1983. The purpose of the forum was to gain input on the rezoning of the harbour that was then underway. Twenty-five individuals and representatives of groups made presentations, and a wide range of suggestions, proposals and criticisms was offered (City of Victoria, 1983). The forum was well received by the public (over two hundred attended), the news media, and both politicians and planners, but there was no follow-up by the city. Instead, rezoning of the Inner Harbour appeared to proceed as though the forum had never taken place. The politicians who attended the forum might have made use of information gained that evening, but there was no way for participants to know if this was the case. It is interesting to note that the rezoning process was not initiated because of public pressure, but because of the City's mistrust of the Province (Chapter 4). The public was asked to participate, but was given no indication that its

participation had meant anything. The resulting apathy and cynicism as demonstrated by poor voter turnout, is hardly surprising.

This kind of frustration has led Inner Harbour activists such as the VWES to call for a city-wide referendum on alternatives for the future of the harbour. Present participation measures provide some opportunity to speak for those members of the public who are able to withstand the pressure of public speaking and the harsh chairmanship of Pollen, but that is all they can do. Public participation as it presently exists is an irritation to most politicians and an empty ritual to many citizens.

6.2 The Questionnaire

In an effort to add the views of the general public to this study, a questionnaire was published in Monday Magazine (Chapter 3). Distributed between September 23 and 29 1983, the questionnaire was aimed at people who take an active interest in civic issues.

The questionnaire included ten questions (Appendix 2). Each question sought to explore one of two types of issues: specific issues, most of which dealt with the rezoning of the Inner Harbour then taking place; or broad themes such as development versus environmental preservation, government control of development versus

unfettered private development, and urban vitality versus undeveloped serenity. The intent of the questionnaire was to obtain a general impression of the views of interested citizens in order to compare them with those of the major planning actors (Chapter 5), and to determine whether the Inner Harbour is a source of discord among the public as it has been among planning actors.

6.2.1 Questionnaire Data

This study did not make extensive use of quantitative methods, but some manipulation of questionnaire data was necessary in order to present it in a meaningful format. Three procedures were carried out to gain a better understanding of the collected data. These included: analysis of ideological consistency of respondents; a comparison of respondents who ranked their choices versus those who did not; and the redistribution of questionnaire results to obtain majority preferences.

In order to determine how many consistently 'pro-' or 'anti-' development respondents replied to the questionnaire, a simple count of responses was made. The author subjectively selected five questions which offered the respondent the opportunity to choose an option clearly favouring development of the harbour. Questions selected for this measure were:

1. Scale of development- option 1 clearly favoured development;

3. Privatization of the Inner Harbour- option 1 favoured this move;
4. Inner Harbour tourist attractions- option 2 favoured expansion;
7. Future of the Causeway Esso station- option 2 favoured commercial use;
8. Southern portion of Ship Point- option 2 favoured intensive and permanent uses.

The first choice of each respondent to each question was checked in order to count how many 'pro-' development answers were selected. A respondent was considered to be consistently pro-development if he chose three or more of the five responses above. Results of this count are presented in Table 5.

Table 5

Pro-Development Respondents

Number of pro- development responses (maximum possible = 5) -----	Number of respondents -----
Five	5
Four	4
<u>Three</u>	<u>26</u>
Total	35
<hr/>	
Total number of respondents	265

Clearly, pro-development respondents were a small minority. Only 13.2 per cent of the 265 respondents could be classified as pro-development, and almost three quarters of these made the minimum number of pro-development responses required to receive that designation.

A similar exercise was followed to pick out 'anti-development' respondents. The relevant questions and responses were:

1. Scale of development- option 3 favoured open-space;
4. Inner Harbour tourist attractions- option 1 favoured their removal;
6. Range of Inner Harbour activities- option 3 favoured elimination of any which conflict with open-space;
7. The Causeway Esso station- option 1 favoured its demolition for a park;
9. The future of Air B.C.- option 3 favoured removal of floatplanes from the Inner Harbour.

Table 6 shows the number of consistent anti-development respondents identified through the same method as was used above for pro-development respondents. While there were many more anti-development respondents than pro-development respondents, both groups combined to make up only 35.8 per cent of respondents. This means that 64.2 per cent of respondents could be classified neither as consistently pro-development nor anti-development.

Table 6

Anti-Development Respondents

Number of anti- development responses (maximum possible = 5) -----	Number of respondents -----
Five	10
Four	21
<u>Three</u>	<u>29</u>
Total	60
<hr/>	
Total number of respondents	265

One of the risks of using a self-administered questionnaire in survey research is the possibility that respondents will ignore or misunderstand instructions. This problem occurred with the Monday Magazine questionnaire, which had been designed using a ranked multiple-choice format. Unfortunately, a large minority of respondents simply selected their first choice without ranking the remaining responses (Table 7). The proportion of questions answered without ranking ranged from 38.1 to 42.3 per cent.

This would not be a major problem unless those responses that were ranked were significantly different from those that only indicated first choices. As Table 8 suggests, there was an interesting difference between the two groups. Respondents who did not rank consistently made

more pro-development choices than respondents who had ranked their preferences. However, a chi-squared test indicated there was no statistically significant difference between the two types of response for any of the eight questions which asked for rankings (Table 9).

Table 7

Respondents Who Did Not Rank Their Responses

Question -----	Respondents Not Ranking -----	Percentage Of Total -----
One	105	39.6
Two	only two options	
Three	101	38.1
Four	109	41.1
Five	102	38.5
Six	107	40.4
Seven	103	38.9
Eight	112	42.3
Nine	112	42.3
<hr/>		
Total number of respondents		265

The difference between respondents who ranked their responses and those who did not is interesting, but it also limits the use of rankings in this study. If there was no difference between the responses of these two groups, it would be easy to use respondents' second choices to determine how the sample would have chosen between two of

Table 8
 Ranked Versus Unranked Responses
 By Percentage

<u>Question</u>	<u>Total Sample</u>	<u>Respondents Who Ranked</u>	<u>Respondents who Did Not Rank</u>
1. choice A	12.6%	7.5%	20.8%
B	48.3	51.3	43.6
C	39.1	41.3	35.6
2. choice A	27.4%		
B	71.8		
3. choice A	15.4%	10.4%	24.7%
B	63.7	68.9	55.9
C	20.1	20.7	19.4
4. choice A	26.5%	29.0%	24.3%
B	14.0	12.9	16.5
C	57.2	58.1	59.2
5. choice A	48.7%	48.1%	50.0%
B	20.5	21.6	19.0
C	30.4	30.2	31.0
6. choice A	33.2%	32.3%	35.3%
B	29.4	24.7	37.3
C	36.6	43.0	27.4
7. choice A	25.5%	28.8%	21.6%
B	40.3	37.5	47.4
C	31.9	33.8	30.9
8. choice A	36.9%	36.6%	37.6%
B	14.4	9.8	21.1
C	48.3	53.6	41.3
9. choice A	38.8%	33.6%	47.6%
B	35.4	43.4	24.8
C	24.6	23.0	27.6

note : These percentages only include respondents choosing one of the three multiple choice options.

Table 9
Chi-Squared Test Results

Confidence level = .05
Degrees of freedom = 5
Critical value = 11.07

Question	X ² Value	Significantly Different?
-----	-----	-----
One	9.20	NO
Two	not applicable	
Three	10.64	NO
Four	1.01	NO
Five	0.34	NO
Six	8.04	NO
Seven	2.68	NO
Eight	7.41	NO
Nine	10.07	NO

the options if all three had not been available. However, while the difference between rankers and nonrankers is not statistically significant, respondents who did not rank still tended to choose pro-development answers more often than those who ranked. To simply discard the responses of those who did not rank would therefore be deceptive.

Six of the nine multiple choice questions presented in the survey did not produce a majority of first choices favouring any one of the three options (Tables 11-19). This situation makes it useful to use second choices of respondents to determine which option would have been

favoured if only the two most popular options had been available. It would be extremely deceptive to simply recompute percentages after discarding the responses of those who selected the least popular option. There is no reason to believe that those who favour the least popular option would make their second choices by the same proportions as the first choices of those who selected one of the two more popular options. It is therefore important to include the second choices of those whose first choice has been discarded.

To do this, it was necessary to extrapolate the second choices of respondents who ranked their answers in order to determine preferences in an 'either-or' situation. This was accomplished by counting the second choices of all respondents who had selected the least popular first choice. The proportion of this group that ranked each of the two remaining choices second, was then computed. The number of respondents choosing the least popular first option was then divided between the two preferred options by those proportions (Table 10).

The first column in the table lists the number of respondents choosing each option as their first choice. The second column eliminates the least popular option and adds the second choices of those who ranked to the counts of the two remaining options. The number listed in this column for

Table 10

Redistribution of Responses
Using Second Choices

<u>Question</u>	<u>First Choice</u>	<u>Weakest Option Eliminated</u>	<u>Adjusted Choice</u>
1. choice A	33	21	
B	126	138	159
C	102	102	102
2. choice A	71		
B	186		
3. choice A	40	23	
B	165	178	196
C	52	56	61
4. choice A	70	72	74
B	37	17	
C	151	169	184
5. choice A	128	150	162
B	54	19	
C	80	93	100
6. choice A	87	117	146
B	77	38	
C	96	105	112
7. choice A	67	21	
B	106	117	122
C	84	119	135
8. choice A	97	106	117
B	38	19	
C	127	133	141
9. choice A	101	109	116
B	92	119	141
C	64	29	

the least popular option indicates the number of responses that were not ranked and therefore did not automatically have a second choice to move to.

The third column shows the result when those unranked responses were divided between the two remaining choices by the same proportion as those who had ranked.

6.3 Questionnaire Results

When the Inner Harbour survey was conducted, there was concern that a seriously biased response might make the entire procedure meaningless. It was known that opponents to Inner Harbour development feel very strongly about the issue, and this led to two concerns. First, if there was a very small response it was likely that only the most concerned readers would have responded. Since opponents of development in Victoria have a reputation for participating at every opportunity, the questionnaire could therefore have been little more than a survey of the membership of the Victoria Waterfront Enhancement Society. The second concern was that some respondents might behave irresponsibly. The nature of questionnaire distribution and the ease with which it could be returned led to this concern that the response might include numerous duplicate questionnaires returned by people wanting to win a minor propaganda victory.

Fortunately, neither fear was well-founded. Responses to the questionnaire totalled 293. Monday Magazine publishes 27,000 copies each week, of which approximately four per cent (1080) are pulled back by the publisher. This means roughly 25,900 copies were made available to the public. It should be remembered, however, that many copies are disposed of without being read, that some readers pick up several copies, and that other readers read only part of each edition. For these reasons, it would not be fair to suggest that 25,900 copies of the questionnaire were received by potential respondents. However, there is no way to determine how many questionnaires were received by readers. The 293 questionnaires returned represent 1.13 per cent of the total questionnaires made available to the public.

It is very difficult to assess whether a return rate of 1.13 per cent marks a successful survey or a failure. In the two examples of newspaper surveys described earlier (Chapter 3), circumstances were very different. In the Ottawa example (Connor, 1972), the questionnaire was preceded by ten days of intensive advertising, including a one hour television program. The questionnaire was published in two daily newspapers in a city twice the size of Victoria. The return of 8600 questionnaires is therefore not surprising in comparison with 293 replies to this study.

In the Birmingham example, prior publicity efforts were less extensive than in Ottawa, the questionnaire was quite complex, and a postal strike made return of questionnaires difficult. Under these circumstances, a return of only 167 responses is also not surprising. According to the editor of Monday Magazine, the return of 293 questionnaires was larger than other mail-in exercises (mainly contests) that the magazine had conducted. Therefore, the response to the Inner Harbour questionnaire was considered to be satisfactory.

The relatively large response makes it highly unlikely that any single minority group dominated the response, so the first concern mentioned above was discounted. The second concern was equally unwarranted because the accumulated responses showed no signs of extreme bias in any direction. In fact, as noted in Chapter 3, the only case of multiple responses that was discovered was quite easy to identify as such. With those concerns disposed of, attention was turned to analyzing the responses to individual questions.

The first question was very general, and was aimed at assessing the bias of respondents (Table 11). Ever since the Reid Centre was first proposed in 1969, this question has been at the root of much of the debate over the Inner Harbour. Response to the question was moderate, with a mild

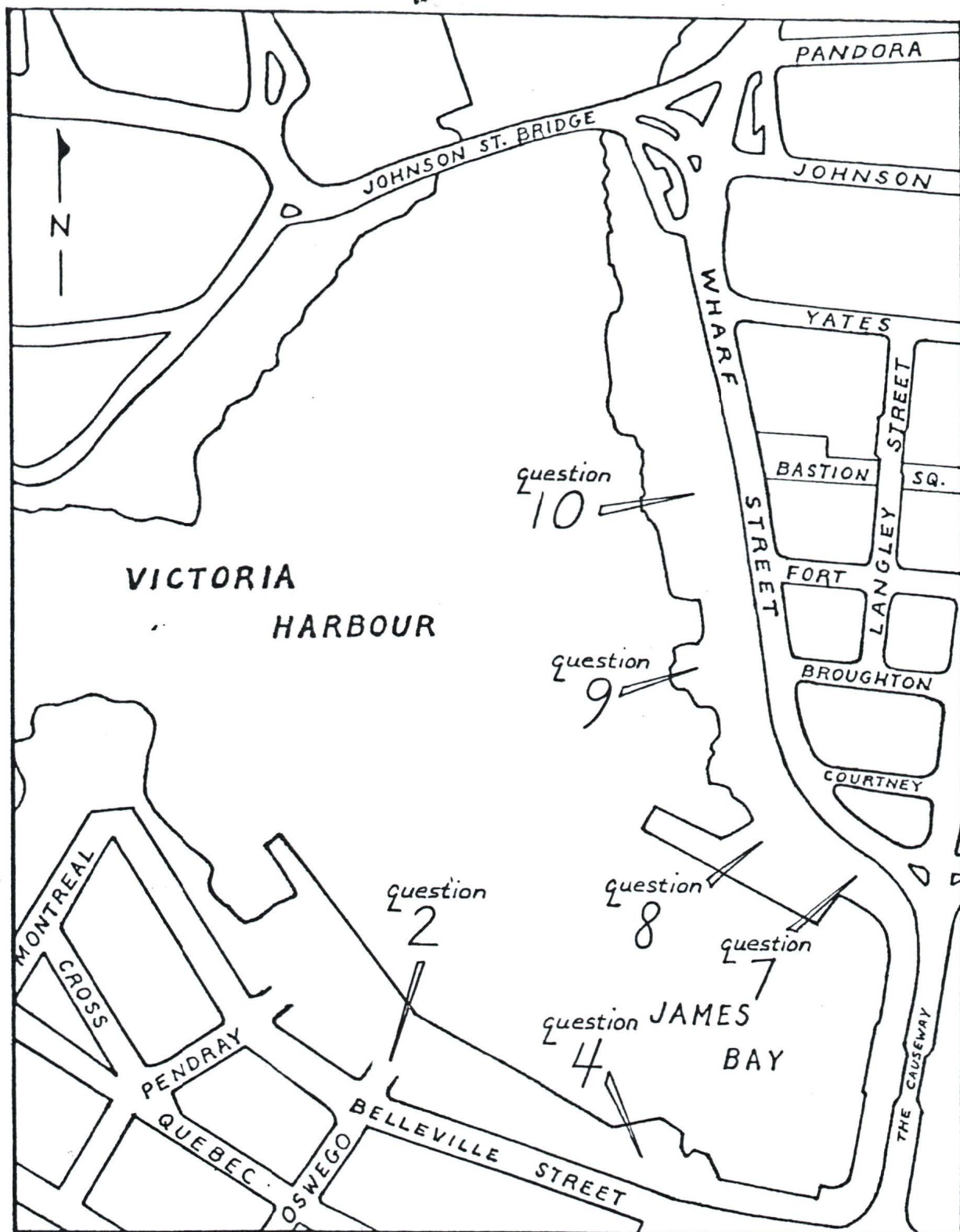


Figure 14
 Sites Referred to in Monday Magazine Questionnaire

0 50 100 200 metres

Table 11

Survey Question 1

1. There has been considerable debate over the most desirable scale of development in the Inner Harbour. In general, do you favour:

	Responses	Percentage
Intensive development to encourage activity and economic health.	33	12.5
Limited development in order to provide some economic activity while preserving large amounts of public open space.	126	47.5
Emphasis on open space, with the minimum amount of development possible.	102	38.5
Other or no response.	4	1.5
Total responses	265	100.0

Table 12

Survey Question 2

2. Proposed new zoning regulations will prohibit any land uses on the south shore (Ferry Terminal area) of the harbour other than transportation facilities and parks. Should zoning regulations provide for:

	Responses	Percentage
Some economic activity other than transportation facilities.	71	26.8
No land uses other than transportation and parks	186	72.4
Other or no response.	8	3.0
Total responses	265	100.0

anti-development bias. If the least popular option was eliminated (Table 10), 60.9 per cent of respondents would have selected the moderate second option. The small number of respondents favouring intensive development bodes well for those who hope for compromise over future harbour development.

Question 2 received a very one-sided response (Table 12). It is difficult to explain why so few respondents favoured land uses other than parks and transportation facilities on the south shore, although two possible explanations stand out. First, some respondents may have feared that other land uses might eventually supplant the ferry services currently occupying the south shore. Since these services are popular, it would not be surprising for respondents to oppose potentially conflicting uses. Another possible explanation is the potential for congestion on the south shore. Even with the present limited activity on the south shore, there is considerable congestion during the summer months. More development could make this situation worse.

Whatever the reason for opposing a wider range of activities on the south shore, respondents were in broad agreement with Victoria city council which passed restrictive zoning regulations for the area late in 1983.

Since the zoning proposal was made prior to the distribution of the questionnaire, it is unlikely that the decision was influenced by this result.

Given the move to privatization initiated by British Columbia's Social Credit government in 1983, the third question was of great interest (Table 13). A common criticism voiced by those frustrated with Inner Harbour

Table 13
Survey Question 3

3. Most of the vacant land in the Inner Harbour is publicly owned. Which of the following options should be followed to assure the best possible future development of this land:

	Responses	Percentage
Turn over selected properties to the private sector for development under strict controls.	40	15.1
Bring all undeveloped Inner Harbour land under one public body for comprehensive planning and development.	165	62.3
Maintain the present pattern of municipal, provincial and federal land ownership.	52	19.6
Other or no response.	8	3.0
Total responses	265	100.0

decision-making has been the maze of elected and appointed government organizations that play a role in harbour planning. The response to question 3 indicates that this frustration is widespread. If presented with a choice between maintaining the present pattern of jurisdictions or introducing a single coordinating government body, an overwhelming majority of 76.3 per cent would favour the latter (Table 10).

Frustration with complicated political jurisdictions is understandably high for those members of the public who are interested in the Inner Harbour, but do not have the time or the inclination to research the complicated pattern of land ownership and legislative responsibility.

Question 4 (Table 14) deals with Inner Harbour tourist attractions. This was an important question both because proposed zoning changes would have made the two businesses mentioned non-conforming, and because there has been contention over the desired general nature of future development on the harbour. The amount of hostility expressed towards commercial tourist attractions was startling. Only 14 per cent of respondents favoured more attractions on the harbour while nearly twice that percentage wanted the present operators removed as quickly as possible. But, if the choice was limited to either removing current attractions or maintaining the status quo,

Table 14
Survey Question 4

4. The future of Inner Harbour tourist attractions such as the Undersea Gardens and the Wax Museum is in doubt. Do you favour:

	Responses	Percentage
Removal of all such activities from the Inner Harbour as soon as possible.	70	26.4
Encouragement of more facilities of this kind in the Inner Harbour.	37	14.0
Maintaining the current attractions, but not adding any new ones.	151	57.0
Other or no response.	7	2.6
Total responses	265	100.0

71.3 per cent of respondents would favour the status quo (Table 10).

Clearly, there is a strong desire to keep the Inner Harbour free from excessive commercialism, and a fear that this desire might be circumvented. Pollen has been outspoken (as usual) in his opposition to "hucksterism" on the Inner Harbour.

Question 5 (Table 15) explored a subject that has disturbed Victorians for many years, that of downtown parking. While two-thirds of respondents expressed unhappiness about use of the Inner Harbour for open parking

Table 14
Survey Question 4

4. The future of Inner Harbour tourist attractions such as the Undersea Gardens and the Wax Museum is in doubt. Do you favour:

	Responses	Percentage
Removal of all such activities from the Inner Harbour as soon as possible.	70	26.4
Encouragement of more facilities of this kind in the Inner Harbour.	37	14.0
Maintaining the current attractions, but not adding any new ones.	151	57.0
Other or no response.	7	2.6
Total responses	265	100.0

71.3 per cent of respondents would favour the status quo (Table 10).

Clearly, there is a strong desire to keep the Inner Harbour free from excessive commercialism, and a fear that this desire might be circumvented. Pollen has been outspoken (as usual) in his opposition to "hucksterism" on the Inner Harbour.

Question 5 (Table 15) explored a subject that has disturbed Victorians for many years, that of downtown parking. While two-thirds of respondents expressed unhappiness about use of the Inner Harbour for open parking

(177 of 265 respondents), the reality of parking problems caused a large majority to turn away from the option of banning harbour parking altogether. Harbour parkades have been proposed several times, with specific proposals for such a facility on the Reid Site (both as part of the Reid Centre and later of the convention centre), and on the northern part of Ship Point.

Table 15
Survey Question 5

5. Almost all of the vacant land in the Inner Harbour is currently used for surface parking. Which option is best at the present time:

	Responses	Percentage
Maintain present use for parking until more permanent uses are decided.	128	48.3
Ban surface parking on the Inner Harbour except for the ferry terminals.	54	20.4
Construct a new parkade on the Inner Harbour so that surface parking can be eliminated.	80	30.2
Other or no response.	3	1.1
<hr/> Total responses	<hr/> 265	<hr/> 100.0

Interestingly, three respondents who generally favoured Inner Harbour preservation stated a preference for

parking on the harbour- not because it was desirable, but because they preferred parking lots to more intensive development. To them, no decision at all was preferable to a bad decision.

The sixth question (Table 16) was intended to complement Question 1. While the first question dealt with intensity and scale of development, this question asked about the range of possible activities. It is possible to have high density construction on the harbour with a limited range of activities just as it is possible to discourage development while encouraging a wide range of activities. The comments of respondents indicate that some who generally opposed harbour development interpreted the words diversity and vitality to mean intensive development. This problem appears to have helped make public open-space the most popular choice over other choices. If the least popular option was discarded, leaving a choice between public open-space and a limited mix of activities, the latter would be favoured by a margin of 56.6 to 43.4 per cent (Table 10).

There remains a sizeable minority in Victoria who want the Inner Harbour left in (or more accurately, transformed into) as natural a state as possible, but most respondents prefer more intensive activity on the harbour.

As noted in Chapter 4, the former Causeway Esso

station at the north end of the Causeway was a topic of controversy when this survey was conducted in September 1983. Question seven (Table 17) was intended to assess the views of respondents on this issue. Unfortunately, at least

Table 16
Survey Question 6

6. The range of possible activities in the Inner Harbour is extensive. Which of the following should be encouraged:

	Responses	Percentage
A limited mix of activities in order to minimize congestion and conflict.	87	32.8
The widest range of activities possible so that diversity and vitality is emphasized.	77	29.1
Concentration on public open-space and elimination of activities that conflict with this use.	96	36.2
Other or no response.	5	1.9
<hr/> Total responses	<hr/> 265	<hr/> 100.0

one important option was erroneously omitted from the choices made available to respondents. The possibility of maintaining the building in its current state was not offered. Respondents could have interpreted either the second or third option as being closest to the status quo.

Although respondents were given the opportunity to specify their own choices, the vast majority consistently limited themselves to the three options presented in the questionnaire.

Table 17
Survey Question 7

7. The future of the Causeway Esso Station is currently being debated. Which of the following options is most desirable:

	Responses	Percentage
Demolition of the building to provide a public park and viewpoint.	67	25.3
Use of the building for economic activities, as long as they are in character with the area.	106	40.0
Use of the building only for public uses such as museums or galleries.	84	31.7
Other or no response.	8	3.0
<hr/> Total responses	<hr/> 265	<hr/> 100.0

The response to this question showed that the possibility of introducing commercial activities to the former Causeway Esso station was not as undesirable to respondents as media reports of the controversy might lead one to believe (Victoria Times-Colonist, 15 April 1983). It seems that while respondents generally object to

inappropriate commercial development or too much commercial development, few oppose commercial development in principle. One respondent made this point quite effectively: "a properly developed harbour is not necessarily ugly. People like the Empress, don't they?"

Table 18
Survey Question 8

8. Proposed zoning regulations will set aside the southern part of Ship Point as a gathering place for open air activities. Do you favour:

	Responses	Percentage
Use of this area for such open activities and for surface parking at other times.	97	36.6
More intensive and permanent uses for this land.	38	14.3
Keeping this area as open space, but banning surface parking except as required to service moored vessels.	127	48.0
Other or no response.	3	1.1
Total responses	265	100.0

The Victoria Harbour Festival, first held in 1982, has proved to be a popular addition to Victoria's spring social calendar. The southern portion of Ship Point has been used for the festival, prompting Victoria's planners and politicians to suggest that this area be permanently set

aside for celebrations, meetings, and festivals. Question 8 (Table 18) assessed this proposal while also referring to a specific topic- parking issues (also posed in question 5).

The response to question eight indicates that use of the site for public events is a popular decision. 84.6 per cent of respondents favoured making the southern part of Ship Point a permanent open area. Most of this group also wanted the area cleared of automobile parking. Such a move seems sensible since relatively few cars can be accommodated on the site and the area is visually important due to its location relative to the Legislature and the Empress Hotel.

Table 19
Survey Question 9

9. Air B.C. is currently located in temporary quarters at the northern area of Ship Point. Is it most desirable:

	Responses	Percentage
To keep the float-plane terminal where it is.	101	38.1
To move float-planes to the south shore with other transportation facilities.	92	34.7
To ban float-planes from the Inner Harbour.	64	24.2
Other or no response.	8	3.0
Total responses	265	100.0

The final multiple-choice question of the survey (Table 19) referred to one of several planning decisions that resulted from inaction rather than conscious consideration. With the removal of finger wharves from the south shore of the harbour in 1978, a displaced float-plane company (Air West) was permitted to move to the northern part of Ship Point on a "temporary" basis (Victoria Daily Colonist, 28 January 1978). The operator was told at that time that this was a short-term move and that "the floatplanes will probably be ordered out after two years". Six years later, despite criticism of the noise and danger of seaplanes in the Inner Harbour and the existence of a planning report which calls for them to be located on the south shore (Province of British Columbia, 1981), they still operate from temporary structures at Ship Point.

In general, respondents opposed the current location of Air B.C. on the Inner Harbour. Assuming floatplanes are to stay in the Inner Harbour, 54.9 per cent of respondents would want them moved back to the south shore (Table 8).

As the large number of suggestions listed for question 10 indicates (Table 20), there was a wide range of opinion on what specific activities are most appropriate for the former Reid Site. The question was open-ended, so some respondents wrote in no suggestions while others made several. The value of keeping development below the level

of Wharf Street was often mentioned, as was the importance of public access to the waterfront and open space.

Despite the large number of suggestions, several over-riding principles were frequently mentioned that apply

Table 20

Survey Question 10

10. The old Reid site remains vacant after years of debate over its future. What do you think this land should be used for?

	Responses
Park, gardens, promenade	68
Parkade below Wharf Street	39
Public market	38
Commercial development	34
Restaurant, cafe	27
Convention centre	20
Housing	20
Museum, displays	20
Maintain the status quo	18
Theatre, entertainment, cultural	17
Facilities for boaters	13
Hotel	7
Fisherman's wharf	6
Neighbourhood pub	5
Artist's studios	3
Office building	3
Return to a natural state	2
Visitor Information Centre	1
<hr/>	
Total responses	341

not only to the former Reid Site, but to the entire Inner Harbour. These include the following:

1. Any new development should be low profile-attractive, but not dominating.
2. Excellence should be the main theme of Inner Harbour redevelopment. As Victoria's entrance (by sea), the harbour deserves meticulous planning attention.
3. Questions of accessibility and parking must be addressed when deciding on specific projects.
4. Provide large amounts of public open space and continuous pedestrian access to the waterfront.
5. Proceed with redevelopment as soon as possible. The harbour needs revitalization immediately.

The overall theme of the responses was extremely moderate. Given the history of controversy and indecision over the harbour, it would not have been surprising if results had been extremely polarized. Instead, respondents in general favoured a moderate amount of redevelopment under government control. Large scale development, jumbled short-term land uses, and cheap-looking development were all frowned upon. The overall theme of the responses can be summed up by the comments of two respondents, one of whom said "develop the Inner Harbour to its potential- don't let it sit and rot!", while the other was more succinct: "let's get on with it!".

6.4 Summary

News media reports of Inner Harbour decision-making

have concentrated on contentious issues, and the Inner Harbour has been plagued with many of these. It is understandable that the media emphasize what they consider to be newsworthy controversy, but this disproportionate attention conceals the extent of consensus that exists within the community over issues such as Inner Harbour development. This was demonstrated by the fact that 64.2 per cent of questionnaire respondents were consistently neither pro- nor anti-development (Tables 5 and 6).

Respondents generally favoured a moderate amount of redevelopment of the Inner Harbour area and a limited mix of activities. They agreed with plans to limit the south shore to transportation and related activities. They wanted a single public body to be responsible for coordination of harbour redevelopment. They did not favour an increase in the number of tourist attractions on the harbour. Surface parking was generally accepted as a short-term use of vacant land on the harbour, with the exception of the southern part of Ship Point where respondents preferred permanent development as open space. If float planes are to continue docking in the Inner Harbour, most respondents favoured their move to the south shore with other transportation facilities.

Many respondents expressed frustration with the indecision that has plagued harbour redevelopment, and a

large number of specific suggestions were made for the future of the former Reid Site.

Although this study cannot pretend to represent the views of all citizens, the author is confident that the moderate views expressed by the survey sample are reasonably representative of the interested local community.

Chapter 7

Conclusions and Recommendations

This study has explored the turbulent and highly political history of the redevelopment and planning of Victoria's Inner Harbour between 1970 and 1984. Since the late 1960's a long series of proposals, debates, and controversies have concerned the future of Victoria's prime piece of real estate. The noxious industries that had filled the Inner Harbour for many decades were removed in the early 1970's, leaving a less objectionable, but rather sterile harbour. Political histrionics and personal hostilities between major decision-makers have played a substantial role in limiting progress towards a more vibrant and well-used Inner Harbour. In the past, intense disagreement within the local community over the principles of Inner Harbour rejuvenation also contributed to this problem.

7.1 Conclusions

This study had two primary objectives. The first was to determine the nature and sources of conflict and

disagreement over change in the Inner Harbour since 1970. The second objective was to assess the extent of current consensus, if any, between various groups and interests over goals for the future of the Inner Harbour.

A number of factors were identified as contributing to conflict over the Inner Harbour. These include:

1. The highly visible and symbolic nature of the Inner Harbour which earns the area intense attention whenever change is discussed.
2. The present range of overlapping political jurisdictions which has prevented coordinated planning of the Inner Harbour.
3. Use of the Inner Harbour by some local politicians as a tool to gain political attention.
4. A lack of communication and co-operation between major decision-makers responsible for the Inner Harbour.
5. The conservative tendency of many local residents which manifests itself in the form of skepticism about change and suspicion of those who propose it.
6. Continual and contentious debate over the scale of urban development that Victoria residents feel is appropriate.

These factors have combined to make the Inner Harbour a centre of both attention and inaction in recent years.

It is very difficult to assess the potential for future consensus over Inner Harbour redevelopment. While there are a number of encouraging signs, it would be foolish

to disregard a history of conflict that has been both consistent and debilitating. However, several factors inject a note of optimism into consideration of the future.

These include:

1. A less negative view of Inner Harbour development by the local population. This appears to have resulted from frustration with years of inaction and awareness of Victoria's current economic distress. The moderate nature of responses to the Inner Harbour questionnaire demonstrated this point.

2. Some sign of increased political co-operation between the City and the Provincial government. The Songhees project is seen by both sides as the basis for more effective co-operation in the future.

3. A relatively high degree of concordance on Victoria city council over harbour issues, as demonstrated by the 1983 rezoning of the Inner Harbour. This situation is a tenuous one however, as several members of Council seem quite willing to try to turn the Inner Harbour back into a 'political football'.

All three of these trends offer hope for future consensus because they each mark a distinct change from the political climate that has dominated Inner Harbour planning for most of the last fifteen years. The test will come, of course, when a major proposal of some sort is put forward. There is reason to believe that some previous problems will then return. The two biggest threats to successful Inner Harbour decision-making are:

1. The chance, as mentioned above, that a future civic election campaign will feature the Inner Harbour not as a substantive issue, but as a political pawn.

2. A lack of interest on the part of the municipal and provincial governments. Budget constraints prevent immediate implementation of current plans (such as the decking of the south shore), but failure to pursue consensus in the short term virtually ensures a repetition of past controversy.

If those responsible for deciding the future of the Inner Harbour have learned from past experience, several important points will be clear to them. They will know that trying to quickly proceed with plans without adequate consultation usually results merely in delay and controversy. This was experienced by Reid, who lacked public support, by Hartwig, who lacked political support, and by Island Jetfoil, which lacked both. They will also know that waiting for an ideal proposal to appear from an ill-defined source at some point in the future will destine the City to a very long wait. Long-time parking lots on the former Ocean Cement and Reid sites are testament to this.

7.2 Recommendations

It was not the intention of this study to produce an ideal plan for the Inner Harbour. This study has instead concentrated on the process of planning the harbour and the

actors who have taken part in that process. However, in the course of research, it has proved possible to formulate a number of suggestions that might help make the Inner Harbour a slightly better place today and a more successfully planned place in the future. These recommendations are derived from a combination of historical research, personal interviews and questionnaire responses.

First are five concise and specific proposals for Inner Harbour change. All five could be implemented by either the City or the Province at low cost, and there is no reason why they could not be dealt with immediately.

1. Redevelop vacant space in the former Causeway Esso station. The building could be utilized by a combination of public facilities and revenue-producing private ventures. This can be accomplished without expanding the building, blocking access to the harbour, or displacing current activities. It would bring life to the harbour, income to the PCC, and hope for progress in other parts of the Inner Harbour.

2. Beautify the southern portion of Ship Point by banning parking and replacing its asphalt surface with a more attractive form of paving, more grass, and benches. The number of parking spaces lost would be small, the visual impact would be large, and the city's new celebrations and festivals area would look the part. This is no longer a ferry terminal parking lot, and need not look like one.

3. Relocate Air B.C. from its current "temporary" location to the South Shore of the harbour. There is no good reason not to move the floatplanes. Such a move would consolidate transportation facilities on the south shore while allowing the future of the northern part of Ship Point to be dealt with without having to consider Air B.C.'s fate.

4. Improve the sidewalk and views of the Inner Harbour from Belleville Street. The removal of an old chain-link fence, pruning of trees, and widening of the sidewalk could all be accomplished without great expense. Hundreds of people travel this route every day during the tourist season, but its ugliness is ignored by both the City and the PCC, which owns the land. Too often, undesirable conditions are allowed to continue for long periods because they are "only temporary". On the Inner Harbour, as we have seen, "temporary" often means ten years.

5. At certain times (perhaps Saturday mornings), fishermen and/or farmers should be permitted to set up temporary stalls at Ship Point to sell their harvest. This would bring local residents to the harbour and would not be "unfair competition" for Government Street merchants since they sell neither fish nor vegetables.

Although these suggestions are important, they will do nothing to improve the process of planning the harbour. Unfortunately, there is no simple solution to the problems that have plagued Inner Harbour development. It is not surprising that some critics have tried to choose scapegoats for past problems. Perhaps the most common suggestion has been that all publicly-owned land should be turned over to a single body with the mandate and resources needed to make co-ordinated long-term plans. Some observers think a harbour commission could be this body. Such a proposal is appealing because fragmentation of land ownership and political jurisdiction has been a major problem.

However, there are serious challenges this body would

have to deal with. First, it would require the full commitment of both the City and the Province. Without this, such a plan would have little hope of implementation. It is unlikely that either level of government would be willing to give up its control over the harbour. Another problem is the tremendous power that such a body would have. While such power would be needed to ensure implementation of its decisions, there is a serious risk that it would be used to run rough-shod over anyone who opposed it. Despite its merits, it appears unlikely that a single, powerful planning body will ever be created.

There are a number of less drastic changes that could be implemented to improve the effectiveness of Inner Harbour planning. Desirable changes to current practice would include the following:

1. Do not plan the future of the Inner Harbour on the basis of short-term economic considerations. This was a prime criticism of the PCC decision to lease the former Causeway Esso building for use as a large restaurant and a jetfoil terminal;
2. When the public is asked to participate in discussion of the future of the Inner Harbour, participants should be informed how their input is to be used. If planning forums and public hearings are no more than symbolic opportunities for verbal expressions of frustration, participants should be told this. False expectations are a prime source of cynicism and apathy among citizens;
3. If the City expects progress towards redevelopment of the Inner Harbour, it is not enough to rezone the area and then wait for others

to bring forward initiatives. The City must make a specific effort to indicate that it wants redevelopment to take place.

4. For years politicians and residents alike have talked of making the Inner Harbour into the vibrant and beautiful place it can be. This will not happen until such rhetoric is accompanied by a commitment to make Inner Harbour development a priority.

The mid 1980's are a time of quiet stagnation both for Victoria and for its Inner Harbour. Progress has been made at the municipal level in expressing the City's view of what it wants on the harbour. However, little is taking place to actually bring about positive future change. While it is understandable that local politicians are pre-occupied with the economic troubles that cloud Victoria's future, it is difficult to comprehend why redevelopment of the Inner Harbour is put aside rather than viewed as part of the solution to these problems.

Major political actors at both the provincial and municipal levels appear to have few ideas and even fewer funds for Inner Harbour redevelopment. Local residents have far more ideas for the vastly underused Reid site than the politicians interviewed for this study. A lack of money prevents implementation of major projects now or in the near future, but it need not make the planning of the Inner Harbour an irrelevant consideration.

Victoria needs the Inner Harbour; it should be a more

important part of the City, than it is. It needs the harbour for a vibrant downtown. It needs the harbour for a healthy tourist industry. Most of all, Victoria needs the Inner Harbour as the city's centrepiece- its focus, as a source of community pride and identification.

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Appendix 1

Mail Interview Questions

SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT VICTORIA'S INNER HARBOUR

1. What are the most desirable features of the Inner Harbour as it now exists? On the other hand, what are the biggest problems or failings of the area?
2. Why do you think there has been so much debate and indecision over what should happen to the Inner Harbour area?
3. Most of the vacant land in the Inner Harbour is provincially-owned. What (if anything) should the government do to decide on the future of this land?
4. Arguments over the future of the Inner Harbour have almost always involved "pressure" groups such as the Victoria Waterfront Enhancement Society and Victoria's Chamber of Commerce. What do you see as the proper role of groups like these in determining the harbour's future?

5. The role of major decision-makers such as the Mayor, cabinet-ministers, and entrepreneurs is often critical in determining the nature of urban change. How do you assess the role played by these individuals in Victoria?

6. What role should "the community" play in determining the future of the Inner Harbour? Can that role be fulfilled on election day, or is something more required?

7. After all the years of controversy, what hope do you see for some consensus in Victoria over the future of the Inner Harbour? What has to change for this to happen?

8. Realistically, what would you like to see in Victoria's Inner Harbour in the relatively near future?

Appendix 2

Full Text of

Monday Magazine Questionnaire

WHAT WOULD YOU LIKE
TO SEE IN THE
INNER HARBOUR?

Send a message to city hall simply by
answering these questions

Victoria's Inner Harbour has been described as "a diamond waiting to be cut." As such, City Hall jewellers have squinted through the loupe, checked for cleavage planes to clean up the rough, and are preparing for the final cutting.

A new, comprehensive set of zoning regulations will provide both a general direction for future harbour development and specific regulations for the individual sites around the harbour. The bylaws are in the hands of city council and will come up for public hearing in mid-October. Before then, the city is considering an open public forum for wider discussion about the harbour.

Please answer the following multiple choice questions and add comments that you feel are relevant. The results will be printed in the October 13 issue of Monday, so responses must be mailed by September 30 to be included.

Your responses will be presented by Monday to city council for the public hearings.

INSTRUCTIONS- For each question, rank the choices in order of your personal preference. Place a "1" beside your first choice, a "2" beside your second choice, and so on. Please rank the responses even if none of them strikes you as ideal. Only use "other" when your opinion is completely different from any of the choices offered. When you have completed the survey, add any comments you have and drop the completed questionnaire into a mailbox. No postage is necessary.

1. There has been considerable debate over the most desirable scale of development in the Inner Harbour. In general, do you favour:

Intensive development to encourage activity and economic health.

Limited development in order to provide some economic activity while preserving large amounts of public open space.

Emphasis on open space, with the minimum amount of development possible.

Other (specify)

2. Proposed new zoning regulations will prohibit any land uses on the south shore (Ferry Terminal area) of the harbour other than transportation facilities and parks. Should zoning regulations provide for:

Some economic activity other than transportation facilities.

No land uses other than transportation and parks

Other (specify)

3. Most of the vacant land in the Inner Harbour is publicly owned. Which of the following options should be followed to assure the best possible future development of this land:

Turn over selected properties to the private sector for development under strict controls.

Bring all undeveloped Inner Harbour land under one public body for comprehensive planning and development.

Maintain the present pattern of municipal, provincial and federal land ownership.

Other (specify)

4. The future of Inner Harbour tourist attractions such as the Undersea Gardens and the Wax Museum is in doubt. Do you favour:

Removal of all such activities from the Inner Harbour as soon as possible.

Encouragement of more facilities of this kind in the Inner Harbour.

Maintaining the current attractions, but not adding any new ones.

Other (specify)

5. Almost all of the vacant land in the Inner Harbour is currently used for surface parking. Which option is best at the present time:

Maintain present use for parking until more permanent uses are decided.

Ban surface parking on the Inner Harbour except for the ferry terminals.

Construct a new parkade on the Inner Harbour so that surface parking can be eliminated.

Other (specify)

6. The range of possible activities in the Inner Harbour is extensive. Which of the following should be encouraged:

A limited mix of activities in order to minimize congestion and conflict.

The widest range of activities possible so that diversity and vitality is emphasized.

Concentration on public open-space and elimination of activities that conflict with this use.

Other (specify)

7. The future of the Causeway Esso Station is currently being debated. Which of the following options is most desirable:

Demolition of the building to provide a public park and viewpoint.

Use of the building for economic activities, as long as they are in character with the area.

Use of the building only for public uses such as museums or galleries.

Other (specify)

8. Proposed zoning regulations will set aside the southern part of Ship Point as a gathering place for open air activities. Do you favour:

Use of this area for such open activities and for surface parking at other times.

More intensive and permanent uses for this land.

Keeping this area as open space, but banning surface parking except as required to service moored vessels.

Other (specify)

9. Air B.C. is currently located in temporary quarters at the northern area of Ship Point. Is it most desirable:

To keep the float-plane terminal where it is.

To move float-planes to the south shore with other transportation facilities.

To ban float-planes from the Inner Harbour.

Other (specify)

10. The old Reid site remains vacant after years of debate over its future. What do you think this land should be used for?

11. Any additional comments?

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Title of Thesis

The Redevelopment and Planning of the Inner Harbour Area of Victoria, British Columbia.

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