Public Power in the Planning Process:

an Evaluation of Access, Deliberation, and Accountability in the Decision-Making Processes used to create the Lansdowne Partnership Plan

By

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Executive Summary

Public Power in the Planning Process is a discussion of the decision-making process used in the creation of the Lansdowne Partnership Plan, which deals with the redevelopment of an urban park in Ottawa. It analyses three stages of the process (from June 2009 to November 2010), using three different frameworks for the evaluation of collaborative planning processes, and aims to achieve two purposes: first, to shed some light on the intricacies of a controversial planning process and second, to examine the effectiveness of the evaluation frameworks.

The Case Study

Lansdowne Park was used as an agricultural fair ground and exhibition park, was the location of a hockey arena used for one of Ottawa's professional teams, and a stadium formerly used by a professional football team. The City of Ottawa had begun a design process when it received a proposal from a group of local developers (the *Ottawa Sports and Entertainment Group - OSEG*), to revitalize the park. The City then began a lengthy and controversial process to design a revitalization project in partnership with OSEG. The process was however criticized by local residents, which resulted in the creation of the citizens group Friends of Lansdowne Park. This report examines the roles played by the City of Ottawa and Friends of Lansdowne Park over the course of this decision-making process and focuses on key turning points from 2009 to 2010.
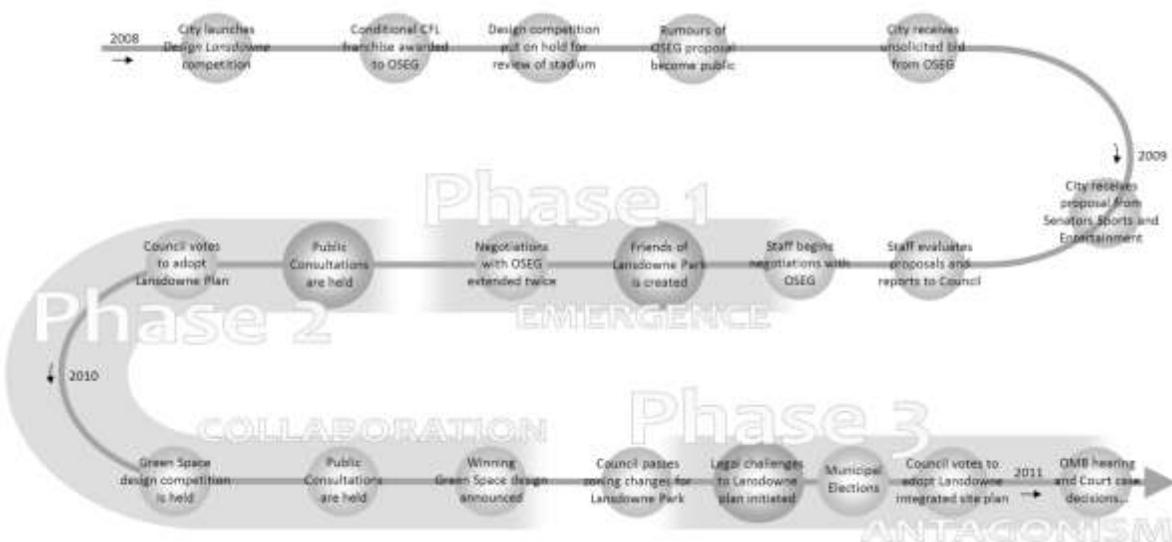

Figure I: Process Timeline

Methodology

      The research was based on a review of available documents on the process from a variety of sources, including the City of Ottawa's website and online archives, the Ottawa Citizen newspaper, and the website of the Friends of Lansdowne Park. Based on these documents, key events and positions were identified. The process timeline was divided into three key phases (emergence, collaboration, and antagonism), which then formed the basis of the analysis. The process is evaluated using analytic frameworks designed for collaborative planning processes. Christensen's (1993) framework for stakeholder analysis was used to identify the key stakeholders and their resources, interests and action channels. The main component of the analysis is based on the framework developed by Agger and Löfgren (2008), which is designed to evaluate how democratic a collaborative planning process is. The framework identifies five main criteria based on democratic norms, three of which were used in this report. Finally, the process was also analyzed using the Ladder of Citizen Participation model developed by Arnstein (1969).

Analysis

      The report's analysis is divided into five sections; one each for the democratic principles of access, deliberation, and accountability, a section illustrating the key stakeholders, and a section placing the three phases of the process on the Ladder of Citizen Participation.

Arnstein's (1969) Ladder of Citizen Participation is a simple tool to rank participatory planning processes on a scale of citizen empowerment. The first phase of the process scores near the bottom, at the informing level. The second phase scores as placation, as City Council made an effort to tack a more legitimate process on to an already formed plan. The first two phases rank as forms of tokenism, while the third phase is too complex to be ranked using this model.

Figure II: Ladder of Citizen Participation

Access	• During the first phase, the process was not particularly transparent. The City of Ottawa held negotiations with the developers in private and the Friends of Lansdowne Park emerged as a way for opponents to communicate more effectively.
	• More information about the plan was made available by the City during the second phase. The Friends of Lansdowne Park disseminated information on its website. The official public consultation process was open to participation by all residents.
	• Only a limited number of stakeholders were able to participate in the legal proceedings of the third phase.
Deliberation	• The communication within the process was not a conversation, but simply the presentation of information and opinions by the City and the public. The consultation process was designed to gather information from the public, not to answer questions or respond to criticisms.
	• Public meetings were chaotic. Participants did not treat one another with respect. The levels of tolerance and respect decreased throughout the process, reaching a low in the third phase.
	• One of the important concerns of opponents to the plan was the fact that the partnership was not formed through a competitive process. However, the City tried to focus discussions on the content of the plan, ignoring the public criticism on this issue.
Accountability	• Elections are a formal way of holding politicians accountable. Elections were held during the third phase of the process, and the mayor and a number of Councillors lost their seats. Key votes were held before and after the election by these same Councillors, removing the chance for public censure in the form of votes to have an impact on the decision-making process.
	• The Friends of Lansdowne Park was dependent upon its volunteer membership for support, and required public support for its fundraising activities in order to carry out the legal challenge in the third phase of the process.

Conclusions

(1) Based on the criteria developed by Agger and Löfgren (2008), the analysis indicates that the process was not fully democratic. Indeed, it fell short on all three criteria. Access was limited, particularly in the first and third phases. There was minimal deliberation, as information was transmitted uni-directionally. Finally, though measures for accountability were in place, they were not used until after the important decisions had already been made.

(2) Theorists of collaborative planning processes highlight the important gains which come in the form of intangible results. These include change and adaptability, trust, relationships, political capital, and learning. The analysis examined these aspects of the decision-making process and indicated that the process for the Lansdowne Partnership Plan degraded trust and relationships and increased tensions between stakeholders.

(3) There are many areas for future research on Lansdowne Park. First, future research should include extensive interviews with key stakeholders. Second, it should investigate events over a broader timeline, in order to include events from early 2007 until 2012 or later for a better understanding of the effects of the process on trust and relationships and to include the cancellation of the beginning of the design process and the implementation of the plan. A third area for suggested future research is the evolution of the plan, and its relationship to the interests and actions of stakeholders. Finally, future research should include all five of Agger and Löfgren's criteria: the development of adaptiveness and the development of political identities and capabilities.

(4) The three analytic frameworks achieved different levels of success as evaluation tools for the chosen case. Agger and Löfgren's (2008) framework for the democratic analysis of collaborative planning processes allows a variety of processes' aspects to be analyzed based on democratic values. The framework is applicable to the chosen case study and adaptable to multiple situations and contexts, and can be used for the analysis of a variety of very different cases. The use of democratic principles makes the perspective of the analysis clear, grounding it in commonly understood norms. Christensen's (1993) framework for stakeholder analysis seems rather simplistic and rigid. It works very well, however, when combined with another more detailed analytic framework. The Ladder of Citizen Participation (Arnstein, 1969) is a simplistic, though well recognized, model. In the case of the Lansdowne Partnership Plan, the first two phases worked well with Arnstein's (1969) framework, while the third phase did not. The Ladder of Citizen Participation is not recommended for more complicated, nuanced, or multi-faceted problems.

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1. Introduction

From 2007 to 2011, the City of Ottawa formulated a plan, as part of a public-private partnership, to redevelop Lansdowne Park. This was an urban park in the south-central area of Ottawa which housed a hockey arena and football stadium. The issue became contentious, with mounting tensions between those in favour of the deal and those against it. Indeed, the decision-making process used in developing this plan has been called illegitimate (Hudon & Zaato, 2010; Hilton, Shepherd, & Stoney, 2010).

This report focuses on the decision-making process for planning the redevelopment of Lansdowne Park. It analyses three stages of the process, (from June 2009 to November 2010) using three different frameworks for the evaluation of collaborative planning processes, and aims to achieve two purposes: first, to shed some light on the intricacies of a controversial planning process and second, to examine the effectiveness of the evaluation frameworks.

The author of this report made every attempt to be unbiased in the analysis, but wishes to disclose the potential for conflict of interest. She is a resident of the Glebe, the neighbourhood in which Lansdowne Park is located. She grew up a few city blocks from Lansdowne Park. A close relative of the author has been involved in some of the activities of the Friends of Lansdowne Park and public consultations, but was not used as a resource.

This study was purposely limited to the timeframe of the summer of 2009 to the fall of 2010, since this is the epicentric period of the consultation process under study. The analysis focuses primarily on the actions and interactions of the key stakeholders (City Of Ottawa and 'Friends of Landsdown Park'), through the decision-making process and the media coverage thereof. These actions and interactions include public events and meetings, the public consultation process, and Council meetings. There are however some clear limitations to the study, such as the small scope of the research project, and the fact that it was completed before all events related to the planning process had

been concluded. These limitations, as well as those of the analytic framework, are further elaborated upon in Chapter 5 (conclusion).

The third phase of the decision-making process, as identified in this report, includes the initiation of legal proceedings through the Ontario Municipal Board (OMB) and the Ontario Superior court. The author acknowledges that these proceedings are judicial in nature and not consultative and that the decision-making power was outside of the hands of City Council, City staff, and the public. The appeals process is not generally considered part of the collaborative planning process, however, it is important to note that the concerned citizens chose to initiate the appeal as a result of what they perceived as a failed planning process. This initiation of the judicial process, or the fact that a judicial process was required in order to reach a final decision, is thus relevant to the analysis, as the citizens' ability to appeal to the courts could be considered part of the citizens' participation in the Landsdowne Park dispute. Despite the potential for controversy, it was deemed sufficiently important by the researcher for the judicial process to merit inclusion in this report because of the impact it had on the perceived effectiveness of the decision-making process As is further elaborated upon in the analytic framework section and conclusion of this report, the results of the decision-making process include not only the final plan, but the tension and controversy that was generated throughout, as illustrated by the legal proceedings.

This case study was chosen primarily because of the author's personal interest in the case, but also because the contentious nature of the process made it an interesting subject for analysis. The results are not intended to be applicable to other case studies. There are, however, lessons which can be drawn from this analysis which can inform other planning processes. The author chose to research the process involved in developing the plan, (rather than the plan itself), because of her particular interest in public consultation and in the issues of legitimacy and democracy in planning practice. This case, when analyzed by the chosen frameworks, provides insight on these themes and issues.

1.1. Background about the Case: The Context of Lansdowne Park

Lansdowne Park was first created in 1868 after the construction of the Rideau Canal as a location for agricultural fairs (Leaning 2007). It is completely owned by the City of Ottawa, and has been the home of the Central Canada Exhibition and subsequent summer fairs since 1888 (Lansdownepark.ca). The Ottawa 67's Ontario Hockey League team has been playing in the on-site Civic Centre arena since 1967 (Lansdownepark.ca), and Ottawa's Canadian Football League (CFL) teams (the 'Roughriders' and subsequently the 'Renegade'), played in Frank Clair Stadium from 1896 to 1996 and 2002 to 2005 (Leaning 2007). The Civic Centre also acts as a venue for conventions and trade shows (Lansdownepark.ca).The Ottawa Farmer's Market has been open two days a week at Lansdowne from May to November since 2006 (Ottawa Farmers' Market 2011). Furthermore, there are two significant heritage buildings on the site; the Aberdeen Pavillion, built for the Central Canada Exhibition in 1898, and the Horticulture Building, built in 1914 as a curling rink and exhibition space (Lansdownepark.ca).
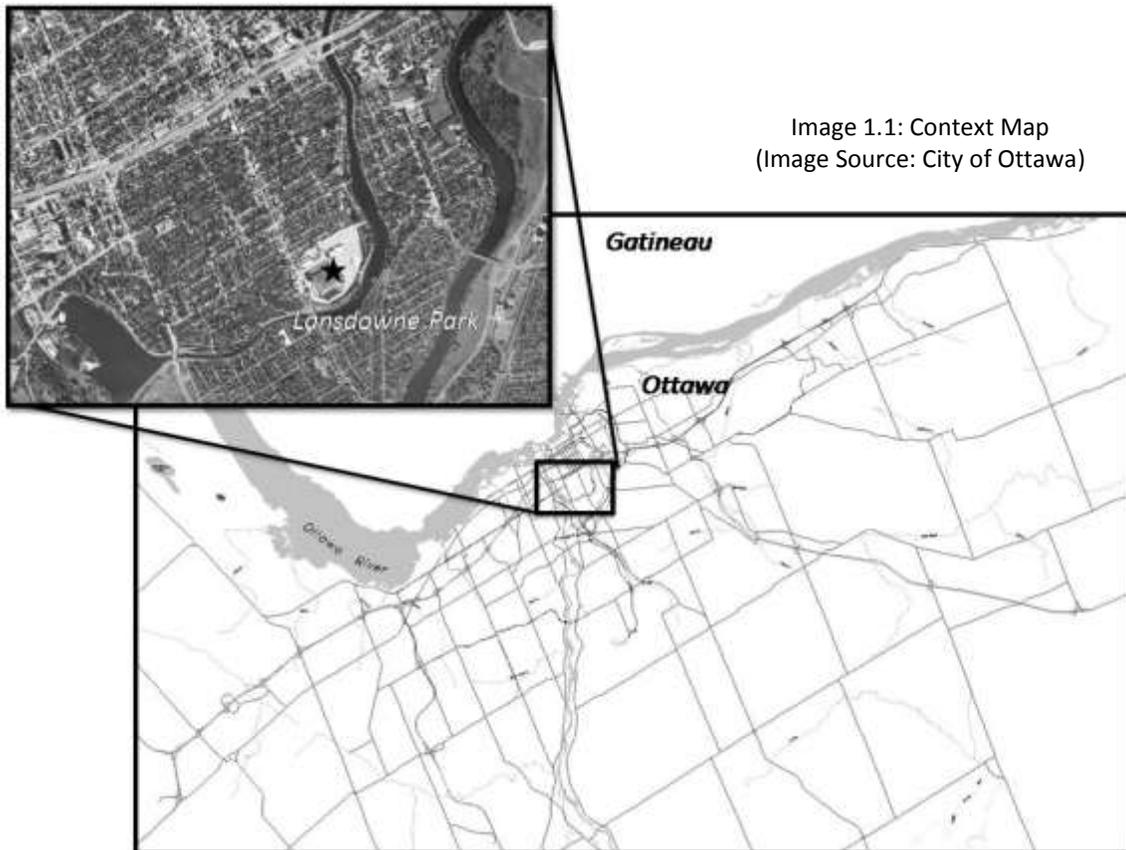

Image 1.1: Context Map
(Image Source: City of Ottawa)

Lansdowne Park is located in central Ottawa, about 3.2 km from Parliament Hill. It is surrounded by a stable upper middle class residential neighbourhood, and is bounded to the east and south by the curving Rideau Canal, a UNESCO World Heritage Site. To the north lies Holmwood Avenue, a quiet residential street with two and three-story single and semi-detached family houses, and Sylvia Holden Park, a community park with children's sports and recreation areas. To the west, Lansdowne is bordered by Bank Street, which runs from Wellington Street, in the heart of the downtown next to the edge of the Ottawa River and Parliament Hill, all the way south through the City, serving as a prime shopping and main arterial road, out into the rural areas on the City's periphery, where it becomes provincial highway 31. Bank Street near Lansdowne Park functions as the commercial centre for the surrounding neighbourhood, known as the Glebe. The street is lined by small shops, restaurants, and cafes that cater to local residents, many of which are independently owned.

Image 1.2: Lansdowne Park and Surroundings
(Image Source: City of Ottawa)

The *Ottawa Neighbourhood Study* (2010) classifies the Glebe-Dows Lake neighbourhood as being in the first quintile for socio-economic status. According to the 2006 census, residents of the Glebe-Dows Lake neighbourhood had an average individual income of $63,099 and an average household income of $114,845, compared to the Ottawa average household income of $86,848 (ONS 2010). 68% of residents in the neighbourhood have completed a bachelor's degree, compared to the city-wide average of 37% (ONS 2010). Similarly, the neighbourhood's unemployment rate and proportion of the population below the low-income cut-off are below the City of Ottawa's averages (ONS 2010). The neighbourhood has high civic engagement; indeed, 55% of residents had voted in the 2006 municipal election, compared to the City average of 48% (ONS 2010). Glebe-Dows Lake area residents are also predominantly non-visible minorities; in the 2006 census, only 8.2% of residents were visible minorities, and less than 1% were aboriginal (ONS 2010). The population is mostly Anglophone and bilingual; of the two official languages, 54% of the population reported speaking only English and 45% reported speaking both English and French, which represents a higher percentage of bilingual residents than the Ottawa average of 37% (ONS 2010).

1.2. Theoretical Framework

This section first examines the literature which theorizes about the ideal systems, conditions, and processes in collaboration, which both set goals and requirements to which collaborative processes should aspire. Second, it discusses bodies of work which seek to evaluate or formulate a framework for the evaluation of actual cases of collaborative or participatory processes. Third, it discusses some of the main criticisms or problems with the view that collaborative democracy is a panacea to solve all planning problems.

1.2.1. Definition and Origins

Public participation processes are alternately named collaborative, deliberative, discursive, or communicative democracy/planning, or are sometimes called 'consensus building' processes. These ideas, referred to hereafter as collaborative processes, are

described by Innes & Booher (1999, p. 412) as "an array of practices in which stakeholders, selected to represent different interests, come together for face-to-face, long-term dialogue to address a policy issue of common concern."

The ideas concerning collaborative processes have become the subject of planning literature in the last decades. The interest in theoretical literature about collaborative processes has increased since the mid-1990s because of changing societal norms and increased access to information. The interest in these collaborative processes is, according to Innes & Booher (1999, p. 412), a "societal response to changing conditions in increasingly networked societies, where power and information are widely distributed… where differences in knowledge and values among individuals and communities are growing, and where accomplishing anything significant or innovative requires creating flexible linkages among many players." Collaborative processes have become more popular in planning theory as well as in planning practice, as more complex societies demand more complex forms of public engagement.

Authors have described the collaborative process as involving all stakeholders in a discussion, and using joint fact-finding to ensure all participants have the same information, while also using mediators or facilitators to organize the discussion (Forester 2006, 1989; Connick & Innes 2003; Innes 1996, 2003). Furthermore, some add that it is dependent upon mutual respect between participants, requires participants to be truthful in their statements, and aims to achieve a common consensus (Agger & Löfgren 2008; Forester 1989; Healey 2003; Innes 1996; Innes & Booher 1999).

The greatest source of inspiration for the literature on collaborative planning processes is the work of Jürgen Habermas. Of particular value is his theory of communicative rationality (Innes, 1996; Innes & Booher, 1999; Healey, 2003). Communicative rationality is, according to Innes & Booher (1999, p.418), "a set of ideal conditions for discourse which, if followed, can result in emancipatory knowledge – that is, knowledge that goes beyond the self-fulfilling rationalizations that societies develop." The deliberative process must be consensual, involving all stakeholders, with each participant being aware, informed, and empowered. The participants use clear and

respectful language and speak truthfully, thereby meeting the conditions of what Habermas terms 'ideal speech', which is when "statements are comprehensible, scientifically true, and offered by those who can legitimately speak and who speak sincerely" (Innes, 1996, p. 462). The results of this deliberative process are inherently both rational and ethical because all parties came to an agreement through rational discourse (Innes & Booher, 1999). This is an ideal goal, not to be met in practice, but against which actual practice can be evaluated (Healey, 2003).

Agger & Löfgren (2008), while sceptical of the value of Habermas' framework for democratic discourse, identify two main values taken from the work of Habermas which have informed their criteria for successful collaborative processes; these are reciprocity and tolerance. At the heart of these concepts is an ideal of having the statements of all participants equally accepted, valued and listened to (Agger & Löfgren, 2008). No participants are privileged over others and all types of knowledge, including that of ordinary citizens, are valued.

1.2.2. Theories of Collaborative Planning Processes

Harper & Stein (1996) posit that consensus can be achieved on practical matters, even when different groups have fundamentally opposing world views or sets of values. The lines between communities are fluid and therefore cannot be fully defined. This has the practical effect of making inter-community differences and intra-community differences identical (Harper and Stein, 1996, p. 419).

Planners, facilitators, politicians, and community members can therefore, regardless of differences, attempt to move toward consensus by changing specific beliefs and desires while holding others constant to achieve agreement on one specific practical issue without making a determination on the correctness of any one world-view (Harper and Stein, 1996, p. 418-423). Indeed, Harper & Stein believe that the practical way of achieving this consensus must ask the participants of the dialogue (or mediation) to reflect on their own ethical principles, judgements, and intuitions, and to find: 1) a personal ethical consistency and 2) consensual agreement across their

differences (Harper and Stein, 1996, p. 423). Indeed, the process requires self-criticism and interactive critique between the parties involved.

In *Planning in the Face of Power*, John Forester (1989) outlines his view that planners must act to counterbalance existing power inequalities by giving voice to the marginalized. He argues for planners to take up the role of mediator in public disputes, finding common ground between power holders and the powerless. The planner must listen to all parties and bring together their different views and knowledge to form a cohesive way forward. The planner's responsibility is to actively listen and engage with stakeholders, to exchange information, and to generate ideas. As Forester (1989, p.9) says, this "involves not simply having good intentions and hearing words, but also embodying respect, paying attention, employing critical judgment, and building relationships." In later work, Forester draws heavily from the field of mediation to develop his concept of how a successful collaborative process can work (Forester, 2006). The mediator's role becomes crucial in this view, facilitating the discussion, ensuring the quality of dialogue, and the equality and equal respect of participants.

Planning, therefore, is not the effort of a single person or entity, but a collaborative process. Ideas and proposals are exchanged, elaborated on, reviewed, and redefined by a group of participants representing different perspectives. "This 'socially constructivist' notion of planning practice, and design practices more broadly, enables us to respect the intuitive aspects of the creation of form and also to appreciate the thoroughly social and indeed political character of the communicative process through which any working design is achieved" (Forester, 1989, p.10).

Also, the respective collective works of Patsy Healey and Judith Innes emphasize the gains achieved by the use of collaborative processes. These gains are different than the actual agreements or plans which traditionally determine the success or failure of a planning endeavour. Indeed, they argue the most valuable outcomes of collaborative processes are the changed self-identities of the participants and the relationships that are developed between them (Connick & Innes 2003; Innes 1996; Healey 2003). Both Innes and Healey respond to their critics (Connick & Innes 2003; Innes & Booher 1999;

Healey 2003, 2000) by citing the importance of the intangible results of the collaborative process. The emphasis here is on outcomes that create "effectiveness and transparency in governance actions," the "promotion of social justice," and a "governance process which is policy-driven" (Healey, 2000).

The goal of collaborative planning, (according to Innes, Healey, and Forester), is not merely to create a feasible plan for the organization, development, and regulation of space, but to challenge established power relations (Forester, 1989; Healey, 2000) and break through stalemates between opposing agents (Connick & Innes, 2003; Innes & Booher, 1999, 2004). The valuable outcomes are not only tangible (i.e. in the form of formal agreements, data analyses, partnerships, innovations, strategies, and actions) but also intangible (i.e. in the form of personal and professional relationships, trust, political capital, learning, and change), and these outcomes cannot be separated in analysis from the processes that create them (Innes & Booher 1999).

1.2.3. Evaluation Frameworks

Citizen participation is difficult to assess, particularly in fluid collaborative processes that lack a clear goal. There is no concrete, quantitative method for the evaluation of thoughts and feelings, nor is there a method for the complex task of determining the extent to which a process is inclusive. Nonetheless, efforts have been made to create frameworks within which to rank, evaluate, and assess collaborative planning processes.

Sherry Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation (1969) has been extremely influential in the realm of evaluating public participation efforts. She is highly critical of the most common tools of 'participation' of her time, many of which still persist today, (primarily consisting of the uni-directional sharing of information and the 'manipulation' of the public or process). Arnstein defined a spectrum of different levels of public participation, ranging from 'non-participation' to full 'citizen control', where issues can be openly debated, discussed, and decided upon in a legitimate and inclusive process. There are eight rungs on her ladder, with each step up representing increased access, participation, reciprocity, and control. This ladder forms a good basis for evaluating

various attempts to involve citizens in the planning process. The ladder model is described in more detail in Chapter 2, section 2.2, and visualized in Figure 2.2 on page 17.

Innes' work with Connick and Booher (Connick & Innes, 2003; Innes & Booher, 1999) has created frameworks for the evaluation of collaborative processes, but these present more of an assertion of what is ideal or what the required elements for success are, rather than presenting outcomes and processes along a possible spectrum of achievement. Connick & Innes (2003) and Innes & Booher (1999) divide the sought-after goals of collaborative planning into process criteria and outcome criteria. The process criteria includes the participation of representatives of all relevant interests, a shared practical purpose, the use of high-quality information, the interaction and learning of participants, challenges to the status quo, creativity, and self-organization (Connick & Innes, 2003, p.180; Innes & Booher, 1999, p.419). Meanwhile, the outcome criteria consists of social and political capital, changes in attitudes, behaviours, or actions, the ending of a stalemate, a better cost-benefit outcome than other planning processes, flexible institutions, learning and change, and innovation (Connick & Innes, 2003, p.181; Innes & Booher, 1999, p.419).

Innes & Booher (1999) also distinguish between first, second, and third order effects which occur as a result of engaging in collaborative planning processes. First order effects of collaborative processes include the creation of social, intellectual and political capital, and the building of trust and relationships. Second order effects encompass new partnerships, coordination, and joint actions, changes in practices and perceptions, and the implementation of agreements. Third order effects comprise the more lofty goals of new collaborations, institutions, discourses, norms and heuristics, as well as the gradual reduction of conflict and changes on the ground in cities, regions, resources, and services (Innes & Booher, 1999).

Agger & Löfgren (2008) build on Arnstein's notion of an evaluative framework for public participation, but adapt the concept to more recently developed norms of collaborative planning. They have also adapted; from democratic theory; Dahl's five

criteria for evaluating democratic processes at the nation-state level, to establish a series of questions which deal with the multiple aspects of "micro-level local arrangements for citizen involvement" (Agger & Löfgren, 2008, p.151). The norms of access, inclusion and participation, public deliberation, democratic adaptability, accountability, and the development of democratic identities are reminiscent of the criteria used by Connick & Innes (2003) and Innes & Booher (1999), but the specific questions compose a framework which is all-encompassing and applicable to a number of differently designed collaborative processes.

1.2.4. Criticisms

There are many planning processes which fall quite far from the outlined 'ideals' of collaborative planning. Innes & Booher (2004) mention briefly how public participation in practice in the United States is generally a failure. Legally required, yet ineffectual processes often have the effect of making participation counter-productive, polarizing the general public, causing antagonism between groups with different opinions, and pitting governments against the public (Innes & Booher, 2004). These formal discussions do not treat all citizens as equals and rarely involve more than one-way communication, with plans being presented by officials and citizens reacting to them (Innes & Booher, 2004). The only stated remedy for this situation is the use of collaborative processes, despite the existence of underlying power imbalances and the biases of the participants of these dysfunctional public consultations, task forces, and advisory groups.

Indeed, one of the main criticisms of the work of Healey and Innes is that this new focus on the benefits of the ideal collaborative process directs attention away from deeper struggles between socially embedded power relationships (Healey, 2003). Huxley & Yiftachel (2000a, 2000b, 2000c) critique this new 'communicative turn' in planning theory, claiming that it is merely an escape for planning theorists from examining the "depressing realities of planning in increasingly polarized societies" (Huxley & Yiftachel, 2000a, p.908). Merely looking at planning as a decision-making process glosses over the real issues in need of theoretical examination, namely the

relationship between the state and the production of space, and the ability of planning to be used either for progressive development, or to "repress, fragment and control subordinate groups" (Huxley & Yiftachel, 2000a, p.910).

2. Methodology

This study was qualitative in nature. It examined a single case study and did not incorporate comparative analysis techniques. The method of data collection was document review, while the analysis was conducted using a combination of three different sets of criteria which framed the investigation from different perspectives.

The scope and method of data collection for the report were determined principally by the constraints imposed by the timeframe. At the time that this report was written, the controversial issue under investigation had not yet been resolved. As a result, it was deemed to be unwise to conduct interviews with key stakeholders at this time because of the highly emotional nature of the subject. it was also felt that conducting interviews would cause the scope of the research to broaden to an untenable level. In addition, the value-added dialogue and information which interviews could provide would be more reliable if those interviews were conducted at a later date.

This report has two goals: to shed some light on a controversial planning process by analyzing its components in a systematic manner, and to test a new analytic framework to determine its usefulness for other case studies. The chosen methodology had numerous limitations; however, they did not impair these goals. Chapter 5 (Conclusions and Recommendations) includes a list of limitations, suggestions for future research, and a critique of the analytic framework. The chosen scope and analytic framework does not allow for the conclusions of this report to be generalized to other cases.

2.1 Data Collection and Sources

The case study data was drawn from three types of sources, with multiple sources within each type. The variety of source types addressed the bias which may have been contained in any one type of source. The use of multiple sources also was thought to mitigate any potential reliability issues associated with the use of a single method. The three types of sources are: municipal documents, media articles, and documents and websites from community organizations, principally the Friends of

Lansdowne Park. Municipal reports documented the public consultation process as well as specific Council and Committee meetings relating to the planning process. It was assumed that these documents were accurate and relatively unbiased. Media documents were from the CBC website and from *The Ottawa Citizen*, which were used as primary sources of local news (e.g., in print, online, and on television and radio). The chosen media outlets were assumed to be characteristic of all media coverage on the subject. The documents from community organizations provided a sample of some of the opinions of those opposed to, or skeptics of, the proposed plan, but did not represent all viewpoints. Research was conducted until sufficient information had been collected to provide detailed explanations for each section of the analytic frameworks, and at the point at which there were no visible gaps in the chain of events.

The information gathered from the document review was used to sort events into three phases which could then be examined in more detail in the analysis. The phases were defined by key turning points or events during and as a result of which the nature of the activities of either the City of Ottawa or the Friends of Lansdowne Park, or both organizations, changed. These identified phases assisted in organizing and sorting through the data during the analysis.

2.2 Analytic Framework

The analytic framework used to conduct the evaluation of the decision-making process was a combination of the work produced by Agger and Löfgren (2008), Christensen (1993), and Arnstein (1969), while this report's primary analysis used the normative evaluation framework for collaborative planning processes developed by Agger and Löfgren (2008). Following this analysis, the process was evaluated using Arnstein's (1969) model, which is a widely respected framework for evaluating public consultation processes in planning. The processes used in creating the Lansdowne Partnership Plan were placed on Arnstein's ladder model, while using the more detailed analysis as justification. Christensen's (1993) framework for stakeholder analysis informed the primary analysis, and is the first section of Chapter 4 (Analysis).

Agger and Löfgren (2008) look at five criteria: public access to political influence, public deliberation, development of adaptiveness, accountability, and the development of political identities and capabilities. This report's investigation is limited to three of these criteria: access, deliberation, and accountability. This framework was not used in its entirety because of the scope of this report. Had this report included the additional criteria, it would have been necessary to include interviews and (perhaps) a survey in the data collection methods, thus requiring a significantly longer timeframe for research, including the continued monitoring of the situation over the next three to five years.

For each of the three democratic norms of access, deliberation, and accountability identified by Agger and Löfgren (2008), the authors provide questions with which to focus an investigation. The questions which were included in this report are summarized in Table 2.1. The framework was used as a descriptive and explanatory assessment tool; however, it does not rank or score processes. This is because it recognizes the distinctiveness of every case and as such, does not seek to identify a single ideal structure for all participatory processes.

On the theme of access, there are four sub-categories, three of which were investigated in this report (see Table 2.1). The first of these deals with the extent to which the process is open to the participation of affected stakeholders and transparent to them. The second asks who and how many people actually participated. The third questions the extent to which the participation methods were varied enough to ensure a range of different groups ability to participate. The analysis of public access was divided into three sections, one for each of the three identified phases of the process. This was done to reflect the fact that access to participation was different at different points in time.

Within the discussion of deliberation, there are two questions (Agger & Löfgren 2008). The first question, as noted in table 2.1, deals with the theme of reciprocity and tolerance. This refers to the type of language used and the extent to which two-way communication was involved. The second looks specifically at the usefulness of the

deliberation involved; it questions the extent to which the participants stayed on topic and were productive. The section of the analysis which examines public deliberation was also divided into sub-sections by phase of the process in order to reflect the changing tone and content of discussions at different points in time.

Table 2.1: Criteria of Primary Analytic Framework		
Access	Openness & Transparency	1. To what extent are the collaborative networks open to participation by the affected stakeholders? 2. To what extent is the work of the collaborative networks transparent to the wider public?
	Who & How Many	3. To what extent are those concerned actively participating, or being represented, in the networks?
	Variety	4. To what extent are the participation methods employed enough to secure genuine access to decision-making?
Deliberation		5. To what extent do the debates within collaborative networks approximate standards of reciprocity and tolerance? 6. To what extent do the debates produce something perceived by the participants as essential to the decision-making process?
Accountability		7. To what extent can formal 'sanctions' (in the form of elections) enforce the accountability of collaborative networks for their actions? 8. To what extent can informal 'sanctions' (in the form of public censure) enforce the accountability of collaborative networks for their actions?

(Table 2.1 questions adapted from Agger & Löfgren 2008, p.151-158)

Agger and Löfgren's (2008) analysis focuses on informal 'sanctions', in the form of public censure, guilt, or loss of self-respect which can be exercised against individuals with decision-making power both within and outside the government. In the democratic context, 'sanctions' also exist for politicians in the form of elections. Both formal and informal 'sanctions' were considered in this report.

Actor	Interests (Stakes, Motives)	Resources	Participation (Choice/ Opportunity, Skills)	Influence f (R,P)	Action Channels
MAYOR	Re-elect/higher office; platform	Executive decisions / action, funding endorsements			Political networks/ elections, daily executive administration
COUNCIL MEMBERS	Re-elect/higher office	Legislative action including $, votes, endorsements			Council meetings, budget process
PLANNING COMISSIONERS	Higher office ?	Decisions (quasi-executive, judicial, legislative)			Planning commission meetings
DEVELOPERS	Profit	$, jobs			
PLANNING STAFF	Professional promotion	Time, expertise			Planning commission meetings, day-to-day advice
MEDIA	Sell stories	Broad access to public			Newspapers, radio, T.V.
NEIGHBOR-HOODS	Protect neighborhood quality (property values)	Votes			Public hearings, special mechanisms for neighborhood and citizen participation

Figure 2.1: the Strategy Development Framework (Christensen 1993, p.210)

Christensen's (1993) framework for stakeholder analysis forms the first section of the analysis chapter. It was the first step in answering the questions in Agger and Löfgren's (2008) set of criteria. The stakeholders involved in the process changed and adapted over the three identified phases on which the analysis focuses. The use of the framework was only for the purposes of a brief overview and organizing thoughts and ideas; it was not considered to be a thorough analysis. This framework for stakeholder analysis identifies the key actors, their interests, resources, action channels, and levels of participation and influence. A sample framework, partially filled in by Christensen (1993) is shown in Figure 2.1. Called the 'strategy development framework,' this analytic tool follows stakeholder identification in a savvy planner's decision-making process (Christensen 1993).

Following the main analysis, each of the three identified phases of the process was placed on a rung of Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation (Arnstein 1969). Arnstein's scale of public participation is widely recognized as a useful, if simplistic, model.

There are eight rungs on the ladder (see Figure 2.2). The first rung, or level of citizen participation, is 'manipulation', the second 'therapy'. In these levels, the goals of the organizers of the participatory events are merely to "enable power holders to 'educate' or 'cure' the participants" (Arnstein, 1969, p.217), that is, to try to force those who disagree to change their way of thinking.

The third, fourth, and fifth rungs are 'informing', 'consultation', and 'placation'. These three are all forms of 'tokenism', where information is communicated in a single direction; plans are proposed and opposition and support are welcome. The citizens have a voice and their opinions are heard, but there is no requirement for those opinions to be heeded in any way by those who hold the ultimate power of decision-making (Arnstein, 1969). It can, however, still be an "important first step toward legitimate citizen participation" (Arnstein, 1969, p.219).

The sixth and seventh rungs of the ladder bring citizens into meaningful engagement with decision-makers. These are 'partnership' and 'delegated power'. At this level, negotiation occurs between citizens and power holders. It does, however, require an organized community, with mechanisms for holding leaders accountable and resources to pay leaders for their time commitments in order to be truly effective (Arnstein, 1969).

The final rung on the ladder, 'citizen control', is an elusive goal. This is the level of the rung which probably comes closest to the goals espoused by the likes of Forester, Innes, and Healey, but also oversimplifies matters by presupposing a cohesive group of
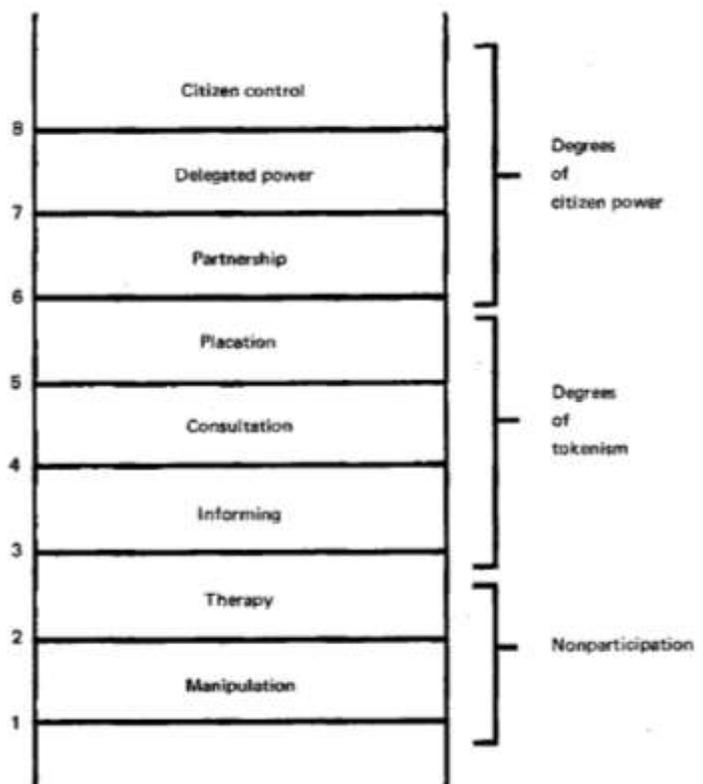

Figure 2.2: the Ladder of Citizen Participation
(Arnstein 1969, p.217)

citizens who merely require that power over planning concerns be granted to them by the state.

The combination of these three evaluation techniques was sufficient to narrow the scope of my research and discussion to a manageable level, and also provided a clear and rigid structure to the writing. The validity of the analysis was enhanced by the use of three separate frameworks for analysis, which addressed different yet interconnected aspects of the consultation process and were consequently complementary. The use of Arnstein's (1969) widely recognized model added external validity to a project which otherwise used a modified version of a previously untested evaluation framework. One of the components of this framework was informed by yet a third framework. Aside from the support provided by the use of additional evaluative frameworks, the criteria written by Agger & Löfgren (2008) received external validity from its roots in democratic theory. The theoretical underpinnings of these analytic frameworks are outlined in more detail in the theoretical framework in Chapter 1 (Section 1.2).

3. Chronology of Events & Findings

This chapter outlines the events which have been analyzed in this report. The overview (Section 3.1) outlines the chronology leading up to and including the period which forms the temporal limitations of the paper's scope. A complete timeline is included with major events, phases, and turning points identified. This is followed by three sections with detailed descriptions of the events of each of the identified phases of the process.

3.1. Overview

The City of Ottawa (hereon referred to as 'the City') came to the decision, in 2007, that something needed to be done to revitalize the deteriorated Lansdowne Park, which was comprised of an unsafe stadium, an old arena, a vast parking lot, and a few heritage buildings whose purpose at the time was unclear. The City began preparations for a design competition to redevelop the park, which began in the fall of 2007 with public consultations (Brocklebank 2009). The south-side stands of Frank Clair Stadium were torn down because they were deemed unsafe. In May 2008, the City suspended the process to review an unsolicited bid from a group of local businessmen. The decision to cancel the process was made by the City Manager, possibly on advice from the Mayor, without consulting Council (Jaimet, 2009). This group, the Ottawa Sports and Entertainment Group (OSEG) is composed of local developers and sports team owners, including the current owner of the Ottawa 67s hockey team (Dare 2009b). The group had managed to attain a conditional offer for a Canadian Football League (CFL) franchise to bring back the popular sport which had not had a professional team in the City after the collapse of the Roughriders and Renegade. The details of this offer were not immediately made public by the City (Friends of Lansdowne Park 2009a).

At the same time as the City received a bid from OSEG for the redevelopment of Lansdowne Park and the renovation of Frank Clair Stadium into a world-class facility for a new CFL team, the City also received a bid from Senators Sports & Entertainment Group (SS&E) for the construction of a new stadium in Kanata near the current home of
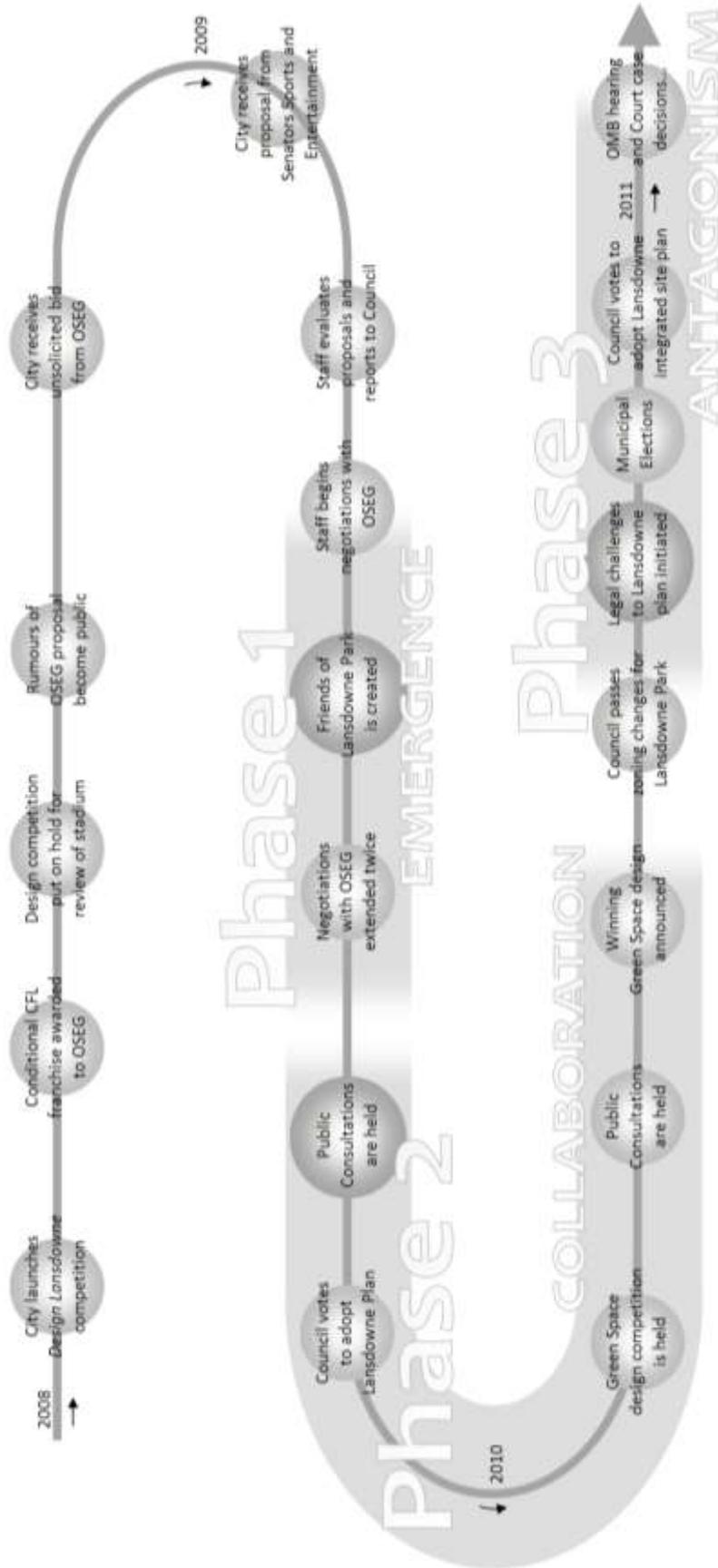
the Ottawa Senators National Hockey League team, which would be the home of a new Major League Soccer (MLS) team (Friends of Lansdowne Park 2009a). The debate in the public sphere suddenly became a question not of the future of Lansdowne Park, but of where the new stadium should be built and which sport would be more popular (Brocklebank 2009).

Beginning in the spring of 2009, the City negotiated a deal with OSEG for the redevelopment of Lansdowne Park (Friends of Lansdowne Park 2009a). The Lansdowne Live Proposal became the Lansdowne Partnership Plan, a public-private partnership between the City and the developer. Public Consultations were carried out in September and October of 2009 for the commercial aspect of the plan (City of Ottawa 2011a).

The City initiated a separate public consultation and design competition process for the greenspace portion of the redevelopment plan. In the spring and early summer of 2010, firms from around the world submitted designs for the Urban Park at Lansdowne (City of Ottawa 2011a). The winner was chosen by a panel of urban design experts as well as representatives from the City, the National Capital Commission, and Parks Canada, based on input from the public and City officials. An Integrated Master Plan, including both the greenspace and commercial elements, was then developed for the Lansdowne Partnership Plan (City of Ottawa 2011a).

Throughout this process, the debate in the public realm was heated. Hardliners appeared who opposed or supported the plan without the possibility of compromise. Some resented the City's decision to sole-source the project, or that the initial design competition had been cancelled. Others equated the Lansdowne Partnership Plan with the laudable goal of bringing the CFL back to Ottawa. New civil society organizations, such as the Friends of Lansdowne Park and the Lansdowne Park Conservancy, were founded in response to the redevelopment planning process (Friends of Lansdowne 2011a; Lansdowne Park Conservancy of Ottawa 2010a). Debate moved from the realm of news-media, public meetings, and open houses to the City's Council Chambers and ultimately to the provincial court system and the Ontario Municipal Board (OMB).

Timeline

The timeline depicts three phases. Phase 1 (EMERGENCE) begins in 2008: City launches *Design Lansdowne* competition; Conditional CFL franchise awarded to OSEG; Design competition put on hold for review of stadium; Rumours of OSEG proposal become public; City receives unsolicited bid from OSEG. In 2009: City receives proposal from Senators Sports and Entertainment; Staff evaluates proposals and reports to Council; Staff begins negotiations with OSEG; Friends of Lansdowne Park is created; Negotiations with OSEG extended twice; Public Consultations are held; Council votes to adopt Lansdowne Plan. Phase 2 (COLLABORATION) in 2010: Green Space design competition is held; Public Consultations are held; Winning Green Space design announced; Council passes zoning changes for Lansdowne Park. Phase 3 (ANTAGONISM): Legal challenges to Lansdowne plan initiated; Municipal Elections; Council votes to adopt Lansdowne integrated site plan; 2011 OMB hearing and Court case decisions.

3.2. Phase I: Emergence – Summer 2009

The main component to this phase of the timeline is the mounting public opposition to the actions of the City of Ottawa regarding their dealings with OSEG. The City entered into a long period of closed-door negotiations for a sole-sourced public-private partnership contract with OSEG, and many Ottawa residents demanded greater transparency and public input. This first phase has been named 'Emergence,' as it is the period during which the community organization *Friends of Lansdowne Park* first emerged as a force in the process.

3.2.1. The Ottawa Sports and Entertainment Group (OSEG)

The Ottawa Sports and Entertainment Group was composed of three Ottawa-area developers (John Ruddy, Roger Greenberg, and Bill Shenkman), and the owner of the Ottawa 67s hockey team, Jeff Hunt. This group of wealthy men joined forces for the purpose of bringing a professional football team to Ottawa, and the plan to redevelop Lansdowne Park came along with it. The organization's first action was to negotiate a deal with the Canadian Football League to bring a franchise to Ottawa. This would be the third such franchise to exist in the City, and the second attempt in the past decade to revive the ailing sport. The CFL agreed to a conditional offer; however, in order for a football franchise to be successful, a newly renovated stadium and supporting commercial district became important parts of the plan.

3.2.2. Friends of Lansdowne Park

The community organization Friends of Lansdowne Park was created, according to their website, "in response to citizen concern about the City's flawed process for planning the future of Lansdowne Park. It began as a coalition of people involved in a number of community associations in the core of the City, and has gradually spread out across to become a region-wide phenomenon." (Friends of Lansdowne 2011a). The organization held its first meeting on June 2, 2009 at Lansdowne Park. A rally was subsequently held within a few weeks, bringing 500 people, including the

neighbourhood's MP and MPP, to Lansdowne Park to hear speeches by prominent community members (Friends of Lansdowne 2011a).

The Friends of Lansdowne Park identified a number of key issues which they feel the City had not fully addressed. These are as follows:

1. *Process:* The City privately negotiated a deal without a competitive bidding process. Friends of Lansdowne have ethical concerns about this decision.

2. *Public Consultation:* The most important decisions were made without public consultation. The Friends of Lansdowne feel that consultations were "rushed, cursory and superficial" (Friends of Lansdowne 2010a).

3. *Burden to Taxpayers:* The Friends of Lansdowne believe that the way the financial agreement is structured will cause the City to invest a great deal of money, which it will have to borrow, without much of a return or reduction in risk from its private partnership.

4. *Scale of Development:* Friends of Lansdowne think that the redevelopment has too much retail space, that it will cause unfair competition with local businesses, and that the built form is incompatible with that of the surrounding neighbourhood.

5. *Ottawa Farmers Market:* Friends of Lansdowne have concerns that the Ottawa Farmer's Market will no longer be successful in the redeveloped Lansdowne Park, despite having a space allocated for it in the redevelopment plan.

6. *Heritage:* The Heritage Canada Foundation, the Ontario Heritage Trust, and Heritage Ottawa are all concerned about the Lansdowne development, according to Friends of Lansdowne, because of the changes that will be made to the site's character and lack of respect for the site's two heritage buildings.

7. *Traffic:* Existing transit infrastructure is insufficient to deal with the expected volume of traffic the Lansdowne redevelopment will cause. The Friends of Lansdowne are worried about the impacts this will have on congestion on Bank Street.

8. *Parking:* The plan includes far fewer parking spaces than would be standard for a similar development in a different location. Friends of Lansdowne are concerned that the "burden [will fall] on residential streets" (Friends of Lansdowne 2010a).

9. *Parks and Recreation:* The park space at Lansdowne is changing with the redevelopment plans, and amateur soccer and high school sports may be displaced by the new commercial sporting events held there.

10. *Community Impacts:* According to the Friends of Lansdowne, "the proposed development will negatively impact the health, wellbeing and safety of residents in surrounding communities" due to noise, traffic, pollution, and crowds (Friends of Lansdowne 2010a).

11. *Privatization and Loss of Public Control:* Much of the Lansdowne redevelopment involves introducing private residences, stores and offices on public land.

12. *The Stadium:* The Friends of Lansdowne have concerns about the financial viability of a CFL football team in Ottawa, and about what would happen to the new stadium should the team fail. The City has identified other potential locations, with more parking and better access to transit, which might be better suited to a new stadium.

13. *Failure to Explore Alternatives:* The City has pursued the first offer presented to it, without exploring the alternatives which, according to the Friends of Lansdowne, make more sense.

14. *Premature Approval:* The City has approved the Lansdowne Partnership Plan, leaving details to be solidified in the future, instead of settling the specifics of the plan before giving it approval. The Friends of Lansdowne believe this was "unnecessary and imprudent" (Friends of Lansdowne 2010a).

The first actions of the organization were to facilitate communication between concerned residents and elected officials. Apart from the rallies that were held, the organization also wrote and allowed members of the public to send letters to the mayor through its website. In six weeks, 425 letters were sent through their website, of which

about 90% expressed opposition to the redevelopment plan (O'Grady 2009). Members of the organization also communicated with various City, provincial, and federal officials about their opposition to the proposed plan. The organization prepared a petition to City Council, which had received more than 1,400 signatures by July 2009 (Friends of Lansdowne 2009b).

3.3. Phase II: Collaboration - Fall 2009 & Winter-Spring 2010

This phase is characterized by a change in tactics on both the part of the City of Ottawa and the Friends of Lansdowne. The City of Ottawa's official public consultation process began in September 2009. The first phase of consultation involved four different modes of consultation, while the second phase involved online consultation and the review of plans by a professional design panel. The Friends of Lansdowne changed their website and their mandate around the same time to reflect a willingness to cooperate with the City and a desire to make their campaign more effective.

3.3.1. Official public consultation process

The City of Ottawa hired a public opinion research firm to carry out public opinion research as part of the public consultation process designed for the proposed redevelopment of Lansdowne Park. Four components of this official process, a telephone survey, focus groups, open houses, and online consultation, took place in October 2009. Results were available to Council prior to the November 13 2009 decision to go forward with the plan.

The telephone survey consulted 1003 households in the City of Ottawa on their knowledge level and opinions on the Lansdowne Live proposal (Nanos 2009b). No additional information was provided to respondents. The questions ranged from details of the plan, such as greenspace, the farmers' market, a renovated stadium, retail uses, a hotel, a movie theatre, underground parking, and condominiums, to respondents' level of knowledge about the plan, the perceived importance of Lansdowne, and their general level of approval for the plan (Nanos, 2009b). Of those surveyed, 18.7 % had a positive general opinion of the plan, while 22.5% had a negative general opinion and 49.6% were

neutral (Nanos, 2009b). Of those who had a positive general opinion of the plan, 34% cited their reason as the fact that it was a necessity for Ottawa or good for the community, 29% liked the plan, and about 6% thought it was better than nothing at all (Nanos, 2009b, p. 10). Of those who had a negative impression of the plan, the most common reasons for this opinion were: that the proposal is ambiguous or could be improved, that it was established through an undemocratic process, that it is too commercial/insufficient greenspace, and that it is too costly (Nanos, 2009b, p. 10).

Though the sample sizes were small, regional differences were discovered, with people in the Centre of Ottawa, the area nearest to Lansdowne, being the most critical of the proposal. In addition, it was discovered that those people who consider themselves more knowledgeable about the plan were also more likely to be supportive of it (Nanos, 2009b).

Four focus groups were held to get a more in-depth understanding of residents' views. These groups were organized based on geographic location, with two groups of residents from Capital Ward (the ward in which Lansdowne Park is located) and two groups with residents from other areas of Ottawa (Nanos, 2009a). These focus groups gathered information on general perceptions of Lansdowne; sustainability, commercial development, transportation, and greenspace components of the plan; and financial and governance arrangements for the public private partnership. The participants had a range of different opinions on various aspects of the proposed plan. Their views were compiled into a report presented to the City.

The most common reasons for supporting the proposal were that participants liked the plan or that it was better to go forward with something than to delay; the most common reasons for opposing the proposal were objections to the sole-sourcing, the process, and a complete disagreement with the vision presented for Lansdowne (Nanos, 2009a). The report categorized participants as sceptics who "did not believe that what was presented in the proposal was accurate or achievable" (Nanos, 2009a, p. 11), as uncomfortable supporters who opposed the sole-sourcing process but not the plan, as boosters who supported all aspects of the plan, or detractors who were completely

opposed to the plan and preferred that Lansdowne be converted entirely into greenspace (Nanos, 2009a, p. 11). Of these categorizations of opinions, participants were most likely to be described as sceptics (Nanos, 2009a, p. 11).

The City of Ottawa held a number of public open houses in different regions of the City to gauge public opinion. Meetings were held at the following times and locations (Friends of Lansdowne Park 2009b):

- Monday, September 28, 6:00-9:00pm, Lansdowne Park, Salon A, 1015 Bank Street
- Tuesday, September 29, 6:00-9:00pm, Ron Maslin Playhouse, Lobby, 1 Ron Maslin Way, Kanata
- Wednesday, September 30, 6:00-9:00pm, City Hall, Jean Pigott Place, 110 Laurier Avenue West
- Thursday October 1, 6:00-9:00pm, Jim Durrell Complex, Elwood Hall, 1265 Walkley Road
- Monday, October 5, 6:00-9:00pm, Tom Brown Arena, Hall, 141 Bayview Road
- Tuesday, October 6, 6:00-9:00pm, Shenkman Arts Centre, Lower Lobby, 245 Centrum Boulevard, Orléans

The meetings were held with a presentation format, and feedback from the public was collected in the form of comment sheets. The same consulting firm that conducted phone surveys and focus groups tabulated the comment sheet feedback. In general, some of the most commonly stated concerns (more than 50% of responses) were that there was insufficient greenspace, opposition to "the plan to construct a multi-use facility for sporting and entertainment events"(Nanos, 2009c, p. 3), the lack of parking and transit infrastructure, opposition to the retail and commercial plan, and opposition to the governance structure and business model (Nanos, 2009c). Opinions were mixed on heritage issues (Nanos, 2009c). Comments were collected on several themes, and as a result, the issue of the unsolicited proposal did not appear in the report.

Comments on the Lansdowne Plan were also solicited through the City of Ottawa's website, with the results being tabulated and summarized in a 60-page report. The comments were organized by theme, and viewers of the site could submit replies to others' comments or rate a comment to indicate their agreement with someone else's views (Nanos 2009d). During the time that the site was open to comments, 1,039 Ottawa residents registered as participants in the consultation and posted 4,420

comments. These comments were read 65,790 times and rated 27,544 times (Nanos, 2009d, p. 4).

Comments could be made on any of the following subjects: "The Vision for Lansdowne", "Preserving our Heritage", "Green Space and Sustainability", "Stadium and Arena Revitalization", "The Retail and Commerce Approach", "Governance Structure", "Transportation", and "Business Model" (Nanos, 2009d). The section on the Vision for Lansdowne was the most heavily discussed. The key issues which were brought up within this theme by those who were against the plan were: "outright opposition to the plan," "concerns over the tendering of the process," and "an increased tax burden to local residents" (Nanos, 2009d, p. 19).

3.3.2. Design competition & Review Panel

In January 2010, the City of Ottawa launched the second part of its new design process. The City put together an expert panel of urban designers to review the plan and provide guidance to the OSEG design team, and initiated a public design competition for the open space component of the park redevelopment. The intended purpose of this design process was to appease public opposition to the plan and gain more public support (Dare 2009a).

A Strategic Design Review and Advisory Panel was formed by the City of Ottawa in January 2010. The panel was composed of three renowned urban designers: George Dark, a partner at Urban Strategies Inc in Toronto; Rick Haldenby, from the University of Waterloo's School of Architecture; and Marianne McKenna, founding partner of KPMB Architects, based in Montreal (City of Ottawa, 2011c).

In January 2010, the City released a Request for Qualifications for a design competition. Of the 21 submissions received, a selection committee chose five teams to continue the process with the development of a design plan for the competition. These five proposed plans addressed only the open space piece of the redevelopment plan, and not the commercial, residential, and stadium portions. The design teams were given instructions by the design panel, City staff, the NCC, Parks Canada, and delegations from community organizations (Cook, 2010). The public was allowed to comment on the

City's website and review the proposed plans. The final decision was made by a jury composed of urban design experts and representatives from the City, the National Capital Commission, and Parks Canada (City of Ottawa, 2011d).

3.3.3. Adaptation of the Friends of Lansdowne Park organization

The Friends of Lansdowne Park became a more active and permanent organization during the phase in which the City undertook public consultations and an international design competition. The organization launched a new website, "Letsgetitright.ca," through which the organization outlined its position on the various aspects of the plan. The organization became active in speaking out to City Council and the media against the proposed project.

Throughout this process, the Friends of Lansdowne Park lobbied City Council to vote against the plan, hoping that if enough Councillors were turned against the proposal, the process could start over, getting things right from the start.

On November 13th, the Committee of the Whole, composed of City Council members, voted to adopt the Lansdowne Partnership Plan. The meeting leading up to this decision stretched over a few days, and 90 submissions, the majority of which were on behalf of community organizations, were put forward to the committee, including submissions made by representatives of The Glebe Community Association, the CFL, Heritage Ottawa, the Ottawa Regional Society of Architects, the Sierra Club, and local business owners (Reevely, 2009). A representative of the Friends of Lansdowne Park website Letsgetitright.ca, who was notably not a Glebe resident, was one of these delegates (O'Grady, 2009). He made it clear that Friends of Lansdowne Park had wide-ranging public support because of the perceived problems with the sole-sourced contract and lack of transparency in the decision-making process. The submission to Council included excerpts of letters written through the organization's website by concerned citizens. The submission concluded by calling for an open and competitive process, with OSEG's plan as just one bid, and to restart the public consultation process, allowing the public to choose a winning bid in conjunction with the City (O'Grady, 2009).

Council passed the motion to adopt the Lansdowne plan 15 to 9 (Dare, 2009a).

3.4. Phase III: Antagonism – Summer-Fall 2010

Despite the City's attempts to make a more involved and competitive process for at least one aspect of the Lansdowne plan, the Friends of Lansdowne Park decided that the plan needed to be stopped. A leader of the organization was quoted in the *Ottawa Citizen* as having written in an e-mail to supporters that "the goal should be to STOP the current process, not just improve it" (Denley, 2010). The organization's relationship with the City in this third phase became antagonistic. At this stage, collaboration broke down. The Friends of Lansdowne turned to legal institutions for new courses of action to achieve their goals. The third phase, therefore, contains two components: the final approvals by Committee and Council on the site plan and zoning by-law and a judicial process.

3.4.1. The Legal Challenge

The Lansdowne legal challenges began in the summer of 2010. The Friends of Lansdowne as well as other citizens' groups took their opposition to the plan for Lansdowne Park's redevelopment to a new level, and to a new venue. The events in the later part of this phase need not be described, as they fall outside of the scope of this project. The initiation of legal proceedings is sufficient indication that all attempts at cooperation had ceased.

Following upon Council's decisions to go forward with the plan in November 2009 and the creation of an integrated plan based on the greenspace design competition, the Friends of Lansdowne Park and a few private citizens took the last possible recourse in their opposition to the proposal; they came up with legal challenges to the plan. The venue for decision-making thus became not the arena of public discourse, nor the City's Council Chambers, but the Ontario Municipal Board (OMB) and the Ontario Superior Court.

The main issue in front of the Ontario Superior court was the sole-sourcing of the contract between the City and OSEG. There were multiple challenges. The Friends of Lansdowne claimed that "the City acted illegally by failing to seek competitive bids and by misrepresenting what the scheme will actually cost Ottawa taxpayers" (Shrybman,

2011). The Friends of Lansdowne, along with two private citizens who were residents of the Glebe neighbourhood, detailed in their application that "the City broke a half-dozen municipal and provincial regulations" by sole-sourcing the contract (CBC News, 2010). A local businessman from the Glebe also filed an application to stop the Lansdowne plan, claiming, similarly, that "by dealing exclusively with one proponent, the City [was] violating its own purchasing bylaw" (Jaimet, 2009).

As a result of the adoption of the Lansdowne plan in the summer of 2010, the City proceeded in changing the zoning by-law for Lansdowne Park to allow for the proposed development. This zoning change produced 14 appeals to the OMB on the basis that it was inconsistent with the City's Official Plan and due to concerns about the public process (Cockburn and Chianello, 2010; OMB case PL101256, 2011). The Glebe Community Association, Old Ottawa South Community Association, local residents, and the Glebe BIA were involved in this process (Friends of Lansdowne, 2011b). The concerns addressed through the OMB were the increase in density proposed for the site and the compatibility of the proposed buildings with the character of Bank Street and Holmwood Avenue and the nearby residential area. After the end of the third phase, some of the appeals to the OMB were withdrawn as agreements were made between the City and various appellants. Minor changes were made to the zoning, relating to building heights and density.

3.4.2. Fundraising

As a consequence of the legal challenge, the organization Friends of Lansdowne Park was forced to change the nature of its activities from public awareness and lobbying of City Council to fundraising. Numerous community events took place after the beginning of the third phase of the process, at which attendees were asked to donate, or for which ticket prices were used to cover the organization's legal fees (Friends of Lansdowne, 2011b). The fundraising activities sought to raise as much as $60,000 to cover legal bills estimated to reach $100,000 (Duggal, 2010). The Councillor for Capital Ward supported the legal challenge and appealed to the public for donations to support the costs of the legal process (CBC News, 2009).

4. Analysis

The analysis has three components: an initial sorting of information using the stakeholder analysis model from Christensen (1993) in section 4.1, the deeper analysis using questions derived from Agger and Löfgren (2008) in sections 4.2, 4.3, and 4.4, and a final summary analysis using Sherry Arnstein's (1969) well known ladder of citizen participation in section 4.5.

4.1. Stakeholder Analysis

Christensen's 1993 framework for stakeholder analysis formed the first step in the analysis of the decision-making process for the development of the Lansdowne Partnership Plan. This framework contains a matrix to aid in identifying stakeholders' interests, resources, participation, influence, and action channels. The stakeholders selected for this part of the analysis were: City Council, the Mayor, the Glebe Business Improvement Association, the Ottawa Sports and Entertainment Group (the developer in the Public-Private Partnership), the Friends of Lansdowne Park, the Lansdowne Park Conservancy, and the Ottawa Regional Society of Architects. In later parts of the analysis, research was focused primarily on the City Council and staff and the Friends of Lansdowne Park. Figure 4.1 below shows how the stakeholders involved in the process changed according to the three identified phases of the process (emergence, collaboration, and antagonism).

| Actor	Interests	Resources	Participation	Influence	Action Channels
Mayor	• profit (for his friends the developers and/or for the City) • legacy	• Council's support • financial (City budget) • City staff • vote	• ultimate decision-making authority, with Council (until phase 3) •	• high (dominated Council and public opinion)	• Council meetings • negotiations • instructions to City manager • talking to the media
City Councillors	• supporting or opposing the mayor • football • getting re-elected (appeasing constituents) • improving Lansdowne Park	• financial (City budget) • votes	• ultimate decision-making authority (until phase 3) •	• medium (opposing views within Council)	• Council meetings • instructions to City manager • talking to the media • public consultation
Ottawa Sports and Entertainment Group (OSEG)	• profit • football	• financial • CFL franchise offer (highly valuable)	• proposal submission • negotiations •	• high (CFL franchise trumps everything else)	• negotiations • proposal submission
Friends of Lansdowne Park	• fair process • good planning • citizen control • best result for Ottawa (?)	• fundraising • volunteers • public opinion	• media coverage • Council meetings • public meetings • fundraising • legal challenge	• low (initial decision-making) • high (public opinion) • high (legal challenge)	• Council meetings • public consultation • legal system • talking to the media
Glebe Business Improvement Association (BIA)	• profit (for Glebe businesses) • vitality of neighbourhood	• financial (?) • public opinion (mostly of Glebe residents)	• Council meetings • public meetings • media coverage •	• low (inter-neighbourhood rivalries reduced their support in the public)	• Council meetings • public consultation • talking to the media
Ottawa Regional Society of Architects (ORSA)	• good urban design and planning • architectural and design integrity of the City	• professional credentials of membership	• Council meetings • public meetings • media coverage •	• low	• Council meetings • public consultation • talking to the media
Lansdowne Park Conservancy (LPC)	• citizen control • transparent / competitive process • good urban design	• fundraising • partnerships (with design firm)	• proposal submission • legal challenge • media coverage •	• low (City rejected their proposal)	• proposal submission • legal system • talking to the media
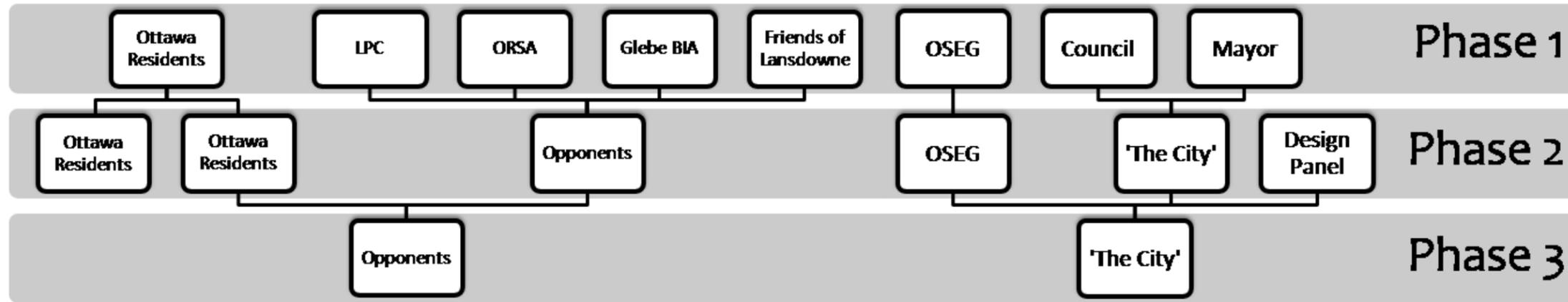
Figure 4.1: Stakeholder involvement by Phase

4.2. Public Access

The following sections (4.2, 4.3, and 4.4), form the analysis based on the questions posed in Agger and Löfgren's (2008) framework. The questions listed here are a selection, slightly adapted, based on the work of Agger and Löfgren (2008), which deal with three of five democratic norms; these are: Public Access, Public Deliberation, and Accountability.

4.2.1. Transparency.

To what extent are the collaborative networks open to participation by the affected stakeholders?

Within the first phase, actions were taken by Friends of Lansdowne Park and by the City of Ottawa with OSEG. The Friends of Lansdowne Park had a fluid membership base. In the initial phase (their emergence), the organization held a public rally and public meetings, while starting a website in order to recruit new members and inform the broader public (Friends of Lansdowne, 2011a). Members of the public who wished to be involved in defining the agenda of this organization were able to do so. However, no similar organization was formed by those members of the public who were supporters of the OSEG plan; there was no clear avenue through which they could make their voices heard as a collective.

The actions of the City were initially not transparent. The OSEG bid was not immediately made public, and negotiations between City staff and OSEG were conducted in private (Dare, 2009). The extent to which favouritism was involved in the agreement between the City and OSEG was not clear, nor was the justification for choosing to end the design competition and sole-source the project instead (Dare, 2009).

The second phase included the formal public consultation process, which had four aspects: a public opinion survey conducted by telephone and a series of focus groups, both of which involved a random sample of Ottawa residents with a variety of viewpoints, and public open houses and online consultation, both of which involved

self-selected individuals who chose to take the time and effort to give their opinion. The first two of these cannot be considered open to anyone who wished to participate; the sample sizes were small and participants were selected and not asked to volunteer.

Image 4.2: Locations of Public Meetings
(Image Source: Google Maps; maps.google.ca)

The public open houses and online consultation were nominally open to anyone who wished to participate. Internet access is widespread in the Ottawa area and literacy rates are high. As such, these were unlikely to have been barriers to participation. The public open houses were held on weeknights (Monday to Thursday) over a period of less than two weeks at a variety of locations across the City. The tight timeline for consultation and limited variety of times for public meetings may have made it difficult for some people to attend. In addition, the locations of meetings were spread out across the City (as illustrated in image 4.1), whereas public opinion had geographic variations in both support levels and importance (Nanos, 2009b).

The third phase, antagonism, was much less open to the involvement of the broader public. The decision-making process began in the public realm with decisions

made at Council and Committee meetings at which citizens could have their say. However, the decision-making was quickly removed from the public sphere when it became a legal issue. Only those with the financial resources and knowledge of the legal system, or the high level of support and coordination required for fundraising activities, could participate in this phase. The knowledge, education, time, and financial barriers were such that only select organizations and individuals had the opportunity to participate. There were, however, no institutional barriers to participation.

To what extent is the work of the collaborative networks transparent to the wider public?

In its initial phase, the Friends of Lansdowne Park had a very high level of transparency. The organization was clear about its message, goals, and concerns. This continued into the second phase when the organization had greater media coverage. Also, the address made by the organization to the Committee of the Whole in November 2009 was made available to the public on its website (O'Grady 2009).

While the City of Ottawa's actions were not initially transparent, matters improved in the collaboration phase when City staff prepared reports which were made available to the public, and when the public consultation process was held. Reports documenting the results of the public consultation were made available to the public on the City's website, however, the extent to which these documents were used by Council when deciding whether or not to go forward with the plan, or what the conditions of going forward ought to have been, was not made clear (City of Ottawa 2011b).

The third phase contained two segments. The final decisions made by City Council were fully transparent to the public; the proceedings of Council and Committee meetings were available to the public, and public delegations were heard. The court proceedings were transparent to a certain extent; the final decision is made by an outside party and a justification for the decision is given. The media played an important role in publicizing these events. The group Friends of Lansdowne Park and the other appealing citizens had an incentive to publicize their efforts in order to appeal for funds from other interested citizens.

4.2.2. Who and How Many?

To what extent are those concerned actively participating, or being represented, in the networks?

Those members of the public who shared the concerns listed by the Friends of Lansdowne; for example about the process, traffic, heritage, taxes, the farmer's market, and impacts on the community; had their sentiments heard indirectly through the lobbying of Councillors that the organization undertook. There is no way to estimate the exact number of people of whom this group was composed, however, as stated before, more than 1,400 signatures by July 2009 (Friends of Lansdowne 2009b) and more than 22% of those surveyed had a negative opinion of the project, compared to almost 50% being neutral and just under 19% in support of the plan (Nanos, 2009b, p.3).

Members of the public who either opposed or supported the project were represented, to a certain extent, by their municipal Councillors. Indeed, some of these Councillors supported the project, others were outright opposed to it, and yet others took a more balanced approach. Clive Doucet, the Councillor for Capital Ward where Lansdowne is located, was firmly opposed to the plan (CBC News, 2009).

The official public consultation process was designed to include both self-selected participants (those who have a strong opinion on the subject) and participants from a random sample (who may or may not have a strong opinion or very much knowledge on the subject). The focus group participants were selected to form a representative sample of the population, with participants who were both francophone and Anglophone, from different areas of the City, and of different age groups (Nanos, 2009a). This means that both those who were either strongly in favour or strongly opposed to the plan, who were perhaps more likely to comment in the online consultation process, and those who were more indifferent, were able to have their voices heard.

The City of Ottawa had a population of 812,129 in the 2006 census. Of this population, 1,003 were involved in the public opinion survey, 32 were involved in focus groups, 1,039 registered as participants in the online consultation, approximately 3,000

attended open houses, and 844 submitted comment forms at public open houses (Nanos, 2009a, 2009b, 2009c, 2009d; OMB case PL101256, 2011).

OSEG was not involved in the public process, as the City negotiated with the group exclusively. Plans were presented to the public by City staff and not by representatives of the developers. While this may have been natural due to the proposed partnership between the City and OSEG, it also blurred the lines between the City's interests and those of the developers in the eyes of the public (Nanos, 2009a).

The Friends of Lansdowne Park's fundraising activities allowed it to continue to challenge the City's proposal after Council had made its final decision. Other members of the public who made appeals to the OMB also sought financial support from the community, and their challenges were at least nominally on behalf of the citizens of Ottawa. Those members of the public who opposed the plan were, to a certain extent, represented through these initiatives. Those who supported the plan were, to the same extent, represented by the City. However, there were also many residents who were not clearly on one side or the other of the heated argument. These were members of the public who had a more balanced opinion of the proposal, who supported some aspects and opposed others, or who did not care. Their views were not actively voiced throughout the process and their interests were likely not served by the expenditure of money on legal battles.

4.2.3. Variety.

To what extent are the participation methods employed enough to secure genuine access to decision-making?

In the first phase of the process, the only means through which the general public could influence decision-making was by writing to elected officials and hoping they were inclined to act in response. The Friends of Lansdowne Park wrote letters to the mayor, sent a petition to City Council, and got local members of parliament involved (Friends of Lansdowne 2009b). This level of influence over the decision-making process is very minimal.

More effort was made on the part of the City to gain input from the public during the second phase. The City communicated with the public more openly, and sought input in the official public consultation process, which included two sets of online consultations. However, there was no formal mechanism in place to ensure that the opinions gathered through this process would in fact be used by Council in making its decisions. Over the course of the process, the plan for Lansdowne Park went through many iterations. It was altered in that elements were changed or removed. These changes were made by City Council, and were influenced by public opinion and staff recommendations.

The participants in the third phase of the process were the City, the Friends of Lansdowne Park representatives and members of the public who made challenges to the courts and to the OMB, as well as OSEG and the judge and board member who were to make the final rulings. Most members of the public, as well as City Council and the Design Review board were essentially left out of the whole process at this stage.

While this did result in an increase in citizen power, it also left a lot of the population of Ottawa without any representatives engaging in the process. Additionally, although the City and the challengers had equal stance in the eyes of the court, the final decision was in fact in the hands of the Court and the OMB, and still outside the hands of the citizens. Despite the recourse to antagonistic tactics, the challengers who remained firmly opposed to the deal never achieved their goal of compelling the City to act based on their efforts.

4.3. Public Deliberation

To what extent do the debates within collaborative networks approximate standards of reciprocity and tolerance?

4.3.1. Two-Way Communication

The first phase, emergence, did not involve much in the way of public deliberation. The City released a minimal amount of information about the proceedings, while the Friends of Lansdowne Park's initial concerns were not addressed until the beginning of the second phase. For the Friends of Lansdowne Park, communication was

mostly in the form of questions, as the group was seeking recognition of its concerns and further information about the proposal from the City.

The City's official public consultation process did not involve dialogue between the public and City staff. Instead, the plan was presented to the public while feedback was requested mostly in written form. It was not the role of City staff during these consultations to answer questions about the complexities of the proposal.

The focus groups which were conducted as an initial component of the consultation process brought the issue to light. "Participants said that if they were to go to consultations on the [Lansdowne Partnership Plan] they would like more information and the ability to ask questions of experts on the materials" (Nanos, 2009a, p.19).

The public open houses were designed as presentations, to calmly provide information about the project to the public. Residents were asked to submit feedback on paper. However, at the first public open house, the meeting deteriorated into a yelling match. According to CBC News, one resident found himself a megaphone, stood up on a chair, and called out "If there are people here who want to say something about what's going on here, by all means step forward... I was invited here tonight to join the conversation on Lansdowne Park. This is entirely a fake. There's no conversation at all" (CBC News, 2009a). Reports from the Ottawa Citizen similarly indicate an overcrowded and chaotic meeting (Cobb, 2009). This lack of two-way communication is one of Arnstein's (1969) primary criticisms of so-called public consultations, and falls far from the ideal role of planner as mediator which Forester (1989) promotes.

4.3.2. Use of Respectful Language

The Friends of Lansdowne Park updated their website in the fall of 2009, changing their Internet address or URL to 'letsgetitright.ca' and increasing the amount of information available on the site. This shifted the focus of the organization towards a positive solution and the implementation of a correct process, and away from the more negative opposition the organization started out with.

The City made an attempt to be more acquiescent towards the members of the public who had serious concerns about the process in this second phase. The City held a

formal public consultation process and decided to incorporate the skills of a design review panel composed of experts. These efforts to appease the dissenting element of the public characterized this phase.

However, even through this phase the dialogue was not always cordial between members of the public (particularly residents of the Glebe and members of the Friends of Lansdowne organization), and City staff and Councillors. The mayor characterized the opponents of the plan as "fanatics" set on creating "chaos" (Cobb, 2009). The first of the public consultation open houses involved the use of antagonistic language on the part of those members of the public who felt that their voices were not being listened to.

As the plans for a legal appeal arrived at the end of the second phase and the third phase began, it was clear that City Council's attempt to appease public opposition had been insufficient. The meeting in November 2010 at which City Council approved the integrated site plan saw a number of angry delegates from the public as well as protests outside City Hall (Cockburn and Chianello, 2010). The dialogue completely broke down, with nearly all of the 35 public delegations opposed to the plan and barely enough Councillors, many of whom were not paying attention, to meet quorum (Cockburn and Chianello, 2010). Members of the public charged that the City was "hostile", that it had a "steadfast denial of proper process", and that "democracy is more than getting a majority on Council. Democracy is about listening to the voice of the City that you represent" (quoted in Cockburn and Chianello, 2010).

The Friends of Lansdowne Park organization charged Council with having 'lame duck' status after the October 25th election, because so few members were returning. The organization claimed that as outgoing Councillors who had in many cases lost bids at re-election, it was unfair of them to make such an important decision at that time. Members of the group even went so far as to hand out little yellow rubber duckies to outgoing Council members at the November 19th Council meeting to finally approve the integrated plan for Lansdowne's redevelopment (Cockburn and Chianello, 2010).

The unsympathetic language reflected a lack of respect between the two opposing sides. Tensions between the public and City staff and Councillors were high. All

available reasons for which the decision to go forward with the plan could be criticized were utilized by those opposed to it. Neither side attempted reconciliation at this point, fully understanding that there were cases in the OMB and Ontario Superior Court which needed to be resolved before construction could begin, regardless of Council's vote in November.

To what extent do the debates produce something perceived by the participants as essential to the decision-making process?

Throughout the first phase of the process, the subjects for public debate were being defined. Beginning with which location for a stadium or which sport was preferred, the debate eventually focused on what the redevelopment of Lansdowne should include and how it should be done. The themes on which discussion was focused for the e-consultation were: vision, heritage, greenspace, the stadium and arena, retail, governance, transportation, and the business model (Nanos, 2009d). These same themes were listed as key issues by the Friends of Lansdowne: heritage, parks and recreation, traffic and parking, the stadium, the farmer's market, the scale of development, and the burden on taxpayers. The titles for these subjects varied slightly, showing the Friends of Lansdowne's bias against the proposal, but the themes were the same. However, the official consultation process left out some of the key issues which the Friends of Lansdowne identified: process, public consultation, discussion of alternatives, community impacts, privatization and the loss of public control, and premature approval. These subjects came up in the online consultation under other subject headings. For example, the issue of the sole-sourcing of the project was raised as part of the discussion of the Vision for Lansdowne (Nanos, 2009d).

Much attention was paid by the City to concerns about transportation and retail, with changes made to the plan and studies completed to assess the impacts. However, aside from initiating a design competition for greenspace, other alternatives were not considered. When one Glebe resident and founder of the Lansdowne Park Conservancy proposed an alternative plan, the proposal was dismissed without consideration (Cockburn, 2010). When the same alternate plans were presented during public

consultation open houses, he was originally refused permission to enter later public meetings "on *threat* of police action" (Cobb, 2009).

Another popular public complaint about the City's line of dialogue on the plan was that it felt like City staff were giving a sales pitch rather than presenting the proposal in an unbiased manner. Also, participants in the focus groups complained that the posters were too promotional (Nanos, 2009a, p.19). At one public open house, an Ottawa resident complained that it seemed like the purpose of the meeting was to "sell the project like condominiums" (quoted in Cobb, 2009).

The third phase focused discussion on legal technicalities. While issues relating to retail, transportation, greenspace, and the stadium renovation still came up periodically, the debate became primarily about specific legal issues. Those who sought more recognition of their concerns over process in earlier phases were rewarded with a focus on these issues in phase three; however, the content of the plan was for the post part a sideline to the discussion, leaving the interests of many residents out of the debate.

4.4. Accountability

To what extent can formal 'sanctions' (in the form of elections) enforce the accountability of collaborative networks for their actions?

The issue of formal accountability is fairly straightforward. There was a municipal election in the fall of 2010 during the third phase of the process. The mayor ran for re-election, but was defeated after a pitiful campaign (Chianello, 2010). Ten municipal wards also changed their representatives in the election (Jaimet, 2010). Six incumbents were defeated, thirteen incumbents were re-elected, and four chose not to run for re-election. The former Councillor for Capital Ward, where Lansdowne Park is located, was a very vocal opponent to the plan. He chose not to run for re-election in his ward, but instead chose to take on the mayoral candidates. He was defeated, though the purpose of his campaign for the mayoralty was to force the public debate onto the Lansdowne plan (Jaimet, 2010). Lansdowne was, however, only one of many issues on the minds of voters when they went to the polls (Chianello, 2010).

To what extent can informal 'sanctions' (in the form of public censure) enforce the accountability of collaborative networks for their actions?

Informal 'sanctions' were used by professionals against the design review panel and against the leaders of the Friends of Lansdowne Park by members of the organization. The members of the design review panel would have risked their continued professional credibility had they not acted in an appropriate manner. The panel was therefore held accountable to professional standards for planning and urban design, if not directly to the public. This resulted in the panel being vocal about the design standards it used in making its decisions and recommendations.

Meanwhile, the leadership of the Friends of Lansdowne Park was held accountable to its membership and also to the broader public. They acted with the support of those who agreed with them, and to a great extent their actions, in the form of letters to the mayor, public protests, and fundraising events, could not have been successful without a large group of supporters. However, it must be noted that these few thousand supporters were all that was required to sustain the organization. In a city the size of Ottawa, this citizen's group was accountable only to its own membership, and not to a majority of the City's residents. The group therefore cannot be said to speak for the public at large.

4.5. Placement on Arnstein's Ladder

Section 4.5 summarizes the analysis conducted in sections 4.1 to 4.4 using the Ladder of Citizen Participation model (Arnstein, 1969). Each phase is given a location on the scale from 'manipulation' to 'citizen control'. The first phase is on the rung 'Informing', the second phase is at the rung 'Placation', and at the third phase the model's usefulness breaks down.

4.5.1. Phase I: Emergence

The first phase of the process was characterized by the creation of the organization Friends of Lansdowne Park in response to the City's negotiations with OSEG to create a public-private partnership for the park revitalization. During this phase, there

was a lack of dialogue between the City and the public. Information was withheld by the City, and the public questioned how the process would evolve. The City went ahead with new plans after cancelling the process it had begun earlier. Council voted on the OSEG proposal before any form of public consultation about the OSEG proposal had begun. This means it falls at the bottom of the ladder on the 'Informing' rung. The only way for citizens to express their concern was through public demonstrations and by writing to City Councillors and the mayor.

4.5.2. Phase II: Collaboration

In the second phase of the process, the City improved its communication with the public and encouraged a certain amount of dialogue in the form of public open houses and online consultation. The City also formed a design review panel and an open competition process for the design of the revitalized park's greenspace. Indeed, the public was invited to participate in the decision-making process. Councillors debated the plan heatedly, and did listen to the Friends of Lansdowne Park and other members of the public. These qualities elevate this phase to a higher level on Arnstein's ladder. However, there was little in the way of reciprocal or two-way communication between staff and the public. The City dealt appropriately with concerns relating to the content of the plan, but only superficially to those relating to process. Councillors even characterized the attempt at introducing a competitive process as 'placation,' which is the rung of the ladder on which phase two firmly sits.

4.5.3. Phase III: Antagonism

The third phase marked the beginning of a legal battle between members of the public who opposed the plan and the City of Ottawa. Finding a place for the third phase of the process on Arnstein's ladder proves difficult, because there are two very different components to this phase. The final votes held by City Council were open to public comment through normal procedures, but the judicial process used an entirely different method of decision-making which takes control away from both the City and the citizens. The City and the appellants acted as equal opponents within the framework of the courts and the OMB. Some citizens nearly gained full control (achieving the highest

rung of the ladder by with a successful appeal that overturns the City's decision). However, those ordinary citizens who were not in support of these appeals were completely unrepresented in the process, with only those who firmly opposed the entire plan and supported delaying construction being represented. In addition, the true decision-making power was held by the formal legal institutions and not by those participating in it. The exclusion from the process of those willing to compromise, and the vesting of power into a legal system and not a group of people, requires a deep questioning of the place of this phase within Arnstein's (1969) model, and a questioning of the model itself. The multi-faceted nature of this third phase makes it too complex for the Ladder of Citizen Participation to be an effective analytic or descriptive tool.
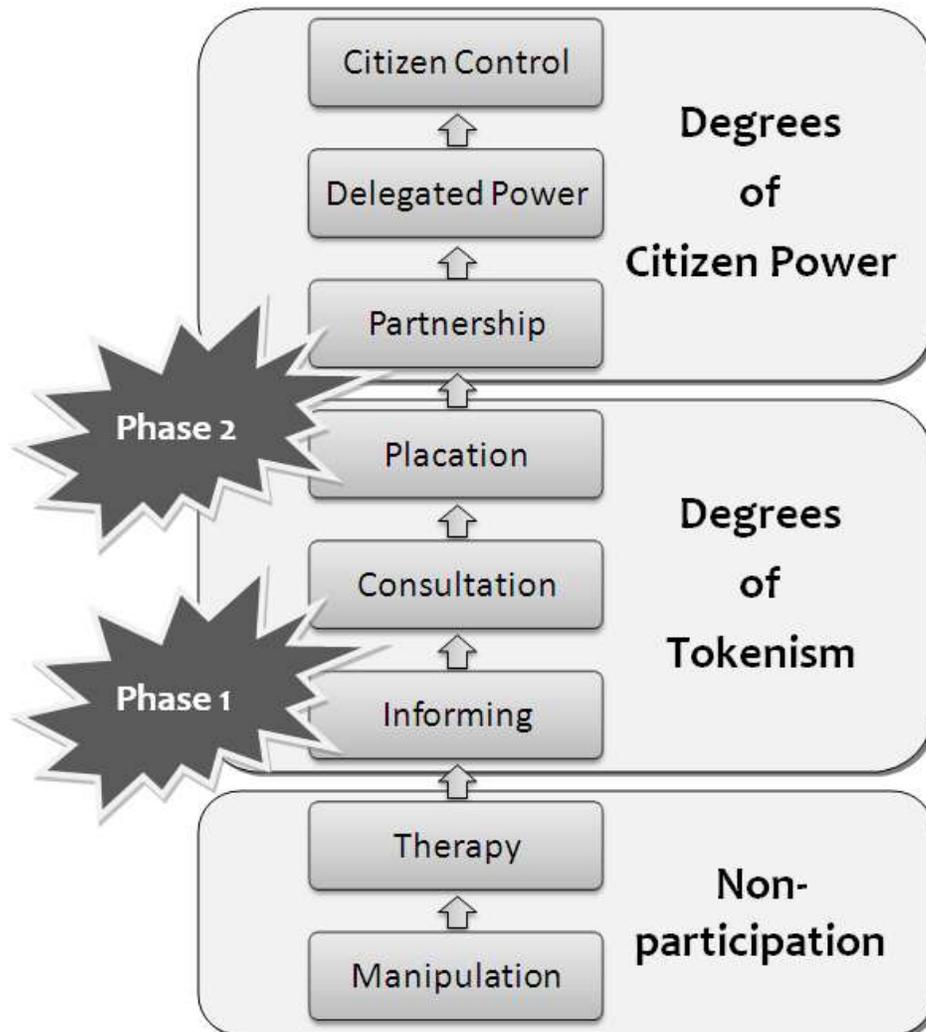

Figure 4.5: Lansdowne Park Ladder of Citizen Participation (from Arnstein, 1969)

5. Conclusion

The decision-making process for the revitalization of Lansdowne Park cannot be described, based on the analysis in this report, as a successful one. In its first phase the process saw the emergence of a new issue and new conflicts between members of the public (including the newly created Friends of Lansdowne Park), and the City of Ottawa. In the second phase, the stakeholders almost collaborated in the decision-making process since public consultations were held, a design review panel was introduced, and an international design competition was held. In the final phase, the relationship between the Friends of Lansdowne Park and the City of Ottawa turned antagonistic with the introduction of legal challenges to the City's plan.

The analysis based on the framework developed by Agger and Löfgren (2008) reveals a process that falls short in various ways at all three identified phases of the process. Access was limited during both the initial phase and the third phase of the process, and the number of stakeholders involved was low throughout the first phase and the judicial process component of the third phase. In the second phase, public involvement was encouraged and more people had access to and participated in the process. The level of deliberation was similarly higher in the second phase than in the first or third; however, even throughout the official public consultation process information was primarily transferred in one direction or the other, from staff to the public or from the public to City staff, and not exchanged in a constructive dialogue. Also, leaders involved in the process were held accountable in various ways. City Council and the Mayor were either elected or defeated in the municipal election which came in the third phase of the process, but all the decisions were made prior to being removed from power. The leaders of the Friends of Lansdowne Park were dependent upon the support of their members to continue their activities. Agger and Löfgren's (2008) framework was intended to evaluate how democratic a collaborative planning process is, and the analysis of the Lansdowne Partnership Plan's process indicates that it was not a democratic process.

5.1. Implications for Ottawa

Theorists of collaborative planning processes most value the intangible results of these processes (Connick & Innes, 2003; Innes & Booher, 1999; Healey, 2003, Agger & Löfgren, 2008; Forester, 1989). These results include the building of trust, relationships, political capital, and change. The Lansdowne Process, though it created a feasible plan for the redevelopment of the park, had negative intangible results. It is difficult to predict what the future of Ottawa's public planning processes will be given the damage that was caused to public trust by the Lansdowne Park process, which, instead of building trust and relationships, largely destroyed them. Public debate surrounding the contentious issues created division between different groups of residents instead of bringing them together. Public faith in City staff and elected officials deteriorated. The process had not concluded at the time that this report was written, however, at this time, it seems unlikely that the deterioration of these relationships could be reversed.

5.2. Limitations and Agenda for Further Research

This report has numerous limitations due largely to the timeframe, intensity, and methods of research as well as its small scope of discussion. These limitations were necessary due to the context in which the report was written. Research was limited to text sources, leaving out a valuable resource: the people involved.

The criteria developed by Agger and Löfgren (2008) contains five democratic principles by which to evaluate collaborative planning processes. Only three were used for this report due to time and scope limitations. Future research on the Lansdowne Partnership Plan should incorporate an evaluation of the two remaining principles: the development of adaptiveness and the development of political identities and capabilities (Agger & Löfgren, 2008). This would generate a broader understanding of the intangible consequences of the decision-making process.

The three phases of the process, spanning a timeframe from the early summer of 2008 to the late fall of 2010 highlight the bulk of the decision-making process. However, this narrow timeframe leaves out some important events at the beginning of the

process (such as the cancelling of the original design competition in 2007) and at the end (such as the actual construction and implementation of the plan). Future research on this topic should be more comprehensive, spanning a broader timeframe in order to include all these events, from early 2007 until 2012 or later. This broader timeframe would also permit a more accurate assessment of the effects of the process on trust, relationships, and political capital.

A key limitation to this research report is that interviews were not conducted as a method of data collection. The situation was thought to be too contentious at the time for interviews to remain focused and on-topic. This decision, however, limited the research to less personal sources of information and removed the ability of the author to use anecdotal information and personal sentiments to gauge the levels of discourse and emotion which were actually involved in each phase of the process. Additionally, the motivations of the various actors cannot be properly assessed without interviewing them directly. Further research on the subject should incorporate extensive interviews of the parties involved, at a time sufficiently after the contentious events discussed in this report to be efficient and effective.

Finally, this report chose to focus the discussion of the process with the use of three analytic frameworks, leaving out a discussion of the evolution of the comprehensive plan for Lansdowne Park's redevelopment. The plan changed numerous times throughout the timeframe discussed, as revisions were made as a result of the actions taken by the various stakeholders. Future research should include an analysis of the evolution of the plan itself, how and why these changes were made, and the relationship between the changes and the discourse of the various stakeholders at different phases of the process.

5.3. Critique of the Analytic Frameworks

Agger and Löfgren's (2008) framework for the democratic analysis of collaborative planning processes forms the bulk of the analysis of this report. This framework, with prompting questions, serves the purpose of framing the discussion,

allowing a variety of the processes aspects to be analyzed based on democratic values. The framework is applicable to the chosen case study despite being designed for processes which involve a greater amount of collaboration. This indicates that the framework is adaptable to multiple situations and contexts, and can be used for the analysis of cases which occur in very different ways. The use of democratic principles makes the perspective of the analysis clear, grounding it in commonly understood norms. Though the framework does not include a method of ranking processes, it is possible to discern the significance attributable to the responses to each question in the framework. The process is assessed against commonly held principles without a scoring system being required. Though this makes the analysis complex, it allows for a nuanced interpretation.

Christensen's (1993) framework for stakeholder analysis is a simple model intended for quick use by students and practicing planners, not for in depth research. As a result, it seems rather simplistic and rigid in the context of this report. However, given the fact that it was combined with a more comprehensive analytic tool, its usefulness was in its simplicity. It provided a quick analysis of the motivations and actions of multiple stakeholders, while the more in-depth analysis focused on a more limited number of stakeholders and framed the discussion in a very different way. The matrix is designed to be used at a specific point in time, and does not suit a complex and changing process in which actors' interests, available resources, and levels of influence change over time.

The Ladder of Citizen Participation (Arnstein, 1969) is a simplistic model which places processes on a scale of 1 to 8. Indeed, there is no room in this model for nuances or multiple facets to a problem. There are multiple criteria involved in the determination of a particular process' placement on the ladder, however there is no way to determine what placement is appropriate if a process has high scores with some criteria and low scores with others. In the case of the Lansdowne Partnership Plan, the first two phases worked well with Arnstein's (1969) framework, while the third phase

did not. Indeed, the involvement of legal institutions took the process outside of the realm of 'public', as considered in Arnstein's 1969 framework.

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