The Not-In-My-Backyard Syndrome: A Study of Locational Conflict as it Relates to the Siting of Controversial Housing

A Master's Degree Project

Submitted by
Diane N. Hooper

Prepared in partial fulfillment of the requirement of the
Master of Environmental Design Degree
(Planning Program)

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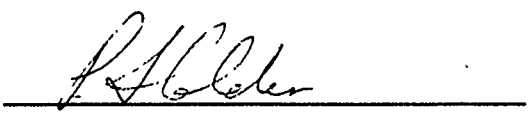
The Not-In-My-Backyard Syndrome: A Study of Locational Conflict as it Relates to the Siting of Controversial Housing.

Submitted by Diane N. Hooper in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Environmental Design.

Supervisor: Dr. Walter Jamieson

External Supervisor: Dr. William Taylor



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ABSTRACT

The Not-In-My-Backyard Syndrome: A Study of Locational Conflict as it Relates to the Siting of Controversial Housing

Diane N. Hooper

Prepared in partial fulfilment of the requirement of the Master of Environmental Design

Supervisor: Dr. Water Jamieson

Key Words: Location conflict, NIMBY Syndrome, community opposition, housing, community, conflict, resolution.

This study examined the phenomenon of locational conflict or community opposition as it relates to the siting of controversial housing projects in residential neighbourhoods. Controversial housing is defined as projects with which a community associates a range of negative externalities. These projects include housing for lower income groups, the de-institutionalized, and housing for the service dependent. After a review of locational conflict and community opposition, a method which addressed community resistance was developed.

It was found that community opposition is a barrier to the implementation of controversial housing developments at the neighbourhood level. In many instances community opposition is not selfish or irrational behaviour. It is suggested that opposition represents the community's attempt to address issues which were previously hidden during the planning process. It is proposed that, when opposition stems from an inadequate planning process, public involvement in the facility planning and design can help reduce opposition.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE: BACKGROUND

1.0 Study Objectives 1

1.1 Introduction 2

1.2 THE NIMBY Syndrome Defined 2
1.2.1 Housing & Conflict 4

1.3 Trends 5
1.3.1 The Changing Internal Structure of the City 5
1.3.2 De-insitiutionalization 6
1.3.3 Overview 6

1.4 Context 7
1.4.1 Housing Policy 7
1.4.1(a) Social Housing and Community Opposition 7
1.4.1(b) Social Mix Policy & Community Opposition 7
1.4.1(c) Overview 9

1.4.2 Historic Roots of NIMBY in Urban Reform 9
1.4.2(a) Urban Reform & Community Participation 10

1.5 Summary 11

1.6 Document Overview 12

CHAPTER TWO: LOCATIONAL CONFLICT

2.0 General Principles of Locational Conflict 13
2.0.1 Vocal Minorities and Proximity 13
2.0.2 Overview 13

2.1 Externalities and Locational Conflict 16
2.1.1 Underlying Factors 16
2.1.2 Externalities and Attitude Formation 17
2.1.3 Property Values 19
2.1.4 Overview 20

2.2 Locational Conflict: Neighbourhood & Facility Characteristics 20
2.2.1 Community Characteristics 20
2.2.2 Facility and Client Group Characteristics 22
2.2.2(a) Facility Characteristics 22
2.2.2(b) Client Group Characteristics 23
2.2.3 Overview 24

2.3 Political Environment 25
2.3.1 Local Government Revenue Sources 25
2.3.2 Citizen Groups 26
2.3.2(a) Community Pressure Groups 27
2.3.3 Overview 27
2.3.4 Regulatory Entrenchment of the NIMBY Phenomena 28

2.4 Summary 30
2.4.1 Summary Table 30

CHAPTER THREE: RESOLVING LOCATIONAL CONFLICT

3.0 Introduction 31

Part I: Community & Proponent Dynamics 32

3.1 Community Dynamics 32
3.1.2 Community Strategies 32
3.1.2 Factors Influencing Choice of Community Strategy 34
3.1.3 Community Risk Perception 35
3.1.4 Overview 37

3.2 Proponent Dynamics 37
3.2.1 General Siting Categories 38
3.2.2 Proponent Dilemmas 41
3.2.2(a) Community Sense of Loss of Control 41
3.2.2(b) Positional Bargaining 41
3.2.3 Overview 43

Part II: Planning for the Resolution of Locational Conflict 44

3.3 Planning Fallacies 44

3.4 Planning Strategies 45

3.5 Discussion of Strategies 49
3.5.1 Desmond Connor: Victoria Eaton Approach 49
3.5.2 FEARO Approach 49
3.5.3 Alternative Dispute Resolution Approach 50

3.6 Summary 56

CHAPTER FOUR: A PROPOSED STRATEGY & CONCLUSIONS

4.0 Introduction 57

4.1
Practitioner'sRecommendations..... 58
4.1.1 Overview 58

4.2 A Proposed Strategy 59
4.2.1 Assumptions of the Strategy 60
4.2.2 The Strategy 62
4.2.3 Strategy Overview 67

4.3 Conclusions 68

APPENDIX ONE 70

APPENDIX TWO 71

APPENDIX THREE 72

REFERENCES 74

LIST OF TABLES

Table One: Resident Predicted Externalities 18

Table Two: Design Factors Associated with Community Acceptance 23

Table Three: Frequently Used Zoning Regulations to Limit Entry and Location of Human Services 29

Table Four: Typical Characteristics of Accepting and Rejecting Communities 39

Table Five: Overview of Planning Approaches Used to Address Conflict & Promote Resolution 46

Table Six: Practitioner's Recommendations 58

Table Seven: Overview of Proposed Strategy 61

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure One: Proximity as a Function of Community Acceptance 14

Figure Two: Preferred Distances for Urban Services 15

Figure Three: Approx. Revenue as a Percetage of Total Local Government Revenue 1967 - 1984 26

Figure Four: Fundamental Reasons for Community Opposition 38

1.0 Study Objectives

The purpose of this Masters Degree Project is two fold. The first objective is to examine locational conflict, also called the Not-In-My-Backyard Syndrome (NIMBY), as it relates to the implementation of controversial assisted housing in Canadian communities. For matters of clarity, assisted housing will be defined as any type of housing that is, in whole or part, supported by non-profit and or governmental groups. Controversial housing projects are typically those which communities associate with a range of negative externalities. These projects include low income housing, housing for the de-institutionalized and the service dependent. It will be shown that community opposition to lower income housing and housing for the service dependant occurs in the Canadian context (Dear & Taylor, 1982). It will also be illustrated that community opposition is a significant obstruction to the implementation of assisted housing at the neighbourhood level (Fallis and Murray, 1990).

The second objective of this MDP is to examine methods of addressing community resistance and conflict. Although participatory approaches cannot be viewed as a total panacea for resolving community conflict, a strategy involving participation between community residents and the proponents of controversial assisted housing projects could be a useful tool in the resolution of this problem.

1.1 Introduction

The purpose of this introductory chapter is to introduce and define the NIMBY phenomenon and to discuss social and historical forces which have helped create and reinforce NIMBY. The trends discussed will provide background information as to why there exists increasing pressure on residential communities to permit controversial forms of housing in their own neighbourhoods. It will be argued that a variety of factors ranging from demographic and economic shifts, to changes in health care policy, have set the stage for conflict in residential communities.

1.2 The NIMBY Syndrome Defined

The NIMBY (Not In My Backyard) Syndrome has recently entered modern lexicon as a short hand term for community opposition to a proposed land use. The essence of NIMBY is that residents agree in principle with group homes or hazardous waste disposal but not when directly faced with these issues in their own neighbourhoods. Although the term NIMBY is a fairly new acronym, it has been extensively studied by social geographers, and labeled as locational conflict. Geographers have defined locational conflict as:

> "Overt public debate over some actual or proposed land use development. It is concerned with those conflicts which arise from the geographical or spatial dimensions of decision making, especially in the public sector." (Dear & Long 1978: 114).

By labeling this phenomenon as a 'Syndrome' semantic connotations encourage the acronym 'NIMBY' to be associated with ill heath and disease. This usage implies that community opposition is somehow an irrational response. Facility siting experts agree that 'NIMBY' has been used by proponents as a sarcastic code implying that opponents are somehow selfish and oppose projects for ill defined reasons (Sandman, 1987). The same researcher believes that these connotations do not assist the proponent's siting objective:

> "Nothing interferes so thoroughly with the settlement of a dispute as the suggestion from either side that the other is being irrational or selfish." (Sandman: 327).

Research relevant to this MDP has been conducted on opposition to land uses ranging from hazardous waste facilities to housing for the mentally handicapped. There is a breadth of knowledge in the siting of these facilities that readily transfers to the siting of controversial housing projects at the neighbourhood level. Moore-Milroy (1991) emphasized the similarity between community opposition to the siting of assisted housing and opposition to waste disposal sites:

> "The reasons given today for opposing non-market housing include decreasing property values, increasing traffic, lack of safety. Similarly these issues are raised in cases of locating disposal sites for society's wastes, expanding facilities like hospitals or developing urban transportation corridors" (Moore-Milroy 1991: 538).

Arguments centred around social justice and moral responsibility for the less well off in our society have typically been utilized to justify the implementation of assisted housing in opposing neighbourhoods. Fallis and Murray (1991) stated, that increasing funding to the construction assisted housing is not a sufficient solution to increasing the overall supply of affordable and assisted housing. The social commitment to permitting assisted housing in our neighbourhoods is equally important:

> "This NIMBY syndrome is a major barrier to solutions. Social commitment is needed not just to finance housing and related assistance; equally important is commitment to permit assisted housing in our neighbourhoods." (Fallis and Murray 1990; 12-13).

Property owners are typically labeled as narrow minded or even bigoted when they refuse to house certain projects that would benefit the 'public good' (Moore-Milroy, 1991). In the City of Calgary, for example, the Community Association of Windsor Park was labeled as 'racist' by a local Alderperson after they opposed a native women's shelter. The Alderperson was quoted as stating:

> "Their fears are totally unfounded and based on the dislike of natives...I believe that it's racist." (Ferguson, 1991)

While social justice is a strong justification for implementing assisted housing in opposing communities, it does little to deal with the fears and concerns of residents. Moore-Milroy suggested that NIMBY should not be considered solely as irrational or narrow minded phenomenon:

> "The resistance to public facilities could be interpreted as an effort by property owners to keep some control over their immediate

> environment. The effects of these disputes are to harden the lines between the haves and the have-nots, erode goodwill, and reduce the location options available to those who already have least" (Ibid; 539)

Although the moral responsibilities of equity and social justice are a strong basis from which to frame the problem of community opposition, it is not the major theme of this MDP. One of the proposed purposes of this MDP is to develop a strategy which acknowledges the concerns of community residents, whether or not those concerns violate the maxims of social justice. The objective of the MDP is to propose a strategy which could encourage an environment where the siting of contentious forms of housing in residential communities is possible.

1.2.1 Housing and Conflict

A Marxist critique of housing has suggested that the extension of homeownership to wide sections of the population sensitizes the home owner to local events that could impact the value of the property. Housing is a fixed and immobile asset, and as such conflict will inevitably occur as homeowners attempt to protect their investment from negative externalities (Harvey, 1978). Negative externalities have been defined as "uncompensated welfare impacts" (Fox, 1978). It is precisely this lack of compensation which tends to fuel a community's sense of injustice, which in turn escalates the NIMBY sentiment (Ibid). As Wolfe and Jay (1990) stated, community fears over negative externalities make it difficult to house service dependent individuals:

> "The housing of transitional people is rendered especially difficult by the NIMBY Syndrome, that is the resistance of property owners to the establishment of halfway houses in their neighbourhoods, out of fear that the residents may be dangerous, and partly out of fear of diminished property values" (Wolfe and Jay 1990: 199).

One researcher suggested that housing exemplifies a type of 'tragedy of the commons' behaviour, where behaviour that is quite rational for the individual becomes dysfunctional for the society as a whole (Peters 1984: 22). For example, while it may seem rational for the individual homeowner to oppose a group home in one's own neighbourhood, the impact of community wide opposition is that the mentally ill and other service dependent individuals have become ghettoized in districts where community opposition has been

ineffectual, or have become more vulnerable to homelessness. (Dear and Wolch, 1987).

1.3 Trends

It appears that a range of factors have culminated in the expression of NIMBY sentiment. It will be illustrated that opposition does not occur in a vacuum. Social, economic, historic and policy changes have resulted in a situation where the NIMBY Syndrome is increasingly probable in the future.

1.3.1 The Changing Internal Structure of the City

Social and economic trends which impact the inner city have placed increasing pressure on residential neighbourhoods to permit assisted housing in their midst. According to Fallis (1990), changes in the Canadian economy, demographics, and lifestyles, have fundamentally altered the internal structure of the city by concentrating more activities and people in the Central Business District (CBD). Economic trends have placed increasing pressure on the CBD. As the economy moved from manufacturing to tertiary and quaternary activities, the Central Business District became the concentrated zone of 'post-modern' economic activity (Ibid). In addition, demographic factors, including the consumptive patterns of Canada's Baby Boom generation, produced a surge in housing demand. The increased demand for housing was satisfied, in many cities, by the gentrification of the inner city (Ley, 1991)

Gentrification has also been called 'up-filtering' because it reverses the so called 'filtering down' cycle where older affordable inner city housing stock is vacated by middle income earners and then occupied by lower income families (Fallis, 1990; Fey, 1991). It has been argued that this 'filtering' theory was a more accurate description of American rather than Canadian cities. Until the 1970's, however, filtering seemed to fit Canadian trends, as a significant proportion lower income and immigrant groups resided in the inner city (Ibid). Because very little housing is constructed for the lower incomes, the process of filtering has been anticipated to supply affordable housing for lower income groups (Harris, 1991). However, upfiltering or gentrification has reversed this trend, resulting in the removal of affordable inner city housing from the housing market. The critical impact of the gentrification process is that the inner city poor

were squeezed out and left with very few options for affordable accommodation. As Ley (1991) stated:

> "For the poor, the ongoing gentrification of the inner city is translated into acute problems of affordability, with the severe contraction of housing at the bottom end of the market" (Ley 1991: 342).

1.3.2 De-institutionalization

Trends in mental health care and government funding over the past 20 years have culminated in the policy of de-institutionalization, in favour of community based care. Like the rest of North America, Alberta began the the de-institutionalization of its mental health care institutions during the early 1960's. By 1987 Alberta experienced a 70% - 60% decrease in psychiatric beds, despite a 50% increase in population (ECOH 1987: 42). Experts now agree that de-institutionalization has been ushered in with naivete and has failed to live up to the expectations of politicians, professionals, the public and the mentally disabled (Wolch et al, 1988). The inadequate provision of housing for the de-institutionalized and community resistance to community based group homes and mental health centres has been identified as a major problem for the implementation of community care. (Lamb, 1984).

1.3.3 Overview

The increasing concentration of white collar businesses in the CBD, combined with inner city gentrification has helped produce significant losses of affordable housing and has culminated in the displacement of the traditional residents of the area; the urban poor and the service dependent. Although it has not been conclusively proven that gentrification has occurred in all Canadian cities, it is hypothesized that gentrification and changes in the CBD are underlying factors which have placed pressure on suburban communities to house many of the people who traditionally lived in the Central Business District. When these trends are considered in the light of de-institutionalization, then the pressure on residential communities to house the poor and service dependent appears to be increasing.

1.4 The Context

This section will provide an overview of the impact of Canadian social housing policy and the modern urban reform movement on creating and reinforcing the NIMBY Syndrome.

1.4.1 Housing Policy

This section is not meant to be a comprehensive review of Canadian social housing policy. This analysis will focus on the role that community oppositional attitudes have assumed in shaping Canadian social housing policy.

1.4.1 (a) Social Housing & Community Opposition

Community opposition to social housing is an important factor in shaping Canadian social housing policy. After 1964, the Federal government recognized that the previously held housing policy, of encouraging homeownership, was not addressing the needs of lower income Canadians. Amendments of the National Housing Act in 1964 initiated Canada's move toward social housing (Fallis & Murray, 1990).

The large scale public housing projects, which grew from these policy changes during the sixties, were plagued with problems. By the 1970's, public housing projects were being abandoned due to their high cost, ghetto-like environments, and their unpopularity within the wider community (Ibid). Community attitudes towards the residents of social housing also appeared to be a critical factor explaining community's rejection of social housing. It has been reported that projects for seniors were generally welcomed by communities but larger scale, low income family developments were not. Fears of declining property values, inferior design, strain on services, density, and the effects of adverse social mixes were among the objections (Mc Afee, 1984). In order to reduce community resistance, public housing was often sited in areas of low desirability (Ibid).

1.4.1 (b) Social Mix Policy & Community Opposition

Host community dissatisfaction with public housing, concerns with livability and the social consequences of concentrating a large population of low income households, prompted a change in social housing policy. Changes to the NHA

by the mid 1970's were meant to encourage smaller scale and socially mixed developments, implemented in the form of municipal non-profits and cooperative housing (Harris, 1991; Mc Afee, 1984).

It has been reported that the unintended consequence of this policy shift toward social mix has been a reduction in the total number of low income individuals housed (Harris 1991; Mc Afee 1984; Banting 1990). Mc Afee (1984) reported, using CMHC definition of core need, only 37% of social housing built between 1979 and 1982 assisted people with incomes in the lowest quintile. According to Fallis (1990), the policy direction initiated in the 1970's is still bestowing consequences in the 1990's:

> "In recent years, our commitment to social mix, the third sector and moderate income renter, combined with a declining total commitment to housing has meant that the poor are worse off...we must not forget the most needy in our society." (pg 79).

In the 1980's the Federal government did attempt to respond to these problems. A major CMHC study performed by the Nielsen Task Force (Study Team Report, 1986) suggested that resources were not being targeted to those most in need and that previous programs were having minimal impact on the problems of housing the poor (Banting, 1990).

Policy shifts of the mid-eighties emphasized the need to target Federal housing dollars on lower income households and initiated the decentralization of social housing delivery (except Co-ops) to the Provinces. It has been suggested, that this policy change represented a shift toward federal control as compared to the decentralization of the non-profits during the late 1970s (Banting, 1990). The Federal government now retains control over the basic parameters of housing policy, in return for decentralizing program delivery to the provinces (Ibid). The re-assertion of Federal influence in social housing policy could be related to a concern that local pressures were inhibiting the implementation of social housing:

> "The Federal bureaucracy was convinced that provincial and municipal decision makers are more susceptible to local political pressures." (Banting 1990: 138-139).

It seems possible that policy makers at the Federal level were aware that community opposition and other local constraints posed a significant problem

for the siting of social housing. By retaining control of fundamental housing policy decisions, the Federal government could act as a counterbalance to the local political pressures which have prevented the implementation of community based assisted housing. As Fallis and Murray (1990) explain:

> "Although municipalities are sometimes a progressive force in building social consensus, they can also be a force preventing the development of housing assistance. The NIMBY Syndrome blocks projects at the neighbourhood level: a counter balancing, strong regional government is needed." (pg 15)

1.4.1 (c) Overview

The spatial and locational dimensions of housing make it quite different from other types of income and social support provided by the public sector. Negative, financial, social and environmental externalities, which are anticipated to be imparted to the host community complicate the issue of public housing assistance. In fact, the social housing policy shift during the 1970s from large scale public housing to smaller developments with social mix was related to community and government concern regarding these negative externalities (Mishra, 1990). The implication of this policy shift was to reduce overall public assistance to those most in need.

1.4.2 Historic Roots of NIMBY in Urban Reform

On a fundamental level the NIMBY phenomenon symbolizes a community's right to participate in determining its own destiny (Moore-Milroy, 1991). Public participation is recognized and legally entrenched as a key component in the planning process. It is considered as an act of local empowerment when community residents join together to shape their own environments. There are however, serious repercussions for those groups 'locked-out' of residential communities including the ghettoization of the service dependent in areas of least resistance (Dear and Wolch, 1987). The NIMBY phenomenon is a double edged sword, on one side it reflects a community's right to determine its own destiny, while on the other side it ignores the rights of those least well off in our society. The NIMBY syndrome could provide a fertile basis for a thesis centred on rights based philosophical analysis. This approach, though useful, will not be emphasized in this MDP. For the purposes of this document, it is hoped that by understanding the reasons why communities oppose assisted housing

facilities, a strategy which defuses the opposition before it occurs can be developed.

1.4.2 (a) Urban Reform & Community Participation

In order to further understand the NIMBY phenomenon a brief analysis of the 1960's urban reform movement was performed. It is hypothesized that to some extent the roots of the NIMBY phenomenon can be traced to the modern urban reform era.

The symbolic representation of the urban reform movement involves empowered citizens rising to halt disruptive and destructive developments. Not only does community empowerment symbolize the reform era but the democratic ideal as well. After two decades of citizen participation, however, it remains to be seen whether citizens actually have real power in the plan making process. Some authors argue that control remains with the experts, the developers, and the politicians, not with the people (Grant, 1989). Alternatively, it has been argued that citizens and community groups have tremendous power (Sandman, 1987). Resources in the community's hands to oppose the siting of certain facilities include; legal delay, extra-legal activity, and political pressure (Ibid).

Community opposition and conflict over proposed land uses such as freeway construction and the 'bulldozer' approach to urban renewal were foundations of the reform era. These conflicts were instrumental in enshrining public participation and neighbourhood preservation in the planning process (Silver, 1985; Kiernan,1990). Neighbourhoods asserted control and as a result, the planning profession was forced to re-orient from a development ethic to the ethics of conservation, preservation and livability. Communities learned valuable skills during this period, skills which enabled control to be placed directly in the community's hands. It can be argued that this period of community empowerment has helped to produce the current situation where NIMBY flourishes and community opposition to assisted housing becomes even more powerful. Some authors have suggested that the goals of community empowerment initiated during the reform movement have given way to the NIMBY phenomenon, as Perks and Jamieson (1991) stated:

> "On the one hand, the social reform goals of the planning movement after WWII have largely given way to middle class NIMBY syndrome and market economies ethos of the present era." (pg 511).

To date the reform era of the late 1960's and early 1970's has been alternatively applauded and critiqued. It has been critically suggested that the ideology of livability exposed in the reform era, was inherently elitist and generated problems of social equity (Ley, 1975). Fallis (1990), stated that the most 'obvious failure' of the urban reform era was its inability to improve the living conditions of the urban poor, specifically in the provision of affordable housing. It should be mentioned, however, that there were progressive reformers quite concerned with the poor. These groups established housing departments in many municipalities and were committed to socially mixed communities. In many cities, these considerations failed to translate into an adequate supply of affordable housing (Ibid).

1.5 Summary

This chapter has provided a background to the NIMBY phenomenon and discussed factors contributing to the continuation of the phenomenon. The gentrification of the inner city and the de-institutionalization of the mentally ill, have placed increasing pressure on residential areas to provide a setting for not only the poor but for the service dependent. At the same time, housing consumers are concerned with their investment and capable of mounting effective opposition. Under these conditions, the Not-In-My-Backyard Syndrome will continue to confront proponents of controversial housing projects.

1.6 Document Overview

Chapter One: Background

This chapter has defined the NIMBY Syndrome and provided background information on the social, economic and historic trends which helped both create and reinforce this phenomenon.

Chapter Two: Locational Conflict

This chapter will examine the phenomenon of locational conflict in closer detail, highlighting the reasons communities oppose and the characteristics of that opposition. An important element is the examination of power differentials which help determine whether or not opposition is successful. Along these lines, the constraints of the local level of government will be discussed in order to illustrate that local government tends to be handicapped from the beginning in dealing with the NIMBY Syndrome. This examination of the phenomenon of locational conflict will provide the background to the formation of a siting strategy.

Chapter Three: Resolving Locational Conflict

This chapter will focus on the theory and means of resolving locational conflict The strategies and problems encountered by proponents in dealing with community opposition will be discussed. Oppositional strategies used by community groups and their perception of risk will also be over viewed. In addition an overview of the techniques used in practice to involve the public and resolve conflict will be described.

Chapter Four: A Proposed Strategy and Conclusions

This chapter will provide an overview of what practitioners have recommended and an illustrative strategy for the implementation of controversial housing in residential neighbourhoods. This strategy is a synthesis of practitioner's conclusions and what researchers in the field have reported. Document conclusions and implications for practise will be discussed.

Chapter Two: Locational Conflict

2.0 General Principles of Locational Conflict

Studies rarely report the actual incidence of community opposition to assisted housing, or the success of that opposition in halting facility implementation. Community opposition does attract attention from the media, however, media reports of opposition tend to be highly sensationalist and not a true reflection of what is actually occurring in communities. In addition, the media rarely report the successful siting of controversial housing facilities. Regardless of the lack of statistical research on the incidence of opposition and the sensationalist media reports of that opposition, there is consensus among researchers that opposition can and does halt the siting of assisted housing at the neighbourhood level (Taylor, Martin 1988).

2.0.1 Vocal Minorities and Proximity

The opposition exhibited by communities consistently stems from and is limited to a minority of residents (Ibid). The vocal minority frequently influence siting decisions, especially when the majority remain silent. As one author stated:

> "We have to recognize that the opponents, though in the minority, can determine community response to facilities if they have the political power and influence and if the non-opponents remain silent and voice not clear support" (Taylor 1988: 230).

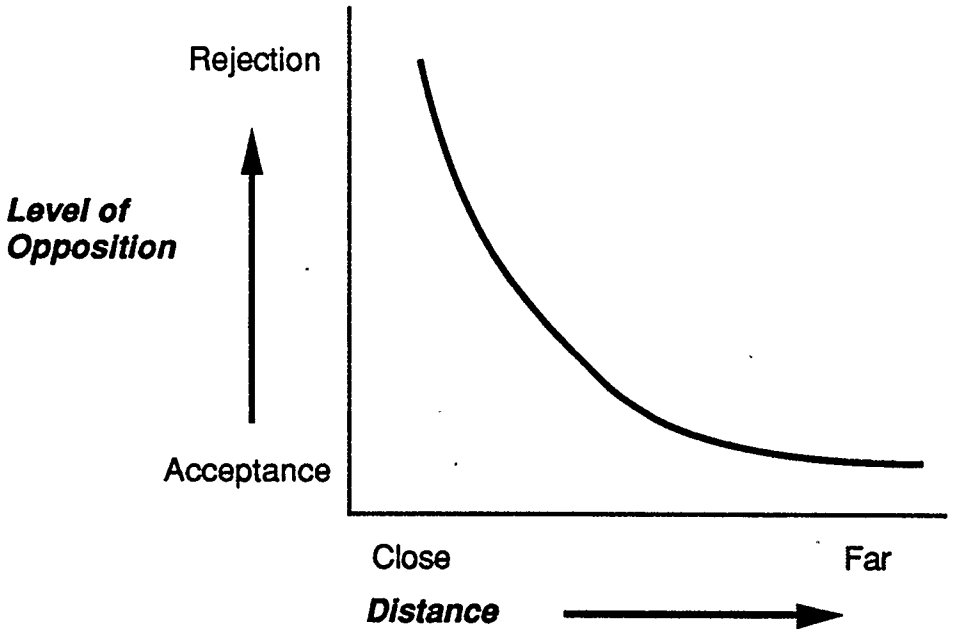
Dear et al (1980) corroborated this finding while researching reactions to a residential mental health facility in Metro Toronto. The authors found that while concerns were exhibited, a group of 'strongly neutral' residents did not anticipate any negative impacts and did not become involved in active support of the facility.

The finding that overt opposition is limited to a minority of community residents can be partly accounted for, if that minority are those who are residing closest to the perceived disamenity. It has been reported that opposition exhibits a clear 'distance decay function', such that as proximity to a noxious facility increases so does the tendency to participate in group based opposition (Dear et al., 1980). Smith and Hanham (1981), studied attitudes toward the de-institutionalized mentally ill and found that 'distance makes the heart grow fonder' as illustrated in Figure 1. Dear and Taylor (1982) found that

oppositional behaviours typically occured within a one block radius and beyond six blocks more tolerant attitudes were exhibited. As the researchers stated:

> "Whatever the precise nature of the externality effect, its impact is likely to be experienced over a limited spatial field and its most intense impact is to be felt nearest the externality source" (Dear & Taylor, 1982: 124).

Figure 1: Proximity as a Function of Community Acceptance.

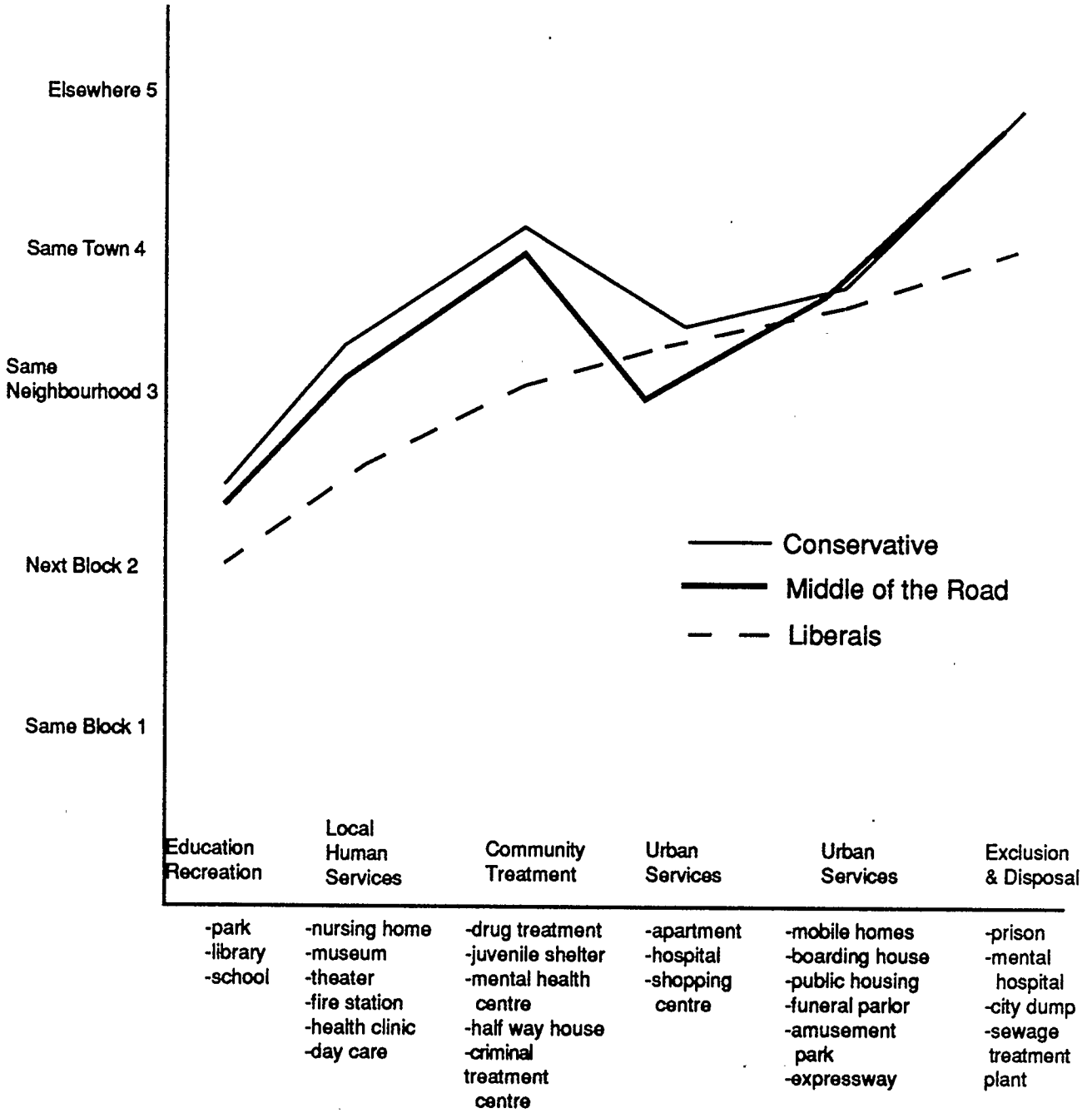


(Source: Smith & Hanham 1981: 151)

Smith and Hanham (1981a) undertook an experimental study to determine the perception of noxiousness of a variety of urban services, as a factor of political leaning (liberal, middle of road or conservative) and distance. The study found that most people prefered not to accept any type of service either salutory or noxious on their own block. For example, salutory facilities such as parks, libraries and schools were prefered to be located on the next block. Alternatively the more noxious facilities, such as a sewage treatment plant or a mental hospital, were prefered to be located outside the town. The results are of special interest to mental health planners attempting to implement community based residential care programs. The majority of people stated the preference that community treatment facilities such as drug treatment, juvenile shelters and mental health centres be located outside of their own neighbourhood. More relevant, the conservative and middle of the road individuals stated that

community treatment was even more noxious than other urban services such as shopping centres, hospitals or apartment complexes. Figure Two illustrates study results.

Figure Two: Preferred Distances for Urban Services



Source: Smith & Hanham (1981a)

2.0.2 Overview

While proximity to a perceived noxious facility is highly correlated with the propensity to participate in oppositional behaviour, it has been found that the vast majority of residents do not engage in oppositional behaviour. Community opposition stems mainly from a vocal minority who may or may not be representative of the wider community. A distance decay function has also been shown to occur, in other words as distance from the perceived disamenity increases the propensity to engage in opposition declines. It has also been found that disamenities are not the only facilities not wanted in one's own backyard. Any facility regardless of its impact on the community is prefered to be located at least one block away from one's residence. These factors are simple defining characteristics, yet could prove useful in the development of a strategy which diffuses opposition.

2.1 Externalities and Locational Conflict

2.1.1 Underlying Factors

A community's perception of potential negative externalities or impacts acts as one of the key driving forces igniting community opposition. According to David Harvey (1978) the built environment, due to its fixed and immobile nature, will inevitably invoke conflict. Since the value of a house is partly determined by those houses around it and since housing ownership is a major financial asset, homeowners are sensitive to those events which could impact the value of their property. Since the majority of a homeowner's savings are locked into the property, that individual will be concerned with preserving the value of those savings and if possible enhancing them. Harvey summarized this argument succinctly:

> "Every homeowner whether he or she like it or not, is caught in a struggle over the appropriation of values because of the shifting patterns of external costs and benefits within the built environment" (1978: 16).

There is evidence to suggest that different market societies have dissimilar views of home as an investment. Agnew (1978), studied American vs British attitudes toward mixing public and private housing and found the British more likely to approve of public housing in their own neighbourhoods. Agnew reported that the American sample was more concerned with property values

than their British counterparts. The author argued that this critical difference is linked to the fact that the British are generally less residentially mobile and that exchange values of British homes are more stable than the value of an American home. It should be noted that, Agnew did not directly point out that the housing market in Britain at this time was fairly controlled. It would be interesting to compare these findings to British attitudes following the privatization of council housing during the mid 1980s.

Agnew concluded that while the incidence of locational conflict is related to market societies, the intensity of conflict seems to shift cross-culturally according to different conceptions of home as investment. Due to different economic conditions, individuals in the United Kingdom had a perception of a more stable housing market where externalities could be absorbed without direct economic impact imparted to housing investors. It seems, therefore, that economic conditions in the United States encouraged community opposition as compared to Great Britain. The critical variable between the two countries appears to be the sensitivity of property to externality impacts.

2.1.2 Externalities and Attitude Formation

One of the factors driving locational conflict is the belief that existing environmental quality will be damaged if the project is implemented (Dear & Long, 1978). Resident opposition is typically centred on issues of decreasing property value, increased traffic, fears of personal safety, and residential satisfaction (Dear et. al., 1980). Dear and Taylor (1982) reported a battery of reasons for which residents have opposed community residential mental health facilities. Table One lists resident concerns which were recorded at least once in the Toronto Globe and Mail or The Toronto Star, from January 1977 to May 1978:

Table One: Resident Predicted Externalities

- Increased noise
- Decreased property values
- Increased traffic
- Increased parking problems
- Poorly managed homes
- Poor maintenance
- Decreased neighbourhood quality
- Decreased neighbourhood stability
- Poor administration
- Illegal operation
- Nonprofessional care
- Lack of supervision
- Dislike of facility users
- Fear for personal or family safety
- Fear of:

Arson
Theft
Vandalism
Rape
Murder

(Source: Isaak et at, 1980 pg 235. As reported by Dear and Taylor, 1982 pg 22)

Researchers have found that attitudes play a critical role in determining how communities view the potential impacts of assisted housing in their own neighbourhoods (Moon, 1988). The process by which an externality is labelled by a community as 'negative' is partly based on each community member's set of attitudes and experiences with the client group. It has been illustrated that residents with experience or 'real-life' encounters with the mentally ill were significantly more accepting of living close to mental health facilities (Smith & Hanham, 1981). In addition, Dear and Taylor (1982) found that the probability of expressing negative reactions towards a Toronto group home for the mentally ill was lowest among community residents who had direct experience with a similar facility. It was concluded that awareness of similar facilities tended to soften the overall perception of negative impact. Studies by Rabkin et al (1984) performed in Manhattan New York, and Martin Taylor (1988) in Toronto Ontario, found that most community residents were completely unaware of the existing community based group homes in their own neighbourhoods. This suggests that the overall impacts have been negligible to the point where residents have failed to notice significant effects in their own communities. These findings also

suggest that experience could be one of the keys to reducing community fears and diffusing overt opposition.

2.1.3 Property Values

As previously stated community opposition to assisted housing is fueled, in part, over concerns of potential negative impact. A re-occuring concern involves the community's fear of declining property values. It appears that this perception does not correlate with the actual record of property value decline. The vast majority of studies reviewed for this paper concluded that property values do not significantly decline following the implementation of assisted housing. There are, however, methodological problems with tracking property values and it should be noted that property value analysis is intrinsically demanding to perform (Dear and Taylor, 1982).

A central difficulty of studying property values stems from the problem of determining and defining a valid study area. This task is central for reliable analysis. If, for example, the selected study area is too narrow the effect would be to underestimate property value changes. Alternatively if the study area is too broad then any changes will be diluted. Furthermore, as with all applied research, controlling variables is almost impossible. The task of matching the test neighbourhood with a control neighbourhood is problematic, as it is impossible to exactly match the conditions of local property markets. Another class of difficulties, known as discounting, has been identified by Taylor et. al, (1982). Some method of discounting or averaging must be utilized in order to account for temporal variations in housing prices (Taylor, Martin 1988). Discounting is necessary because data will inevitably be collected inconsistently, during different time periods and at irregular intervals and volumes. These methodological constraints should be taken into consideration when evaluating property value research.

Although the studies reviewed varied considerably in research design and data they all arrived at the same conclusion; that assisted housing facilities did not have an impact on property values. A recent study prepared for the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (Kean & Ashley, 1991), found that 14 out of 15 studies on the location of non-market housing established no significant changes to property values. These studies examined the effects of

locating subsidized, special purpose and or manufactured housing near market developments. Other researchers examining the impact of human service facilities, such as group homes for the mentally ill, service-dependent children, and prisoners, on property values found no evidence of property value decline or changes in the total volume of sales (Goodale and Wicware, 1979) (Dear & and Taylor, 1982).

2.1.4 Overview

Due to the fact that housing is a fixed and immobile investment it becomes particularly sensitive to negative externalities which threaten to reduce investment value. The re-occuring community fear of property value decline has been shown to be an unfounded concern. In general, fears regarding negative impact seem out of proportion with the actual impact of assisted forms of housing. It is interesting to note that the opposition stemming from these fears declines as experience with similar facilities expand.

2.2 Locational Conflict: Neighbourhood & Facility Characteristics

A variety of factors influence whether a community accepts or rejects a controversial housing facility. These factors include socio-economic variables, physical and social aspects of the host neighbourhoods, facility characteristics and client group characteristics. (Dear et. al, 1980)

2.2.1. Community Characteristics

It is accepted that different social groups possess varying degrees of political power and influence. It is believed that homeowners are motivated to serve their own self interest by attracting amenities and restricting the implementation of undesirable land uses, thus creating the underlying conditions of conflict (see Harvey (1973) and Castells (1978) for a detailed discussion of this matter). Researchers have noted that opposition to non-market housing facilities is especially prevalent and effective in certain types of neighbourhoods which exhibit certain characteristics. As Dear and Wolch (1987) stated:

> "The propensity and ability to mount effective opposition to facility entry is strongly correlated with neighbourhood income and social status. Thus the sensitivity of local governments to community mobilizations and power differentials leads to regressive siting patterns and a coalescence of clients and facilities in uncontested parts of the city" (pg 213).

Generally, resource rich middle class neighbourhoods of owner occupiers are more likely to mount effective opposition than resource deficient, transient areas (Rowley and Haynes, 1990) (Peet, 1975). It has been consistently reported that residential areas which are least likely to successfully oppose, or even mount opposition to controversial housing are those characterized as being lower income, with a lower proportion of married couples, lower proportion of homeowners, higher proportion of single parent families, single adults and senior citizens (Trute & Segal, 1976). In addition, it has been reported that residents of communities with a diverse mixture of land uses are also less likely to perceive controversial housing facilities as intrusive or imposing negative impacts or are less successful opposers (Dear, et. al, 1980).

Different groups have dissimilar perceptions of risk and as a result have different 'stakes' in their living environments. Community life cycle factors appear to partly determine the level of acceptable risk and as such are a significant factor contributing to oppositional behaviours. Cox (1983) found that households with children are more likely to participate in oppositional behaviour and neighbourhood activism. It appears that the presence of children raises the 'stake' which individuals have in their residential environment and tends to heighten the perceived threat imposed by the facility (Dear et. al., 1980). Agnew (1978) found that younger homeowners with more mortgage debt and years of investment ahead of them, are more sensitive to the exchange value of their property. The younger homeowner is also more likely to be mobile and therefore increasingly sensitive to potentially negative impacts on investment.

2.2.2 Facility and Client Group Characteristics

Another set of factors tend, in part, to establish whether a community accepts or rejects a facility. These factors include characteristics of the facility as well as attributes of the users of the facility.

2.2.2.(a) Facility Characteristics

It has been reported that community acceptance of controversial housing has been secured through relatively minor architectural and design concessions by the proponent. For example, a residential facility for the mentally handicapped was implemented only after enlarging the lobby as to permit visitor and resident congregation inside the facility, rather than on the sidewalk (Dear & Wolch, 1987). Other design factors such as the home layout, availability of yard space, and parking have also been reported as important factors determining community acceptance or rejection. Davidson (1981) found that facilities isolated by physical barriers and ambiguously named were located in neighbourhoods which may have otherwise exhibited opposition. Of course the overall scale of the facility is a primary issue of design which determines the communities response to the facility. Several studies have found that unobtrusive facilities that are small in size are more likely to be accepted by the community than larger scale facilities (Segal & Aviram, 1978).

One researcher's study of a neighbourhood in Portsmouth United Kingdom, found that a very low proportion of respondents living within 400m of a hostel for the mentally ill where able to identify or name the hostel. It should be pointed out, however, that low level of impact could be explained partly by the fact that the neighbourhood was comprised of lower income groups and a low proportion of owner occupiers. The hostel, however, was of a less controversial design as it was small in scale and in very good external repair. The facility could not be distinguished from the surrounding neighbourhood and probably enhanced the neighbourhood due to its good upkeep (Moon, 1988). The following table provides an overview of facility design characteristics which have encouraged community acceptance.

Table Two: Design Factors Associated with Community Acceptance

•Home layout
•Parking
•Yardspace
•Physical barriers
•Ambiguous naming
•Small scale
•Design and scale which fits the host community
•Good external repair

2.2.2.(b) Client Group Characteristics

The type of resident living in the facility is also an important factor which can engender community resistance. It has been reported that the sex and socio-economic status (SES) of the resident group are critical factors in spawning opposition. For example, men and those individuals of a lower SES were more often and more vociferously opposed. Studies on the siting of group homes for the mentally ill, found that the mentally ill are often considered dangerous and unpredictable (Dear & Taylor, 1982). The same authors performed an experimental study and found that mental health facilities and group homes were rated as on par with the most noxious of public facilities such as prisons and criminal treatment centres.

Strong rejecting behaviours by community residents were typically associated with concerns of new commers deviant behaviour, unpredictability and dangerousness (Ibid). Dear and Wolch (1987) point out that the 'client group' also determines the operating characteristics of the facility. Host neighbourhoods are sensitive to operating characteristics including the level of supervision and the daily routine of residents. For example, a group home which includes permanent staff who can respond quickly to any problem, will probably instil resident confidence in the facility. In addition, it has been shown in the hazardous waste facility siting literature that perceptions of risk can be de-escalated by providing the community with a long term monitoring plan, which involves the community. Not only are residents concerned with the type of resident, but with those operational characteristics of the facility including the long term management of the facility.

2.2.3 Overview

There are a variety of factors, ranging from the demographic characteristics of host communities, to facility design and client group which determine why communities reject controversial housing in their own neighbourhoods. While these attributes help define why opposition occurs, it does not, however, entirely explain whether that opposition will be successful. Successful opposition is more probable in neighbourhoods characterized as suburban, with a larger proportion of families with children, and with a higher socio-economic status and level of education (Taylor, Martin 1988). This finding is not surprising given that this group generally possess a higher degree of political power, influence, and expertise, not experienced by all communities in the city. The phenomenon of 'Not In My Backyard' is a complex intermixing of variables both situation specific and systemic. Given the policy making environment of local government, certain neighbourhoods, usually characterized as having a measure of political power, have a greater degree of success at opposing controversial housing facilities. The next section of this document is intended to provide an additional layer of understanding of the political environment in which the final location decision is resolved.

2.3 Political Environment

This section is not intended to be a comprehensive survey of municipal governments and their constraints. It will be proposed that municipal governments are in a difficult position to balance assisted housing needs with local NIMBY sentiment.

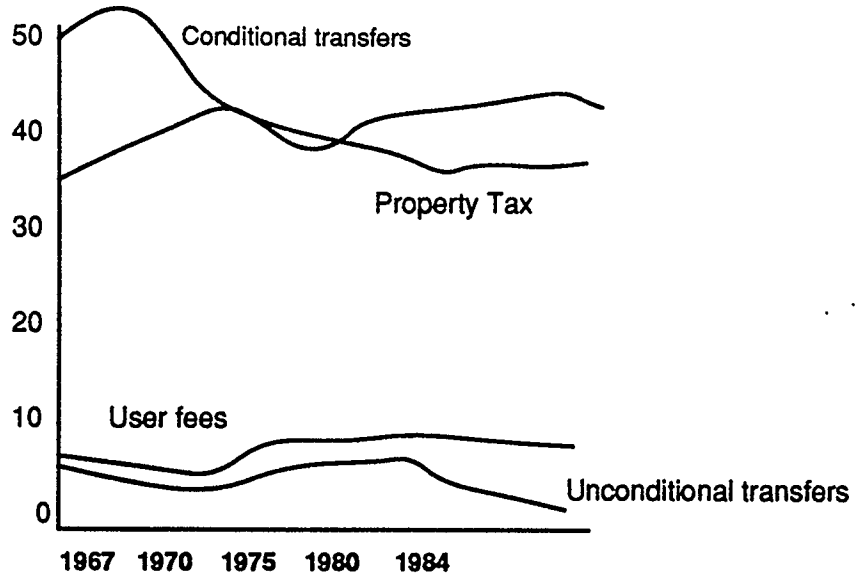
2.3.1 Local Government Revenue Sources

The powerlessness of certain groups to achieve exclusionary outcomes emphasizes the importance of power and the political environment in the NIMBY equation. It has been argued that private interests are an influential element of the decision making process of municipal governments. Although a complex historical footnote could accompany this discussion, researchers have pointed out that private interests maintain their precedence because of local government's reliance upon property tax as a major revenue source and because of the legislative constraints which perpetuate local government's reactive role. As Wake-Carrol stated:

> "What all urban areas have in common albeit to varying degrees, is a reliance on the property tax base and a political system that makes them the level of government at which private interests are more influential. Urban governments are therefore, least able to withstand private pressures for development, least able to underwrite the social costs of housing and least able to withstand local resistance to the building of subsidized housing in particular locations - the familiar NIMBY syndrome" (1990: 101).

Reliance upon property taxes as a major source of revenue acts as a double edge sword. (See Figure Three for an outline of municipal revenue sources). On the one hand, limited revenue makes it difficult to finance assisted housing and limits the range of initiatives undertaken. (Hulchanski, et. al., 1990) On the other hand,through its reliance upon property taxes, municipal governments are more open to the concerns of property owners. In other words, municipal governments are less able to trade off property owners demands for the protection of lifestyles and investment, with the housing needs of service dependent and poor individuals (Wake-Carrol, 1990).

Figure Three: Approx. Revenue as a Percentage of Total Local Government Revenue : 1967-1984 .



Source: Siegal, David (1990: pg 16)

2.3.2 Citizen Groups

Historically, citizen group involvement in local government revolved around requests for the improvement or maintenance of hard services. These traditional pressure groups were interested in preserving their communities from intrusions or requesting improvements from the local government. Newer action groups evolved during the 1960's which were more involved in social and economic concerns than with hard services. The political activism of the mid 1960's, which was institutionalized with the introduction of the Neighbourhood Improvement Program (N.I.P) in 1973, produced long lasting changes in the ways communities responded to local governments (Higgins, 1986). The impact was empowering, as one researcher stated:

> "The Neighbourhood Improvement Program, limited through it was in time and to certain kinds of neighbourhoods, had a general effect of mobilizing and politicizing people who had little previous experience in dealing with local government" (Higgins, 1986: 275-76).

2.3.2 (a) Community Pressure Groups

Basically all community based pressure groups can be categorized as either reactive or pro-active (Kaplan, 1982). Of these municipal citizen groups, most have been identified as reactive. Reactive groups are defined as those groups which respond to decisions and proposals and strive to preserve and protect the status quo. What has been described as a second level of citizen involvement are pro-active groups. These groups are initiators or advocates of change rather than responding solely to the proposals of local government or other bodies (Ibid).

To appreciate the real potential of citizen groups it is necessary to go beyond a simple description or categorisation of their participatory patterns. In order to understand the full weight of citizen group influence, power must be brought into the equation. Some citizen groups have power entrusted to them and legitimated through official recognition and others do not. Official citizen groups are those recognized as legitimate by the local government, thereby smoothing the interaction between the citizen groups, local politicians and the bureaucracy. Recommendations of these official groups are allotted more weight than the recommendations of unofficial groups. Unofficial groups are those without official recognition and are sometimes viewed as a threat by local government . Whereas official groups are sensitive to official power and can be manipulated, unofficial groups are not sensitive, nor can they be manipulated in this manner. These differences in sensitivities could explain why unofficial groups often meet with resistance from local authorities (Higgins, 1986). For example, groups not legitimated by the local authorities do not pull the same level of influence as the official citizen groups. As Donald Higgins stated:

> "Except possibly for the official variety, citizen groups usually have to fight in order to exert political influence effectively. In a sense their very existence and survival is difficult because of certain tensions inherent in relations between them and those who occupy official positions as appointed or elected personnel in local government." (1986: pg 290).

2.3.3 Overview

In terms of assisted housing, citizen action in the 1970s was instrumental in establishing assisted municipal housing developments. During the 1990s, it increasingly appears that action takes the shape of 'Not In My Backyard' (Hulchanski, et. al. 1990). It appears that citizen groups, regardless of their

official or non-official status, can mount effective opposition to events which are single issue and neighbourhood based.

In order to protect and enhance their residential environment and investment, neighbourhood groups with political power including wealth, knowledge and connections are effective in exercising influence over local decision makers . In turn, local decision makers have an interest in providing benefits to home owners who vote and pay taxes, the NIMBY phenomenon is said to have produced an off-shoot called the NIMTOO phenomenon or "Not In My Term Of Office" (Kean & Thomas, 1991) As a result, many controversial housing developments have been located, and will continue to be located, in areas of least resistance.

2.3.4 Regulatory Entrenchment of the NIMBY Phenomenon

A large body of literature described municipal governments as the enforcer of a variety of regulations and institutions which favour the interests of the private property development industry (See Lorimer, 1970 & 1972, Magnusson and Sancton, 1983 for an indepth discussion). It has also been argued that this bias has been extended to individual home owners through local government's powers of land use regulation. Through the practice of zoning home owners are protected from incompatible land uses which could reduce property values (Higgins, 1986). According to Goodman (1971) zoning was originally supported by business interests because it could stabilize and enhance property values. The trade off of land use control for stability and property value enhancement offered by zoning was readily accepted by property owners.

The primary purpose of zoning involved the separation of incompatible land uses, to avoid negative externalities and haphazard development (Kean & Thomas, 1991). Zoning originated to deal with matters of health, structural safety and fire prevention. It has also been utilized as a means of exclusion. Many contemporary researchers have taken a critical perspective toward zoning and its exclusionary tendencies. It has been suggested that the NIMBY phenomenon is exceptionally insidious because NIMBY sentiments can be easily rendered into governmental action via zoning:

> "NIMBY sentiment frequently widespread and deeply ingrained is so powerful because it is easily translatable into government action, given

> the existing system for regulating land use and development. Current residents and organized neighborhood groups can exert great influence over local electoral and land development processes, to the exclusion of nonresidents, prospective residents , or, for that matter, all outsiders." (Kean & Thomas, 1991: 8)

In one of its most overtly exclusionary periods, zoning was used to restrict immigrant groups from certain residential neighbourhoods through the enforced separation of residential and commercial land uses (Hodge, 1986). Researchers, commenting on modern zoning practises, have stated that the current trends of exclusionary zoning are more subtle. For example, the practise of large lot zoning excludes all but upper income homeowners (Kean & Thomas, 1991). Another exclusionary tactic involves the separation of dwelling types, such that single family districts are separated from multi family districts, which translates to the exclusion of apartment buildings and their tenants (Hodge, 1986). Mental health care planners have listed a variety of zoning regulations used in both Canada and the United States to exclude group homes from residential communities, see Table Three. According to Kean and Thomas (1991), the entire land use regulatory system including growth controls, exclusionary zoning ordinances, lengthy permit and approval processes and arbitrary restrictions on certain types of housing, represents the institutionalization of the NIMBY phenomenon. In turn, this resulted in a significant restriction in the total supply of affordable housing.

Table Three: Frequently Used Zoning Regulations to Limit Entry and Location of Human Services.

- exclusion via the designation of facilities as forbidden uses in residential districts
- prohibition of group care homes by defining family to exclude a group of un-related individuals
- use of special permit or conditional use which alert local opposition to block facility
- imposition of stringent health and safety requirements, which makes operation impractical.

Source: Dear & Wolch, 1987: 214

2.4 Summary

Locational conflict has been defined as overt opposition to a proposed land use. The currents from which opposition is exhibited and then carried out are complex. Locational conflict has to do with local factors within a community and characteristics of the proposed residential facility. An additional layer must be added to any analysis of locational conflict, and that is the political environment. As part of this equation, politics represent both the systemic distribution of power and influence in our society as well as the localized constraints and manifestations of local government. It has been shown that locational conflict is a complex issue one that does not offer a ready solution.

2.4.1 Summary Table:

- Conflict in residential environments will inevitably occur as homeowners attempt to protect their housing investment from negative externalities.
- Community fears over negative externalities make it difficult to house service dependent groups and individuals.
- Opposition is consistently limited to a vocal minority of residents, typically those residing closest to the proposed facility.
- The propensity and ability to mount effective opposition is strongly correlated to neighbourhood income, social status and lifecycle.
- Acceptance of controversial housing has been secured through architectural and design concessions.
- Residents are concerned with the type of client and the operating characteristics of the facility.
- The NIMBY phenomenon is especially effective at halting controversial housing partly because local governments are least able to withstand the pressures of local propertied interests.

Chapter Three: Resolving Locational Conflict

3.0 Introduction

One of the objectives of this MDP is to examine methods of addressing community resistance and conflict. This chapter is intended to highlight the oppositional dynamics of communities and methods proponents have used to address this opposition. The chapter is divided into two parts: the first part is more theoretical and focuses on the dynamics of community opposition and the approaches used by proponents when dealing with opposition. The second part provides an overview of three planning strategies which have been used in practice to resolve conflict or to implement controversial facilities.

Within the context of this MDP, the resolution of locational conflict is not equated with the deflection or overpowering of community opposition. There is no insinuation that solutions are imposed; rather that communities and proponents mutually arrive at resolution. In some circumstances local objections can be valid. Facilities can be poorly planned and produce significant negative impacts to the community. On the other hand, not all community opposition is valid. Opposition may be self serving or motivated by concerns removed from the issue at hand (Lake, 1987). Successful siting of controversial housing necessitates that opposition not be perceived merely as a barrier to be overcome. Neighbourhood concerns should be integrated early in the planning process (Ibid).

PART I: COMMUNITY AND PROPONENT ATTRIBUTES

3.1 Community Dynamics

There are no definitive rules for how communities choose to address a controversial housing facility. Oppositional styles that communities could utilize to address a controversial housing project vary considerably from community to community. As stated previously, different communities possess varying degrees of political power and influence. These power differentials are correlated to the community's demographic and socio-economic profile as well as whether community groups are official or unofficial. The following discussion of community dynamics is not meant to provide a complete overview of the literature in this area, but is meant to provide a general overview of the strategies available to communities when confronted with a controversial facility.

3.1.1 Community Strategies

It has been argued that whether communities realize it or not, they possess a tremendous degree of power (Sandman, 1987). Throughout the literature on affordable housing, it has been reported that the community opposition is one of the most significant constraints to facility implementation (Fallis & Murray, 1990) (Kean & Ashley, 1991). Alternatively, however, communities often perceive that they do not have power and as such feel justifiably threatened when confronted with an unwanted facility. This contradiction highlights the difficulty in effectively addressing community opposition.

Dear and Long (1978) have identified five community strategies available to community residents and groups involved in opposition to any proposal. These strategies are outlined below:

1. Exit:

This strategy is utilized by individuals expressing their opposition by leaving an area for another, which better satisfies their needs. This strategy produces obvious rewards for the individual but does little to change the perceived noxious land use decision. The Exit strategy will not have a significant impact unless a large number of individuals also take this course of action. The reality of the Exit Strategy is that some residents are financially excluded from this

option and that an immigration of new residents will dampen the Exit message. If the area is still attracting residents, this strategy will have little chance of altering the proposed land use. The Exit Strategy would be most effective under extreme circumstances where the majority of residents leave the community. This is plausible only when the health and safety risks are substantial, such as in a 'Love Canal' or 'Three Mile Island' situation.

2. Voice:

This strategy is exemplified by protests, petitions, lobbying politicians and the media, and forming resident groups. Residents attempt to alter conditions rather than escaping the problem. Opposition to a single issue provides the optimum situation for communities to make a significant difference in their residential environments. As previously discussed not all communities have the same levels of political influence and as such some communities are more effective lobbyists than other communities. Therefore, not all communities could effectively utilize the Voice Strategy. Communities with previous success utilizing Voice will likely be successful in the future, alternatively communities without experience appear to be less effective at utlizing this strategy. There are however, costs to the community for utilizing this strategy as it requires a large expenditure of time, effort and resources. The community is also at an inevitable disadvantage due to the factor of time. Over time, the costs of using the Voice Strategy will begin to outweigh benefits especially if successes are not a regular occurrence. Stemming from these problems associated with the Voice strategy, project stalling has been employed by various developers and planners to circumvent community opposition.

3. Resignation:

It has been reported that barring the most critical issues the majority of community residents will simply resign themselves to the situation (Orbell & Uno, 1972). Resignation stems from the dual sources of alienation and the free-rider phenomenon. If a community's voice has been regularly ignored or overruled, those residents are more likely to become resigned in the future. Free-riders also resign, but for very different reasons. Free riders may point out that benefits will be accrued whether or not they choose to act. For example, whether or not community opposition fails or succeeds, the free rider contends that his or her individual contribution would have made no difference. As a

community strategy, resignation could be interpreted as implicit approval of the land use decision. Moreover, as a individual strategy, resignation has been interpreted as tacit approval of those residents in the community actively opposing a land use decision (Dear & Taylor, 1982).

4. Illegal Action

Illegal Action can be considered as a subset of the Voice strategy and used as a means of drawing attention to the controversial issue. Although Illegal Action reportedly gains very little mass support, it can be effective in achieving attention if other forms of Voice have failed. Illegal action is more useful as a means of enhancing the community's bargaining position, rather than as a method of bringing about direct change. The use of Illegal Action has also been advocated by Alinsky (1972) as a legitimate expression for powerless communities in order to increase their bargaining position and to provide a rallying point to the community and individual action.

5. Formal Participation

This can be distinguished from the Voice Strategy because it is initiated by an outside agent or proponent. According to Dear and Long (1978) formal participation tends to favour the outside agent, because it is the proponent who typically sets the terms of reference. Residents can be co-opted and opposition suppressed by validating the resident's belief that they are making a difference when, in fact, real changes to policy do not occur.

3.1.2 Factors Influencing Choice of Community Strategy

The character of community conflict is in a continual process of flux. Conflict inevitably changes as a result of the input and interaction between residents and proponents. Conflict does not function as a closed system impervious to outside forces. Over time coalitions shift, and attitudes and expectations change. The community's choice of option will, therefore, permutate as the conflict matures. The changing face of conflict raises the possibility that a variety of the above strategies could be adopted, both over time and simultaneously (Dear and Long, 1978). A critical determining factor influencing the choice of strategy is the community's experience of success. Previous success opposing other projects, or successes experienced during the course of a conflict help determine which strategy will be selected (Ibid). For example,

a resident previously involved in a strategy of Voice may choose Exit or Resignation after a period of time where that action has provided little reward or change to the situation.

3.1.3 Community Risk Perception

A significant problem arises for the proponents of assisted housing when communities feel that they are fighting a desperate up-hill battle to stop a proposed project. It has been noted that feelings of loss of control are at the root of local opposition (Elliot, 1990). Community opposition, to assisted housing and housing for the service dependent, probably has much to do with feelings of a loss of control and general perceptions of risk.

Risk perception and risk management are growing areas of research within the fields of environmental impact assessment. It has typically been applied to siting facilities with potentially serious health impacts, such as nuclear energy facilities, hazardous waste facilities, and sour gas wells. Although a community will express different types of fears of a hazardous waste treatment facility versus a group home for the mentally ill, the underlying dynamics of risk perception are probably quite similar. The following discussion is not meant to be an exhaustive review of risk perception but to provide a general understanding of where communities are coming from at arriving at their oppositional stances. Furthermore, the dynamics of risk perception are useful principles from which a more effective communication and planning strategy could be developed (Sandman, 1987).

Patterns of Risk Perception (Ibid):

1. Unfamiliar risks are less acceptable than familiar risks.

Perceived riskiness is a reflection of its unfamiliarity, providing opportunities for communities to be familiarized with similar facilities could reduce feelings of fear.

2. Involuntary risks are less acceptable than voluntary risks.

A community's sense of loss of control through outside coercion tends to exaggerate the level of perceived risk and escalate local opposition. The proponent.could reduce the community's perception of risk by emphasizing to the community that they do have power and control in the planning process.

3. Risks controlled by others are less acceptable than risks under one's own control.

Individuals need to know that they have control, not just over the siting decision but in regard to the entire risky experience. As such, proponents should provide avenues for local control and input into long term monitoring and facility planning. Increasing control can reduce perceptions of risk.

4. Risks perceived as unfair are less acceptable than risks perceived as fair.

A crux of the NIMBY dilemma is that certain communities are asked to tolerate a burden that other communities do not have to share. Feelings of unfairness escalate when a community is asked to deal with the problems of other regions (I.e. one community bears all the costs for disposing the region's hazardous wastes while other communities benefit by getting rid of those wastes).

5. Risks that do not permit individual protective action are less acceptable than risks that do.

Even for risks of a low probability, people prefer to have an option of performing actions which can reduce that risk further. This reinforces other findings that community based monitoring and evaluation are important aspects of reducing overall fear and opposition (Dear & Taylor, 1982).

6. Dramatic risks are less acceptable than forgettable ones.

Risks which receive extensive media attention are likely to be over estimated. In addition risks which people can easily image or recall are considered more threatening.

7. Uncertain risks are less acceptable than certain risks

Feelings of loss of control are critical in increasing the threatening quality of risks. Anxiety is aroused when individuals make important decisions based on uncertain information. People tend to inflate the risk to a point where it is unacceptable or deflate it to a point where it can be forgotten.

8. Communities are more interested in risk reduction than in risk estimation.
A community's concern must first be accepted as legitimate and as such proponents should respond to the emotional quality of community fear. After community fears are acknowledged, productive discussions focusing on reducing risk can then be initiated. Even if the probability of risk occurrence is uncertain, the community will prefer discussions relating to how risks can be controlled and reduced, other than in overall estimation of risk.

3.1.4 Overview

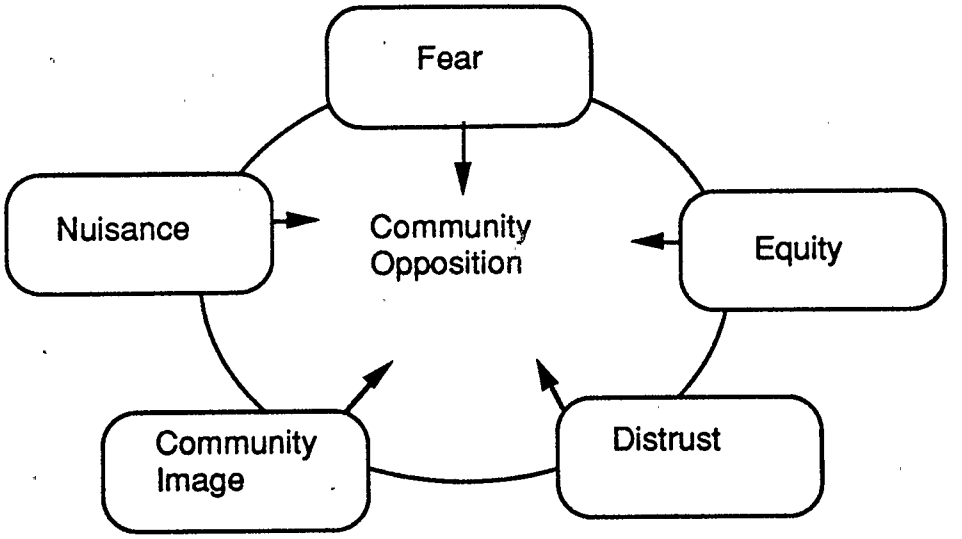
Communities sometimes have legitimate concerns and reasons for their opposition. Sometimes, however, opposition is more an expression of underlying fears or prejudices. The choice of community strategy is related to a community's past experience of successful opposition and current experience of success. A community's choice of strategy is also be correlated to how risky the project appears to the community. The elements of risk perception outlined in the above section, could be useful in aiding the understanding of the community's position and as such could assist the development of a sensitive planning and siting strategy.

3.2 Proponent Dynamics

In order for successful siting of a controversial housing project to occur, the proponent has the responsibility to confront the opposition honestly, not to overwhelm, pre-empt or ignore the community's concerns. Figure Four outlines the fundamental reasons for community opposition. While generalities can be expressed, every situation is unique and as such no single proponent strategy will be appropriate or successful, as one researcher stated:

"There is no magic wand in siting". (Morell 1987: pg 119)

Figure Four: Fundamental Reasons for Community Opposition

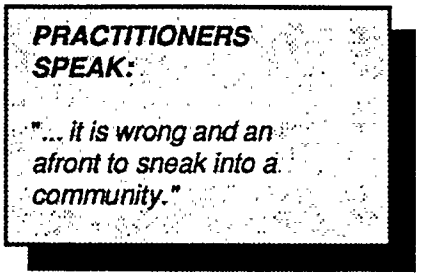


Source: David Morell (1987)

3.2.1 General Siting Categories

Conceptually, the siting of controversial housing falls into three broad strategies. It has been pointed out that these proponent driven siting strategies have often served to reinforce opposition, or to manipulate communities (Dear & Wolch, 1987).

- The first strategy is typified by its goal of avoiding conflict and has been labelled as the "Low Profile" approach (Ibid). The goal of this strategy is to open a controversial facility without informing the host community and perform all planning in an environment of secrecy. It is anticipated that once the community realizes that the facility exists, it will recognize that any fears or concerns it might have had are groundless. Although this strategy could fulfil the proponent's present siting goal, it could have negative long term repercussions. For example, this strategy could encourage the expression of community outrage, making it difficult to site a similar facility within the same community. This approach remains a risky alternative, because it is based on the assumption that the community input is not a necessary nor important factor.



Source: Personal Communication, 1992

• The second strategy has been labelled as the "Risk-Aversion" approach where the proponent seeks out locations in which community opposition is not probable or where the facility will remain unnoticed (Dear & Wolch, 1987). The proponent selects a community which possesses the particular demographic and social characteristics of a non-opposing community. Typical characteristics associated with rejecting or accepting communities have been discussed in Chapter Two and summarized in Table Four.

Table Four: Typical Characteristics of Accepting and Rejecting Communities.

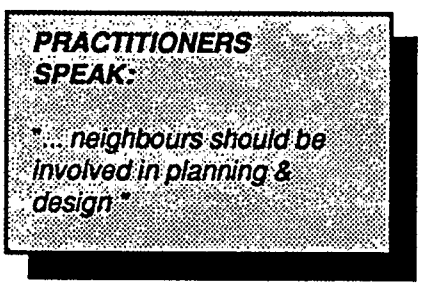
REJECTING	ACCEPTING
•stable neighbourhoods	•higher rates of single adults
•large proportion of families with children	•higher proportion of older persons
•higher SES	•households without children and single parent households
•suburban residential land-use	•lower SES
•higher proportion of homeownership	•mixed land-use
	•familiarity with similar facilities
	•lower proportion of homeowners

Source: Dear & Taylor (1982)

This predictive approach can provide a successful means of facility siting, but it does not guarantee a failure free method of selecting non-controversial sites. One of the negative consequences of this siting strategy is the regressive concentration of residents of controversial housing in the least opposing communities of the city (Taylor Martin, 1988). As confirmed in Table Four, concentration and ghettoization typically occurs in the neighbourhoods of lower income and political prestige.

• The third category of siting strategy has been called the "High Profile" approach where the proponent attempts to persuade the host community to accept the facility before it is opened. Some authors have equated this approach to coercion (Dear & Taylor, 1982). This approach emulates the 'Decide - Announce - Defend' approach used in the United States to site controversial waste and energy projects (Sandman, 1987). In this scenario, the proponent chooses the site and plans the facility, it then announces the decision, and then waits for community response and finally attempts to deflect community opposition (Susskind, 1989).

An alternative proponent strategy has been labelled as the "ACBD" approach; Always Consult Before Deciding (Susskind, 1989). This MDP proposes a similar approach, which addresses the siting of controversial housing and is based on a foundation of participatory planning and power sharing. The approach is also based on the principle that conflict arises, in part, from an inadequate planning process. The goal is to approach siting from a new perspective where conflict is factored into decision making at every step in the planning process (Lake, 1987). In addition, the objective is to recognize community concerns and work with the community to develop a 'win-win' situation.



Personal Communication: 1992

3.2.2 Proponent Dilemmas

There are a variety of traps that proponents could experience when approaching a community with a controversial housing facility. The following dilemmas are more likely occur when the community is not involved in the planning process.

3.2.2(a) Community Sense of Loss of Control

A significant problem could rise when the proponent fails to acknowledge the community's feelings of risk and outrage. The proponent should anticipate the community's resentment of outside imposition of control and how this outside intrusion serves to enhance perceptions of risk. As stated earlier, voluntary risks are accepted much more readily than involuntary risks. A scenario where the community believes that its best or lone strategy is to be uncompromising, will not produce an environment where the community and the proponent can work together. If the community detects that it occupies the 'under-dog' position, then developing alternatives and planning for modifications will be difficult to initiate (Ibid). When more equal positions are acknowledged, siting discussions will not be solely dominated by the community's fear of loss of control.

3.2.2(b) Positional Bargaining

Some of the fundamental pitfalls experienced by proponents are related to lack of application of the basics of conflict resolution and negotiation. A basic precept used in alternative dispute resolution is to focus on interests rather than on positions (Taylor, 1988). Interests have been defined as what both sides really want or need, and positions refer to what one side asks of the other. A number of different positions can be taken in order to satisfy a group's interests (Ibid). This pitfall has been labelled "positional bargaining" where groups adopt a firm position rather than discussing their interests or needs. A problem with positional bargaining is that opposing groups may have mutual interests but by focusing on positions, these similar interests tend to be ignored (Fisher & Ury, 1981).

During the initial stages of the conflict, both sides must be careful not to construct firm positions from which it becomes difficult to manoeuvre. Strong positions at the beginning of a conflict tend to lock the individual to that position.

As the conflict escalates the individual becomes further entrenched in that one position as the investment of time of energy intensifies. To keep sides from staking out firm positions, the planning process could be modified to include three factors:

- Alternatives should be presented to the public as early as possible in the planning process.
- These alternatives should have as many adjustable variables as feasible. To approach a community with a fixed design and plan for a controversial facility, will force the community into an equally fixed position.
- Alternatives that are very far apart especially all or none alternatives should be avoided as they tend to harden positions (O'Hare, 1987).

The staking out of 'pro' or 'con' positions strips the potential of both sides to invest the energy needed in the planning process (O'Hare, 1987). Community will quickly determine when critical decisions have been made and when plans lack any provisional quality. Furthermore, it may be important that long term parameters be offered to the community, such as community supervised monitoring. Basically, proponents should expect that all planning is provisional (Sandman, 1987).

PRACTITIONERS SPEAK:

"... opposers must be permitted a graceful way out of their position."

Personal Communication: 1992

Experts on public participation have identified issues and behaviours associated with intensifying conflict. The following items indicate when conflict is escalating and could act as a warning system for the proponent (FEARO):

- Issues begin to proliferate, with new groups adding new issues.
- Issues move from the specific case to generalizations.

- Criticisms of the proposed action turn to attacks against the agency or individuals in the agency.
- People considered as 'moderate' begin to become concerned about the issue.
- Political leaders begin to use the issue for their own political gain.
- More radical leader takes over established groups.
- Normal channels of communication are shut down and people begin to talk only to those who agree with them.

3.2.3 Overview

Planning for the resolution of community conflict necessitates that the dynamics of community strategies and risk perception be understood. Communities have a variety of options available to them when confronted with an unwanted facility, everything from vocal protest to leaving the community. A common problem regardless of the type of facility to be sited is that the community feels that control has been stripped from them. Traditional siting strategies do nothing to address this problem. It appears that many attempts of resolving locational conflict have been nothing more than the avoidance of opposition by forcing the project through or by sneaking the development into the community.

The following section of this chapter will take the analysis towards the next level of detail in resolving locational conflict. Planning strategies which outline a descriptive strategy for the resolution of conflict will be examined.

PART II PLANNING FOR THE RESOLUTION OF LOCATIONAL CONFLICT

Certain researchers are convinced that locational conflict is more representative of poor planning than an overt expression of selfish communities. It has been argued that locational conflict will inevitably arise under planning conditions where siting issues are not brought up during the planning process:

> "Resolving locational conflict requires an explicit recognition of the siting implications that are too often left only implicit in facility planning and design. Siting conflicts will not simply be accommodated through slight adjustments within a basically flawed process." (Lake,1987; pg xvii).

3.3. Planning Fallacies

A critical analysis of the planning of controversial facilities has led Robert Lake (1987) to the conclusion that locational conflict stems, in part, from inadequacies of the planning process itself. A significant problem in the planning process was identified as the arbitrary separation of facility planning and design from the facility siting process. By separating planning and design from facility siting issues, the political repercussions stemming from the planning and design phase are ignored. This separation tends to reflect general propensity within the planning profession, which approaches planning as a technical exercise free from political ramifications (Friedmann, 1987). It has been argued that community opposition acts as the community's vehicle for addressing submerged political issues inherent in the planning process (Lake, 1987). In other words, The Not In My Backyard Syndrome could be defined simply as a method used by communities to address the concealed values hidden during the planning and design phase.

According to Robert Lake, the process of facility planning and resolving siting conflicts cannot be treated as distinct and separate activities. It is this separation of planning from politics which fundamentally generates locational conflict. Facility planning and siting are not scientific activities free from political and value judgments. Community opposition to controversial housing reflects that the public differ in their value judgements from the planners and proponents. Implicit political and value decisions have been made throughout the planning process and these decisions have implications further down the

road during the facility siting stage. The community, therefore, should play a significant role during the earliest stages of planning.

3.4 Planning Strategies

This section specifically focuses on strategies used in practise which address community opposition and conflict. The analysis of these strategies will show that an effective strategy for resolving locational conflict, must be based on a multi-disciplinary approach; one which brings together public participation, conflict resolution, risk management and strategic planning. The following Table provides an overview of the three different approaches studied. The first strategy, used by Desmond Connor (1989), is an example of how a practising proponent actually approached a community with a controversial project. The next approach is a standard public participation strategy as used by the Federal Environmental Assessment and Review Office. The last approach, is based on the concepts of Alternative Dispute Resolution as stated by William Taylor, 1988. These approaches will be outlined in Table Five and further evaluated in Section 3.5.

Table Five:
Overview of Planning Approaches used to Address Conflict and Promote Resolution

APPROACH	INITIAL STAGE	PLANNING & RESOLUTION
1. Desmond Connor (Victoria Eaton Centre, 1989)	**Community Profile:** •Understand the social, cultural, economic & historic dynamics of the community. •Explore other issues which have arisen & how past issues have been resolved. •Obtain systematic understanding of the community before commencing activities	**Planning Process:** •Concept Phase; enact cycle of advertisement, open house and then planning workshop. •Design Phase; enact cycle of advertisement, open house and then planning workshop. •Decision Phase; enact cycle of advertisement, open house and then planning workshop. •For each stage there is a similar cycle of activity. Following the open houses where residents discuss the the proposed project, planning workshops are initiated. The planning workshop is the key vehicle for community leaders and interest groups to work together and negotiate a creative solution. •The planning process should; -present understandable information, - -solicit useful comments and suggestions, -use public input to review and refine the proposal to increase benefits & minimize negative effects. •Invest time and resources in the potential supports not in the opposition.. •Select process appropriate for the different publics.
2. FEARO APPROACH (Generic public involvement strategy)	**•Early Consultation:** -consult informally -identify major issues -estimate level of public interest -identify key people & organizations	

(continued..)

APPROACH	INITIAL STAGE	PLANNING & RESOLUTION	FOLLOW-UP
2. FEARO APPROACH	**•Initial Planning:** - obtain understanding of how the issue is viewed by all significant . interests - identify special characteristics of the situation -determine information exchange requirements. - determine perceptions of risk - establish public involvement objectives	**•Detailed Identification & Assessment of Impacts** **•Develop Participation Action Plan** -public review of plan **•Implement Plan and Evaluate** -build in points to re-assess PI program	**Post Decision Public Involvement** -inform public of decision -further involvement in -implementation, monitoring compensation & evaluation
3. ALTERNATIVE DISPUTE RESOLUTION APPROACH (Taylor, 1988)	**•Analyze Situation:** - understand the situation in order to develop a strategy • **actors;** who are involved & what are their interests, how are they affected by their constituents. • **interests;** what do the parties want to gain • **resources;** what resources and constraints do both sides bring to the discussion. • **importance of the relationship;** is the relationship long term ? • **downside risk;** what would each side risk losing if agreement is not reached • **power distribution;** what are the sources of power for each side.	**•Develop Strategy:** **•Content;** - what do you want to gain? what will you give up ? - develop alternatives to deal with the changing situation. - determine which arguments will persuade the other side to accept your position - determine whether positions should be set early or find out the needs of the other side first. **•Process;** - determine the desired climate and those actions necessary to achieve that climate **•Environment;** - determine whether a separate strategy is needed for dealing with constituents - seek flexibility when responding to requests or demands.	

(Continued..)

APPROACH	INITIAL STAGE	PLANNING & RESOLUTION	FOLLOW-UP
ALTERNATIVE DISPUTE RESOLUTION (Taylor, 1988)		•**Negotiate** - Use a structured approach that does not not lock positions, such as the 'BENEC" approach. - BENEC approach: * B = build rapport * E = explore mutual interests & gather information * N = negotiate the process * E = exchange positions, or give and take π * C = close negotiations	

3.5 Discussion of Strategies

3.5.1 Desmond Connor: Victoria Eaton Centre Approach

This planning process involves three distinct planning stages of concept, design and decision. Within each stage there is a cycle of advertisement, then an open house where residents can discuss the project with proponents, then a planning workshop where key interest groups work together to negotiate a compromise or develop creative solutions.

A key component of this strategy involves the preparation of a community profile which comprises an understanding of the community's:

- social and cultural dynamics,
- economic situation,
- local organizations,
- local leaders,
- issues which have been raised in the past & methods of resolution,
- key organizations & relationships between key organizations,
- resident's knowledge and attitude toward the proponent & the proposed project.

3.5.2 FEARO Approach

This approach has typically been used during environmental project planning, where public participation is a required element. The objective is to create a process where public participation becomes an integral part of the planning process, not merely an add on after major decisions have been made. According to the authors, in order to reduce the overall level of public concern and opposition, the community must be involved early in the process and remain in frequent informal communication with the proponent. This level of involvement helps establish an 'early warning system', which informs the proponent of potential community concerns before they escalate beyond repair.

The basic functions of the first two stages of this process (Early Consultation & Initial Planning) include information gathering, information sharing and establishing a good working relationship and trust between the community and the proponent. During Early Consultation, informal contact between the

proponent and community is initiated. Major issues and the key individuals who represent those issues are identified.

During the Initial Planning stage, the specific characteristics of the situation are analyzed including characteristics of the project and characteristics of the public. It is necessary to determine the perception of risk among residents, whether or not they are informed or uninformed, hostile or apathetic, and the history of public involvement and past conflict in the community. Pre-planning is required in order to develop trust between the proponent and the community and to design a program which fits the needs of the situation.

By the time the initial planning has been completed the proponent should have a good understanding of significant impacts as viewed by the public. The perceived impacts and concerns should then be factored into the project planning, if this is not possible then mitigation should be considered. At this point a Participation Action Plan is prepared which is reviewed by the community. This plan will contain information on the timing of meetings, news releases, responsibilities and deadlines. The development of a Participation Action Plan is a good idea even if the project is small and the mandate for public input is informal.

Following the planning and decision stages, the community remains involved through a process of Post Decision Public Involvement. The community remains involved in implementation planning, monitoring and mitigation. This provision is important as it allows flexibility and project alterations to occur as the real impacts are experienced.

3.5.3 Alternative Dispute Resolution Approach

Alternative Dispute Resolution can be defined as any means outside of the court system to resolve conflict. This ranges from mediation and arbitration to negotiation (Fisher & Ury, 1981). For the purposes of this MDP, Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) is used much more narrowly. It will provide a means of strategically evaluating a controversial scenario. In addition, it will provide a framework for working with divergent interests to produce an agreement which can be endorsed by both sides. It should be noted that when community opposition is strongly exhibited, it becomes difficult to develop a negotiated

agreement. By this stage, the opposing community has no desire or stake in reaching an agreement, and the community's opposition may not be altered regardless of project modifications. Typically, conflicts which lend themselves to successful negotiation are those in which both sides share a perception of mutual benefit and interdependence (Taylor, 1992). Within the context of community opposition to controversial housing, a goal is to use the techniques of Alternative Dispute Resolution to arrive at a point where the community views the project as beneficial or at least not harmful.

Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) provides a useful conceptual framework from which to analyze and evaluate any controversial issue. In many ways, ADR is reminiscent of the SWOT Analysis used in strategic planning (See Perks and Kawun, 1986 for further information on SWOT analysis and strategic planning). Although ADR and strategic planning are customarily used in very different situations, they share certain similarities. Like strategic planning one of the objectives of ADR is to critically understand the entire situation, including the strengths and weakness of actors and organizations. ADR, however, does differ from strategic planning though its emphasis on the interests or needs of each side and the identification of where those interests overlap, or 'dove-tail'. The more each side's interests overlap the greater the possibility of arriving at a mutually acceptable agreement.

The structure of the ADR model involves a three stage process (Taylor, 1988):
1. Analyze the Situation
2. Strategy Development
3. Negotiate

1. Analysis of Situation

Actors

This step is critical to understanding the situation and ultimately to a successful negotiation. The first step is to identify the key actors and organizations in the community. The group of constituents must first be identified. Constituents are those actors who have a direct impact on the negotiation, they are the most important and influential group (Taylor, 1992). In the context of this MDP, constituents include the community association executive and the vocal minority

of residents who are actively opposing the project. It is vital to discover the interests of the constituents and to meet these interests.

Bystanders are those actors who will be affected by the decision but have no direct influence (Ibid). In the context of this MDP, this includes the potential residents of the facility and residents from other communities who have controversial housing in their own neighbourhoods. It should be determined whether or not bystanders can become involved, and whether they are capable of influencing the constituents.

Interests & Resources

A strategic understanding of community's interests and resources is necessary in order to reach agreement on a controversial issue. Interests are defined as needs or desires. Interests can be satisfied through available resources (Ibid). If the interests and resources of the proponent and community do not dove-tail then agreement will be difficult. Proponents must clearly understand their own and the community's interests and resources and attempt to achieve some degree of mutual interdependence. For example, if the community does not want the facility but needs a tot lot, then the proponent could devise a project that includes this key community interest. The following overview is an effective summarizing technique for understanding interests and resources when proponents approach communities with a controversial housing project.

(Source: Taylor, 1992: 8)

Since every situation is unique, proponents must review their and the community's specific interests and resources.

Power

What appears to make ADR different from a public participation approach to resolving conflict is its emphasis on power. Ultimately, the level of power possessed by each side can be measured by determining each side's ability to walk away from the negotiation (Taylor, 1992). In order to determine the level of power held by each side, the best alternative to a negotiated agreement or BATNA must be evaluated (Fisher and Ury, 1981). Negotiations are most difficult in situations where one side has an alternative to the negotiated agreement (high BATNA) and when the other side cannot as easily walk away (low BATNA).

In the case of siting a controversial housing facility the opposing community could very easily have a higher level of power or BATNA as compared to the proponent. An opposing community has a high level of power because they could walk away from the negotiation and still achieve their objective of halting the facility all together. The proponent, on the other hand, probably does not have as high a level of power because the objective of facility implementation cannot be achieved if they walk away. In these situations the proponent must find ways of increasing their own power. For example, this could be done by offering a needed amenity in exchange for facility siting.

The ADR approach offers a conceptual framework and strategic method of analyzing the situation. After the analysis of the situation, a strategy for approaching the community is devised and negotiations are initiated. The basic principles of strategy development and the negotiation process have been outlined below. These are important concepts even if a full fledged process of negotiation is not undertaken:

- **Search for Creative Options**

  ADR is based on the search for creative solutions. Focusing too narrowly on a set of solutions can lead to failure of the process.

- **Focus on Interests not Positions**
  Focussing on positions often leads to failure. A successful negotiator taps the interests or needs of the other side, as these can be quite different from the stated positions.

- **Use Objective Criteria**
  Incorporating objective criteria during the early stages of the negotiation is a positive step. Often this step can bring both sides closer together. For example, if the community is concerned about increased traffic in the community, a pre-determined level of traffic increase will be agreed to as the point of acceptability. After this measurable level, the proponent will be obligated to address the problem.

- **Watch the Bottom Line**
  Two positions are strategically important for a successful negotiation and resolution of conflict. The first is the opening position, which is defined as an acceptable and defensible position appropriate for the situation. The next critical position is the bottom line or the position beyond which you will not negotiate. Although a firm bottom line may be appropriate in simple situations, complex circumstances call for a flexible bottom line. A flexible bottom line can introduce an atmosphere of creative problem solving to the negotiation. In the case of an opposing community, the opening position and the bottom line often appear to be the same thing; 'the facility should not be sited in this neighbourhood !'. If the situation was analyzed accurately, the proponent should have a good idea of the community's interests and as such could offer creative alternatives.

- **Don't Give Something for Nothing**
  In every negotiation exchange is critical. When one side concedes on many points without reciprocal exchange from the other side then expectations will be raised. After this happens it becomes increasingly difficult to continue negotiating successfully.

- **Separate Process from Content**
  Discussions on the actual agreement and procedural elements of the negotiation must be clearly defined and discussed separately. If all parties can agree on the process then content should be easier to deal with.

- **Attack the Problem not the People**
  Attacks on a personal level will escalate the conflict.

- **Use a Structured Approach During Negotiations**
  An approach which permits flexibility, yet clearly directs the flow of the negotiation process is important. A method in use is called "BENEC", which helps create an effective process that ensures positions are not fastened on to early in the process. The format of the BENEC approach is as follows:
  B - Build rapport at the beginning of the process by exploring mutual interests.
  E - Explore interests and gather information. The goal is to inform the other side of major interests and the legitimacy of those interests. Do not state opening positions. At the same time the other sides interests should be uncovered.
  N - Negotiate the process and clarify ground rules. Parties should agree on the agenda and who has authority for final agreement. It has been found that in cases of conflict, non-controversial issues should be placed first on the agenda in order to create a positive atmosphere which can carry through during the difficult issues.
  E - Exchange positions. This is the actual stage of negotiation where differences, options, compromises should be analyzed.
  C - Close. Summarize agreements and outstanding issues. A technique often used is to offer a minor concession in order to close with an agreement between the parties.

3.6 Summary

It has been shown that proponents use a variety of strategies to address community opposition. The three strategies discussed above share some interesting similarities. For example, all the approaches incorporate significant pre-planning components. The importance of understanding the community and gathering information was a constant theme across strategies. The strategies reviewed all placed a strong emphasis on working with the community to develop mutually acceptable projects. Only one strategy focused on the need to involve the community beyond the final decision stage into long term monitoring concerns. The next chapter will synthesize this knowledge and the information provided by Key Informants, to develop a general strategy for implementing controversial housing in residential communities.

CHAPTER FOUR: A PROPOSED STRATEGY & CONCLUSIONS

4.0 Introduction

Locational conflict or the NIMBY syndrome will probably be a constant phenomenon within the urban context. Changing patterns of land use in cities and overall trends toward de-institutionalization are just two of the factors placing increased pressure on residential neighbourhoods to house controversial forms of housing. While the NIMBY syndrome may not be completely avoidable, it can be anticipated during the planning and design of the facility.

The objective of this chapter is to develop a strategy for the successful siting of a controversial housing project. The proposed strategy is a synthesis of the literature, and strategies recommended by practitioners in the field. Conclusions and implications for practice will also be discussed.

4.1 Practitioners Advice

Practitioners, with direct experience with community opposition, were contacted and recommendations for the successful siting of controversial housing were gathered. Of those proponents contacted, it was universally stated that successful siting is fundamentally correlated to providing information to the community and early public involvement in the planning and design process. Table Six outlines the dominant recommendations as stated by practitioners. For further information on the content of the focused interviews with key informants refer to Appendixes One, Two, and Three.

Table Six: Practitioners Recommendations

- The public must be involved in the planning and design stage. Proponents will run into problems if they fail to consult the community and if they assume that a community will not oppose the project.
- Public meetings as a first course of action tend to harden a community's position. These meetings tend to be quite confrontational, it is more effective to begin community consultation with one to one meetings, or with more relaxed open house events. Clients of similar facilities and community residents who have direct experience with similar facilities in their own backyards should be part of the open house.
- Always consult and inform the community association president and alderperson.
- Information is crucial to encouraging community acceptance. Information on the proponent, client & facility design must be provided very early in the planning process. The community should never be surprised by any additional information.
- Initial scoping should be the first step in approaching the community. The proponent should collect information about the community's previous experiences with similar projects and proponents. A community demographic profile should also be developed. Next the proponent should determine a community's response to the project and find out their concerns, alternatives and recommendations.
- Establishing a good relationship and trust between the proponent and the community is essential. The relationship between the two parties will determine whether the community will support or oppose the project. An effective means of establishing trust and a good relationship is talking one to one with community members during the scoping stage.
- Post implementation monitoring of the facility can lead to community acceptance.

Source: Personal Communications (1992)

4.1.1 Overview

It was interesting that practitioners corroborated much of the information collected during the course of this MDP. Practitioners typically found that opposition is restricted to a vocal minority of residents and that the concerns of residents were related to property values and perceptions of potential risk.

Significantly, practitioners appeared more adamant than researchers about the need to involve the community. It was stressed that the community must be involved in planning and design and that the community be fully informed about the residence, its proponent, and clients.

4.2 A Proposed Strategy

The question as to what sort of lessons can be learned from the experiences of practitioners and from the principles of public participation and alternative dispute resolution, remains yet to be fully answered. It should be reiterated, however, that the approaches examined do not reflect a firm solution set which provides the conclusive answer to the problem of community opposition. Situations, proponents and projects are vastly different. It is formidable for one strategy to fulfil all needs, in all circumstances. However, even considering obvious differences in scenarios and applications, researchers and practitioners from a wide spectrum of interests have touched upon similar ideas regarding the resolution of community opposition. Areas of consensus between the literature and the views of practitioners will provide the basis of this MDP's strategy for addressing community opposition to controversial housing.

It is evident that in certain cases, community opposition stems from an inadequate planning process, but in other cases NIMBY may stem from deeply rooted prejudices and fears. Although there is not much that a proponent can do when it comes down to prejudices, the proponent can have an impact on the style of planning process. In cases when the process is the culprit responsible for the escalation of community opposition, the following type of strategy could be helpful. The following strategy is based on the premise that public involvement and power sharing help reduce a community's perception of risk and lead to creative solutions rather than the escalation of conflict.

PRACTITIONERS SPEAK:

"It is important for proponents to approach communities with a planning program based on a good neighbour policy...we want to be good neighbours."

Source: Personal Communication: 1992

4.2.1 The Strategy and Assumptions

The following strategy is based on the premises of public participation, alternative dispute resolution, and advice from practitioners. One of the assumptions of this strategy is that community opposition stems in part from a planning process which is inadequate and from a community's feeling of loss of control. It is assumed that, as argued earlier, opposition is induced by decision making that disregards or inadequately utilizes community input and concerns. Another assumption is that the community in question does not hold entrenched prejudices regarding the group to be housed. This approach cannot alter deeply rooted prejudices and attitudes. An objective of the proposed strategy is to provide the community with an opportunity to respond at every step in the planning process. This strategy does not delve into the broader issues of site selection. It is assumed that the proponent is somewhat opportunist and has found an available house or site from which to adapt to assisted housing or housing for the service dependent. Table Seven provides an overview of the strategy including the goals, tasks and methods associated with each step.

Table Seven: Overview of Proposed Strategy.

STEP	GOALS	TASKS	METHODS
Approach community with concept	•Establish relationship •Understand community •Provide information •Estimate level of interest	•Inform community •Analyze situation •Identify actors/organizations •Evaluate power •Inform community executive	•Develop profile •Contact key people •Develop information package
Work together on Concept	•Determine concerns & impacts project •Re-evalu project and modify as per community input	•Plan & run open house •Determine community response •Modify project •Provide feedback •Recruit residents from othercommunities & facility residents •Focus on vocal minority	•One to one contact •Informal open house •Tour similar facilities
Work together on thePlan & Design	•Develop acceptable facility •Use public input	•Plan & run workshop •Develop strategy for workshops •Recommendations from open house are presented •Recruit individuals to attend workshop	•Public workshop •One to one contact with opposers
Work together towards resolution & implementation	•Arrive at aggreement •Develop mitiation/ monitoring measures •Inform community	•Plan & run open house •Inform community of workshop results •Work with community to address monitoring & mitigation	•Open house •Small group meetings

4.2.3 The Strategy

1. Approaching the Community

A significant theme which emerged during the literature review and during with discussions with practitioners was the need for comprehensive pre-planning or scoping. Obtaining an understanding of the community is essential if conflict is to be avoided.

Goals:

- To begin establishing a good working relationship and trust between the proponent and the community.
- To become familiar with the community, the people and organizations.
- To provide the community with information on the project, the clients, and the proponent.
- To estimate level of public interest and concern.

Tasks:

- Develop a community profile.
  -Understand the community's demographic profile, and the social, cultural, economic and historic dynamics of the community.
- Ascertain the community's previous experience with similar facilities and proponents.
  -Were these experiences positive or negative ?
  -Will past experiences impact the community's reaction to your project ?
  -How were past conflicts dealt with ?
- Identify significant individuals/actors and organizations in the community.
  -Determine the interests of the constituents and bystanders
  -What do these actors want or need ?
  -What resources do the actors possess ?
  -What constraints have been experienced ?
- Evaluate the power distribution of the community and proponent.
  -What will both sides lose if an agreement is not reached ?
  -What are the sources of power for the community ? For the proponent ?
  -Determine the importance of the relationship between the community and the proponent. Is an long term relationship important ? This will help shape contact between proponent and community.

- Inform the community about the project, proponent and clients.
- Inform and discuss the project with the community association executive and ward alderperson.
- Provide accessible and understandable information to community residents.

Methods:

- The community profile can be developed by review of relevant statistics and previous planning documents
- Contact with the community association president and executive should be a good source of information.
- One to one informal contact with residents should be initiated.
- An information package detailing the project, the clients and the proponent should be developed and distributed for resident review. A contact name, address, and phone number should be provided. The information package must be understandable. For example, instead of providing blue-prints, a three dimensional representation of the proposed project and its impact on the surrounding buildings could be provided.

2. Work Together on the Concept

The objective of the next step in the process is to begin project planning and augment the information exchange between the proponent and the community. At this stage, the proponent will tap into community concerns and proposed alternatives, and work these alternatives into the project.

Goals:

- To ascertain how the project is viewed by all significant interests.
- To identify the special characteristics of the situation and the impacts of the project.
- To provide the community with a schedule of the deadlines and points of public input.
- To determine the community's concerns with the concept and the design, and to reflect these concerns in the project.

Tasks:

- Determine the community's response to the proposed project.
  -What impacts are perceived as significant ?
  -What are the particular concerns and feelings of risk ?
  -What are the community's solutions and recommendations ?
- Provide feedback to the community regarding any proposed changes to the project and the timeline of public input and decision making.
- Re-evaluate the project and make changes as per community input.
- Plan and hold an informal open house
  -Information on the project and proponent will be provided
  -Design alterations as per community comments to date will be discussed
  -Further areas of concern will be elicited
  -Contact and recruit community residents who have a similar facilities in their own neighbourhood to attend the open house. Prospective residents of the facility should also attend.
- Provide key actors and interested individuals an opportunity to tour similar facilities located in residential neighbourhoods.

Methods:

- Begin to focus a certain amount of energy on the opposing vocal minority and those residents immediately adjacent to the project. Through a series of small group meetings, develop solutions and alternatives acceptable to both the proponent and to this group.

- An informal open house should be completed to allow community residents to address the concept and design of the project in a relaxed atmosphere.

3. Work Together on Project Planning and Design

This stage is where the project is discussed in detail with the community. Creative alternatives are discussed and mutually acceptable solutions devised.

Goals:

- To work with the community to develop an acceptable project.

- To incorporate public concerns into the project design and operating characteristics.

Tasks:

- Plan and hold a planning workshop
  -Public input and community driven changes to date, on the concept and design should be summarized and fed back to the community.
  -Outstanding problems are now addressed.
  -The workshop is the vehicle for the community and the proponent to arrive at creative solutions.
  -Because experience with similar facilities is correlated to acceptance contact and recruit community residents who have similar facilities in their neighbourhood to attend the planning workshop.
  -Prospective residents of the project should also attend.

- The proponent should develop a strategy based on ADR for approaching the community during the workshops.
  -Devise a range of alternatives based on public input and other considerations
  -Determine what kinds of arguments and concessions could be useful in order to convince the community to accept the project.
  -Review the interests and the needs of the community, try to fulfil some of those needs through the implementation of the project.
  -Review the concerns of the community and specific areas considered to be risky

- Respond to concerns or initiate discussions with community regarding mitigative measures.

Methods:

- A planning workshop involving all interested community members should be established.
- More informal contact with opposers.
- Recruit residents who support the project to contact opposers and to attend public meetings.

4. Work Together Toward Final Resolution And Project Implementation

It is hoped that by this stage the major decisions have been made in an atmosphere where opposition did not escalate to intransigence.

Goals:

- To arrive at a final and acceptable agreement with the community.
- To provide measures for mitigation or monitoring if necessary.
- To inform the community of the final decision.

Tasks:

- Plan and hold workshop on project implementation / mitigation
  -The community should be informed of the results of the previous planning workshop.
  -Outstanding community concerns should be addressed and mitigation or monitoring measures be discussed and resolved.
- A community task force is created to work with the proponent to help perform long term monitoring of the facility and ensure speedy response to community concerns.

Methods:

- One to one and small group discussions with key actors should be held to determine degree of community acceptance and necessary mitigative measures.
- A public workshop should be held to determine the phasing of implementation and to develop creative mitigative or monitoring measures.

4.2.3 Strategy Overview

This process should not be considered as a discrete and linear plan. Information flows back and forth shaping how each step will be taken. The process encourages the sensitive and critical understanding of the community before project planning commences. Project planning between the proponent and the community will begin at the concept stage and continue during long term monitoring. This is not a formal structure where changes to the project are made only following a structured planning workshop - the process is meant to be reiterative, much like a dialogue between residents and the proponent.

The proposed strategy is based on the assumption that if communities have more control of the planning process and their environment after implementation, they will be less likely to view an assisted housing project as risky endeavour for their community. Themes from public participation and alternative dispute resolution were included, although a formal negotiation process was not. Based on these approaches and discussions with practitioners, it is clear that the public must be involved in the process and be provided an avenue for direct input and development of alternatives. In the best case scenario the NIMBY Syndrome will be addressed before it escalates to the point where a controversial housing project can be halted on the basis of the vocal minority. This process is not intended to overpower or provide token measures of community participation.

4.3 Conclusions

The first purpose of this MDP was to examine the 'Not In My Backyard Syndrome', as it is directed towards controversial housing projects in residential communities. The investigation of NIMBY, also called locational conflict, led to a better understanding the dynamics of community opposition. The second purpose was to examine the methods of approaching communities with controversial projects. Methods used in public participation, alternative dispute resolution, and by practitioners were examined and discussed. A general strategy which incorporated elements from these sources was then developed. The fundamental assumption of the strategy was that, if community's are involved in the planning of controversial projects then opposition will be reduced and community control will be asserted. The following are the major conclusions of this MDP:

- Social and economic trends have culminated to the point where residential communities will increasingly be asked to permit assisted housing for the service dependent and lower income groups in their own neighbourhoods.

- The NIMBY Syndrome is a major barrier to the implementation of assisted housing at the neighbourhood level.

- The NIMBY Syndrome should not be considered as an irrational response of selfish communities. Community residents often have rational reasons for opposing a project. A community's perception of risk and lack of information about the project and the new residents often fuels opposition. Communities must be given information early in the process which addresses their concerns.

- The NIMBY Syndrome often stems from an inadequate planning process, one which submerges the underlying values implicit in the facility planning and design stage. Community opposition can be interpreted as the community's attempt to draw attention to the hidden decisions and values made during facility planning and design.

- Communities must have significant input during facility planning and design process over the, concept, design and long term management of the facility. Proponents have the responsibility to listen to the community, not to overwhelm or pre-empt concerns. The success of facility implementation often relies upon this perspective.

- Public involvement and power sharing help reduce a community's perception of risk and lead to creative solutions rather than the escalation of conflict. Pre-planning and community input early in the facility siting process will probably reduce the overall level of community concern, conflict and opposition. Procedures which reduce the potential for the escalation of conflict such as information exchange and informal relationship building should be used by proponents.

- There exists a symmetry between practise and theory regarding the NIMBY Syndrome. Practitioners and researchers share similar explanations for the causes of community opposition and similar recommendations for the resolution of conflict.

- It is important to address community concerns before the community begins to oppose the project to the point of intransigence.

- Conflict can be partly be avoided by establishing a good relationship and trust between the community and the proponent. The community's first exposure to the project should be through an informal, non-threatening situation such as face to face contact or in an open house. Initially avoid large public meetings which escalate conflict.

APPENDIX ONE

LIST OF KEY INFORMANTS

Name	Title & Affiliation
• Barbara Innes	Director of Programs Elizabeth Fry Society Calgary
• Carey Johannesson	Community Relations Consultant Comsult Calgary
• Gerri Many Fingers	Co-ordinator Native Women's Shelter Committee Calgary
• Barry Pendergast	Architect Pendergast Group Calgary
• Brenda Taylor	Communications Coordinator Hospice Calgary
• Andrew You	Architect & Planner Calgary Residential Services
• Lou Winthers	V.P. Planning Services Care West Calgary

APPENDIX TWO

Focused Interviews
KEY INFORMANT QUESTIONNAIRE

My name is Diane Hooper and I am currently writing my Masters Degree Project in Community Planning at the University of Calgary, Faculty of Environmental Design.

I would like to ask you a few questions based on your experiences and expertise with community opposition to assisted housing or housing for the service dependent. Your answers will be held in confidence.

1. Could you briefly discuss your experiences with community opposition ?

2. Did you anticipate that community opposition would occur ? During the planning and design phase ?

3.. In your experience what factors escalated the conflict ?
Factors relating to the community or to the proponent.

4. Has action been taken to address community opposition ?

5. What was your strategy in approaching the community ?

APPENDIX THREE:

OVERVIEW OF FOCUSED INTERVIEWS WITH KEY INFORMANTS

PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED DURING THE SITING OF CONTROVERSIAL HOUSING:

- Proponent failed to consult with the community √
- A minority of community residents can effectively halt the implementation of the facility. √
- Media escalated the problem. Δ
- Communities are afraid of certain types of residents. Δ
- Facility design can pose a significant problem for community residents. Δ
- Public meetings, as the first course of action, tend to harden the community's position. These meetings tend to be very confrontational. Δ
- Proponent failed to inform local alderperson. *
- Technical skills alone will not encourage successful siting , communities must be involved in the planning process. *
- Proponents often err because they assume all communities are the same, but they are not. *

RECOMMENDATIONS TO IMPROVING THE PLANNING AND SITING OF CONTROVERSIAL HOUSING

- Information on the proponent, client & facility design must be provided to the community very early in the planning process. √
- Information is critical to encouraging community acceptance. √
- It is far better to deal with a knowledgeable community, who has information on the proposed project, the proponents and the clients. Δ
- Information presented to the community must be understandable not overwhelming. Δ
- It is important to work with the Community Association. Initial consultation should occur with the Community Association President. This will assist the planning process Δ

- Clients from similar facilities should be part of the community open house. Δ

- Proponents must find a way of helping people face their fears of those who are different from them. Δ

- The public should be involved in the facility design process *

- Support personnel monitoring the facility, can reduce opposition. *

- Political hierarchy in the municipal administration must be informed. *

- An effective siting strategy is to talk with the community residents one to one during a process of scoping community concerns. *

- Each community should be approached sensitively. Not all communities are politically astute but should be approached as if they were. Proponents run into problems when they assume that a community will not oppose. *

- The relationship between the proponent and the community is the most important factor in determining whether the community will support or oppose the project. Trust between the two parties must be established. *

- The stage of gathering information and scoping issues should be used for establishing a good relationship between the proponent and the community *

- Information scoping should be performed on two levels. The first area to collect information is from the external environment. The proponent must collect external information such as; the community's previous experience with similar facilities and proponents, the community's demographic profile, ect. Next the proponent must collect internal types of information. This includes determining the community's response to the project, finding out the community's particular concerns with the project and their solutions and recommendations. *

- Always avoid a scenario where the community could be suprised by any additional information, as being suprised will lead to conflict. *

KEY:
* Stated once
Δ Stated on 2 - 4 occasions by different informants
√ Stated on 5 or more occasions by different informants

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