PUBLIC PARTICIPATION
IN LAND USE PLANNING:
WHAT IS THE ROLE OF SOCIAL CAPITAL?

by

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PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF URBAN STUDIES

In the
Urban Studies Program

APPROVAL

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Degree: Master of Urban Studies

Title of Research Project   Public Participation in Land Use Planning:
What is the Role of Social Capital?

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Abstract

This study examines the role of social capital in citizen participation in a particular case of land use planning. The case centres around the development permit process for a youth service centre in Vancouver, British Columbia. Social capital in the form of interest-based and community-based social organization, shaped by social networks, reciprocity and trust is thought to provide the groundwork necessary for citizen participation and play an important role in the case. Two approaches were used to investigate and analyze the role of social capital in citizen participation in the case. Qualitative data were derived from elite interviews and quantitative data from a telephone survey. Analysis of the data revealed that not only was social capital an important factor in citizen participation in the case, but the amount and type of social capital varied depending on its social context.

Keywords: land use planning; public participation; social capital

Acknowledgments

This paper and subsequent degree would not have been possible without the encouragement and support of Dr. Meg Holden. Thank you Meg, for providing a learning environment that challenged and sustained me.

Thanks to my colleagues and friends, Ted, Marco, Edna, Wes and others unnamed, who helped me through a difficult year and encouraged me to complete this project.

Finally, special thanks to my husband, Walt, who gave me the time and space to grow.

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1. Introduction

This study examines the extent to which social capital is a factor in helping to explain citizen participation in land use issues by assessing the amount and type of social capital in communities adjacent to a contentious development proposal in Vancouver's downtown. I argue that the amount and type of social capital in a community is an important consideration in assessing a community's ability to effectively participate in decisions about land use changes. Research on this topic is merited, because our understanding of the role of social capital in public decisions, especially land use, is limited.

This paper is divided into four parts. In the first part I explore both the practical and the theoretical rationale for citizen participation, the call for participatory democracy and the links between citizen participation and social capital. In the second part of the paper I develop a framework for analyzing social capital and participation. The framework consists of two analytical approaches – qualitative and quantitative. The qualitative data are derived from elite interviews and the quantitative data are derived from a telephone survey. The third part of the paper describes the initial findings of the telephone survey based on a variety of measures of social capital and citizen participation, including social trust, voting, community participation and civic leadership. The fourth part outlines themes that emerged through the interviews and telephone survey. Results reveal that not only is social capital an important factor in citizen participation, but the amount and type of social capital varies depending on its context. In addition, results revealed that social capital can be created by government for a variety of purposes.

Why Is There a Need for Citizen Participation?

Participation in the formal electoral process has been declining with most elections, as voters become cynical and disengaged and look for other ways to participate. The public believes that government "betrays the people's trust and accomplishes little" and as a result, many citizens are registering their discontent by not voting (Pammett and LeDuc 2003, 7). According to Elections Canada, voter turnout in federal elections has only recently shown an increase (see Table 1). Prior to the election in 2006, voter turnout had been in a steady state of decline for a 20-year period (Elections Canada 2005). The number of registered voters who cast a ballot in provincial elections has been in decline for over 20 years (see Table 2). Voter turnout in Vancouver municipal elections remains alarmingly low, despite a surge in 2002 (see Table 3).

Table 1. **Voter Turnout in Federal Elections, 1984 - 2006**

Year of Election	Registered Voters Who Voted (%)
1984	75.3
1988	75.3
1993	70.9
1997	67.0
2000	64.1
2004	60.9
2006	64.9

Source: *Elections Canada, Voter Turnout at Federal Elections.*

Table 2.   *Voter Turnout in BC Elections, 1983 - 2005*

Year of Election	Registered Voters Who Voted (%)
1983	77.49
1986	77.19
1991	75.07
1996	71.50
2001	70.95
2005	63.77

Source: *Elections BC, BC Voter Participation: 1983 – 2005.*

Table 3.   *Voter Turnout in Vancouver Municipal Elections, 1983 - 2005*

Year of Election	Registered Voters Who Voted (%)
1984	49.0
1986	49.0
1988	44.0
1990	52.0
1993	35.0
1996	32.0
1999	37.0
2002	50.0
2005	32.0

Source: *City of Vancouver, Voter Turnout.*

Several studies have been conducted to help explain why a growing number of registered voters are opting out of political participation. Explanations for the decline include: a growing cynicism towards politicians and the political process, changing attitudes towards authority and a growing interest in direct participation in decision making (Centre for Research and Information on Canada 2001). According to a recent paper published by the CRIC, "voter apathy is driven by a growing disaffection with politics that is based on the perception that politicians and political

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parties are untrustworthy, self-interested, unaccountable and out-of-touch" (CRIC 2001, 15). These conclusions were supported in a survey conducted by the CRIC that found 86% of Canadians agree with the statement "politicians often lie to get elected". Another 70% of those surveyed agree with the statement "I don't think governments care very much about what people like me think" (CRIC 2001, 15). The survey found that these negative views were much more widely held in 2001 than they were in 1971, especially among young voters.

The generational shift in attitudes and voting behaviour has drawn considerable attention of researchers and government. The Canadian Election Study found that voter turnout for Canadians born after 1970 was 20 points lower than it was at the same age for those born before 1960. Furthermore, the study found that voters who abstain when they are young, continue to abstain as they get older. The study concluded that "as time passes, newer generations of Canadians who are less inclined to vote, are coming to represent a larger share of the electorate" (Blair et. al., cited in CRIC 2001, 21).

The positive outcome of this shift in voting behaviour is that while young people may be opting out of the election process, they are attracted to other political activities at the local and international level. Where conventional politics appear distant and ineffective, local politics is considered to be accessible and accountable (CRIC 2001, 22). In short, many socially and politically engaged young people would rather put their time and energy into forms of engagement where they participate directly in decision-making (CRIC 2001, 23). Given that they are coming to represent a larger share of the electorate, we can safely assume that more Canadians will be interested in direct forms of participation at the local level as time goes on.

Citizen Participation in Government

Many argue that more than voting is needed to deliver democracy (Wilson 1999, 247). According to John Friedmann, "the political process represents people's

needs only in the crudest and most partisan way, even in an open democracy"
(Friedmann 1998, 9). David Wilson argues that representative democracy needs to be
supplemented by participatory democracy to be truly effective (Wilson 1999, 247). In
his book *Neighborhood to Nation*, Ken Thomson argues that for civil society to flourish
there should be opportunities for citizens to get directly involved in decisions that
effect them (Thomson 2001, 3).

Participatory democracy is considered by many to be the answer to society's
distaste with the formal political process. In *The Rebirth of Urban Democracy*, Jeffrey
Berry and his colleagues argue that there are three crucial elements of participatory
democracy: education, community building and the transformation of government
(Berry et al. 1993, 5). Table 4, which is based on Irvin and Stansbury's "Advantages
of Citizen Participation", notes that education is an important part of the
participatory process for both citizens and government. Through the participatory
process people learn how to become citizen-experts and government learns how to
use citizens' expertise to develop better policies and make better decisions (Irvin and
Stansbury 2004, 56). John Stuart Mill describes the educative force of participation as
a moral exercise of an individual. He notes that "when an individual participates he is
forced to weigh interests not his own; to be guided, in case of conflict in claims, by
another rule than his private partialities; and to apply, at every turn, principles and
maxims which have for their reason of existence the general good" (Mill, cited in
Berry et al. 1993, 6).

Table 4 also outlines how participation builds community. Through the
participatory process citizens begin to appreciate the needs and concerns of the larger
community and consider community-wide solutions (Irvin & Stansbury 2004, 56).
The notion is that participation builds on bonds of friendships and community
purpose and that through participatory practices citizens can learn from one another
and begin to understand different points of view as well as common interests (Berry
et al. 1993, 3). According to Berry, "Communitarians claim that this sense of shared

purpose in a community helps people find meaning in their lives beyond their own individual identity and accomplishments" (Berry et al. 1993, 6).

Lastly, Table 4 outlines what some proponents of participatory democracy argue is the most important outcome of participation, a more responsive government. Proponents argue that a process that enables participants to gain a more sophisticated level of technical and social understanding, combined with some influence and control over government, produces more public-preference decision making (Irvin and Stansbury 2004, 56; Berry et al. 1993). Government, in turn, has the ability to persuade citizens in a more trusting, supportive and fair decision-making environment. Proponents argue that decisions and policy developed through participatory democracy produces better decisions and more efficient benefits to the society as a whole (Berry et al. 1993; Irvin and Stansbury 2004, 56; Thomson 2001;).

Table 4. ***Advantages of Citizen Participation in Government Decision Making***

Advantages to Citizens	Advantages to Government
Education • learn from and inform government • citizens become experts and gain skills for activist citizenship • citizens weigh their interests against other citizens interests	*Education* • learn from and inform citizens • citizens understand difficult situations • public better understands tough decisions and trade-offs • citizens weigh their interests against other citizens interests • learn which policies are unpopular and how to avoid policy failures
Builds Community • citizens see holistic, community-wide solutions • leads to equality in community • reduces hostility	*Builds Community* • citizens see holistic, community-wide solutions • creates less divisive citizenry • leads to equality in community • reduces hostility

Advantages to Citizens	Advantages to Government
Transforms Government • citizens gain some control over process • provides opportunity to persuade government • government is more responsive to citizen preferences • policies and decisions are grounded in citizen preferences • process leads to better decisions	*Transforms Government* • local knowledge informs decisions • provides opportunity to persuade citizens • improves public trust • process leads to better decisions

Source: *Irvin and Stansbury 2004, 56; Berry et al. 1993, 3-5.*

Citizen Participation in Land Use Planning

Berry's crucial elements of participatory democracy and the benefits to both citizens and government have been recognized and practiced in the field of planning for several decades. In 1969, Sherry Arnstein developed her Ladder of Participation to illustrate different levels of citizen participation and corresponding power in the decision-making process. Her typology sets out eight levels of participation, beginning with manipulation at the bottom rung of the ladder. Arnstein describes manipulation, therapy and informing as non-participation; consultation, placation and partnership as tokenism; and delegated power and citizen control as full citizen participation. She believed that "participation without redistribution of power is an empty and frustrating process for the powerless" (Arnstein 1969, 216).

Since 1969, citizen participation has gained prominence in planning literature and practice (Hutchinson and Vidal 2004). In *Reframing Public Participation*, Judith Innes and David Booher argue that citizen participation is much more dynamic than one-way communication between citizens and their government. They believe that participation operates in a complex system, where "communication, learning and action are joined together and polity, interests and citizenry co-evolve" (Innes and Booher 204, 422). Innes and Booher argue that for participation to be meaningful and effective it must involve "collaboration, dialogue and interaction" between

parties. The authors note that through a multi-dimensional model of participation even the most difficult problems can be addressed (Innes and Booher 2004, 422). Herman Lelieveldt, in *Helping Citizens Help Themselves*, goes further in suggesting that social capital is a key determinant of people's capacity to participate and solve problems (Lelieveldt 2004). Lelieveldt employs a useful methodology for investigating social capital and citizen participation in government programs.

Clearly there is agreement among political scientists and planning experts that the advantages of participation to both citizens and government are innumerable. Robert Putnam and civil society advocates suggest that social capital in the form of community groups and social networks operating at the meso-level of civil society provide the groundwork for the types of collaborative participation described by Berry, Arnstein and Innes (Krishna 2002).

Defining Social Captial

The concept of social capital is not new. Sociologists have been using the term for almost a century to describe the economic and social benefits of a more participatory society, measured by social assets, social relations and social organization. Three schools of thought on social capital theory are evident in literature by Pierre Bourdieu, John Coleman and Robert Putnam. Pierre Bourdieu's work (1984) stresses the role of social capital in the creation of inequality when combined with other forms of capital such as economic and cultural capital. Influenced by Marx, Bourdieu (1984) believed that individuals use their cultural and social capital to secure social positions. Bourdieu defined social capital as "social relationships which provide, if necessary, useful support: a capital of honourability and respectability which is often indispensable if one desires to attract clients in socially important positions" (Bourdieu, cited in Field 2003, 15). In his book titled *Social Capital*, John Field argues that Bourdieu's contribution is too focused on the social relationships of the French middle class and consequently he undervalues the

benefits of social capital to other, less privileged individuals and groups. Field goes on to argue that Bourdieu's focus on connections developed by individuals in order to maintain their status leaves little room for collective actors (Field 2003).

Where Bourdieu builds his groundwork on Marxist foundations, James Coleman, a sociologist, understands social capital through the lens of social and economic theory. Coleman's work stresses that social capital is functional and as such, forms part of the social relations between and among actors, rather than being lodged in the actors themselves like human capital (Coleman 1988, s98). In his influential study of high school dropouts, Coleman defines social capital:

> not as a single entity, but a variety of different entities, with two elements in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structures and they facilitate certain actions. Like other forms of capital, social capital is productive, making possible the achievement of certain goals that in its absence would not be possible (Coleman 1988, S98).

Unlike Bourdieu, Coleman viewed social capital as an asset to all of society – both the privileged and disadvantaged (Field 2003).

Political scientist Robert Putnam builds on Coleman's view that social capital is realized through social networks. Putnam's early work (1993) focuses on the role of social networks and civic engagement in the success or failure of government. In his seminal study of regional governments in Italy, Putnam noted that the communities in the northern regions of Italy that valued "solidarity, civic engagement, cooperation and honesty" also had the most effective and trusted regional governments (Putnam 1993, 115). In *Making Democracy Work* (1993, 181) Putnam notes that:

> In the North, norms of reciprocity and networks of civic engagement have been embodied in tower societies, guilds, mutual aid societies, cooperatives, unions, and even soccer clubs and literary societies. These horizontal civic bonds have undergirded levels of economic and institutional performance generally much higher than in the South, where social and political relations have been vertically structured.

For Putnam the causal direction appeared clear – strong associational activity in the 'civic' north led to more effective regional government (Putnam 1993). He concluded that 'civic' communities are self-reinforcing through a virtuous circle of civic engagement leading to "government that works" and 'uncivic' communities are self-reinforcing through a vicious circle of corruption, greed and disengagement, leading to government that doesn't work (Putnam 1993, 115; Putnam cited in Lowndes and Wilson 2001, 630). In his later work Putnam (2000) focuses on the decline of social organization, measured by associational activity in post World War II America. Putnam's definition of social capital has changed very little since his work in Italy. In *Bowling Alone* he states that "social capital refers to connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them (Putnam 2000, 19).

Clearly there is debate among social theorists and practitioners of what constitutes social capital and how best to understand it. Upon closer inspection there appears to be some agreement that most forms of social capital have three basic features. They consist of a social network under-girded by norms of reciprocity, trust and trustworthiness. Different forms of social capital such as bonding or bridging can lead to very different outcomes.

Social Networks

Below, the components of social capital are considered in turn: social networks, norms of reciprocity and trust. Social networks, or "who one knows", are a key element of social capital, especially when combined with reciprocity and trust and when used to facilitate collective action (Putnam 1995). Social networks come in many shapes and sizes. Examples of social networks include family and friendship networks, reading groups, social clubs, schools, churches, unions, civic associations and political parties (Putnam 1995). The denser the social network, the more likely its members will act collectively and cooperate for mutual benefit (Putnam 1993).

Norms of Reciprocity

Reciprocity is based on expectation, obligation and trust. An individual provides service to others with the expectation that their assistance will be reciprocated in the future, if required. To explain this concept Coleman uses the analogy of a credit slip. He notes that :

> If A does something for B and trusts B to reciprocate in the future, this establishes an expectation in A and an obligation on the part of B to keep the trust. This obligation can be conceived of as a 'credit slip' held by A to be redeemed by some performance of B. (Coleman 1990, 306)

According to Coleman, two key elements of social capital are necessary for this transaction to work – trust and the extent of obligations (Coleman 1990, 306).

Trust

As noted above, trust is a key element of social capital and is linked with social networks and reciprocity. For reciprocity to work, an individual must trust that others will reciprocate a service rendered.

Coleman's example of the wholesale diamond market in the 1980s in New York exemplifies the role of trust and its place in social capital. Coleman notes that the practice of a diamond merchant handing over a bag of valuable diamonds to a prospective buyer without insurance or bonding, may seem foolish, but the ties that bind the community of diamond traders are based on a level of trust that eliminates the need for expensive insurance or bonding (Coleman 1998, s99). Coleman explains that the diamond market in New York is special, in that it functions within a closed community. The market is operated by Jewish families who live in the same area in Brooklyn, attend the same synagogues and marry within the community. Because of this, any attempt to cheat a fellow merchant could result in the loss of family, religious and community ties (Coleman 1998, s99). In this case and others, "trust and trustworthiness have been compared to a lubricant, oiling the wheels of a variety of

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social and economic transactions which might otherwise prove extremely costly, bureaucratic and time-consuming" (Field 2003, 63).

Bonding and Bridging Social Capital

In *Bowling Alone* (2000, 22) Putnam makes an important distinction between two types of social capital – bonding and bridging. According to Putnam, bonding or "inclusive" social capital accumulates through an individual's involvement in homogeneous groups like fraternal or faith-based groups (Putnam 2000, 22). Bonding social capital "is good for undergirding specific reciprocity and mobilizing solidarity, while serving as the sociological superglue in maintaining strong in-group loyalty and reinforcing narrow identities" (Putnam 2000, 22). Bridging or "exclusive" social capital develops through the social interaction of people from diverse backgrounds. Bridging social capital is good for making linkages to external assets while serving as a "sociological WD-40 that can generate broader identities and reciprocity" (Putnam 2000, 23).

Summary

Clearly, the practical and theoretical rationale for paying more attention to citizen participation points to the needs of both citizens and governments for more participatory forms of democracy, especially outside the political process. Social capital in the form of interest-based and community-based social organization, shaped by social networks, reciprocity and trust and operating at the meso-level of civil society, is thought to provide the groundwork necessary for citizen participation (Krishna 2002). As such, this study examines the role of social capital in citizen participation in a particular case of land use planning.

2. Research Design and Methods

Study Context

This paper investigates the extent to which social capital is a factor in explaining a community's participation in land use issues. It is my hypothesis that the amount and type of social capital in a community is a key consideration in the community's ability to effectively participate in decisions about land use changes. Furthermore, I hypothesize that social capital is context-dependent and that social capital can be created by government for a variety of purposes.

I explore my hypotheses through an examination of the case of the development permit process for an Integrated Youth Service Centre (IYSC) located on the periphery of Downtown South, an emerging high-density[1] residential neighbourhood characterized by high-rise apartment buildings and adjacent to the West End, an established high to medium- density neighbourhood characterized by a mixture of high-rise and mid-rise apartment buildings in Vancouver's downtown. The location of the IYSC, the type of proposal, and its profile in the community provide a unique setting to examine social capital and citizen involvement in decisions about land use changes.

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[1]   The City of Vancouver Planning Department defines high-density as 135 units per acre; medium-density as 50 units per acre as per the City of Vancouver convention for False Creek North.

Figure 1:   ***Study Area***
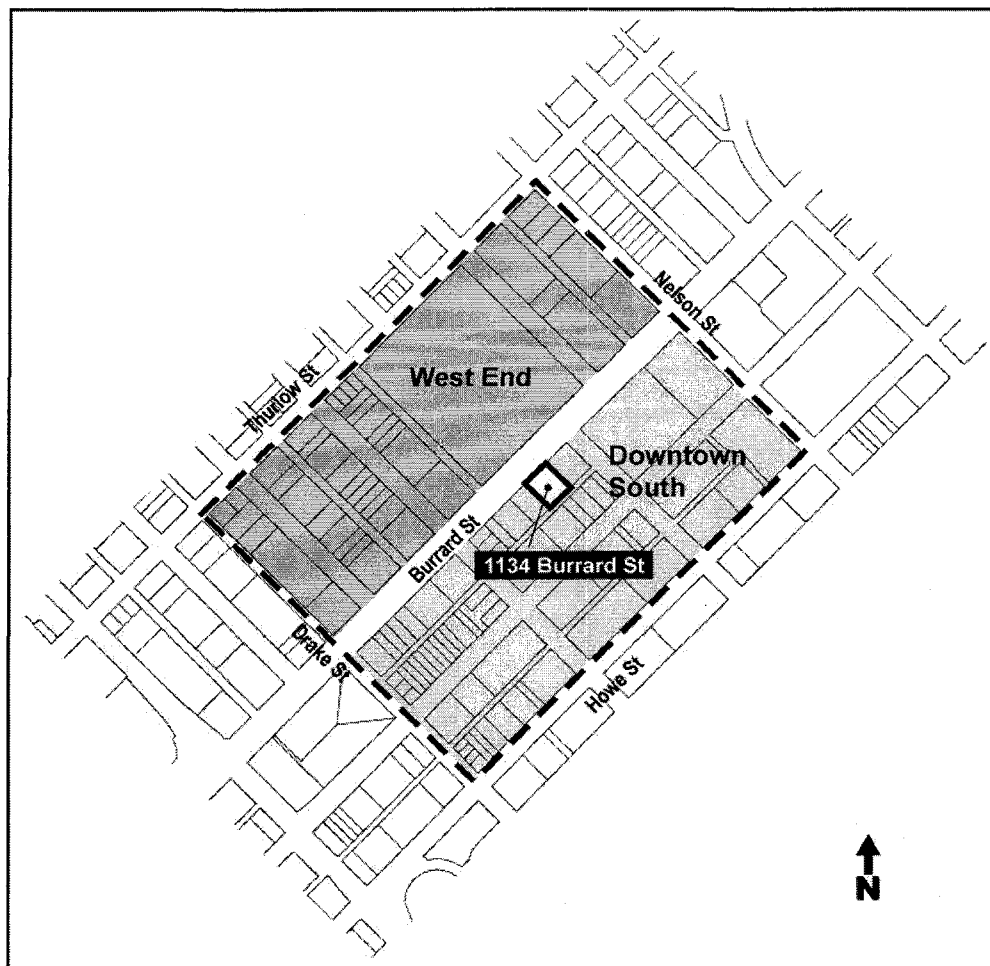
Source: *N. Wormald, City of Vancouver 2006.*

Case Study

I chose the Integrated Youth Service Centre proposal as a case for several reasons: first, its close proximity to residential and commercial land uses; second, it was processed in the year preceding my interviews and telephone survey, making it likely that my interviewees and telephone survey respondents would recall details about the development proposal; and third, it appeared to generate some interest in the local community. I suspected that if social capital existed in these communities, that this development proposal would draw it out.

People living and working near the site first became aware of the proposal in July 2004 when Family Services of Greater Vancouver (FSGV) submitted a development application to the City of Vancouver to renovate the interior of a one-storey building at 1134 Burrard Street, changing the use from commercial to social service centre. FSGV proposed to re-locate Dusk to Dawn, a drop-in centre operating out of St. Paul's Hospital, and Street Youth Services, a support centre operating out of a City-owned building at 1065 Seymour Street to a new centre at 1134 Burrard Street. The IYSC would provide opportunities for youth, primarily under the age of 19 years, to participate in programs aimed at the promotion of health and well-being. The new centre would be open 22 hours per day, seven days per week and operated by health care professionals, counsellors, administration staff and security personnel (City of Vancouver 2004).

Shortly after the FSGV submitted their development application, the City of Vancouver invited 2,000 nearby property owners to a public meeting to get feedback on the proposal. People who attended the meeting expressed concerns about security, vandalism, impacts on local business, property values, the decision-making process, management of the facility and the draft management plan. A follow-up meeting was arranged to allow all participants to speak. The Planning Department re-notified all 2,000 nearby property owners and invited them to the follow-up meeting. Similar concerns were expressed at the follow-up meeting, albeit with less passion (City of Vancouver 2004).

In December 2004, the Development Permit Board (DPB)[2] approved the development application made by FSGV for an Integrated Youth Service Centre at 1134 Burrard Street, subject to a number of conditions based on concerns raised at

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[2] The Development Permit Board considers various types of development applications that due to their scale and content or because of community controversy may have an impact on their surrounding. The DPB has the authority to approve, approve with certain conditions or refuse a development application.

the public meetings. The conditions fell into two categories: design development (e.g. changes to the physical layout of the building); and further development of the Draft Management Plan. With respect to the Draft Management Plan, the DPB required that further development of the plan occur in consultation with the community through the formation of a Community Advisory Committee (CAC) with representatives from FSGV, the City of Vancouver, local business, property owners, community associations and youth associations (City of Vancouver 2004).

In the months following the DPB approval of the development application, FSGV hosted a series of community workshops to discuss concerns raised by local residents and businesses and develop basic operating parameters for the IYSC. FSGV mailed invitations to the list of 2,000 nearby property owners inviting them to six workshops held between January and March 2005. Over 200 residents attended the workshops and discussed a variety of topics including how to reduce potential harm to area residents, how to reduce nuisance type activities, staffing, FSGV's responsiveness to community concerns and the structure of the CAC (City of Vancouver 2005a). These topics were later embodied in the Draft Management Plan (see Appendix A).

Method

The framework of this study consists of two analytical approaches — qualitative and quantitative. The qualitative data were derived from elite interviews; the quantitative data from a telephone survey. Both the interviews and the survey were conducted in the spring and summer of 2005.

Elite Interviews

Elite interviews were chosen for this study to get a quick insight into the case and to assist in contextualizing and formalizing the primary source of data collection, the telephone survey. In addition to informing the telephone survey, the interviews

were structured to help determine the extent to which social capital was at play in the case. By social capital I mean the extent to which individuals and organizations utilized existing social assets, social relations and social organization to achieve common goals.

During July and August of 2005, I interviewed seven people who were involved in the development permit process to provide a Youth Services Centre at 1134 Burrard Street in Vancouver. The list of elites includes: two city planners; one social service provider; one representative of the local[3] business association; one local merchant; one local resident; and one local street youth. All of the interviews were conducted in the daytime at locations that were convenient for the participants (e.g. cafes, outdoor gathering places and offices). The length of the interviews varied from 40 minutes to over two hours, depending on the availability of the participant and their interest and willingness to discuss the case in detail.

To maximize the value of my time spent with participants, I used an Interview Guide (see Appendix B) to provide me with sample questions and memory prompts of themes that I needed to cover in the interview. During the interview I asked follow-up questions to probe deeper into the themes. The interview was flexible enough that it allowed participants to introduce and discuss issues that they felt were important and relevant to the themes. Participants were assured that information obtained during the interview would be kept confidential and that knowledge of their identity was not required.

Interviews are noted in the body of this paper according to the following codes:

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[3]   By local I mean within the study area outlined in Figure 2.

Table 5. *Interview Coding*

	Code	Date
Officials	P1	July 27, 2005
	P2	July 27, 2005
	P3	August 30, 2005
Citizens	C1	August 3, 2005
	C2	August 3, 2005
	C3	August 9, 2005
	C4	August 25, 2005

Telephone Survey

After careful consideration of various types of quantitative methods to collect data on citizen participation and social capital, I chose a telephone survey as the primary source of data collection for a variety of reasons including: telephone surveys can be conducted in a relatively short period of time; the control over sampling and quotas is greater; interviewers can ask clarifying questions; call backs can be scheduled to reach respondents not at home; and most importantly, telephone surveys are cheaper than mail surveys.

The original telephone survey used in this study is based on the Social Capital Community Benchmark Survey (2000) developed by the Saguaro Seminar at John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University and the Social Capital Question Bank (2002), developed by the Office of National Statistics in the United Kingdom. Both of these question banks were developed and posted to the Internet as reference tools for individuals and communities interested in measuring social capital.

The first draft of the telephone survey, developed prior to the elite interviews, contained twenty questions on participation and social capital. The questions measured a variety of dimensions of citizen participation and social capital including interest in civic affairs, community participation, political participation, civic leadership and trust in others and government. Questions about income, tenure, age

were also included in the survey to control for the possible importance of rival explanations. Each question was carefully considered in relation to the research question and the hypotheses so that no redundancy occurred.

I made only one revision to the draft set of questions, based on comments made during the elite interviews. I revised the question "Are you a member of any community groups or community associations?" to include examples of groups and associations active in the local neighbourhoods. The examples were only used if the respondent asked the interviewer for clarification. To address concerns raised by elites about the possibility of having a disproportionate number of Downtown South residents respond to the survey, I made a request to Yellow Pages[4] to provide phone numbers by postal code. I then distributed the lists evenly amongst telephone interviewers to ensure that half of the total respondents came from Downtown South and the other half from the West End. This allowed me to measure and compare social capital in the two neighbourhoods. The final version of the telephone survey is attached as Appendix C.

The Sample

The unit of study used to draw the sample was chosen based on the City of Vancouver's notification area for the development proposal for an Integrated Youth Service Centre at 1134 Burrard Street. Figure 2 illustrates that the geographic area used for the telephone survey is slightly smaller than the City's notification area, but still within the boundary. I chose to make the area smaller for a variety of reasons, mainly to place the unit of study as close to 1134 Burrard as possible and also to reduce the number of telephone numbers and the cost of purchasing them.

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[4] Yellow Pages Group is Canada's largest publisher of commercial and residential directories. Residential phone numbers can be purchased for marketing and research purposes.

Figure 2:   Telephone Survey Area

Source: N. Wormald, City of Vancouver 2006.

In August 2005 I purchased a list of 1,000 residential telephone numbers from Yellow Pages. The sample consisted of 1,000 randomly selected records of residential phone numbers in the telephone survey study area. The list included the name, address and phone number of the person the telephone number was registered to. The records were sorted by 3-digit postal code to enable 50% participation from residents in Downtown South (postal code V6E) and 50% participation from residents in the West End (postal code V6Z). As Table 6 shows, the neighbourhoods are almost evenly represented in the sample.

Table 6. *Postal Code of Respondents*

Postal Code	N/ (%)
Downtown South (V6E)	52 (52.5)
West End (V6Z)	47 (47.5)

Conducting the Survey

The telephone survey was conducted in September 2005 by five graduate students from Simon Fraser University. Three female students and two male students placed 800 phone calls over three weekday evenings between the hours of 4:30 p.m. and 8:30 p.m. They completed 105 telephone surveys, six of which were not included in the final analysis because they were spoiled[5]. Interviewers noted that roughly 50% of the people who answered their phone agreed to participate in the survey. Interviewers also noted that the interviews lasted, on average, about 7-8 minutes, thereby reducing 'fatigue bias' which can easily occur with longer telephone surveys.

Controlling for Error

While various types of errors were considered and attempts were made to minimize them (e.g. sampling error was minimized through the use of a large, randomly-selected sample), some errors were difficult to control. Sampling error was detected in the telephone survey through an increasing number of households relying on cellular phones instead of landlines. In 2005, 9.6% of households in the Vancouver Census Metropolitan Area had only a cell phone (Statistics Canada 2006). Cell phone numbers are not listed in the Yellow Pages directory and are therefore not included in this study. Non-sampling error was detected in the telephone survey

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[5] Six respondents responded to some of the questions and then asked to withdraw from the survey.

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through non-response. Many residents in the study area were either not at home in the early evening, or more likely, refused to answer their telephone. As noted earlier, of the 800 calls placed, only 105 resulted in a completed survey.

The evidence of sampling and non-sampling error brings into question the nature of cellular phone subscribers and people who have landlines, but do not answer calls. Is it possible that certain subsets of the population have switched to cellular phone or do not answer their landline phone at all? It is possible, but since only 9.6% of Vancouver region households had only a cellular phone and respondents in the survey were found to match the general population in at least two categories, age and sex, it is not likely that they differ significantly from the general population. Table 7 shows that except for the age category 19-24, the age of respondents in the telephone survey closely resembles the age of the population in the neighbourhoods surveyed, according to the 2001 census. Table 8 shows that the sex of respondents also resembles the sex of the population in the neighbourhoods surveyed, according to the 2001 census.

Table 7.   **Age of Respondents**

Age (years)	Sample (%)	Census Downtown (%)	Census West End (%)	Census City (%)
19-24	3.0	8.7	9.9	8.8
25-34	30.3	30.3	29.8	19.6
35-44	23.2	20.1	20.1	17.9
45-54	17.2	15.5	14.2	14.9
55-64	12.1	9.3	9.1	8.6
65+	14.1	8.9	11.9	12.9

Source: City of Vancouver 2005b.

Table 8.   **Sex of Respondents**

Gender	Sample (%)	Census Downtown & West End > 19 (%)
Male	50.5	55.03
Female	49.5	44.97

Source: *City of Vancouver 2005b.*

Because the sample drawn from the list is large there are good grounds for expecting results to be representative of the target population.

Limitations of the Research Design

Research in social capital does not lend itself to a best-case research design and as such, this research shows some of the challenges of investigating this difficult concept. The shortcomings of this study are few, but noteworthy, and should be taken under advisement when interpreting the results. The shortcomings which became evident in the analysis are centred around the reliability of the responses to the telephone survey question on voting and the cross tabulations measuring participation in the IYSC process by social capital. Responses to the survey question on voting revealed higher than actual voter turnout and the cross tabulations measuring participation in the IYSC process are based on a sub sample of as few as eight respondents. In future studies the reliability of responses to questions about voting could be improved by framing the question differently, asking the question at different times during the survey or probing the respondent for clarification. Results of the cross tabulations could be improved by a larger sample.

Summary

Two approaches, quantitative and qualitative, were used in this study to ensure a rich and comprehensive investigation of the role of social capital in citizen participation. Elite interviews helped frame the telephone survey and despite

challenges with non-response, telephone interviewers completed 99 surveys from respondents who generally resemble the general population. The following section begins to analyze indicators of social capital to determine if social capital really does play a role in citizen participation in land use planning issues.

3.   Descriptive Survey Findings

The telephone survey measured a variety of dimensions of social capital and citizen participation including social trust, political participation, community participation, civic leadership, community action, as well as direct participation in the Youth Service Centre proposal. The survey also measured conditions that may enhance participation such as having an interest in civic affairs and perceived influence over political decisions. In addition, the survey measured control variables such as age, income, tenure and length of residence. The results of these measurements begin to explain the complex relationship between social capital and citizen participation.

Social Capital Measures

Social capital is operationalized in the telephone survey by focusing on several key indicators including social trust, voting, community participation and civic leadership. As discussed earlier, social trust is a key component of social capital. People who trust others are more likely to form social networks to achieve common goals, especially if they are confident that others will reciprocate at some time in the future. Trust is measured in the telephone survey by the respondent's trust in others, trust in groups and trust in the local government. Teenagers were singled out as a group because of their role in the Integrated Youth Service Centre proposal. Residents were asked the following questions: "Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?" "On a scale of 1-4; 1 being 'trust a lot' and 4 being 'no trust', how much do you trust the teenagers in your community?" "Do you think you can trust the local government to do what is right – just about always, most of the time, only some of

the time, or hardly ever?" Tables 9-11 show that the majority of respondents trust others (69.7%); trust teenagers (78.8%) and trust local government (79.8%). There is no doubt that trust runs high amongst respondents in this survey.

Table 9.   **Trust in Others**

	N/ (%)
Most people can be trusted	69 (69.7)
You can't be too careful	27 (27.3)
Don't know	3 (3.0)
Total	99 (100.0)

Table 10.   **Trust in Teenagers**

	N/ (%)
Trust them a lot	6 (6.1)
Trust them some	53 (53.5)
Trust them a little	19 (19.2)
Trust them not at all	10 (10.1)
Don't know	11 (11.1)
Total	99 (100.0)

Table 11.   **Trust in Government**

	N/ (%)
Just about always	6 (6.1)
Most of the time	31 (31.3)
Some of the time	42 (42.4)
Hardly ever	19 (19.2)
Don't Know/ Refused to answer	1 (1.0)
Total	99 (100.0)

The second indicator of social capital, voting, is measured by the respondent's propensity to vote. Residents were asked, "Did you vote in the municipal election in 2002?" Table 12 shows that almost 76% of the respondents said that they voted in the 2002 civic election. This figure is higher than the actual voter turnout for the Downtown (38.92%) and the West End (43.43%) in the 2002 civic election and will be discussed in the Analysis section of the paper.

Table 12. **Voting**

	N/ (%)
Yes	75 (75.8)
No	16 (16.2)
Couldn't vote	7 (7.1)
Don't Know/Refused	1 (1.0)
Total	99 (100.0)

The third indicator of social capital, community participation, is measured by involvement in community projects and membership in community groups or associations. Residents were asked, "In the past 12 months have you worked on a community project such as a neighbourhood clean-up, community garden, street party, parade or other type of project?" A follow-up question asked, "Are you a member of any community groups or community associations?" Table 13 shows that the majority of respondents (72.7%) had not worked on a community project in the past year, nor were they a member of a community group or association (79.8%). Of those who did work on a community project (25.3%) many said they volunteered on neighbourhood clean-ups.

The fourth indicator of social capital is civic leadership. Residents were asked: "In the past 12 months, have you served as a volunteer officer, board member, group leader, director or something similar, or on a committee of any local club or

organization?" Table 13 shows that the majority of respondents (71.7%) did not serve as a volunteer board member or sit on a committee in the past year. Of those who did serve as a volunteer officer or director, many of them said that they served on strata councils[6].

Table 13.   Community Participation and Civic Leadership

	Yes N/ (%)	No N/ (%)	Don't Know N/ (%)	Total N/ (%)
Have you worked on a community project?	25 (25.3)	72 (72.7)	2 (2.0)	99 (100.0)
Are you a member of a community group?	19 (19.2)	79 (79.8)	1 (1.0)	99 (100.0)
Have you served as a volunteer board member?	27 (27.3)	71 (71.7)	1 (1.0)	99 (100.0)

While an interest in civic affairs and perceived influence over political decisions are not considered to be indicators of participation in this study, they were included in the survey as possible enabling conditions of participation. My sub-hypothesis here is that people who are interested in civic affairs that get debated in public and reported in the local news, and who perceive their input and involvement to have meaning, are more likely to get involved in a decision making process than people who have no interest in civic affairs or who feel that their input is meaningless.

To measure level of interest in civic affairs, residents were asked "How interested are you in civic affairs, 'very interested', 'somewhat', 'slightly' or 'not at

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[6]   A strata council is a group of strata owners that carries out day-to-day management of a condominium development. The strata council usually consists of 3-7 people elected annually at a general meeting.

all'?" A follow-up question measuring interest in development proposals asked residents "How interested are you in discussions and debate about development proposals, 'very interested', 'somewhat interested', 'slightly', or 'not at all'?" Table 14 shows high levels of interest in civic affairs (92.9%) and in discussion and debate about development proposals (89.9%).

Table 14. **Interest in Civic Affairs and Development Proposals**

	Interested N/ (%)	Not interested N/ (%)	Don't Know N/ (%)	Total N/ (%)
Interest in civic affairs	92 (92.9)	7 (7.1)	0 (0.0)	99 (100.0)
Interest in development	89 (89.9)	9 (9.1)	1 (1.0)	99 (100.0)

To measure perception of influence over political decisions, residents were asked to agree or disagree with the following four statements read by the interviewer: 1) People like me have no say in what the local government does; 2) People like me can have a real influence on politics if we are prepared to get involved; 3) Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me cannot really understand what is going on; and 4) When people like me all work together with others we can really make a difference in our local community. Table 15 shows the majority of respondents (70.7%) feel that they can influence politics if they get involved. A further 81.8% agree that when people work together, they can make a difference in their community.

Table 15. **Perceived Influence of Political Decisions**

	Agree N/ (%)	Disagree N/ (%)	Neither N/ (%)	Don't Know N/ (%)	Total N/ (%)
People like me have no say	26 (26.3)	63 (63.6)	6 (6.1)	4 (4.0)	99 (100.0)
People like me can influence	70 (70.7)	19 (19.2)	5 (5.1)	5 (5.0)	99 (100.0)
Sometimes politics seem complicated	30 (30.3)	56 (56.6)	9 (9.1)	4 (4.0)	99 (100.0)
People like me can make a difference	81 (81.8)	8 (8.1)	5 (5.1)	5 (5.0)	99 (100.0)

Participation Measures

Citizen participation is operationalized in the telephone survey by focusing on actions taken to address neighbourhood problems and involvement in the Integrated Youth Service Centre proposal. The first indicator of participation is based on problems that occur in many neighbourhoods in cities and ones that the respondent may have experienced. A follow-up question asked if the respondent did anything to address problems in their neighbourhood. Table 16 shows that homelessness was a problem for the majority of residents (88.9%), followed by drug use/dealing (67.7%) and garbage and litter (49.5%). Table 17 shows that some of the residents attended a tenants or residents meeting (39.4%) and others contacted the appropriate organization to deal with a problem (37.4%) but the majority did very little to address problems in their neighbourhood.

Table 16. **Perceived Neighbourhood Problems**

Problem	Problem N/ (%)	Not a problem N/ (%)	Don't Know N/ (%)	Total N/ (%)
Noisy neighbours or loud parties	36 (36.4)	63 (63.6)	0 (0.0)	99 (100.0)
Garbage and litter lying around	49 (49.5)	50 (50.5)	0 (0.0)	99 (100.0)
Vandalism, graffiti, etc.	46 (46.4)	51 (51.5)	2 (2.0)	99 (100.0)
Teenagers loitering	39 (39.4)	60 (60.6)	0 (0.0)	99 (100.0)
Prostitution	14 (14.1)	80 (80.8)	5 (5.1)	99 (100.0)
Homelessness	88 (88.9)	10 (10.1)	1 (1.0)	99 (100.0)
Drug use and/or dealing	67 (67.7)	31 (31.3)	1 (1.0)	99 (100.0)
Violent crime	28 (28.3)	68 (68.7)	3 (3.0)	99 (100.0)

Table 17. **Action Taken to Address Problems**

	Yes N/ (%)	No N/ (%)	Don't Know N/ (%)	Total N/ (%)
Contacted the appropriate organization to deal with problem	37 (37.4)	61 (61.6)	1 (1.0)	99 (100.0)
Contacted a local City Councillor or MLA	16 (16.2)	83 (83.8)	0 (0.0)	99 (100.0)
Attended a public meeting to discuss problems	18 (18.2)	81 (81.8)	0 (0.0)	99 (100.0)
Attended a tenants or local residents group meeting	39 (39.4)	60 (60.6)	0 (0.0)	99 (100.0)
Attended a protest meeting or joined an action group	16 (16.2)	83 (83.8)	0 (0.0)	99 (100.0)
Helped organize a petition on a local issue	15 (15.2)	83 (83.8)	1 (1.0)	99 (100.0)
Written to your local newspaper	15 (15.2)	84 (84.8)	0 (0.0)	99 (100.0)

Participation in the IYSC Development Permit Process

As noted earlier in this paper, City officials and Family Services of Greater Vancouver contacted property owners near the IYSC site on three separate occasions to inform them about the development proposal and invite them to public meetings. Table 18 shows the level of awareness in the community about the proposal. When asked if they heard about the proposal, 69.7% said "Yes". The majority heard about the proposal from a neighbour (45.5%).

Table 18.   Awareness of the IYSC Proposal

	Yes N/ (%)	No N/ (%)	Don't Know N/ (%)	Total N/ (%)
Heard about the IYSC proposal	69 (69.7)	27 (27.3)	3 (3.0)	99 (100.0)
Heard about the proposal from a neighbour	45 (45.5)	54 (54.5)	0 (0.0)	99 (100.0)
Saw a sign posted on the site	20 (20.2)	79 (79.8)	0 (0.0)	99 (100.0)
Received a letter from the City or FSGV	35 (35.4)	64 (64.6)	0 (0.0)	99 (100.0)
Read an advertisement about a meeting	10 (10.1)	89 (89.9)	0 (0.0)	99 (100.0)

When asked if they got involved in the public discussion about the proposal, the majority said "No". Of those who did participate in the development permit process, 15.2% said they attended a residents or tenants meeting and 13.1% contacted City Hall to get more information about the proposal.

Table 19. **Participation in the IYSC Development Permit Process**

	Yes N/ (%)	No N/ (%)	Don't Know N/ (%)	Total N/ (%)
Attended a public meeting	8 (8.1)	91 (91.9)	0 (0.0)	99 (100.0)
Attended a residents/tenants	15 (15.2)	84 (84.8)	0 (0.0)	99 (100.0)
Contacted City Hall	13 (13.1)	86 (86.9)	0 (0.0)	99 (100.0)
Contacted a City Councillor or MLA	9 (9.1)	90 (90.9)	0 (0.0)	99 (100.0)

Summary

The descriptive findings recorded here begin to paint a picture of the role of social capital in land use issues. When measured by social trust and voting, social capital ranks high amongst respondents. When measured by civic leadership and community participation, social capital ranks lower, at 27.3% and 25.3% respectively. Participation, when measured by actions taken to address problems, ranks low, except for respondents who contacted others to deal with a problem (37.4%) or who attended a residents or tenants group meeting (39.4%). Finally, with respect to participation in the IYSC development permit process, most respondents were uninvolved, except for some who attended a residents or tenants meeting to discuss the proposal (15.2%) and others who contacted City Hall for more information (13.1%).

4. Analysis

As noted in previous sections, the framework for this study consists of two analytical approaches – qualitative and quantitative. Elite interviews were chosen as a method for determining the extent to which social capital was at play during the case and to test themes for the telephone survey. As such, the output from the interviews shaped the structure of the telephone survey which in turn tested the themes raised during the interviews. Analysis of the interviews and telephone survey results revealed three distinct themes: social capital plays an important role in land use issues; social capital is contextual and social capital can be created. Each theme is presented in more detail here.

Theme #1: Social Capital and Socioeconomic Status Play Important Roles in Citizen Participation

The importance of social capital in decisions made around land use issues became apparent during the elite interviews. The interviews revealed that the amount and type of social capital played an important role in the IYSC proposal and that the relationship was worth exploring in more detail through a telephone survey. The telephone survey revealed that social capital as measured by social trust and voting plays an important role in explaining participation in land use issues and community participation and civic leadership play less of a role. The survey also revealed that income, education and tenure are key indicators of citizen participation in land use issues. All of these variables are examined in more detail here.

Social Trust & Voting

As noted in the Descriptive Findings, social trust and voting were the highest ranking indicators of social capital among telephone survey respondents. Results show that 69.7% of survey respondents felt that most people can be trusted and 75.8% of respondents said they voted in the 2002 municipal election. When measured against participation in the IYSC development permit process, social trust and voting tell us a lot. Table 20 shows that people who reported high social trust were the same people who attended a public meeting about the IYSC proposal (62.5%); attended a residents/tenants meeting about the proposal (53.3%); contacted City Hall to find out more about the proposal (69.2%); and contacted a City Councillor or Member of the Legislative Assembly (MLA) to discuss the proposal (77.7%). Table 20 also shows that people who reported having voted were the same people who attended a public meeting about the IYSC proposal (87.5%); attended a residents/tenants meeting about the proposal (80%); contacted City Hall to find out more about the IYSC proposal (92.3%); and contacted a City Councillor or MLA to discuss the IYSC proposal (88.9%). Together, these indicators of social capital support the hypothesis that social capital in a community is a key consideration in the community's ability to participate in decisions about land use issues.

Table 20. Crosstabulation: Participation in the IYSC Development Permit Process by Social Capital Indicators, Social Trust and Voting

Type of Participation in the IYSC Process	Total N	Trust in Others N/ (%)	Voted in 2002 Election N/ (%)
Attended a public meeting about the IYSC proposal.	8	5 (62.5)	7 (87.5)
Attended a residents/tenants meeting about IYSC proposal.	15	8 (53.3)	12 (80.0)
Contacted City Hall to find out more about the IYSC proposal.	13	9 (69.2)	12 (92.3)
Contacted a City Councillor or MLA about the IYSC proposal.	9	7 (77.7)	8 (88.9)

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Community Participation and Civic Leadership

Also noted in the Descriptive Findings, social capital as measured by community action, community participation and civic leadership scored lower than social trust and voting. Table 13 shows that 25.3% of telephone survey respondents had worked on a community project; 19.2% were members of a community group and 27.3% had served as volunteer board members. While these numbers may appear low, especially when compared to social trust and voting, 19.2% group membership exceeds findings for metropolitan areas of British Columbia by 0.5%, according to the General Social Survey (GSS) conducted by Statistics Canada in 2003[7] (Statistics Canada 2006). This comparison is useful because it validates the findings of the telephone survey, at least for community group membership.

When measured against participation in the IYSC development permit process, social capital as measured by community action, community participation and civic leadership has very little bearing on participation. Table 21 shows that aside from working on a community project, respondents who belonged to a community group or who served as volunteers on a board did not participate in the IYSC development permit process.

So why is there inconsistency between the indicators of social capital and what they tell us about citizen participation in the case of the IYSC? Is it possible for a community to have high social capital as measured by social trust and voting and lower social capital as measured by community participation and civic leadership? Perhaps social trust and voting are inflated and community participation and civic

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[7] The General Social Survey collects data on dimensions of social engagement, including social participation, civic participation, trust and reciprocity. In 2003 the study included a question about membership in a community group. The study found that 18.7% of respondents living in metropolitan areas in BC in 2003 were members of a community group. The GSS did not include questions about working on a community project or volunteering on boards. The data noted in this paper are derived from 2,662 persons living in metropolitan areas in British Columbia in 2003.

leadership tell the true story about social capital and citizen participation in land use issues (i.e. that overall, social capital has very little bearing on participation). A closer look at social trust and voting is required.

Table 21. *Crosstabulation: Participation in the IYSC Development Permit Process by Social Capital Indicators, Community Action, Community Participation and Civic Leadership*

Type of Participation in the IYSC Process	Worked on a Community Project			Member of a Community Group			Served as a Board Member		
	Yes N/ (%)	No N/ (%)	Total N/ (%)	Yes N/ %)	No N/ (%)	Total N/ (%)	Yes N/ (%)	No N/ (%)	Total N/ (%)
Attended a public meeting about the IYSC proposal.	6 (75.0)	2 (25)	8 (100.0)	1 (12.5)	7 (87.5)	8 (100.0)	4 (50.0)	4 (50.0)	8 (100.0)
Attended a residents/tenants meeting about the IYSC proposal.	6 (40.0)	9 (60.0)	15 (100.0)	2 (13.3)	13 (86.6)	15 (100.0)	7 (46.6)	8 (53.3)	15 (100.0)
Contacted City Hall to find out more about the IYSC proposal.	5 (38.5)	8 (61.5)	13 (100.0)	2 (15.4)	11 (84.6)	13 (100.0)	6 (46.2)	7 (53.8)	13 (100.0)
Contacted a City Councillor or MLA about the IYSC proposal.	2 (22.2)	7 (77.7)	9 (100.0)	2 (22.2)	7 (77.7)	9 (100.0)	2 (22.2)	7 (77.7)	9 (100.0)

Social Trust, Voting, and the GSS

When compared to GSS results on social trust and voting, telephone survey respondents in the study area score higher. Table 22 shows that 69.7% of survey respondents in the study area felt that most people can be trusted compared to 60.7% of GSS survey respondents in census metropolitan areas in BC. Table 23 shows that 75.8% of survey respondents in the study area said they voted in the last municipal election compared to 44.2% of GSS survey respondents in census metropolitan areas in BC. According to data published by the City of Vancouver, the actual voter

turnout for Downtown South and the West End was 38.9% and 43.4% respectively (City of Vancouver 2005c).

Table 22.   Social Trust: Study Area and the GSS

	Study Area Social Trust N/ (%)	GSS Social Trust N/ (%)
Most people can be trusted.	69 (69.7)	1616 (60.7)
You can't be too careful.	27 (27.3)	909 (34.1)
Don't know.	3 (3.0)	137 (5.1)
Total	99 (100.0)	2662 (100.0)

Source: Statistics Canada General Social Survey (GSS Cycle 17).

Table 23.   Voting: Study Area and GSS

	Study Area Voting N/ (%)	GSS Voting N/ (%)
Yes	75 (75.8)	1176 (44.2)
No	16 (16.2)	1330 (50.0)
Don't know	8 (8.0)	156 (5.8)
Total	99 (100.0)	2662 (100.0)

Source: Statistics Canada General Social Survey (GSS Cycle 17).

Table 24.   Voter Turnout - 2002 Municipal Election

	Voter Turnout (%)
Downtown South	38.9
West End	43.4

Source: City of Vancouver 2005c.

The comparison of findings with the GSS and actual voter turnout allows deeper questioning of the survey and the results. Is social capital in the West End and Downtown South really as high as the results from the telephone survey suggest?

Certainly the level of social trust is within the range of findings in the GSS, but what about voting? Why did the majority of respondents tell the interviewer that they voted in the last election when we know that less than half the registered voters in the study area cast a ballot? Perhaps the respondents were confused by the question or they lied about voting. Perhaps people who agree to participate in a telephone survey are more likely to trust others and more likely to vote. There are at least two possible explanations.

Thomas Sander, Executive Director of Robert Putnam's Saguaro Seminar at the Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University suggested two reasons for what seem like dubious responses to questions about social trust and electoral political participation. Sander notes that:

> There is a general tendency of respondents to want to agree with a question and not to admit something that they would be embarrassed about. So for example, if you ask 'did you vote last year' or, 'some people vote, some people don't, do you recall whether in 2004 you voted or not?, you get very different responses…[Secondly, Sander notes that] the people most willing to answer phone surveys are also the people who are most engaged and most trusting (since answering survey questionnaires is something without any immediate benefit to the respondent but something he/she does out of a sense that it might benefit the larger community)…. [This explains] why you get an overly rosy view of what your community looks like from the respondents! The problem is that you are hearing from the more civic, more trusting slice of the community, rather than a representative sample of the entire community. (Sander 2006)

While Sander raises some compelling explanations for the respondents' high scores on voting, it is also entirely possible that the survey sampled people in the population with extraordinarily good voting behaviour, compared to the general population. In this view there is no reason to question their honesty or their representativeness.

Other Explanations for Citizen Participation: Income, Education and Tenure

As noted earlier, control variables were included in the telephone survey as a tool for comparison and possible explanation for citizen participation. The sub-hypothesis is that people who have a household income over $50,000 per year, a college degree or who own their home are more likely to participate in land use issues than people with a lower income, less education or who rent their home. Results from the telephone survey show a strong link between variables of socioeconomic status and citizen participation in the IYSC development permit process. Table 25 shows that people with household incomes over $50,000 and people with a college degree were more likely to attend a residents/tenants meeting about the proposal (73.3%;) and contact City Hall to find out more about the proposal (69.2% and 76.9% respectively). Table 25 also shows that people who owned their home were more likely to attend a public meeting (62.5%); attend a residents/tenants meeting (66.6%); contact City Hall (69.2%) and contact a City Councillor or MLA (77.8%). Together these variables demonstrate that socioeconomic status plays an important role in explaining citizen participation in the IYSC development permit process.

Table 25. ***Crosstabulation: Participation in the IYSC Development Permit Process by Income, Education & Tenure***

	Total N	Income >$50,000 N/ (%)	College Degree+ N/ (%)	Owner N/ (%)
Attended a public meeting about the IYSC proposal.	8	3 (37.5)	5 (62.5)	5 (62.5)
Attended a residents/tenants meeting about the IYSC proposal.	15	11 (73.3)	11 (73.3)	10 (66.6)
Contacted City Hall to find out more about the IYSC proposal.	13	9 (69.2)	10 (76.9)	9 (69.2)
Contacted a City Councillor or MLA about the IYSC proposal.	9	4 (44.4)	5 (55.5)	7 (77.8)

Clearly, citizen participation in the IYSC development permit process was influenced by a combination of variables. The variable that ranks the highest in all four categories of participation in the IYSC process is the respondent's voting behaviour, followed by education, social trust, home ownership and income. Social capital indicators of community participation and civic leadership were the least likely to predict citizen participation in the IYSC.

Theme #2:   Social Capital is Contextual

According to the data gathered through the interviews and the telephone survey, social capital not only differs by amount and type, but also by the setting in which it occurs. This notion is supported in the literature by Edwards and Foley who claim that Robert Putnam's context-independent theory oversimplifies social capital by operationalizing it as membership and thereby making it easy to measure in a wide variety of settings (Edwards and Foley 1997, 670). The authors argue that when social capital is viewed as context-dependent it becomes apparent that access to social capital is not equal and the value of social capital is nested in social sectors (Edwards and Foley 1997, 672). They note that "the uneven access to social capital across societies points to the risks of social analysis that focuses on social capital while ignoring the larger socioeconomic and political context in which social capital is set" (Edwards and Foley 1997, 674). For Edwards and Foley, the context of social capital is a key consideration in understanding its function.

Communities of Difference

Early in the interview process interviewees commented on a noticeable difference between the socioeconomic context of Downtown South and the West End. Many of the interviewees viewed Downtown South as home to an older, affluent and disconnected population. One of the interviewees noted: "many of the people living in high-rise towers in Downtown South are retirees who moved to the

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area from single-family neighbourhoods and have very different ideas about the place of social services in a community". The same interviewee commented, "there is no community in Downtown South, only individual property owners of luxury condos" (P3). Another interviewee characterized development activity in Downtown South as "the stratafication of the neighbourhood" (C2). By comparison, the West End was viewed by some of the interviewees as a more diverse, inclusive, hospitable and connected community (C2, P3).

Data collected from the telephone survey confirmed some of the observations made by the interviewees. Residents in Downtown South had higher incomes, higher levels of education and higher rates of home ownership than people living in the West End. Table 26 shows that 73.1% of Downtown South residents had an annual household income over $50,000, compared to 27.7% of West End residents. Table 27 shows that 80.8% of Downtown South residents had a college education, compared to 51.2% of West End residents. Downtown South residents also had a higher level of home ownership compared to the West End (Table 28).

Table 26.   Household Income by Neighbourhood

	< $50,000/yr N/ (%)	> $50,000/yr N/ (%)	Don't Know N/ (%)	Total N/ (%)
Downtown South	7 (13.5)	38 (73.1)	7 (13.5)	52 (100.0)
West End	25 (53.2)	13 (27.7)	9 (19.2)	47 (100.0)
Total	32	51	16	99

Table 27.   Education by Neighbourhood

	< College N/ (%)	College+ N/ (%)	Don't Know N/ (%)	Total N/ (%)
Downtown South	9 (17.3)	42 (80.8)	1 (1.9)	52 (100.0)
West End	20 (42.6)	243 (51.2)	3 (6.4)	47 (100.0)
Total	29	66	4	99

Table 28. **Tenure by Neighbourhood**

	Own N/ (%)	Rent N/ (%)	Don't Know N/ (%)	Total N /(%)
Downtown South	34 (65.4)	15 (28.8)	3 (5.8)	52 (100.0)
West End	10 (21.3)	35 (74.5)	2 (4.3)	47 (100.0)
Total	44	50	5	99

Social Capital in Its Context

With respect to social capital, some of the interviewees felt strongly that the two communities differed significantly by the amount and type of social capital. They felt that Downtown South had less associational activity and the West End had more. Interviewees noted that there were relatively few groups or associations active in Downtown South prior to the IYSC proposal. After the IYSC proposal was announced, property-owners' associations and strata councils convened around issues relating to the IYSC proposal (P3). Many of the groups communicated via email and web sites for the duration of the IYSC process and then disbanded following the decision by the Development Permit Board (C3, P1, P3). The West End, by comparison, had a healthy stock of community groups and associations working on a variety of common objectives prior to the IYSC process. According to interviewees, community groups from the West End that participated in the IYSC process were looking for ways to improve their community and bridge social capital. For the West End Residents Association, West End Integrated Neighbourhood Network and West End Citizens Action Committee, the IYSC's Community Advisory Committee was one more group with which to connect (P1). Strata councils, on the other hand, were there to make sure that the IYSC did not fit in or make connections in the community. Strata councils did not want the IYSC to be seen or felt (P2). According to one interviewee, if the site for the IYSC had been located further east, entrenched in Downtown South territory, the proposal would likely not have been approved by

the Development Permit Board. The proposal passed because of the support of community groups and individuals in the West End (P3).

Data collected from the telephone survey confirm the interviewees' observations about associational activity in Downtown South and the West End. Table 29 shows that 27.7% of West End residents were members of a community group or association, compared to 11.5% of Downtown South residents. With respect to involvement in residents' meetings, Table 30 shows that 52% of Downtown South residents attended a residents meeting in the twelve months prior to the survey, compared to 25.5 % of West End residents. Since we know that 65.4% of Downtown South residents own their home and since the majority of homes in the neighbourhood are subject to strata title arrangements[8] , we can safely assume that some of the 52% who attended a residents meeting were attending some type of strata council meeting.

Table 29.   Member of a Community Group or Association

	Yes N/(%)	No N/(%)	Don't Know N/(%)	Total N/(%)
Downtown South	6 (11.5)	46 (88.5)	0	52 (100.0)
West End	13 (27.7)	33 (70.2)	1 (2.1%)	47 (100.0)
Total	19	79	1	99

Table 30.   Attended a Tenants/Residents Meeting to Discuss Neighbourhood Problems

	Yes N/(%)	No N/(%)	Total N/(%)
Downtown South	27 (52.0)	25 (48.0)	52 (100.0)
West End	12 (25.5)	35 (74.5)	47 (100.0)
Total	39	60	99

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8   In 2005, 71% of homes in Downtown South were freehold condominiums and required by law to have strata councils as per the BC Condominium Act. The balance was a combination of market rental, non-market and special needs facilities (City of Vancouver 2005b).

Downtown South residents were also more likely to attend a residents meeting about the IYSC proposal than West End residents. Table 31 shows that of 75% of Downtown South residents who were aware of the proposal to construct a youth services centre in their neighbourhood, 21.2% attended a residents meeting to learn more about the proposal. Again, because the majority of residents living in Downtown South own their home we can assume that some of the 21.2% attended some type of strata council meeting.

Table 31. *Attended a Tenants/Residents Meeting to Find Out More about the IYSC Proposal*

	Yes N/ (%)	No N/ (%)	Don't Know N/ (%)	Total N/ (%)
Downtown South	11 (21.2)	27 (51.9)	14 (26.9)	52
West End	4 (8.5)	26 (55.3)	17 (36.2)	47
Total	15	53	31	99

When social trust, community participation and associational activity are viewed in a larger socioeconomic context it becomes apparent that what constitutes social capital in one neighbourhood does not necessarily constitute it in another and that the value of social capital is linked to the social sectors in which it is nested (Edwards and Foley 1997). According to the data gathered through the interviews and the telephone survey, social capital in Downtown South is characterized by associational activity in property owners' associations and strata councils while social capital in the West End is characterized by associational activity in community groups.

Theme #3:   Social Capital Can Be Created

The notion that social capital can be created was raised by interviewees in the context of the formation of the Community Advisory Committee (CAC). Some of the interviewees claimed that the IYSC proposal was ultimately approved by the Development Permit Board not only because of the support from associations in the West End, but how that support was put to use through the CAC (C3, P1).

The formation of the CAC, as noted in the Methodology section, was a condition of permit approval imposed on the applicant, Family Services of Greater Vancouver, by the Development Permit Board. The CAC was comprised of representatives from the City of Vancouver, Family Services, local businesses, residents associations, community associations and youth associations. Their mandate was to develop a Management Plan, including operating parameters for the IYSC, plans for managing issues raised by local residents and businesses and a mechanism for resolving disputes (City of Vancouver 2004). According to one of the interviewees, "There were a lot of innovative ideas proposed around the CAC table, including ideas like mixed use, (sharing the IYSC space with office space), to reduce the fear of street youth. The CAC process was exciting and should be a model for public consultation" (C3).

The notion that social capital can be created by local authorities is supported in the literature by several authors (Lowndes and Wilson 2001; Maloney et al. 2000; Hibbitt et al. 2001). Vivian Lowndes and David Wilson claim that Putnam's "society-centered" approach undervalues the role of local authorities in creating and sustaining social capital (Lowndes and Wilson 2001, 629). They argue that while local authorities are affected by social capital from the bottom up, authorities are also an important influence on social capital, from the top down. Lowndes notes that local government can influence the creation of social capital by shaping the conditions for social organization to thrive – or not (Lowndes and Wilson 2001, 631).

Maloney and Smith argue that Putnam's "bottom-up" perspective neglects the key role played by institutions in shaping associational activity and the creation of social capital. As an alternative the authors present a "top-down" perspective that highlights the importance of local authorities in influencing the development of social capital and creating civic vibrancy (Maloney et al. 2000). They note: "research on social capital should not only focus on the effect of community-level social capital on government performance, but also the effect of government-associational relationships on social capital" (Maloney et al. 2000, 817).

The underlying theme in much of the literature supporting the "top down" perspective is the importance of 'bridging social capital' that enables people from diverse backgrounds to access structures of power, namely government (Hutchinson and Vidal 2004, 156). According to Briggs, "formal organizational ties such as those among non-profit groups and between those groups and government, are also vitally important, especially in accomplishing specific goals" (Briggs, cited in Hutchinson and Vidal 2004, 156).

Certainly the structure of the CAC has the basic elements for social capital to thrive. The fact that it was created by local government is a noteworthy departure from traditional public consultation that relies on one-way communication between citizens and government (Innes and Booher 2004). The effectiveness of the CAC and its value as a model for public consultation, however, has yet to be determined. Its success will depend, in part, on its ability to develop 'bridging social capital' and link it to decision making. The success of the CAC in determining if social capital becomes a resource in a two-way relationship will also depend on what Lowndes calls "responsive demand". The 'supply' of social capital from the bottom up must be met by an equivalent 'demand' from the local institutions and agencies (Lowndes and Wilson 2001, 638). Foley and Edwards note that "when the state is unresponsive, its institutions are undemocratic, or its democracy ill-designed to recognize and respond to citizens demands, the character of collective action will be decidedly different than

under a strong and democratic system" (Foley and Edwards, cited in Lowndes and Wilson 2001, 638).

Summary

The three themes that emerged through the interviews and telephone survey and the results from both types of analysis reveal some interesting, and at times, conflicting findings about the role of social capital in the IYSC development permit process.

Explanations borne out by the interviewees suggest that social capital in the form of associational activity played a key role in the IYSC process. Interviewees claimed that groups and associations from both Downtown South and the West End affected the outcome of the IYSC process significantly. Results from the telephone survey, however, suggest very limited involvement in the IYSC process by people with associational ties. One explanation for the inconsistency between what the interviewees experienced and what the telephone survey found is the level of interest in the IYSC proposal itself. It's quite possible that the people involved in the IYSC proposal were involved because they had a keen interest in street youth issues. The telephone survey respondents with associational ties who said they didn't get involved in the IYSC process may not have been interested in youth issues. A different type of development proposal may have attracted this group of people and their capital. Further research is needed to determine if interest in a development proposal is a pre-requisite for participation. It may be that interest is closely tied to a participant's immediate concerns and needs such as health and well-being in the context of the relocation of St. Paul's Hospital, for example (Harrison 2006).

Further explanations borne out by interviews suggest that associational activity in Downtown South and the West End was strengthened through the IYSC process through the formation of new groups and bridging of existing groups. Interviewees suggested that social capital was used by new and existing groups to promote

cooperation toward positive outcomes as well as negative outcomes. Interviewees claimed that community groups and associations in the West End supported the IYSC proposal and facilitated the process while strata councils in Downtown South sought to prevent the proposal. The telephone survey substantiated the high level of involvement in the IYSC of Downtown South residents, especially at residents meetings. Both types of analysis point to the need for more research on how individuals use their social capital for facilitative or preventive purposes.

And finally, explanations borne out by interviewees suggest that government has a role in the creation of social capital through the formation of a structure that enables social organization to develop and grow. More research is needed to determine what constitutes a more democratic, responsive and inclusive structure and what conditions favour the creation and mobilizations of social networks for positive collective action in the context of land use planning.

5. Conclusion

The findings from this study enable us to draw several conclusions about the role of social capital in citizen participation. Firstly, not all social capital leads to citizen participation in land use issues. The level of interest an individual has in the type of land use issue may be a possible factor that needs closer study. Secondly, what constitutes social capital in one social sector, or neighbourhood, may not constitute it in another. Residents involved in land use issues in one neighbourhood may have entirely different objectives and desired outcomes from those in another neighbourhood. Furthermore, they may use their social capital for very different purposes – both constructive and destructive. Thirdly, local governments, including planning authorities, have a role to play in influencing the creation of social capital by shaping conditions for social organization to develop and grow. And finally, part of the findings of this research project point to the challenges and considerations that one must take into account when studying social capital. In this context, much more research is required on the role of social capital in land use planning, specifically on the use of social capital for facilitative and preventive purposes, before we can determine the extent to which social capital influences land use planning.

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Appendices

Appendix A. Facility Management Plan

Youth Services Centre in
Downtown South

Working towards a safer, stronger community.

Facility Management Plan[9]

I. Overview

Family Services of Greater Vancouver (FSGV) is a not-for-profit organization dedicated to strengthening people, families, and communities. We provide a diverse range of professional support and counselling services to those who are experiencing challenges in their lives. FSGV provides services at 24 locations throughout Vancouver, Burnaby, New Westminster, Richmond, and Surrey.

Neighbours have expressed concern about the prevalence of homeless youth on the streets of Vancouver. FSGV has been granted a development permit to develop a Youth Services Centre (The Centre) at 1134 Burrard St.

We are part of a solution to help these youth return to their families and home communities. The Centre is one of four youth 'hubs' designated by the Ministry for Children and Families (MCFD). Other youth 'hubs' are located in the north, centre and south areas of the city. FSGV also operates a Safe House and Detox program outside of the Downtown South area, as well as a variety of services for families and youth across the City.

The Facility Management Plan for the Centre at 1134 Burrard St provides an overview of FSGV's commitment to operating a centre of excellence for youth in the community. This is the beginning of a new process and we look forward to working with the community to best respond to community needs.

As part of the community, the Facility Management Plan outlines the basic operating parameters for the Centre and addresses how the Centre will manage the areas of concern that have been raised by the community.

II. Goals of the Youth Services Centre

FSGV is committed to working closely with the community toward the effective delivery of services to youth, in order to achieve the following goals:

- To be a centre of excellence for youth
- To promote the health and well-being of youth

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[9] http://www.fsgv.ca/programpages/youthservices/integratedyouthcentre/youthservicescentre-proposedfacility.html.

- To assist youth to exit high risk circumstances through safe, accessible, effective services for youth
- To assist youth to obtain stable and safe accommodation
- To assist youth to achieve life skills necessary for independent living
- To assist youth to integrate into the community and to become active participants in a civil society
- To reconnect youth with their families and home communities, where appropriate·

III. Youth Services Centre Programs

Hours of Operation

- The Youth Services Centre is open and providing services for youth 24-hours-a-day, seven-days-a-week.

Staffing

- The reception area is staffed 24-hours-a-day, seven-days-a-week.
- Reception personnel is responsible for intake procedures for youth, monitoring security cameras, working within the security plan, and coordinating staff patrols of the exterior front of the Centre and key weather-protected public areas in the front of adjacent buildings (the Burrard Medical Centre building and the Burrard Motor Inn building).
- At all times, a member of staff is designated to expedite the admission of youth to prevent outside queuing.
- All staff members are trained in the Centre's established risk management procedures.
- All staff members are oriented to protocols within the management plan, including responsiveness to community concerns.
- The staff to client ratio meets best practice standards and is constantly evaluated to ensure these standards are maintained. In the event of a significant change in the number of clients accessing the centre, staffing levels will be adjusted by management accordingly.

Core Services

Day Resource Centre	Available to youth under 18 years of age. Services provided include: access to housing support workers; life skills support and programming; counselling; assistance in accessing community services (i.e. health and mental health assessment and support, drug and alcohol intervention, shelter services and MCFD).
Night Resource Centre	Available to youth under 21 years of age. Provides a safe space, laundry facilities, hot meals, showers, clothing, toiletries, one-to-one counselling and referral and access to health services, including a doctor and a nurse.
After Hours Crisis Response Service	Available to youth under 21 years who need immediate assistance from social services or police and for youth who need a safe place to be while waiting for daytime community services to open.
Youth Employment Program	Available to youth 15-24 years of age. This program offers a range of employment opportunities for street involved youth through government and private sector funding. Presently, this program provides the community with needle pick up and graffiti removal.

School	Available to youth 13-18 years of age. This is a joint program with the Vancouver School Board. Students work at their own pace toward high school completion. Staff work to assist youth in accessing all other education services available to them, including integration back into regular high school. The program also offers a vocational and life skills component.
Housing Support	Available to youth under 18 years of age. Additional services available for youth aged 18 – 24. Youth can make an appointment to access a housing worker who will assist them in securing safe/affordable housing. Housing workers work closely with the MCFD and MHR and assist youth with life skills development necessary to maintain housing, as well as any other resource planning required. Housing workers liaise with landlords and make others aware of safe and unsafe housing resources in the city.
Outreach Services	Available to youth under 18 years of age. Additional services available for youth aged 18 – 24. Outreach workers identify new youth on the streets of Vancouver; assist youth at risk in immediately accessing services such as health, mental health, MCFD or police; return youth to home or home community; and coordinating a response with others. Outreach workers will assist the Centre to ensure that youth do no loiter outside the centre. Outreach staff will work closely with police to ensure safety for clients who wish to access the centre as well as for community members.
Victim Service Workers	Available to youth under 18 years of age. Victim Service workers assist youth who are victims of violence to access resources, report a crime to police, and prepare for court.
Reception	The reception area of the centre will be staffed 24/7 and works in partnership with the day, night and crisis response resource. Staff in reception will be able to monitor the outside areas of the building and will process youth wishing to access centre services.

IV. Community Liaison

Youth Services Centre Contact Information

The Director of Youth Services, as the designated community liaison, is responsible for addressing any issues related to the ongoing operation of the centre. Her contact information is as follows:

Name: Renata Aebi, Director of Youth & Employment Services
Phone: 604.631.1472
Mail: Youth Services Centre - Family Services of Greater Vancouver 1134 Burrard Street, Vancouver, BC V6Z 1Y7

The contact number for the Centre is provided on signage in a visible location on the outside of the Centre. Any member of the community that has a question or concern regarding the Centre can contact the Centre, 24-hours-a-day, 7-days-a-week.

V. Community Advisory Committee

The Youth Services Centre Community Advisory Committee (the Centre CAC) is a group of concerned public citizens formed to work with the Centre. It is an advisory group, not a decision-

making body, which fulfills its purposes by being solution-focussed and responsive to community concerns. Members operate in agreement with Terms of Reference established by the committee.

The purposes of this group are to:

1. Provide support to the Centre in its commitment to meeting its goals;
2. Address the impact of the Centre on the community and provide input to address these concerns;
3. Review the Centre's response to complaints;
4. Act as a liaison between the Centre and the neighbourhood.

Membership on the Centre CAC is capped at a maximum of 19 members. Where appropriate, specialists may be invited to participate in meetings to address specific agenda items. Membership is to be determined based on the neighbourhood organizations' proximity to the Centre, the number of neighbours represented by the member, and active participation in the community workshops held from Jan 24 – Mar 14, 2005. Membership comprises the following organizations; with each responsible for the selection of individuals to the committee.

1. Family Services of Greater Vancouver Representation (2)

- Director of Youth Services Centre (1)
- Board Member (1)

2. City of Vancouver Representation (2)

- Department of Social Planning (1)
- Vancouver Police Department (1)

3. Community Representation (15)

Businesses and/or Business Associations (5)

- Downtown Vancouver Business Improvement Association (1 + alternate)
- Davie Village Business Improvement Association (1 + alternate)
- Burrard Motor Inn (1 + alternate)
- Burrard Medical Centre (1 + alternate)
- Sheraton Wall Centre Hotel (1 + alternate)

Property owners/residents/resident associations/community associations (8)

- One Wall Centre Strata Council (1 + alternate)
- The Suites at Wall Centre Strata Council (1 + alternate)
- London Place Strata Council (1 + alternate)
- Strata Representation – South of Davie (1 + alternate)
- West End Citizen's Action Network (1 + alternate)
- West End Resident's Association (1 + alternate)
- West End Integrated Neighbourhood Network (WEINN) (1 + alternate)
- Seniors' association (1 + alternate)

Youth and/or Youth Associations (2)

- Representative from FSGV Youth Advisory Committee (1 + alternate)
- Representative from Child and Youth Advocate's office (1 + alternate)

VI. Management Protocols

FSGV is committed to the following management protocols to reduce the potential for harm or nuisance to individuals and property from the operation of the Centre and, where necessary, to take appropriate actions to address problems within its control. For the purposes of this management plan, FSGV has defined the area of "neighbouring", "nearby", and "adjacent" buildings to refer to the areas in front of the Burrard Motor Inn (1100 Burrard) and Burrard Health Centre (1144 & 1166 Burrard) and the perimeter of the Youth Services Centre at 1134 Burrard to refer to the front and rear of the building.

Behavioural Expectations of Clients

FSGV staff communicates the Centre's policies verbally and through signage in the Centre that clearly lays out a code of conduct expected from youth when accessing services inside the Centre. Individuals who do not abide by the code of conduct are not permitted access to services in the Centre and are connected to services more appropriate for them. FSGV staff follows an established set of risk management procedures.

The following behaviour/actions outside the perimeter of the Centre and in front of adjacent buildings will not be tolerated:

1. Any display of violence towards others;
2. Causing damage to the Centre building or front of adjacent properties;
3. Dealing, use, or possession of drugs or alcohol in or around the Centre, or in front of the adjacent buildings. Any drugs confiscated will be turned over to police. (Note: Youth will be permitted access to the Centre when under the influence of drugs and alcohol, but are not permitted to exhibit behaviours that could be perceived as a threat to others).
4. Stealing from others;
5. Sexual harassment or assault of others;
6. Verbal harassment of others through racial or gender-biased slurs;
7. Engaging in criminal activities in or around the Centre building, or in front of the adjacent buildings; or
8. Using the centre to recruit others into criminal activities.

Safety and Security

As part of its commitment to operating a centre of excellence, FSGV has established the following set of protocols to ensure the safety and security of youth, staff, and the community. In case of immediate danger inside or outside of the centre, 9-1-1 will be called.

1. **Interior Security:** FSGV will maintain the internal security of the centre through architectural design elements which support security such as: the central reception area with double door entry way; interior locking systems; panic button; security cameras; and a pull down capacity for the Centre that will reduce interior space usage for clients, as needed.

2. **Exterior Perimeter Security:** FSGV will monitor activities around the perimeter of the Centre through the use of staff monitored security cameras and staff patrols.

3. **Coordinated Neighbourhood Security:** Prior to opening the Centre, FSGV will seek to coordinate its own security efforts with the local business improvement associations, Vancouver Police Department, and security companies of neighbouring buildings. FSGV may implement further security measures beyond those identified in this plan to respond to emerging issues. The security plan will be reviewed semi-annually.

4. **Police Liaison:** The Vancouver Police Department will provide ongoing support to the Centre through a police liaison, a mental health/police response car and their 911 system for volatile and threatening individuals.

5. **Criminal Activity:** FSGV will take appropriate action to intercede in cases of vandalism or other criminal activity, up to and including reporting the incident to police.

6. **Harmful Waste Management:** FSGV will monitor the exterior perimeter of the Centre for harmful waste (syringes, needles, condoms, human & animal waste) and ensure that any harmful waste will be immediately removed and disposed of safely.

Nuisances

As part of its commitment to operating a centre of excellence, FSGV has established the following set of protocols to reduce the potential for nuisance to the community:

1. **Loitering:**

- Process for youth admittance: Prior to being admitted to the building, youth will be screened for age and program qualification by staff at a 24-hour reception area immediately inside of the front doors, to prevent queuing outside the Centre. Qualified youth will check in at the reception area and will be required to sign in for their program. The only entry point for youth into the building will be from Burrard Street. Youth may not access the building from the back entrance.
- Dealing with non-qualifying individuals: Those individuals who do not qualify for the services of the Centre will be provided with resource information to connect them to other services more appropriate for their needs. Examples of such services include: health, mental health, and addiction services, services for over age homeless individuals, and other government resources.
- FSGV staff will communicate to the youth participants of the services, verbally and through signage, that the centre does not permit loitering around the Centre building and/or in front of the adjacent buildings.
- A member of staff will observe on a regular basis any loitering outside of the doorways and will ask people to move on or bring them into the Centre, as appropriate.

2. **Litter:** The Centre will ensure that any garbage around the Centre building will be removed in a timely manner.

3. **Shopping carts & personal effects:** Youth coming to the Centre will be discouraged from bringing shopping carts. However, personal items, including shopping carts, will not be permitted to be left outside of the building; thus space has been allocated inside the Centre for shopping carts, when necessary.

4. **Pets:** Pets will not be permitted to be left outside of the building. Pets will be kennelled inside the facility.

5. **Noise:** The Centre staff will ask for a commitment from participants to respect the neighbourhood when accessing the services of the Centre. This will include requesting that noise levels be kept to a minimum when accessing the Centre at night. This will be done verbally and through signage in the Centre that clearly lays out the code of conduct expected inside the Centre as well as around the Centre building and in front of the adjacent buildings.

6. **Disturbance:** The Centre staff will follow established procedures to deal with any individual causing a disturbance to the Centre or to adjacent neighbours.

7. **Smoking:** Youth will only be permitted to smoke in the designated, ventilated smoking room while inside the Centre.

8. **Garbage:** Garbage containers at the rear of the Centre will be contained behind a fence and locked. FSGV will maintain an orderly and tidy appearance to the street frontage and rear of the building.

9. **Graffiti:** The Centre will ensure that any graffiti on the Centre building will be removed in a timely manner.

10. **Panhandling:** Panhandling will be discouraged by inviting youth into the Centre and asking non-qualifying individuals to move on.

VII. Community Responsiveness

FSGV will ensure that careful consideration be given to any concerns or issues expressed by members of the community about the Centre, and will take appropriate actions to address problems within its control.

The goal of being responsive to the community is to ensure, as much as possible, that the community has positive and helpful experiences with the Centre. The secondary goal is to ensure that continuous quality improvement issues are made evident, so that they can be addressed.

Community issues regarding safety and security:

Any situation that affects the safety and security of youth, staff, or a member of the community will be dealt with immediately, following the protocols set out in the "Safety and Security" section of this document. The procedures below will be followed to address community concerns:

1. When a complaint comes in, reception will forward the concern to the appropriate on-duty supervisor and the question or concern will be acknowledged with a rapid response.
2. In cases where staff cannot respond to the question or concern to the satisfaction of the individual, the issue will be brought to the Director of the Youth Services Centre to address.
3. In most cases, the Centre management should be able to resolve the issue to the satisfaction of the individual. Where the issue is not resolved satisfactorily, the individual has the option of launching a complaint, following the issue resolution process outlined in Section VIII.

Community issues regarding nuisances:

The Centre will be proactive in policies and procedures that will reduce or minimize nuisances. Staff will follow the protocols set out in the "Nuisances" section of this document. The procedures below will be followed to address community concerns:

1. When a complaint comes in, reception will forward the concern to the appropriate on-duty supervisor and the question or concern will be acknowledged as immediately as possible.
2. In cases where staff cannot respond to the question or concern to the satisfaction of the individual, the issue will be brought to the Director of the Youth Services Centre to address.
3. In most cases, the Centre management should be able to resolve the issue to the satisfaction of the individual. Where the issue is not resolved satisfactorily, the individual has the option of launching a complaint, following the issue resolution process outlined in Section VIII.

VIII. Issue Resolution Process

In addition to the preceding protocols to address issues regarding safety & security and nuisances, occasionally, there may be other types of concerns that arise from members of the community. While the intent is to address these concerns through dialogue, if the individual feels the situation warrants an official complaint, FSGV has an established issue resolution mechanism to ensure that an objective and thorough response is provided.

1. An individual wishing to make a formal complaint should do so in writing to the Centre Director within 30 days of the situation that resulted in the complaint. The Centre staff will log all concerns that reach this level and will be reported to the Centre CAC at each advisory committee meeting.

2. The Director, or appropriate designate, will confer with the individual as to how the complaint is to be addressed, and the individual will be informed as to the action to be taken regarding the complaint, within 15 days of the written statement.

3. If the individual is not sufficiently satisfied as to the outcome of this procedure, they may write to the Executive Director of Family Services and should do so within 15 days of being notified of the outcome of the initial dispute procedure.

4. The Executive Director will inform the individual, in writing, of the response to the complaint, within 15 days of the receipt of the letter.

5. If the individual is not sufficiently satisfied, the complaint can be brought to the attention of the FSGV Board of Directors.

6. All complaints will be brought to the attention of the CAC, who may then recommend further action to resolve the issue.

IX. Annual Reporting

Upon the completion of each fiscal year (year end, March 31), Family Services of Greater Vancouver will submit a program review to the Director of Social Planning which will contain the goals and outcomes of the Youth Services Centre as well as a reporting of significant issues, challenges, and trends.

Appendix B.   Elite Interview Guide

ELITE INTERVIEW GUIDE

Public Participation in Land Use Planning: What is the Role of Social Capital?

July 2005

Introduction

Potential Interviewees

Participants were selected based on their involvement in the proposal for a Youth Services Centre at 1134 Burrard Street, the case study.

Checklist - Topics of Interest

The purpose of this checklist is to provide the interviewer with memory prompts of areas that need to be covered in the interview. The sample questions may or may not be used, depending on the flow of conversation.

Introduction

Thank you for setting aside time to meet with me to discuss the Youth Services Centre proposal.

This interview is completely voluntary and confidential. Please be assured that any information that is obtained during this study will be kept confidential. Knowledge of your identity is not required. You will not be required to write your name or any other identifying information on research materials. Materials will be maintained in a secure location.

(Ask participant to sign Form 2: "Informed Consent".)

If I come to any question that you would prefer not to answer, just let me know and I'll skip over it.

The purpose of my research is to determine if community connectedness has any bearing on citizen participation in decisions about land use. I chose the YSC proposal as a case study for several reasons: its proximity to residential and commercial land uses; it was processed in the past year (i.e. easier for people to recall details about the case); and it appeared to generate some interest in the local community.

As a (key stakeholder, facilitator, community representative...), your account of the process is important as it helps to complete the story of the development permit process and (hopefully) help explain community reaction towards this application.

Background Questions

What is your job title?

What are the responsibilities of a .... ?

How long have you been with...?

What has your role been in this process?

Topic: The Youth Services Centre Proposal

Why is this proposal important to you (your group)?

What individuals, groups or organizations form your membership?

Why are you (your group) interested in the Youth Services Centre proposal?

How did people in the community respond to this proposal? Why? What were their concerns? Was the reaction unique in any way? Explain.

Do you think the reaction is unique to residential property owners?

What type of reaction did you expect local residents would have towards this proposal? Were you surprised at their reaction?

Did their reaction cause you to behave differently

Did this proposal draw more attention (than other development proposals) from the local community? Why? What is it about this proposal that raised its profile in the community? (Is it a youth issue?)

Were the concerns raised by people who attended meetings representative of the community?

Why are you interested in the outcome of this proposal?

Topic: Youth

What was the relationship like between Dawn to Dusk and the neighbourhood?

How, generally did the development proposal for the YSC affect the community?

Why did this proposal draw the attention of individuals and groups in the community? (Is it a youth issue – what's the perception?) Whose attention did it draw? (Who didn't pay attention to this?)

Topic: Social Capital

Have you heard of the term "social capital"? (If not, explain the term.)

Is it at work in this community?

Was it a factor in community participation in the YSC proposal?

Did it benefit the process?

Have you ever thought about social capital as having a negative influence on a process like this?

Topic: 'Bonding' and 'Bridging' Social Capital

How involved did you get in the development permit process?

(Bonding Social Capital)...

Did you inform/update/discuss the proposal with your neighbours (group, membership/stakeholders)?

(Bridging Social Capital)...

Who/What groups were your main allies in getting involved?

Topic: Public Participation

What are the top reasons you think some individuals and/or groups get involved in land use planning and others don't?

Is it because... they're concerned about how the change might affect them directly (e.g. their property values)?

Close:

If you had an opportunity to ask residents about the development proposal (telephone survey) – what would you ask?

Who would you recommend I speak to about community interest and involvement in the YSC process?

Thank you for your time!

Please note that any information resulting from this survey will be kept strictly confidential and your comments will be kept completely anonymous.

If you have questions or require further information about this study (including a copy of the study results), you can contact Catherine Buckham at 778-885-2443 (cell) or via email at cabuckha@sfu.ca

Appendix C.   Telephone Survey

Telephone Survey

Participation in Land Use Planning: What is the Role of Social Capital?

July 2005

Intro/Screener

Hello, my name is _____ and I'm a researcher calling from Simon Fraser University. I'm calling people who live near the West End to invite them to participate in a research project on 'building stronger communities'.

May I please speak to a person in this household, who is 19 years of age or over?

SELF [INTERVIEWER: Skip to Q #1]

SOMEONE ELSE [INTERVIEWER: Ask to speak to that person. If that person is not home, ask when might be a good time to reach him or her. If that person is home and you speak to him/her, then repeat the introduction above and continue.]

We would like you to be involved in the research by completing a telephone survey.[10] The survey takes about 10 minutes to complete.

Please be assured we are not selling or soliciting anything and any information that is obtained during this study will be kept confidential to the full extent permitted by the law. Knowledge of your identity is not required. You will not be required to provide your name or any other identifying information. Materials will be maintained in a secure location.

Persuaders—only if needed:

- This is strictly an opinion survey; we are not selling or soliciting anything.
- Your number was selected at random for participation in this research.

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[10] The telephone survey used in this study is based on the Social Capital Community Benchmark Survey (2000) developed by the Saguaro Seminar at John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University and the Social Capital Question Bank (2002), developed by the Office of National Statistics in the United Kingdom.

- All responses are strictly confidential and anonymous; your identity is never revealed to anyone else.

This interview is completely voluntary and confidential.

Would you like to participate in this survey?

YES

NO

[INTERVIEWER: If '**yes**',... complete the following after the interview]

Postal code	Phone #	Name	Address

Gender [OBSERVE & RECORD]

Q1   [1] Male

[2] Female

[3] Unknown

If I come to any question that you would prefer not to answer, just let me know and I'll skip over it.

Trust

We'd like to ask you some questions about how you view other people and groups.

Q2   Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?

[1] Most people can be trusted

[2] You can't be too careful

[3] (VOLUNTEERED) "Depends"

[8] Don't know

[9] Refused to answer

Q3   Next, we'd like to know how much you trust different groups of people. On a scale of 1-4; 1 being 'trust a lot' and 4 being 'no trust', how much do you trust the teenagers in your community?

[1] Trust them a lot

[2] Trust them some

[3] Trust them only a little

[4] Trust them not at all

[8] Don't know

[9] Refused to answer

Q4   Do you think you can trust the local government to do what is right –
just about always, most of the time, only some of the time, or hardly
ever? [INTERVIEWER: If respondent asks for clarification of 'local
government', say .. "the Mayor and City Council".]

[1] Just about always

[2] Most of the time

[3] Some of the time

[4] Hardly ever

[8] Don't know

[9] Refused to answer

Interest in Civic Affairs

My next questions are about civic affairs.

Q5   How interested are you in civic affairs,... very interested, somewhat,..
slightly..? [INTERVIEWER: If respondent asks for clarification of 'civic
affairs' say, for example, issues that get debated in public and
reported in the local news, like the debate over dogs in parks, the RAV
line or, or the debate over Wal Mart.

Q6   How interested are you in discussions and debate about development
proposals,... very interested, somewhat,.. slightly.. or not at all?

[INTERVIEWER: For example, Providence Health Care's proposal to
relocate St. Paul's Hospital to False Creek Flats.]

		Very interested	Somewhat interested	Only slightly interested	Not interested at all	[If volunteered] 'only when...'	Don't know	Refused to answer
Q 5	How interested are you in civic affairs?	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
Q 6	How interested are you in discussions about development proposals?	1	2	3	4	5	8	9

Electoral Political Participation

Q7 Did you vote in the last municipal election (2002)?

[1] Yes

[2] No

[3] Couldn't vote

[8] Don't know

[9] Refused to answer

Community Participation

Q8 In the past 12 months have you worked on a community project?

[INTERVIEWER: If respondent asks for clarification of 'a community project', say for example a neighborhood clean-up, community garden, street party or parade.]

[1] Yes

[2] No

[8] Don't know

[9] Refused to answer

If "yes", what type of project?

Civic Leadership

Q9 In the past 12 months, have you served as a volunteer officer (like a board member, group leader, director or something similar) or on a committee of any local club or organization?

[1] Yes

[2] No

[9] Refused to answer

Q10 Are you a member of any community groups or community associations?

[INTERVIEWER: If respondent asks for clarification of 'community group', say, for example, The West End Residents Association, or Yaletown Residents Association.]

[1] Yes

[2] No

[9] Refused to answer

Name(s) of
Group(s):_____

Perceived Problems

Q11 For the following things that I read out, on a scale of 1-4, can you tell me how much of a problem they are in your neighborhood...1 being a 'very big problem' and 4 being 'not a problem'..

		Very big problem	Fairly big problem	Not a very big problem	Not a problem at all	Don't know	Refused to answer
Q 11A	noisy neighbors or loud parties	1	2	3	4	8	9
Q 11B	garbage and litter lying around	1	2	3	4	8	9
Q 11C	vandalism, graffiti and damage to property	1	2	3	4	8	9
Q 11D	teenagers hanging around the streets	1	2	3	4	8	9
Q 11E	prostitution	1	2	3	4	8	9
Q 11F	homelessness	1	2	3	4	8	9
Q 11G	drug use and/or dealing	1	2	3	4	8	9
Q 11H	violent crime	1	2	3	4	8	9

Taking Positive Action

Q12   In the past year, have you taken any of the following actions in an attempt to solve a local public problem? Have you contacted the appropriate organization to deal with the problem?

		Yes	No	Refused to answer
Q 12A	contacted the appropriate organization to deal with the problem	1	2	9
Q 12B	contacted a local City Councillor or MLA	1	2	9
Q 12C	attended a public meeting to discuss local issues	1	2	9
Q 12D	attended a tenants or local residents group meeting	1	2	9
Q 12E	attended a protest meeting or joined an action group	1	2	9
Q 12F	helped organize a petition on a local issue	1	2	9
Q 12G	written to your local newspaper	1	2	9

Part III Questions About Participation in Land Use Planning

Youth Services Centre Proposal

Now I'd like to ask you about development activity in your local area.

Q 13[11]Are you aware of a proposal to open an Integrated Youth Services Centre at 1134 Burrard Street?

[1] Yes

[2] No [SKIP to Q16]

[8] Don't know [SKIP to Q16]

[9] Refused to answer [SKIP to Q16]

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[11] Questions 13 and 14D are structured in a similar way as those asked by Herman Lelieveldt in his study of citizen participation in the Dutch program OBAZ.

Q14 Did you learn about the proposal from any of the following... a notification sign posted on the site?

		Yes	No	Don't know	Refused to answer
Q 14A	a notification sign posted on the site	1	2	8	9
Q 14B	a letter sent to you by the City or the applicant (Family Services)	1	2	8	9
Q 14C	an advertisement in your local newspaper	1	2	8	9
Q 14D	a neighbor	1	2	8	9
Q 14E	other	1	2	8	9

Next I'm going to ask you if you got involved in the public discussion about this proposal.

Q15 Did you contact City Hall to find out more about the proposal?

		Yes	No	Refused to answer
Q 15A	contact City Hall to find out more about the proposal?	1	2	9
Q 15B	attend a public meeting or open house?	1	2	9
Q 15C	attend a residents meeting?	1	2	9
Q 15D	contact your local City Councillor or MLA	1	2	9

Perceived Influence Over Political Decisions

Q16   Now thinking about whether you can influence political decisions. Please consider the following statements and tell me if you agree, disagree...

		Agree	Disagree	Neither agree or disagree	Don't know	Refused to answer
Q 16A	People like me have no say in what the local government does	1	2	3	8	9
Q 16B	People like me can have a real influence on politics if we are prepared to get involved	1	2	3	8	9
Q 16C	Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me cannot really understand what is going on	1	2	3	8	9
Q 16D	When people like me all work together with others we can really make a difference in our local community	1	2	3	8	9

Part IV Questions About the Respondent

General

Our last questions are used to ensure that our sample for this survey accurately reflects the population as a whole.

Age

Q17   Into which of the following age categories may I place you?

[1] 19 to 24 years

[2] 25 to 34

[3] 35 to 44

[4] 45 to 54

[5] 55 to 64

[6] 65 years & over

Education

Q18   What is the highest level of education you have completed?

[1] Less than high school (grade 11 or less)

[2] High school diploma

[3] Some college

[4] Degree (2 year) or specialized training

[5] Bachelor's degree

[6] Some graduate training

[7] Graduate or professional degree

[8] Don't know

[9] Refused to answer

Income

Q19   If you added together the yearly income, before taxes, of all the members of your household for the last year, 2004, would the total be [READ LIST]

[1] less than $20,000

[2] over $20,000, but less than $30,000

[3] over $30,000, but less than $50,000

[4] over $50,000, but less than $75,000

[5] over $75,000, but less than $100,000

[6] over $100,000

[8] Don't know

[9] Refused to answer

Tenure

Q20 Do you or your family own the place where you are living now, or do you rent?

[1] Own

[2] Rent

[8] Don't know

[9] Refused to answer

Length of Residence in Neighbourhood

Q21 How long have you lived in this neighbourhood?

[1] Less than 12 months

[2] 1 year

[3] 2 years

[4] 3 years

[5] 4 years

[6] 5-9 years

[7] 10-14 years

[10] 15-19 years

[11] 20 years or more

Thank you for your co-operation!

Please note that any information resulting from this survey will be kept strictly confidential and your answers will be kept completely anonymous.

If you have questions or require further information about this study (including a copy of the study results), please contact Catherine Buckham at 778-885-2443 (cell) or via email at cabuckha@sfu.ca

[INTERVIEWER: If respondent asks to speak to the Project Supervisor, they should contact Meg Holden, Assistant Professor, Urban Studies Program, at 604-268-7888 or by email at mholden@sfu.ca]