

**CRITICAL PLANNING THEORY
AND ITS APPLICATION IN
PLANNING WITH COMMUNITIES:
A STUDY OF ROBERT A. STEEN COMMUNITY CENTRE**

37

by

Angela M. Mulgrew

A Practicum
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of

MASTER OF CITY PLANNING

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Dedication

For the friends and neighbours
of "Wonderful Wolseley".

Abstract

This practicum is an inquiry into the dynamics of the community planning process and the link to Critical Planning Theory through a reflection on practice, using a case study method. It focuses on developing insights and strategies by which planners may more readily plan 'with' rather than 'for' communities. Six recurring themes in the planning literature are examined and developed as a diagnostic tool descriptive of a progressive planning practice. This tool is applied by a reflective practitioner to a case study which examines planning practices in the development of Robert A. Steen Community Centre, during 1982-1992, in the Wolseley community of Winnipeg.

Critical social theory is identified as necessary for the development of a progressive planning practice which roots planners' communicative actions in a profound understanding of their own values, beliefs and integrity, and those of the community they serve.

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It is with great pleasure that I acknowledge a number of the persons who have assisted me in the process of shaping, expressing and completing this practicum.

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Professor and Thesis Adviser 1989-1992:

Your belief in me as a student with the talent, the commitment and the right to get the education I wanted; your ability to teach critical social thinking; and, your compassion for me as a person, stymied with events in my personal life, during 1989-1992, were important gifts you gave me before your sudden death. These gifts were, and have been, an ongoing source of inspiration, strength, and joy.

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Many thanks to Harry Nolan whose special assistance, in the 'garden of Akademeia' in Wolseley, ordered and punctuated meaning into the final document.

Loving thanks to a 'sisterhood' and 'brotherhood' of friends and family, here and abroad, and especially to my children, all of whom are at the finish line "Cheering".

Results do count!

And gratitude to my parents, Patrick and Jane Mulgrew (Deceased), who taught me to live by my principles.

Come to the edge, they said.

I am afraid, she said.

Come to the edge, they said.

She came.

They pushed.

She Flew.

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List of Abbreviations

CAI - Winnipeg Core Area Initiative Program
LSCCC - Laura Secord Community Child Care Inc.
LSCDC - Laura Secord Community Development Committee
LSHSPTA - Laura Secord Home and School and
Parent-Teacher Association
LSS - Laura Secord School
LSSRA - Laura Secord Sports and Recreation Association
RASCC - Robert A. Steen Community Centre
SD#1 - Winnipeg School Division #1
WRA - Wolseley Residents Association

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Chapter One

Introduction To The Practicum

1.0 Introduction

This practicum is an inquiry into the dynamics of the community planning process and the link to Critical Planning Theory through a reflection on practice using a case study method. It focuses on developing insights and strategies by which planners may more readily plan 'with' rather than 'for' communities. It identifies critical social theory as a key to the development of a progressive planning practice which roots planners' communicative actions in a profound understanding of their own values, beliefs and integrity, and those of the community they serve.

When I started my inquiry into city planning, I had no idea that the planning profession was in the process of exploring basic questions about planning and planners, which were similar to my own, or that the profession saw itself 'in crisis' as John Friedmann (1987) described it:

And now a secret must out. Talk to planners, and nine out of ten will describe their work as a 'failure' or of 'little use'. They will say: 'We no longer know what to do. Our solutions don't work. The problems are mounting.' If they are right - and who would quarrel with them? - we are forced to conclude that mainstream planning is in crisis. Knowledge and action have come apart. The link is broken....In speaking of a crisis in planning, I have in mind mainstream planning by

the state. It is fundamentally a crisis in the idea of societal guidance. More precisely, it is a crisis in the state's ability to satisfy the legitimate needs of the people. (pp.311-312)

I felt compelled to pursue a planning education for two reasons, one, because I wanted to know about, and understand why planners and the planning profession were often singled out, and sometimes blamed, for society's failures, and, two, I felt I could be more effective in my community work if I could identify bridging actions that would more effectively link the community with planning processes. I wanted to know what planners did, what planning was about, and what needed to be done so that planning (which in practical terms I saw as a necessary function) was perceived as a useful process from a community perspective.

After many years of citizen activism on recreational, educational and social-economic issues that affected me as a woman, parent, homeowner, worker and consumer of institutional services;¹ after attending many meetings, preparing briefs, making phone calls, staging protests, and involvement in party politics, I took exception to a

-
1. I have held various volunteer executive positions (Manitoba Home and School Parent Teacher Federation, Child and Family Services-Central, Inner-City Education Conference Committee, Agencies for School Health, Wolseley NDP, Broadway Action Steering Committee) and have been self-employed in community based work (Community Access Program-University of Winnipeg, Winnipeg Core Area Initiative Community Programs, Executive Assistant- MLA Wolseley, Downtown Winnipeg BIZ, Manitoba Housing Co-op Council, Urban Idea Centre of Winnipeg)

continuing, costly, adversarial style of resolving social problems. The time and energy that I, and others, spent on community problems and social issues, was valuable time and energy taken away from our 'real' daily work and personal life.

I had begun to hold the opinion that 'due process' and public participation were only marginally successful, and further, that our sometime rebellious and radical behaviour did not efficiently achieve what we intended. In fact, both 'due process' and radicalism created unnecessary distrust and frustration between, and among, the opposition and the opposing. For example the extreme actions of 1960s radicalism was effective in drawing attention to society's concerns and injustices but many 'radicals' soon found themselves distrusted, marginalized and increasingly ineffective. Though still an effective tool when used selectively, radicalism, as an adversarial concept, had become an 'ism', its meaning confused and its effectiveness debatable.

The economic and social reality of the 1980s was characterized by some positive changes and advancement for a wide community of interest. A growing body of literature and continued social activism on feminist, racial, environmental and sustainable issues had brought about these changes. By the late 1980s however, there were predictions of a future economic and social re-structuring which would eat into, or

curtail, the gains of the previous decades. With this picture in mind, and aware of the exhaustion and frustration among community activists who had worked so hard to achieve and maintain some level of social justice, and further, aware of a growing interest by some in the institutional and business hierarchy, in a co-operative attitude and approach to community (brought about by local economic downturns, trans-national economic systems, and the escalating cost of crime and social programs), it seemed to me (and others) as though the time was right to find a new way of interacting with less singularity and less confrontation. If there was now a mutual need for 'partnership', or planning 'with', the theory and practice of that partnership needed to be defined in commensurable ways. Mutuality, rather than difference, needed to be stressed. I wanted to know what the role of the planning profession should be in planning 'with' communities.

As a result, my attention has been drawn to defining the role of the planner and planning in relation to a society-wide agenda. I needed to know what the dominant system was, and planning's role in it, before I could suggest changes that would reflect and include a 'planning with community' perspective. I needed to assess the different theories of planning not only to learn about the role of planners and planning's normative basis, but also to see which theory or theories were commensurable with the possible attempt at a partnership of community and institution.

I reviewed and quickly set aside theories of planning based on social reform and radical practice. Even though they supported more public participation and promoted the repoliticization of community, they maintained the status quo of a confrontational mode.

Other theorists, however, provided different views and insights that, in light of my experiences, I found useful and encouraging. What has emerged is a plausible bridging theory based on critical social theory and practice. John Forester (1989) is a primary exponent of a Critical (social) Theory of Planning Theory and Progressive Planning Practice, that proposes social and economic organization through repoliticization of community to a true democracy. Forester noted that society's democratic goal had not changed, it was the rules and placement of the goal posts that had changed. The literature indicated that the line separating planning from the community was the one planning drew for itself.

I have illustrated planning 'for' community thus:
(see following page)

POLICY LEVEL

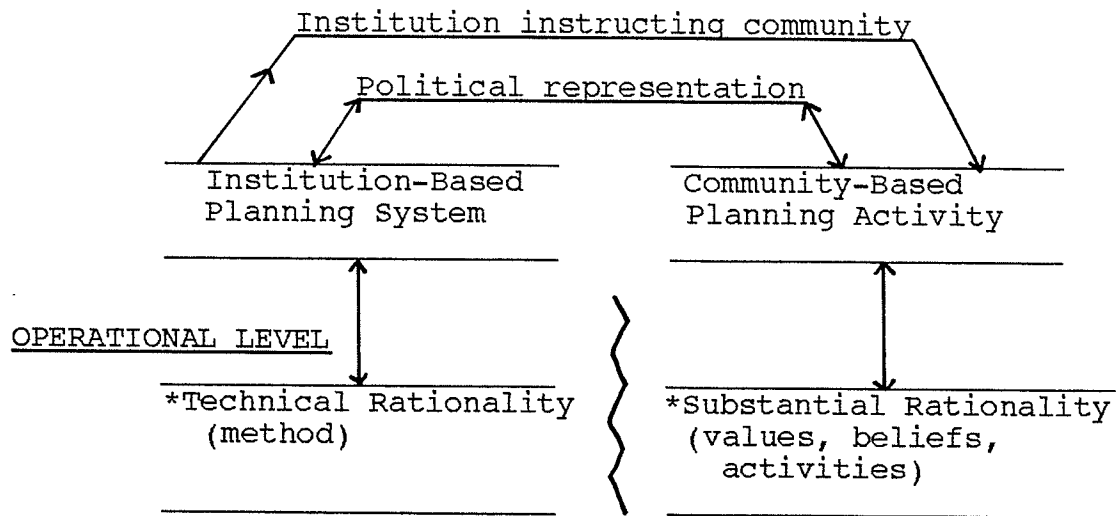


Figure One. Planning 'for' Community. Institution-based Planning System not communicating directly with Community-based Planning Activity at the Operational Level.

Interaction between these two systems has traditionally been limited to instruction on statutory requirements by the dominant institutional system to the community, and, political representation of the community to the institution. In 'planning for community' the two planning systems are separate and not interacting at all at the operational level. They are assumed to be, for the most part, incommensurable.

My goal is to find the rationale for planners and the community to use a planning 'with' approach. A second illustration shows how the flow of information is not only in the two systems but between the systems at the theory and practice levels, enabling the two systems to effectively plan 'with' each other.

POLICY LEVEL

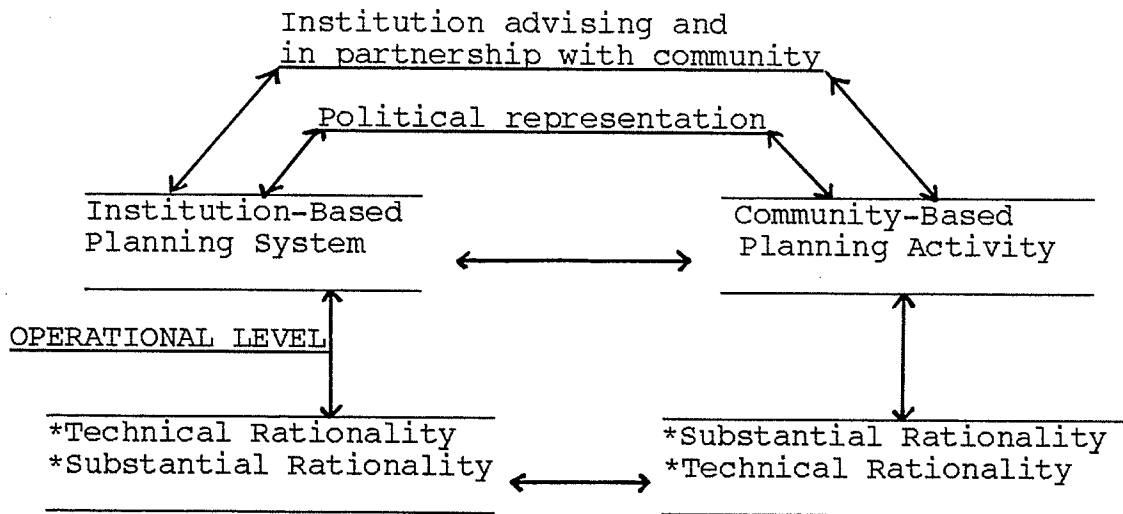


Figure Two. Planning 'with' Community. Institution-based Planning System communicating directly with Community-based Planning Activity at the Policy and Operational Levels.

However a simple graphic does not change planning practice. If planning is to truly develop its own representative body of relevant theory and practice it needs to enter into a reflective review of how the dynamic between public planners and community residents take place. Planning needs to do this by examining the normative basis of planning; looking at the situational context in which planning takes place; legitimizing the role of the planner; and, incorporating the 'lessons' which are learned from a systematic reflection on the community planning dynamic. This work needs to be based on empirical demonstration of what works and what doesn't work in practice.

The interactive role, communicative actions, and influence of public planners, and similarly those, of issue-driven, organized citizens involved in planning events that challenge the institutional domain to plan 'with' communities rather than 'for', needs to be further developed in the planning literature. The purpose of this practicum is to present the arguments for Critical Planning Theory and its usefulness to planners (be they public or citizen planners), as a theory and practice for planning 'with' communities. This practicum strives to contribute to the development of a progressive planning practice rooted in critical social theory.

Through the following literature review, this practicum identifies six themes applicable to critical planning theory. and then applies them to a case study of a neighbourhood planning process. The actions, decisions and processes of public planner, and neighbourhood residents is assessed as evidence of support for a critical theory of planning and progressive planning practice. (Forester 1989)

Chapter Two

Literature Review

2.0 Preamble

Contemporary communities exist within a political, social and economic context. In this context, citizens and community residents often assume that because Canadians live in a working democracy, in a first world country, that they are equitably cared for in terms of the allocation of resources and delivery of local services. They assume and expect fairness in planning decisions from their municipal and provincial governments.

An institutionalized public planning process is necessary because the management of urban systems is a complex and dynamic business. Rules, regulatory instruments and 'due process' have been established with the stated intention of making the whole system orderly, equitably managed, and accountable to 'the public interest'. There may be the best of intentions at the theoretical level to plan 'for' communities, but in the practice of planning where public planners function, the political realities and institutional contexts, documented in the social planning and community development literature, have shown that inequities of power and influence, of rules and regulatory instruments,

work both for and against a variety of interests and community groups. The problem inherent in planning 'for' communities is especially evident when planning processes are initiated by citizens who want to plan 'with' the public planners.

Citizens who have found themselves objecting to rezoning applications, or to traffic problems, or who have sought permission for development variances have often asked the questions: "What do planners do? What is planning all about? Why isn't it done differently?" It is thought that if satisfactory answers to these questions could be found, then perhaps people would know how to access and use the system, and, when there are perceived inequities in the system, learn to remedy them.

Planning professionals and students want to know what underlying theories are used to guide planners' actions. They want to understand theories 'in' and 'of' planning - those 'in' theories, that guide practice and, the 'of' theories that guide planning in general. Eventually they want to understand why Innes de Neufville (1983) said, "Planning is like a paradigm in crisis in that theory does not mesh with experience" (p.37), and what "link is broken" (Friedmann 1987:311). If, as John Forester (1989) said, 'theory is what planners need when they get stuck' (p.137), then, planners need to know what theories they have to choose

from to get 'unstuck', and the implications of those choices.

2.1 A Note On The Literature Review

The research for this chapter on planning theory and practice started and ended with planning literature, but it also required an inter-disciplinary approach with research material examined in many social science fields. This review is a synopsis of carefully selected work of planning theorists and practitioners who are specifically trying to resolve the much talked about 'crisis in planning' and define a coherent direction for planning by examining the theory of planning. They consistently identified the dominance of (instrumental) technical rationality in planning and issues connected to planning 'for' communities which negatively affects the role of planners and the planning profession. They have been selected because of their relevance to my discussion of planning 'with' community and not because they deal with this issue directly or use the same for/with terminology in their work. Rationales for planning 'with' community are mainly found in the community development literature.

2.2 Introduction

The literature indicates that planning practice is an activity that seeks to make responsible physical and social

changes to the world we live in through planning design.

"Design is the process of changing existing situations into preferred ones." (Schon 1983:46) Until the turn of the century planning design work had been focused on ordering human settlements for either religious, aesthetic or health reasons. Gradually the focus changed to other reasons: utilitarian (greatest good for the greatest number), instrumental (management) and economic rationalism (system maintenance). This means that planners, then as agents of a technical rational method, in theory, act as value-free technicians, selecting from technical instrumental means to achieve rationalized ends. (Friedmann 1987) The literature indicates that, in fact, this is not a true reflection of how planning is practiced. Planners, working to achieve technical rational ends, also necessarily shape the course of action in non-technical political ways. Their role, as both an advisor and active participant in the design process, then does not fit with the professional technical role that has been defined for them by the system. This confusion, which has created a gap between the theory and practice of planning, can be resolved by the successful relinking of knowledge and action through a re-interpretation of the kind of knowledge that is valid and useful in planning. I will be arguing that the kind of knowledge useful in planning is both technical and substantial.

Absolute truth or positive knowledge, created through

empirical scientific method and used in planning practice, has been a limiting factor in the dual role of planners (technical and political). A planner's technical knowledge has not been a true reflection of the social (political) realities in a planning event. Now, with an awareness of the limitations of relying on only positive knowledge, planning theorists are searching for methods to arrive at truthfulness, rather than just a single truth. The routes they suggest to achieve this, encompass both conventional and unconventional outcomes.

I believe that a conventional outcome is one that either works with the dominant system to achieve system goals, or stands in radical opposition to the status quo and seeks fundamental change that only reverses who is dominant. Both of these are a traditional use of power. Those with dominant power protect what they have, and control the share they will distribute; the powerless, working with or without the planner, struggle to take a majority of power or total power for themselves. Their methods often are radical or confrontational but still end conventionally. One way or the other it still remains a 'power over' situation. Power is the system.

An unconventional outcome is on the other hand one that achieves a balance of power in the system through undistorted and democratic partnership. The participants with complete

consciousness of their own and others' intentions, would shape and share the energy of the planning process. With this method, the knower questions assumptions about knowledge and truth and is intrinsically aware of how formal knowledge has, up till now, maintained the dominant agenda. A mutual understanding can be achieved through structured social action, using enabling rules of communication competency, and based on emancipatory interests or freedom from oppression of all persons. The planner who plays this role is bridging and closing the gap between theory and practice by combining the role of technician and reformer in a truly emancipated practice of planning. This thesis supports this kind of an unconventional outcome.

The literature review chapter defines the role of the planner and planning. It also lays out a specific role for planners and planning from the view of key planning theorists. Two other final points of view at the end of this chapter are explanatory of a re-constituted normative basis of planning and a new paradigm in planning. It is from this literature review that a theory of planning is identified which negates planning 'for' community and supports arguments of planning 'with' communities.

2.3 The Role of the Planner

The essential role of the planner has been described by

Gerald Hodge(1989) in his planning education text and is confirmed by other authors. Planners work in the planning process; as Hodge says, "...although not necessarily the one to initiate the process, the planner soon becomes responsible for sustaining it, for shaping it so that plans, policies, and programs emerge to guide future physical development." (p.343)

Hodge said four basic roles, originally identified by Daland and Parker, constitute the scope of the planner's task within the institutional planning level or conservative planning practice:

- 1) the planner as leader or representative of the planning agency;
- 2) the planner as representative of the planning profession;
- 3) the planner as political innovator; and,
- 4) the planner as citizen educator. (Ibid.p.343)

The planner as a representative of a planning agency performs statutory (legal) duties as a planning analyst. In this role Hodge says "planners need skills that go beyond the technical knowledge of planning. They need to be able to work with others and develop trust and support for the agency and its views (which are) an essential part of the governmental machinery...."(Ibid.p.344) Forester(1989) describes the planning analyst as "...a family of roles that involve deliberation about proper courses of action: evaluators, policy analysts, planners, administrators, and

managers."(p.14)

In the role of technical advisor, "...the planner brings to the community planning job the values and standards of the planning profession."(Hodge 1989:344) The planner is attempting to play an apolitical or value free role. As Benveniste (1989) has described it, "planners (invisible to the public) are seen in the system as technicians and must play this role providing a solid technical basis for proposed solutions." (pp.68-70) The role then, requires that the planner remain neutral, providing information and planning processes for the benefit of the public at large, but never openly expressing their own personal bias or preferred outcome.

"As a political innovator, the planner pursues the acceptance of planning ideas and proposals by those persons in the community with the influence and authority to act on them."(Hodge 1989:345) Benveniste(1989) says that in this role the planner is also 'managing' the planning event. Here the planner's role is to work with organized groups or individuals to achieve specific goal through all stages, including approval by the political decison-making body. "...there is virtue in letting those who are responsible assume their responsibilities and that giving advice and influencing outcomes is a responsibility that cannot be taken lightly because power resides both in those who listen and act upon advice and in those who give it."(p.4) The planner as manager would, as Hodge (1989) says, "need to adapt to

political realities"(p.345)

"As a citizen educator, the planner seeks to affect the basic attitudes and values of the community-at-large regarding the benefits and consequences of planning."

(Ibid.p.345) Different levels of experience by individuals and communities with the planning and development system will affect their ability to understand, or willingness to trust, formal planning processes. In this role the planner is working to build public confidence in the planning agency through education.

The institutional planning roles have been briefly explained. They and other roles are often played out in overlapping contexts. For instance, one agency may have planners acting as managers, strategists, regulators, technicians, and community revitalization workers in order to fulfill the mandate of the government.(Ibid.p.346) That is, the planning roles are often confusing and sometimes contradictory: some planners act as technical advisors representing a planning agency agenda; others give priority to a political innovator role; while still others use their experience of what works and what needs to be done to address inequality, and they blend this 'knowing' into their technical institutional role.

The planning roles are based on a 'theory-in-use' which can be different from that which is 'espoused'.(Bolan 1974: 18) This discrepancy is referred to in the literature: "A practitioner may subscribe to a particular mode of planning

thought in theoretical terms while acting otherwise for practical purposes.' [Argyris and Schon, 1974] Planners have often been known to think and act in such a disjointed, incremental manner that they cannot be understood or provide profound alternatives. The result is a confusing self-portrait of the profession, which in turn leads to perceptual problems on the part of society." (Albrecht & Lim 1986:120) Planning roles can be described and categorized, but as studies have showed, planners themselves do not practice in such a limited way. (Howe and Kaufman 1989)

If planners work at problem-solving in an orderly way, turning a variety of existing situations into critically examined preferred ones, and, if planners are not simply 'ordering' society, then what is the basis for planning decisions? What belief, and whose authority, has given the planning agency and the planners the power to act on behalf of society? An overview of the key points that inform these questions, as a basis of inquiry by the planning theorists, is the subject of the next section.

2.4 Key Concepts Relevant To Planning Theory

The theories that underlie traditional planning roles have several key concepts: a definition of rationality, a relationship between knowledge to power, and, an established normative basis. Emerging planning roles, which will be discussed in the literature of the theorists, argue for a

change in the normative basis, a comprehensive definition of rationality, and a critical (social theory) examination of power.

Planning acquires its authority from the social norms. Norms are particular agreed statements about the basis for social organization. In North America the norms are based in a system of democracy where freedom, justice and equality for all is to be achieved. Since the late 1940s the normative basis for institutional planning roles has been instrumental. This requires that formal rational 'means' correspond to a particular logic of decisions which are defined as planning instruments, and these instruments are used in a technical rational method to achieve rationalized 'ends'.

Over a century and a half ago, the rapid social changes that accompanied industrialization, and the rise of capitalist economics, provided a new normative basis for social organization. Prior to this time proper conduct and right intentions, based on morals, had been the normative basis of social organization in civilized society. Church and monarch, not state, had ruled society. After the Enlightenment the potential of mankind (the individual) and the state (group) became central to the new society. Based on scientific theory, the newly identified needs of society for systematic planning developed an instrumental basis for planning; technical rational means were chosen to achieve rationalized ends. As the demands of the economy became pervasive, a social science response, rooted in a rigorously

applied-scientific method, was believed to be the proper way to make better city plans which served the economy and dealt with the urban problems it created. (Friedmann, 1987)

General planning, in line with the Enlightenment positivist thought, developed a technical rational method. This Positivist thinking came from the 'doctrine of positivism' which was formulated by Auguste Comte in the early 1800s. It had three principles:

1. Empirical science is not just a form of knowledge but the only source of positive knowledge of the world.
2. There is an intention to cleanse men's minds of mysticism and pseudo knowledge.
3. Technology (control) could be political and moral when it and scientific knowledge were extended to human society.

(Schon 1983:32)

Technical rationality's social conscience was assumed to be inherent in the steps that were taken to deal with the negative effects or changes created by industrialization, urbanization and population changes on, for example, housing and transportation. Organizing for people, governments, and corporations involved in enterprise development, was the new central theme of planning.

Planning as the professional activity it is known as today, took on a much higher profile in the years following the disruption in social and economic progress caused by the

Great Depression of the 1930s and World War II in the 1940s. In a short period of time, contemporary planning became firmly entrenched in North America as an advisory function to government. Government increasingly took control of all aspects of social organization in the interests of restructuring and controlling the economy to meet both national and international expansion. Societal Guidance as policy analysis and systems management, became predominant and maintains that predominance today as a Rational Comprehensive Planning Model (RCPM).

Planners have found in their public community planning work that this paradigm of scientific planning, where only one single source of knowledge is valid, cannot be universally applied and in fact contributes to conflict between the theory and practice of planning. For the most part planners perceive themselves as having to mediate between the technical and political aspects of their work, and performing purely technical or purely political aspects only a limited portion of the time. (Howe & Kaufmann 1979)

The modern positivist principles, especially the first principle, which limits the true source of knowledge to that which is empirically tested, has created a problem for planning and planners. Practical knowledge exists but is not accounted for in technical rational planning. As Schon says, "in the light of such Positivist doctrines as these, practice appeared as a puzzling anomaly. Practical knowledge exists, but it does not fit neatly into Positivist categories. We

cannot readily treat it as a form of descriptive knowledge of the world, nor can we reduce it to the analytic schemas of logic and mathematics."(Schon 1983:33)

The failures created by a dominant normative basis of institutional theories of planning has made planning critical of itself. As Innes de Neufville (1987) said,

There is increasing evidence that planning theory has been inadequate in recent years. Not only does it fail to guide practice, it contributes to cognitive dissonance and alienation among practitioners. Planning schools agree on no body of literature and ideas to count as planning theory. Planning is like a paradigm 'in crisis,' in that theory does not mesh with experience. Moreover, neither of the two main candidates for the prime exemplar for planning practice - the master plan model or the policy analysis model - is acceptable enough to provide coherence to the field.(p.35)

As a result, the growing gap between the theory and practice of planning has been the subject of new examination of planning's inherent problems which stem from a normative basis of efficiency and effectiveness, and how theorists envision closing or reconciling 'the gap'.(Harper and Stein 1993, Feldman 1991, Forester 1989, Friedmann 1987, Albrecht & Lim 1986, Innes de Neufville 1987 and 1983, Innes 1994)

There is agreement that the normative basis of planning must be changed from instrumental rationality, to one that reaches beyond such self-limiting technical elements. As Forester(1989) says, "only when we understand that it is quite rational to plan differently under different conditions can we then avoid the embarrassment of thinking and saying

that our planing may be rational in principle (or 'in theory'), yet anything but rational in practice."(p.7)

Friedmann(1987) said rationality was identified by Max Weber as a cognitive function of reasoning, where there is a relation between means and ends, and in which the ends are generally taken to be the self-regarding interest of an individual or a group.(p.19) Practical reasoning/substantial rationality had prevailed until technical rationality became dominant in the late 1800s.

Jurgen Habermas is credited with pointing out that the problem for planning is not just technical rationality but of 'scientism'. This is to say, the dominance of the scientific paradigm as a ideology or strong belief, not the applied scientific method in planning, is the reason why substantial rationality or practical reasoning has been disregarded, and not adequately included.(Schon 1983:49, Harper and Stein 1993a:9, McCarthy 1984) Harper and Stein (1993b) point out that "Habermas views scientism as a distorting and reductionistic ideology which prevents us from reaching self knowledge and emancipation, because all our communication is systematically distorted."(p.3) The problem is with the paradigm and not the scientific method.

It can be surmised that with a scientific method, given time available and a means of testing, that all experience could be categorized and prioritized. However this creates a limiting factor: the necessary use of the scientific method for the acceptance of rationality when it is possible that

rationality could be found to be inherent in the actions of reasonable, self-conscious persons through other means, that is, through attention to the context and content of other persons' communication, and the reasons they give for their opinions, new and valid forms of rationality can be determined. (Schon 1983:45-49) McCarthy (1984) pointed out that a radical break with technical reason is not required if it is instead properly located within a comprehensive theory of rationality. (p.22)

When the question of valid and practical knowledge has been examined it has been found that power is used to keep the scientific paradigm dominant. (Friedmann 1987, Forester 1989) There are obvious and hidden relations of power that have maintained the status quo by the claim that there is only one valid method of arriving at truth.

Power is inherent both in decisions that are made about the goals of a planning event, and the instrumental means, or knowledge, chosen to achieve those goals. In this kind of a scenario, power rests with those who decide the goals and those who choose and implement the means used to achieve ends. Both means and ends become absolute truths. In this method "society is seen as a closed system in which individuals have only instrumental (closed) relations." (Albrecht & Lim 1986:120) Power distorts the concepts that people have about themselves and their role in a supposedly democratic planning event.

The use of critical social theory has been suggested as

the means of getting at the hidden relations of power that have created these distortions. Critical theory was developed through the Frankfurt School (1923) under Max Horkheimer and Jurgen Habermas. "Critical theory proceeds from the theorists awareness of his own partiality. Thus theory is not neutral nor objective. Its partisanship consists in its goals: the reconstruction of society based on non-exploitative relations between persons; and the restoration of man to centerplace in the evolution of human society as a self-conscious, self-managing subject of social reality."(Horkheimer 1972:xii) It is based on a belief that mankind is hindered by many forms of domination and that life should be lived free from the distortions this domination creates.

As McCarthy(1984) states, "Critical social theory does not exhaust itself in the construction of a theory of social evolution (as in the reconstruction of historical materialism); its primary aim remains an historically oriented analysis of contemporary society with practical intent (as in a reconstruction of the critique of capitalist society)."(p.265)

Innes de Neufville(1983) says, "The notion of 'critique' basic to critical theory, demands that the knower question all assumptions and be aware of how formal knowledge reinforces the status quo".(p.41) The status quo, dominated by a value-free paradigm of formal knowledge, has filtered out too much other relevant information which was seen as

problematic. Innes de Neufville(1987) says, in a critical analysis, "the relativity of facts and methods to personal or social values and understandings becomes, rather than a dilemma, the foundation for further thought".(p.41) Planners need to develop a deeper understanding of the nature and power of knowledge.

While doing the literature review certain concepts were repeatedly evident. In my opinion the control of a definition of knowledge; the control of a definition of rationality; the dominance of an ends/means methodology; limiting the place and use of values; and, the dominance of an economic normative basis, are all components of power.

Planning has been focused on serving the economic agenda of capitalism. This is done through an ends/means equation. To maintain this control, the definition of knowledge has been limited to absolute, postivist knowledge. To control this definition of knowledge, it has been necessary to control the definition of rationality. To control rationality, it has been necessary to control the definition of values. I would like to loosen these controls.

2.5 The Theorists

This section is a synopsis of a number of perspectives from the planning literature that deals with the planning predicament: the limitations of traditional planning theory; the tension between technical and political aspects of

planning practice; the search for a method of dealing with the hidden relations of power in planning exercises; the need for clarification of the role of the public planner; and, the recognition that planning needs to acquire an energized and useful image if planning is to be perceived as a profession that furthers the ideals of democracy.

Four authors present differing perspectives and advocate various roles for planners such as; radical (Friedmann 1987), managerial (Benveniste 1989), reflective (Schon 1983), and progressive (Forester 1989). Two other authors deal with a new planning paradigm; one based on a normative basis of planning as (critical liberal) incremental (Harper and Stein, 1993b), the other focused on "communicative action theory" as the "central organizing idea" in a new paradigm of planning. (Innes 1994:1)

These perspectives fit within two levels of planning theory in planning which are: 1) theories of planning practice and 2) meta-theory of planning. (Sandercock and Forsyth 1990:63) The procedural application of theory to practice in the work of Guy Benveniste, Donald Schon and John Forester refers to the first: an "analysis of the procedures, actions and behaviours of planners". (Ibid.p.63) The work of John Friedmann(1987), who argues that the major objective of planning theory is to solve "the meta-theoretical problem of how to make technical knowledge in planning effective in informing public actions" (p.36) and, Tom Harper and Stan Stein(1993, 1994), who have argued that the normative basis

for planning should be regarded as incremental and be backed up by a critical, liberal, neo-pragmatic planning practice, fit into the second level. At this meta-theory level, they "ask the fundamental epistemological and methodological questions about planning".(Sandercock & Forsyth 1990:63).

2.5.0 John Friedmann - The Planner as Radical

A summary of nearly two centuries of the intellectual influences on planning theory and practice are found in Friedmann's (1987) "Planning in the Public Domain: From Knowledge to Action". Friedmann's typology and analysis of the intellectual traditions has been widely accepted among planners as a useful representation of the progress of organizational thinking, even if the categorizations place limits on understanding the overlapping role of the planner and the fundamental shift that has occurred through the work of the new planning theorists.(Innes,1994:2) Friedmann's conclusions of a meta-theory as a pathway for planning and, more specifically, the way his 'mediations of radical (transformative) planning theory' and a role for planners as radical are presented, were interpreted to be too aligned with 'radicalism' to be effective as a planning role. Further, there is no evidence that planners had swung in that direction either as theorists or practitioners. He has since revised his approach and terminology, speaking in 1992 of a 'non-euclidean' planner.(Harper and Stein 1995)

Within Friedmann's (1987) typology of a system of Political Order(p.30) two types of processes are of particular relevance to the public domain - societal guidance and social transformation. Societal guidance is institutional planning in a bureaucratic state system of control and systematic change, and social mobilization is reaction against institutional planning from political community and political movements opposing the state and seeking system transformation.(Ibid.p.38)

Societal guidance, management of change 'from above', represents a status quo conservative or state/market approach.(Ibid.p.225) That is, planning action, based on scientific and technical knowledge, is controlled by the state to maintain the dominant economic system and any attempt to arrive at a more equitable distribution is bounded by the political agenda. Appeals or change of any kind, for instance under practices of social reform, have to be made to the 'rulers.'

On the other hand, social transformation, is the political practice of system transformation and generally is a challenge to the status quo for an equity change. In the extreme it represents a radical communitarian approach to economic and social change. Through practices inherent in social mobilization, appeals for action are made not to the 'rulers' but to the 'urban proletariat'. "Planners engaged in these two practices (societal guidance and social mobilization) are necessarily in conflict. It is a conflict

between the interests of a bureaucratic state and the interests of the political community."(Ibid.p.38) Friedmann developed Transformative Theory and radical planning practice from aspects of both processes.

Friedmann's radical planning paradigm is part of the broader tradition of social mobilization - the great oppositional counter tradition which encompasses the social movements of utopianism, social anarchism, and historical materialism. In Friedmann's view this tradition is the only one which can achieve social transformation - emancipation from the bottom up, from the grass roots of the political community. While social learners may attempt to engage in social transformation, Friedmann came to believe that ultimately social learning did not really challenge the existing relations of power.(Ibid.p.222) This leads him to go beyond social learning. His radical planning theory rejects the basic structure of society and seeks more radical change in political and economic structures.(Harper & Stein 1992b:112)

John Friedmann(1987) says, that the knot between planning theory and practice has become untied. There is a crisis in mainstream planning, because of the state's inability to satisfy the legitimate needs of the people, which will have to be corrected by the re-centering of political power in civil society.(pp.311-312) The crisis in planning that Friedmann(1987) talks about is based primarily on a crisis of knowing.

In knowledge about society, the certainties of positivism have suddenly become undone.... Amid all the confusion, there is a search for alternatives. One increasingly popular alternative is hermeneutics, or the science of interpretation. In hermeneutics, what counts is not the putative (supposed) social law, or the empirical regularity, but the meaning of an event in relation to the actors who are directly involved in it. The human subject is reintroduced into our theoretical discourses about society. As subjects, we choose to act. But the point of the action is not to be rational in the technical sense. What human subjects strive for is meaningful action.

As human subjectivity enters, knowledge becomes discursive and dialogical. Human subjects, grounded in their own implicit understandings of the world, 'talk back' to students of society as well as to planners. Through this 'talking back,' knowledge becomes essentially transactive. It can no longer be addressed exclusively to other social scientists but must speak to actors who, for the most part, are found in the households, institutions, and social movements of civil society.

The result is that the process of knowledge-formation becomes increasingly fluid. What Habermas called 'communicative acts' are at its core. Theorists who are obliged to speak plainly come face to face with ordinary citizens who have their own ideas. And in this confrontation, planning ceases to be a more or less humble 'scientific endeavour' and assumes the characteristics of a craft." (p.312)

Friedmann proposes a theory of social transformation for planners and people who want to be part of a radical project of community repoliticization. But social transformation will be difficult to implement when the state controls the social order and planners are locked into bureaucratic practice. Social mobilization is "an economics, a politics, and a sociology that rejects the seeming inevitability of

uneven development, powerlessness, exploitation, and alienation that are the hallmarks of the capitalist world system." (Ibid.p.308) The success of social transformation, will require planners who are ideologically committed to the project to adopt a radical planning practice. "Radical planners must assume an ideological position; they cannot remain neutral. Standing in opposition to hegemonic power, they put their work in the service of emancipatory values and a strong political community." (Ibid.p.315)

Friedmann states that radical planners 'committed to the possibility of a non-oppressed society' can be anybody. However he then says, 'individuals identified as (professional) planners possess specialized skills'. (Ibid. p.306) The practice of the radical planner, grounded in critical thinking and a moral commitment to an ethics of emancipation, would include these skills:

- Communicative skills
- Group process skills
- Familiarity with the social learning paradigm
- Familiarity with planning theory
- Analytical skills
- Synthesizing skills in devising solutions
- Substantive knowledge - historical, theoretical, institutional
- Experiential or tacit knowledge of social transformation.

Several problems arise when Friedmann gives further explanation about the role of the radical planner. Although the skills he has listed would appear to be appropriate to those of a planning professional, he stated at the beginning that to be 'radical' was not the work of the policy analyst. He said radical planning practice opposes established power and is a difficult role to sustain. He made the radical position even less attractive when he said it would not be a full-time occupation, yet could consume personal time in after-business-hours meetings. He then added that 'occasionally, radical planners may even work inside the bureaucracy as a kind of 'fifth column' in support of radical practice outside.' (Ibid. pp. 407-11) This planning role is inconsistent and ineffective because at best it is a perfunctory political position, and at worst, not represented at all in the system, therefore almost powerless to affect change within the system.

Friedmann projects a model of the radical planner who is working toward a higher ideal. As noble as this sounds, his definition can be questioned. Friedmann has identified that there is a movement for fundamental change and has defined it in one way (his) based on the history of planning (his) - (There is a parallel women's planning history and analysis which he has not acknowledged or included.) He has failed to recognize that the definition of what constitutes 'radical' in today's terms may vary. The skills of the radical planner are aimed at furthering community politicization, with a goal

to emancipation, but, he does not seem to take into account that in a process of dialogue, the widest possible community representation may choose to interpret both the problem and the solution differently. The role of planner as radical is not one I would support because it is a traditional role with limited use in modern times. The role is not radical enough if it reinforces the notion of opposing forces without any commonground, or fails to recognize the inter-dependence of 'difference', or neglects to risk doing things radically different.

In conclusion, although he is arguing for planners (public and citizens) as "planful" people to take this radical political stance, and to examine more critically what is going on, he has neutralized policy analysts from the process, and in doing so neglects to give planners, operating in public practice, critically examined tools to address politics and hidden relations of power in planning. The process and role that he presents to solve the meta-theoretical problem is not radical but a conventional one with a conventional outcome, that is, a continuing power struggle.

As stated earlier, Innes(1994) indicated that Friedmann may have neglected to anticipate or observe the paradigm of social change already happening in planning practice and related social science fields of the 1990s. The problem for planning is confusing - is the meta-theoretical problem to "make technical knowledge in planning effective in informing

public actions"(Friedmann 1987:36) or, to question why technical knowledge is the only knowledge which can inform public actions? (Sandercock 1991:72) If the project is social transformation, then can the relations of power in society, starting from the household to the local community, to the region, and at an international level, really be fundamentally challenged and changed by radical planners?

2.5.1 Guy Benveniste - The Planner as Manager

Guy Benveniste's (1989) arguments in his book, "Mastering the Politics of Planning: Crafting Credible Plans and Policies That Make A Difference", are focused around the role of the planner as a policy analyst in organizational and public planning domains. Within these domains, which he says are pervaded with hegemonic power and politics, planners are servants of the decision-making system. However, this reality he says, should not limit the planner from influencing the decisions made by those in power. Indeed, Benveniste (1989) encourages planners to achieve the power of their position, both as advisors to and implementors of plans. They should become effective managers of planning events. He says, 'there is much more to planning than just producing plans'.(p.2)

Effective managers will ensure that plans, developed through a general democratic process, will be implemented to the satisfaction of the decision makers and any primary organized groups. Effective managers need skills in

networking, coalition building, negotiation, and consensus building so that credible plans are supported and are not derailed. Effective planning relies more on informal processes based on selective networking than formal processes. (Ibid.p.55)

Effective managers will bring about change, that is, 'planning that makes a difference'. Managers reduce paperwork, assign duties to skilled technicians, and in general create a working environment where everyone is contributing at their best level. This arrangement produces positive results and gives credibility to different roles. (Ibid.p.277)

Benveniste focuses on the planner involved with, but not shouldering, the politics of planning. Benveniste does not dissect the dominant planning process, other planning models or the exercise of social power, in order to come up with some new theory of planning or to argue for an activist (political) role for planners. He does examine different planning models such as, rational comprehensive, advocacy, apolitical, critical, strategic and incremental because he believes that managers need to possess a good general understanding of planning. Managers need to be able to recognize the pros and cons of these models and use them to advantage. For instance,

* The rational comprehensive model (RCPM), with its emphasis on technical rational method, gives planners scientific authority and access to a wide body of

information. On the other hand, he says, planning problems often do not lend themselves to a comprehensive technical approach. Even if rational and comprehensive plans cannot be readily implemented until they go through the political decision making process.

- * Advocacy planners working on behalf of the public can show concern but do not have real power vested their role.

- * Apolitical planners provide technical expertise to facilitate political and technocrat decisions. The planner always remains in the background and allows the politician to take credit.

- * Critical planners concerned with the distribution of power and the extent to which planning reflects this distribution of power, place themselves in a precarious position.

- * Strategic planners are effective in pointing out the need for organizational integration and coordination to cope with eventualities. They rarely attempt a comprehensive long term view.

- * Incremental planners are responsible for the action. They do not have to agree on the goals used of develop a policy, but once the policy is set, they must work to implement it. In practice, they pay attention to formal and informal approaches and deal with a multiplier effect. (Ibid. pp.57-83)

In summary, knowing all these planning approaches, the planner as manager can bring different planning positions

closer together by selectively choosing roles and processes. The reality facing the planner he explains, is that they do not, and will not, have enough influence to be able to achieve effective planning within the institutional setting unless they adopt a management stance.

Benveniste (1989) also emphasizes "that there is virtue in letting those who are responsible assume their responsibilities and that giving advice and influencing outcomes is a responsibility that cannot be taken lightly because power resides both in those who listen and act upon advice and in those who give it."(p.4) According to Benveniste, the planner as manager should not be based on some valued ideal that limits the effectiveness of the planner. Nor should the manager be working to achieve a redistribution of power; that work belongs to others in the political system.(Ibid.p.282)

Benveniste believes that if managers are going to 'master the politics of planning' then they must be aware that the planning processes gives them certain advantages over those inherent in public participatory processes. Planning processes gain legitimacy by the good ideas that are successfully implemented. Planning processes can be selective as they take new approaches to solve problems. Planning processes are flexible, and can deal quickly and informally with emergent ideas. Procedures and outcomes matter in the planning process.

On the other hand, public participation processes can be

slow and cumbersome as they address formal and focused issues. Usually they are mandated and must meet certain requirements with regard to who can participate, and how and when information is presented. Due process matters; outcomes are not preset. Decisions and recommendations are not very flexible or open to further revisions. (Ibid.p.46)

Benveniste stressed that participatory processes are part of a master planning process and, therefore, belong in the political process: the place for participatory processes is not in the planning management process. (Ibid.p.46)

Although public participation is important in arriving at the policies and goals, managers should avoid being involved at the public participation stage. This work belongs to other kinds of planners and politicians.

The planner as manager works through formal channels with coalitions of organized groups. The task of organizing a group is not the job of the planner as manager, nor is it to try to redistribute power within the decision-making system. This work belongs to others whose political job is to work within the community. He acknowledges that the communicative actions of planners can reduce any confusion with regard to information or processes but, the communicative actions of a manager must focus on the process of planning - implementing plans that make a difference, reaching agreements through consensus building and using conflict resolution with the community of interest they serve.

Over time, success in implementing planning policies or

doing effective planning will lead to greater legitimacy for the planner. These successes give the planner greater access to information and networks of organized groups. This incremental planning process will support and maintain the dominant system, whatever that system may be, and ensure a role for planners. The planner then will assist those who can exercise social power, but remain at a distance from it themselves. Legitimacy for the manager comes from satisfying the client, reducing any conflict and assuring an uncontested outcome.

He says values and democratic ideals can be displayed in the planner's work. Their work as manager however, is not obviously a personal value they hold, but reflects the achievement of goals set by the decision makers.

Benveniste recognizes some key concepts that other planning theorists are dealing with, such as the power and politics of planning; the need for effective planning processes; the legitimization of the role of the public planner; and, the management of communication processes.

There is appeal in the stance Benveniste presented for planners. As Kaufman (1990) pointed out, planners as managers 'will have more influence on decisions made by those who have power in the existing decision-making system' and, the role 'poses less risks'. As well he says, in a management situation, the reality of using certain kinds of communication distortions, may be acceptable and necessary for goal achievement.(p.31) The planner as manager, using

selective communication distortions, will be faced with a number of ethical considerations which, Benveniste believes, will be taken into consideration and can be justified by responsible professional planners who give serious consideration to the choices they make.

The planner's job, as manager of the planning event, is to implement the decisions of others with creativity and flair. Benveniste advocates a position for the planner as a management consultant, one who is at the political centre but does not have to take the political responsibility for the decisions that are made. This is a planning role which would appeal to the pragmatic business management planner but ultimately fails to give planning improved critical social science credibility because it maintains the status quo.

2.5.2 Donald Schon - The Reflective Practitioner

Donald Schon (1983) is concerned about the lack of understanding of 'soft' knowledge - 'knowledge of artistry and unvarnished opinions' evident in professional practice, and, its relationship to the kind of 'hard' knowledge - 'knowledge of science' honoured in academia.(p.viii) He said in "The Reflective Practitioner: How Professionals Think In Action", "we are in need of inquiry into the epistemology of practice. What is the kind of knowing in which competent practitioners engage? How is professional knowing like and unlike the kinds of knowledge presented in academic

textbooks, scientific papers, and learned journals? In what sense, if any, is there intellectual rigor in professional practice?"(Ibid.p.viii)

He pointed out that there was a crisis in confidence in the professions in general because, they had failed, during the preceding two decades, to deliver the knowledge industry's promises of a better society. "A series of announced national (USA) crises - the deteriorating cities, poverty, the pollution of the environment, the shortage of energy - seemed to have roots in the very practices of science, technology, and public policy that were being called upon to alleviate them."(Ibid.p.9)

The professional's claim to truth coming from only one source could no longer be accepted as the only truth when it did not account for practical competence in divergent situations. Knowing-in-action is a form of truth brought by the planning professional to a planning event. This needs to be recognized in a new epistemology of practice.

In Schon's theory of reflective practice, planners have a knowing-in-action which they draw on when confronted by the divergent aspects of each case. This knowing comes from their professional training and from their work or life experience. Through reflection-in-action the planner changes their knowing-in-action to work with the practical realities (action) of the event. Reflective practice leads then to a theory of knowledge-in-action which is specific to the unique case. Later this knowledge is available to the reflective

planner when confronted by divergent aspects of another case.

Schon argued for an expanded definition of knowledge.

Let us then reconsider the question of professional knowledge; let us stand the question on its head. If the model of Technical Rationality is incomplete, in that it fails to account for practical competence in 'divergent' situations, so much the worse for the model. Let us search, instead, for an epistemology of practice implicit in the artistic, intuitive processes which some practitioners do bring to situations of uncertainty, instability, uniqueness, and value conflict. (Ibid.p.49)

He said that technical rational planning often maintains the status quo because the planning problems that are given priority are those which have been identified and agreed upon by the dominant system. The end or solution is identified and then the instrumental means of achieving the goal are selected based on their known characteristics and anticipated results. In technical rational planning there is narrow definition of the problem setting and an emphasis on problem solving. But, as Schon points out, problem setting is not static; it is "the process by which we define the decision to be made, the ends to be achieved, the means which may be chosen." (Ibid.p.40) Problem setting, which is not a technical problem, is a very real and messy part in a process that has a major impact on the actual results of the planning event. He said, "problem setting is a process in which, interactively, we name the things to which we will attend and frame the context in which we will attend to them". (1983,40) Problem setting is a vital part of the planning process that

needs to be dealt with much more carefully, otherwise, decisions are made from within too narrow a definition of the problem, the ends to be achieved are distorted or hidden, and the means to achieve the ends are too narrow.

Schon indicated that planners who view themselves as technical experts can ignore being reflective about the political nature of practice because "they have become too skillful at techniques of selective inattention, junk categories, and situational control, techniques which they use to preserve the constancy of their knowledge-in-practice". (Ibid.p.69) On the other hand, planners who choose to be reflective-in-practice pay attention to the divergent aspects and work to resolve them within a timeframe which effectively moves the action along. In this way the reflective practitioner is working from a general theory which is altered by practical realities of time, resources, information and skills.

The phenomenology, or context of an event, is also important. Phenomenology, the study of a planning event on its own terms, leads to understanding about the intentions, roles, and behaviours of the actors. Once an event is understood on its own terms, when we know what moves people to action, then it is possible to do something useful to move the action along. The motivation to take action in the planning process usually comes from some deep-seated value or unmet need. A process of inquiry is needed not only to understand more about values and needs, but also to question

motivation. The process Schon identifies, is critical analysis.

Critical analysis, as said earlier, is based on the knower questioning all assumptions because formal knowledge has been the means of reinforcing the dominant relations of power in society. As Schon points out, "the tension inherent in the bureaucratization of professional work tends to amplify when professionals seek to become reflective practitioners. A practitioner who reflects-in-action tends to question the definition of his task, the theories-in-action that he brings to it, and the measures of performance by which he is controlled." Schon also says that the reflective practitioner "also questions elements of the organizational knowledge structure in which his functions are embedded. Thus a human service worker who thinks critically about his practice may also criticize an agency-wide pattern of selective inattention to the most needy members of the client population." (Ibid.p.337) The reflective practitioner will be concerned not only about their own performance, but also of their employer and profession.

According to Schon, the reflective planner in practice is both self-reflective and publicly reflective. Knowing that people are working in an adversarial, institutional context, the planner works to engage people in co-operative inquiry. The role of the professional in this kind of situation is to help community conversations to become reflective ones. There is a reciprocal reflection-in-action

when people work together. In this kind of a situation the communicative actions of the planner become significant because they can impede, stagnate, or move along the planning event. All planners, including technicians, can, through their communicative actions, exhibit (or not exhibit) a critical attitude.

Schon makes the point that planners think on their feet. They work from a general theory of planning but each situation or case is unique. Planners will call upon their previous experience to arrive at a workable method to suit the new case. Within the action or praxis, the general theory is modified and so is the practice, and thus a particular theory and practice begins to form. In this way planners who use a reflective practice method find that technical rationality is no longer the only basis of decision making. The planner will call upon a number of other skills to achieve goals which have evolved during the planning event.

Schon presents an excellent argument. He concludes that because the dominant belief that practice can be kept within a technical rational 'ends/means' method has been shown to be false, the reality of reflection-in-action is a way of merging both the convergent and divergent aspects of planning practice into a new epistemology of practice. Reflective practitioners, unlike technical rational planners, are in a position to work with problem setting and solving interactively. They also can anticipate problem situations

and be self-conscious of the effect of their communicative actions.

2.5.3 John Forester - The Planner as Progressive

In a world of poor information and limited time to work on problems, how are careful analyses of alternative futures possible? In a world of conflicting interest - defined along lines of class, place, race, gender, organization, or individuals - how are planners to make their way? In a society structured by a capitalist economy and a nominally democratic political system, how are planners to respond to conflicting demands when private profit and public well-being clash? When planners are mandated to enable 'public participation' even as they work in bureaucratic organizations that may be threatened by such participation, what are planners to do? When 'solving' problems depends in large part on the interests, perceptions, commitments, and understanding of others, how can planners best convey their ideas, show what is consequential, expose dangers, and open up fruitful opportunities for action?....(My) book, 'Planning in the Face of Power'(1989), focuses on these problems to explore the ways planners can anticipate obstacles and respond practically, effectively, in ways that nurture rather than neglect - but hardly guarantee - a substantively democratic planning process." (Forester 1989:5)

After researching and studying these questions John Forester developed a critical theory of planning and presented the role of a progressive planner. In a reply to colleagues who have examined his work, Forester(1990) stressed that his theory is not just about clearer communication but, more importantly, the subtleties of 'action' in planning practice.(p.43) His arguments for a critical theory of planning are based on a reformulation of

Jurgen Habermas' 'communicative competency theory'. Habermas's work, which involved questioning knowledge theory, is based on the enabling rules of communication processes. Forester(1989) has confronted the practical and ethical worries about positivist knowledge.(Ibid.pp.137-162)

Forester examines practice and addresses the existing system of planning which is characterized by tension between its advisory (technical) and active (political) functions. He says planning processes are not limited to technical rational applications - planning as a whole is political because it is communicative, argumentative and influenced by statutory regulations.

Planners act in various roles in the course of their duties: some are technicians with information that can be applied to technical problems; some respond to organizational needs; and, others enable the public to participate in the planning process. Planning is not simply instrumental action, a means to an end, but attention-shaping, communicative action.(Ibid.p.138)¹

1. Forester (1989) says "The term 'progressive' is used because 'radical' has been discredited as not pragmatic, 'advocate' is overly narrow, 'ethical' is conventionally misunderstood to be simply idealistic, and 'professional' has been reduced, colloquially, from implying a 'calling' to denoting merely the possession of expertise and socio-economic status. Our use of 'progressive' appropriates those elements of the Progressive Era that called into question the structural relations of non-democratic control of capital and investment; this use rejects, however those elements of the same era that sought instead to rationalize, objectify, manage, and quiet the conflicts and exploitation inherent in the political-economy." (p.213)

Forester suggests that all planners, who define planning as communicative action and acknowledge that misinformation is a systematic problem, can adopt a progressive method and work toward a substantively democratic planning process by adding a critical function to their planning practice. The progressive planner sees information as a source of power which can enable citizen participation. Information must be made available in such a way as to empower the public and must work against 'legitimizing the maintenance of existing structures of power and ownership.' (Ibid.p.31) The way all planners can adopt a progressive attitude is by critically examining what they do in their work. If attention shaping is done with information and the information is often misinformation and distorted, then steps must be taken to ensure that mis-information is exposed and even eliminated.

The progressive planner should pay attention to their organizing practices and recognize the obstacles that exist to democratic participation. (Ibid.pp.30-31) Forester explains that "organizing does not simply mean 'getting more citizen input,' (or) getting more bodies to meetings. This is precisely how 'input' misleads us, for it is not input, but political responsibility, participation, and mobilization that are at issue." (P.243) Organizing is not a passive activity but a political activity which leads to action.

Forester says the progressive planner deals with the problems faced by a 'counter-hegemonic practice', a practice that is countering economic rationalism. The progressive

planner will take a critical stance, one that questions the assumptions that maintain the dominant system and one that actively works to expose the hidden relations of power. He says:

Critical theory, as we draw on it here, assesses social and political-economic structures as systematic patterns of practical communicative interaction. These relations of power and production do not merely transmit information; they also communicate and reproduce political and moral meaning, organizing support, consent, trust, and political belief. The critical, ethical content of the theory focuses attention on the systematic and unnecessarily distorted nature of communicative interactions, on the promises, appeals, reports, and justifications that so shape the lives of citizens of our societies. (Ibid.p.139)

In discussing the structure of practical communicative action, he draws on the enabling rules of Comprehensibility, Sincerity, Legitimacy, and Accuracy. These are the ordinary, socially accepted rules that are employed by anyone who wants to be understood, or believed, or heeded. "Listening critically, we try to gauge the extent to which another speaks:

1. comprehensibly, for we can presume neither clear statements nor obfuscation;
2. sincerely, for we need to assess the speaker's trustworthiness;
3. legitimately in the context at hand, so we can assess the propriety of the speaker's claim; and

4. accurately, so we can assess the truth of what we hear."
(Ibid.p.144)

To achieve effective communication, comprehensibility and sincerity may simply require more information or face to face contact to establish proper communication and trust. Legitimacy and accuracy on the other hand, if they are to be effectively communicated and satisfied, may require the employment of dialogic processes of consensus building, conflict resolution, and argumentation.

Planners must pay particular attention to their communicative actions because planners 'have little formal power or authority', and in their work they routinely "confront particular private or class interests (eg. the development industry) that are likely to violate these criteria systematically." (Ibid.p.144) Since planners' actions and words count, because these reflect intention, belief and meaning, planners must be aware that there is power in their communicative actions. The progressive planner, using critical planning theory to foster informed public participation, will give the community information, technical resources and a critical analysis. As Kraushaar(1988) says, "the question is not how many individuals have their lives marginally improved, but by what degree those individuals recognize the true nature of the problems confronting them." (p.98)

Forester(1989) sums up the argument this way:

This is the contribution of a critical planning theory: *pragmatics with vision* - to reveal true alternatives, to correct false expectations, to counter cynicism, to foster inquiry, to spread political responsibility, engagement, and action.

Critical planning practice, technically skilled and politically sensitive, is simultaneously an organizing and a democratizing practice.

(Ibid.p.162)

The key word is "action" - this is not a theory of what 'should be' but intended as a basis of empowerment for action - it is a procedural theory.

The role that Forester proposes for planners as progressive may be less appealing than the technical expert role because of the extra work and (new) communication skills it requires. It may ultimately be more appealing to planners because it blends their roles, and strives to achieve fairness through a balance of technical and political skills.

The principles of critical planning theory (episodes are time and place oriented; learning comes from ongoing action and evaluation; all voices are included; power principles are examined; normative questions are central issues) are intended to reach an 'end' Forester characterizes as being empirically based, practically fitting and ethically instructive. (Ibid.p.138)

Author's Note:

The literature review though it initially seemed complete at this point had left me with further questions, in particular about what the response of planners would be to practicing Forester's theory for progressive planning. As I believed then, and now, there are lessons for planning in the theories and actions of movements of the 1960s, for example, social justice, feminism, and environmentalism. I could not see how Forester's critical planning theory and progressive practice could be implemented without some bridging and legitimizing element between the dominant and non-dominant systems. I knew that there had to be a chord struck that would be heard on both sides before there would be a possibility of effecting the kind of changes that were envisioned.

I didn't grasp what was missing until I read the work of Tom Harper and Stan Stein. They pointed out that the chaos in the challenges from a variety of radical movements, including the Post-Modernist movement, left society confused about a safe and rational course of action and afraid to make any changes at all. The system remains in tension, and worse 'on the edge of an abyss' - not being able to go forward or backward. (Harper and Stein 1992a)

They pointed out that the historical origin of beliefs originating in the Enlightenment's scientific and humanistic tenets led to the now unbalanced modern period. They also pointed out

that ethical considerations have an increasing role to play in planning's critique of itself, and although specific normative principles have been the basis for planning, there has been no explanation of how these principles were reached. After reflecting on these issues, Harper and Stein connected elements of planning theory with normative ethical theory as a sound approach to achieving alternative courses of action on the range of conflicts. They presented arguments for a new normative basis for planning that is grounded in liberal, democratic tradition.

Harper and Stein (1994) confirmed the elements that Forester(1989) had presented as a procedural method for planning. They also provided a deeper philosophical understanding of the challenges that planning faces in legitimizing practice and the profession.

Similarly, I believe that the literature of Judith Innes de Neufville(1983) needs to be included because she has explored, since the early 1980s, arguments that support a critical theory of planning and progressive planning practice. In 1994, she has taken a reflective look at, and given an explanation of, the work of the 'new planning theorists'. She gives credence to the mounting evidence that a new planning paradigm, grounded in theory and practice, has taken root and is rapidly evolving.

2.5.4 Tom Harper and Stan Stein -

The Normative Basis of Planning

Tom Harper and Stan Stein's (1994c) work deals with the legitimization of planning, as a liberal democratic practice, from both a planning and philosophical perspective. (p.12) They say that the gap between planning theory and practice, which is a result of the dominance of a positivist view of knowledge, had been widened even more, in their estimation, by the reaction by the Post-Modernists to the failures of planning. Post-Modernists rejected technical rational planning and any notion of progress and also failed to offer a viable tangible alternative.

Planning, Harper and Stein say, is on 'the brink of an abyss' mainly because it continues to be aligned with a dominance of the scientific paradigm and not by a substantive body of knowledge that is gathered from a wide range of rationalities. (1994c:8) Planning needs to examine its normative justification to enable it to step back on solid ground, and to be credible now and in the future. They say today's planners want a recognition of multiple voices and discourses, inclusivity, encouragement of many voices, emancipation and empowerment for citizens, accountability, hope for the future and an expanded notion of rationality. (1994c:12)

Questioning the role of the planner and planning is really a stage of public questioning that comes from active

open opposition to planner's work, especially at times of crisis and change. Reflecting on, or criticism of, normative precepts jumps from the academic scene to the actor scene, when in fact it should be turned back on both so as to question planning's normative precepts and principles, for eg., positivism and utilitarianism, for this is what underlies planners actions, plans and policies. (Harper and Stein 1993a:8)

Harper and Stein (1994c) point out that planning was based on two tenets of the Enlightenment - the Scientific tenet and the Liberal tenet. In the Scientific tenet there is a claim that knowledge, based on fact and not values, is the only source of valid knowledge. In the Liberal tenet there is a valuing of the equal and autonomous individual in both political and moral realms and, a belief that human progress is made through rational argument. In the Liberal tenet, science is there to serve, not rule, humanity. They point out that the Scientific tenet has current value because of the premise of 'rational argument', and it is this premise of rational argument that needs to be nurtured while scientific dominance needs to be challenged and changed. They say the Liberal tenet, long neglected, must be revived and seen as the one of the foundation stones of a new normative basis of planning.

Harper and Stein indicate that empirical study of practice has clearly shown that positivist knowledge does not account for the whole of a planning event. Non-technical

knowledge has been shown to be valid knowledge. They dissolve the positivist model of rationality, where scientific method produces positivist knowledge and this knowledge is turned into action, by simply stating that there is overwhelming evidence that positivist rationality is far too limited and should be rejected as the only valid source of knowledge. This opens the way for a wider definition and inclusion of other critically examined rationalities. They emphasize reasonable-ness.(1994c:7) Planning theory that rejects the positivist notion of rationality also shakes the foundation of Post-Modernism. Post-Modernism, left without the very thing it opposes, no longer has a complete ideology, or tenets to stand on or oppose. If the rational planning model is a narrow and impossible standard of rationality that makes planning irrational and arbitrary, then Post-Modernism with a plethora of 'narrow' rationalities is also irrational and arbitrary and thus negates itself.(Ibid.p.12)

Harper and Stein examine what they identify as the key principles of Post Modernism from a number of key writers' perspectives. They believe that planning theorists will learn what needs to be retained and rejected from this movement by having a better understanding of Post Modernism's strengths and weaknesses.(1992a, 1991, 1994c)

The Post Modernists' world view is "...a fragmented and indeterminate place where people live in different worlds, with different rationalities and different (incommensurable) language games, a world which celebrates difference and

'otherness', a world without the notions of truth or progress." (Harper & Stein 1994c:3) Post Modernism does not believe that progress is possible under a dominant Modernist system because "objective and universal critique is itself a facade, a mask for oppression". (Ibid.p.3)

Post Modernists, Harper and Stein say, cannot totally reject Modernism as a rationality without collapsing as a philosophy. Modernism is also based on the Liberal tenet, (even if this fact is not currently evident or has been forgotten), which values 'reasonableness' coming from free-thinking persons. If Modernism's faults are abandoned, and its useful elements retained, and, if elements of Post Modernism are retained, such as a wider notion of rationality, living with ambiguity, and accepting difference, then liberal planning practices will be legitimized in a normative defined planning theory.

They also argue that the new normative basis of planning should be incremental, in the sense of staged action. They say that incrementalism is the most appropriate form of planning for a pluralistic democratic society with some overlapping consensus, re: basic liberal values. They say planning practice can benefit from taking thoughtful, practical steps, being, in philosophical terms, neo-pragmatic - "giving good reasons for what we advocate and what we oppose". (Harper & Stein 1992a:1)

They say that planning needs a critical function as well as a liberal and scientific function. Planning uses critical

Harper and Stein examined other procedural ethical processes from the works of M. Walzer, J. Habermas, and J. Rawls, that are focused on ethical decision-making. (1993a)

Harper and Stein (1994c) make the argument that a new paradigm for planning in a Postmodern era practice should be pragmatic, incremental, liberal and critical and liberal.

- * *Pragmatic* in its integration of the best of both Modernism and Postmodernism, and in its recognition that planning is a thin concept, one which does not have a single essence or method independent of context.
- * *Incremental* in its recognition that change can only be legitimated within a shared background of sameness.
- * *Liberal* in its commitment to the Enlightenment ideal of free individuals contributing equally in both thought and action, providing (what we believe is) not only a moral basis for planning, but also for all endeavour - epistemological, theoretical and practical. As we have argued [Harper and Stein 1993a, 1995] consensus-seeking procedural mechanisms are crucial in pluralistic societies.
- * *Critical* in that its procedural mechanism provides a forum for critique and change of our social (political, economic and, legal) institutions. Without critique, society is in danger of being bound by stagnant and oppressive institutions. We believe that genuine critique is possible only through the interplay of free and equal individuals in dialogue. (Ibid.p.12)

Critical Liberalism as the rationale for a new normative

basis of planning incorporates Forester's Progressive Planner (1989), Friedmann's Social Learner (1987) (with the addition of a critical function) and is similar to his Non-Euclidean Planner (1992) and his Radical Planner (1987). (Harper and Stein 1993a:10) "A Critical Liberal perspective rejects the reductionism, positivism, scientism, foundationalism, and absolute dualism of Modernism." (1992a:13)

Since planning cannot be effective if it is too radical it will need to be unconventional in a non-radical way. This is achieved by maintaining social continuity through critically examined incremental change, and going back for grounding to society's roots in liberal values and belief in democratic practice.

I agree with Harper and Stein (1994c) when they conclude that, "The solution to our problems (in planning and society) lie in a pragmatic, flexible, holistic, reasonable approach to understanding each other, and in public debates conducted within the traditions of our liberal democratic framework - with an ongoing reflective and critical examination of its tenets." (p.12)

I also agree with the statement, "Persuasion through rational argument is the only alternative to power." (Harper and Stein 1994c:10) The meaning for me is a recognition that the definition of rationality is expansive, and that in a political democratic process, the goal is not a 'power over' situation but 'shared power' and partnership.

2.5.5 Judith Innes de Neufville -

The New Planning Theorists

Judith Innes de Neufville (1983, 1987) has written about 'bridging the gap' and 'making the link' between the theory and practice of planning. She said that, "it is time to develop a new way of seeing the problems and task of planning - to make a gestalt switch to a view which will provide a more satisfactory mesh with reality, a more usable set of goals for practice, and a more fruitful direction for theoretical inquiry." (Innes de Neufville 1983:37) Innes (1994) believes the 'gestalt switch' she spoke of twelve years earlier, is now taking place because of the work of a great number of new planning theorists.

She, like Harper and Stein, said there is a need for planning to have 'a firm philosophical thought about the nature of knowledge'. (1983:39) Innes de Neufville (1983) says that "of three ways of knowing and learning - the postivist, empirically-based method; the phenomenological, holistic and interpretive method; and, (critical theory's) method of critique" the later, critical theory, makes the strongest link between knowledge and action. (p.41) In critical theory, knowledge is seen more as 'an evolving set of understandings' rather than an absolute, therefore knowledge is dynamic and meshes closer to everyday practice. In praxis the planner is working from a general theory or set of principles which frame the action. With critical theory the planner has an

ethical stance - opposing the status quo and advocating for the powerless. Action leads to learning and knowing or knowledge. Change comes about because of critique and discourse. (Ibid.p.41)

Like John Forester(1989), she points out that truth, like knowledge, is not an absolute. Truthfulness, rather than truth, can be validated by a set of claims to truth verified by the concepts of comprehensibility, legitimacy, sincerity, and accuracy.(1983:41)

Innes de Neufville (1983) concludes:

Planning theory cannot seek simple answers, but will have to develop accounts dealing with the full complexity of planning and its many accounts. It will have to give close attention to the interactiveness of planning and the communication roles of planners. It will have to be about meanings and embrace rather than deny ambiguity. The theorizing must be grounded in empirical study and the perceptions of actors. It should account for structural and historical forces and delineate planners who are immersed in interaction - communicators, and simultaneously actors, researchers, and facilitators. It will have to define ethical planning, and establish typologies of the settings in which planning takes place, along with strategies effective in each. A new exemplar, or series of them, should emerge. But, most importantly, the result should be a rich set of insights and theories on which to found the intellectual growth of planning. (p.43)

Recently she summed up her observations of the new planning paradigm that is emerging from the changes in planning theory and practice and the role of planners. "The new planning theorists see planning as an interactive communicative activity and depict planners as deeply embedded

in the fabric of the community." They do "grounded theorizing, based on richly interpretive study of practice". (Innes 1994:1) They are searching for truthfulness, not truth. They try to understand others' points of view or 'truths'. More importantly they question whether rational comprehensive planning and technical rationality was ever a complete paradigm because, by its nature, it was an incomplete method.

A new paradigm is emerging. By Innes's criteria, an accepted paradigm has a consistently high number of people who talk to each other about the work they are doing, meet regularly at conferences, read each others work, and practice 'that' style of planning. She also noted, whereas planners originally came from a number of social science backgrounds and still do, the profession and education of planners has become a separate discipline. Planners now have the benefit of working with, and learning from, colleagues with a specific planning orientation.

She believes that the new paradigm is based on communicative action theory. For this she, like Forester (1989), has drawn on Habermas' Theory of Communicative Action. "This work has already had significant influence on many planning theorists, because it confronts directly many of the concerns that emerge from a study of practice. In particular, it directly confronts their practical and ethical worries about professional knowledge." (Innes 1994:7) She points out that critical theorists like Habermas 'contend

that scientific method not only does not produce simple truth, it can conceal as much as it reveals.' (Ibid.p.7)

"The communicative action theorists find out what planning is by finding out what planners do, rather than postulating what planning ought to be. They do not talk about an abstract planner but about specific ones. They pay attention to the messy part of planning that does not fit into a systematic framework. They build on the most fundamental of findings from their study of practice. Planning is more than anything an interactive, communicative activity." (Ibid.p.3)

John Forester(1989) is an 'exemplar', in Innes's estimation, for his work in urging planners to see the practical and communicative nature of their actions and how planners can devise strategies to avoid planning problems.

I found that Innes de Neufville's writings gave a clear, strong analysis of the problems faced in planning and a straightforward message about the direction that planning needs to take. I agree with the process outlined for planning theory and practice because it embodies critical planning theory. She validates the work of the new planning theorists and creates a particular hope and enthusiasm for the direction of planning heading into the Twenty-First Century because, as she pointed out, planning, unlike at the turn of the Twentieth Century, has the benefit of educators with specific planning degrees. This is important - planning will be using peers to solve its own problems first.

2.6 Theory's Role as a Diagnostic Tool for Practitioners.

From these authors I have identified six themes which I believe are directly relevant to the questions examined in this thesis and the possibility of planning 'with' communities. The six themes are rooted in the theoretical issues identified by Friedmann, Forester, and others and are formulated to prompt the planner, while in practice, to examine and reflect on the theoretical issues and dynamics underlying the planner's activities.

It is a tool to allow the planner to focus on critical social analysis, communicative action theory and reflective theory while in practice and to allow the planner to reflect on, and perhaps come to a deeper understanding of the issues and beliefs, the methods and agendas, at work in the community with which the planner is working.

The themes will allow the planner, when 'stuck', to look behind the problem to perhaps identify the real reason(s) for the difficulties, to develop useful information and insights and to devise ways that might allow the community planning process to move forward.

A combination of the literature review, and my own experience as a community activist, has led me to these themes. To develop them in a comprehensive way I will show, through a brief summary of the literature, why the themes emerged and will explain how they are relevant to the

practice of planning.

After a thorough study of planning theory, I have been left dismayed that planning practice continues to operate within the confines of a self-limiting, technical rational structure while at the same time learned individuals are speaking openly about the continuing failures of the planning profession when it plans for communities. The theorists consistently present evidence that the social and economic system does not deliver an improved quality of life with the level of fairness that the public, and the professional, expects. Planning has instead, through a technical rational method and under the guise of 'doing good', maintained an economic hegemony that benefits the few (compared to the many). The 'good to the many', that was intended to emerge from a planned 'for' social and physical organization of democratic human society, has been bypassed by powerful interests to primarily 'benefit the few'.

Attempts have been made to challenge the dominant system but the protest potential has never been sufficient to change the balance of power. A force, equal to or greater than the one that sustains the present faulty system, has yet to be created that can challenge and change economic hegemony. It must be kept in mind that North American society is, as Forester (1989) said, "a precariously democratic but strongly capitalistic society."(p.3) At the turn of the century, federal governments did try to control the growing monopoly of economic power by creating legal policy instruments that

would keep economic interests in check and maintain liberal democratic government. These instruments were guidelines and subject to interpretation. They changed through legal precedent and were often (and still are) by-passed for other political and economic priorities. The instruments have been only marginally successful - the dominance continues. The theorists say that citizens have been de-politicized out of the democratic process. The choices for planners that remain are: to be quasi-technical rational, that is, to work as effectively as possible within the status quo or the present situation (to plan 'for'); or to be radical - to reverse the positions of who holds the balance of power and transform society into a fairer social and economic unit (to plan 'by'); or to be progressive - to create change in power relationships to one of shared, democratic power (to plan 'with').

Benveniste (1989) took a quasi-technical rational approach to the political reality facing planners even though he acknowledged the importance of a critical analysis. In contrast to radical or progressive theorists, he showed how planners can master the daily politics of planning without taking on the whole system. Self-interested planners work within the system on the goals set by their employers. He suggested that planners: recognize the power struggle in the planning situation; nurture and connect with the organized (already politicized) groups in it; and, only do the good

that is expected. Planners will gain legitimacy in the dominant technical rational system by virtue of their position and the successful achievement of employers' goals. Planners' communicative actions have an important impact on the results that are achieved. The choices they make in terms of the timing and type of information that is given may alter the balance of power. However, changing the balance of power, one way or the other, is not the responsibility of a planner, who, as a manager, maintains the status quo but works with organized groups.

Friedmann (1987) went beyond a social learning model to state that the planning crisis in society is very serious and requires radical action by radical planners to repoliticize the population. This would be achieved through a total social transformation of society which must start with the household economy and reach into the international economic scene. He recognized the importance of planners having a critical attitude and an emancipatory interest for society. He urged planners to be openly political and to re-tie the knot between knowledge and action through activities that would start as a protest and develop into a political force strong enough to challenge and change the relative positions in the dominant system. The system would result in a reversal of dominant roles - it still remains a power over situation when planning is done by the community.

Schon (1983) is very clear about the failures of 'the knowledge industry' to deliver people's expectations. He pointed out that substantial rationality has been ignored, therefore, technical reason can continue to dominate an unbalanced economic system. He showed that professionals, and that includes planners, have a 'knowing' that they bring to practice - which they use, to create knowledge-in-practice. Planners can begin to change the balance of power by acknowledging the necessity of political processes that they have come to see as central to professional competence. Armed with a critical analysis they will at least be able to be clear about 'what they propose and what they oppose'. By reflection on their practice they can expand their professional communication skills. Planners become more effective in framing their role and legitimizing the profession by planning with communities. The balance of power is eroded and begins to lean toward shared power.

Forester (1989) also bemoaned the loss of democracy and the cancerous way in which an unfulfilled capitalist economic philosophy has continued to destroy the very thing it said would be created, that is, a better social, economic and democratic society. He looked at planning practice to examine what effective planners did to enable organizing democratic practices to happen, even within a system dominated by information control, misinformation and systematically distorted communication. He found that the

argumentative and communicative nature of planning was not accounted for in the planning event. Forester, clearly and emphatically, recommended that planners, armed with a critical (social) theory of planning and attentive to the meaning-making nature of their communicative actions, would have an understanding of how relations of power shape the planning process and larger political strategies. Power would be used not to benefit one group over another but to develop society as a democratic whole by planning with communities.

Harper and Stein (1994) recalled that planning as a profession is based on one of the original tenets of the Enlightenment, that is Liberalism, which stands for equality, freedom, and justice for the individual and for all people. They also pointed out that the radical challenge to the dominant system from the recent social movement called Post-Modernism has some valid lessons to bring to the challenge presented by economic hegemony. They recommend that planners have a critical social analysis, that is, an analysis based on a belief that there are hidden relations of power that are preventing individuals from freely and wisely authoring their own futures. They said that if planners are to take charge of themselves, their profession and their professional duty, they will vigorously work from a critical, liberal, reasonable and incremental approach during the planning process in an attempt to achieve shared power.

Innes de Neufville (1994) has also sounded the alarm for quite some time over the crisis in planning and made similar recommendations like the others who propose a critical analysis as a starting point for effective planning practice. She has highlighted the lessons that a growing number of planners, identified as 'the new planning theorists', have been incorporating into planning practice. She sees that planners, who have an awareness of the impact of their communicative actions, engender in others a process to acquire a critical social analysis. Together, this new team of progressive planners, politicians, other professionals and citizens, are a growing force capable of challenging the dominance of technical rational planning, and, incorporating appropriate and sufficient substantial rationality into planning theory and practice. The recognition of the full complexity of the planning process and the democratic goals of society bring the citizenry closer into a shared power position or planning with mentality.

2.6.0 Six Themes of Progressive Planning Practice

From these theorists I have identified six themes that are significant in, what I choose to refer to as, a progressive planning practice. These themes address the root of the matter - power over. These six themes are a continuing reminder of both the problems facing planners in a 'planning for community' system and the processes they can

use to move toward solutions in 'planning with community'.

1. The quest by the planning profession to find a meta-narrative or theory that challenges the dominance of technical rational planning method and the inherent game of power and control, by incorporating substantial rationality (practical reason) in a reconciled planning practice of science and reform.
2. The need to recognize that power and politics are an integral part of planning practice.
3. The need to clarify the role of the public planner in practice.
4. The need for a critical social analysis for planners who are working toward a repoliticized citizenry.
5. The need for an awareness by planners of the significance of their communicative actions in practice.
6. The need to legitimize the role of planning and planners in organizational and community settings.

These themes are grounded in the principles of a critical social theory of planning. "A critical theory of planning helps us to understand what planners do as attention-shaping, communicative action rather than as instrumental action, as means to particular ends." (Forester 1989:138) I will use these as a reminder of what is important and for when, as Forester says, I get 'stuck' in the power and politics of planning. These themes are a bridge from

planning 'for' to planning 'with' communities.

Theme 1 argues that the dominance of technical rational planning has maintained and legitimated a planning 'for' method. However planning is in practice, both a science and reform activity; it is both advisory and active; it is technical and political, therefore it requires a wider notion of rationality, one that encompasses both technical and substantial rationalities. It also says the normative basis of planning needs to be changed to reflect the phenomenology of the planning episode and the central issues of normative questions and problems of ideology, and that planning needs a theory which encompasses the diversity of democratic planning practice. This theme is an argument for, and legitimates, planners' need to fully develop planning 'with' communities.

Theme 2 says that power and politics are closely linked in the planning process. Power is found in hegemonic forces that maintain a planning 'for' mentality and also found in citizen action that promotes a planning 'with' mentality. Knowledge and access to reliable information is power. Democratic politics exists to control inappropriate concentrations of power, to protect citizens and to deliver fairness. A democratic political system relies on free-thinking citizens to draw attention to group priorities and to keep the system in balance. A planning 'for' situation creates vigorous adversarial lobbying and protests, while a

planning 'with' situation gives ample contact, and time and process to enhance the democratic planning process.

Theme 3 calls attention to the fact that the role of the planner is in tension. The fact that planners work in a number of roles and capacities is often misunderstood because the planning 'for' system does not set realistic parameters for planners. A planning 'with' system gives proper place and scope to the role of the planner. The community must help define the role, or usefulness planners, play in the planning event.

Theme 4 points out that planners with a critical analysis cannot remain neutral to the hidden (though sometimes openly obvious) relations of power that maintain an unbalanced system. - they and others must be open and honest about the ideological position they represent. They must be ready to question all assumptions in order to expose communication distortions and misinformation. The planner in a planning 'for' system is constrained while a planner in a planning 'with' system is able to recognize and acknowledge the goals of liberal democracy in society.

Theme 5 is a reminder to be aware that communicative actions are structured social actions which are based on four enabling rules that give all communication validity. The rules are, comprehensibility, sincerity, legitimacy, and

accuracy. Communicative actions impart facts and meaning. What planners say and do, or not say and do, matters. Planners in a planning 'for' system can neutralize their communicative actions while planners in a planning 'with' system endeavour to energize their communicative actions.

Theme 6 is a reminder that the failures of the planning 'for' community system to deliver what it promised and the continuing confusion about the role of the planner and planning in society must stop. Planning practice must lay claim to and promote the legitimate role that planners perform as an agent of change in partnership 'with' the community. To be legitimate, planning must not only be doing good, but be seen to be doing good.

2.6.1 Conclusion

These six themes contain insights and basic information that have been gained from exploring the questions: "What do planners do?", "What is planning?", and "Why isn't it done differently?" The themes, encompassed in a critical theory of planning, point the profession in a direction that is useful and valuable. Planning practice can be grounded in theory, and theory can be reflective of practice. These themes re-link knowledge and action.

I believe that as a planner I can be more effective in a

planning 'with' community practice by frequently referring to these themes of progressive planning practice. They will assist me in each planning situation to pay attention to the process of problem setting and be aware that there are a diversity of roles and strategies to reach solutions. I would also, with a reflective and critical analysis of my own reasons for action and decisions, be more effective in communicating my intent and helping others be clear about their intentions. With this understanding and the skills needed in an application of the enabling rules of effective communication, I would be, as a planner and an active citizen, better equipped to create and maintain an improved level of effective dialogue with, and between, all participants.

These six themes are characteristic of a procedural approach to ensure that all interests get a fair hearing in the planning process. These themes urge planners forward to a more democratic, open process. A fair process is sometimes more important than the resulting decision. Democracy does not mean you win all the time, it just guarantees citizens a fair and open process. These six themes will help diagnose how the planning process can be more open and 'critical'.

This chapter has examined the literature and concluded with six themes that support a progressive planning practice (Forester 1989). There are numerous examples of situations where the planning 'for' method has created many problems that could have been eliminated with the planning 'with'

method. The next two chapters deal with a case study which I believe illustrates the six themes as a procedural approach for assessing and improving the planning process.

In the interviews I used the six themes to encourage a reflective communication of the important factors and circumstances that characterized this particular planning event. I endeavoured to more fully understand critical social theory and communicative action theory, which were at work (in practice) in this case.

Chapter Three

Case Study

Robert A. Steen Community Centre

3.0 Purpose

This chapter will provide information on the selection of the case study and case study methodology. It will give a description of the neighbourhood and the project to provide the reader with an overall sense of the community. It will also explain my direct involvement in this project as a participant-observer and the special advantages which that involvement gave me in gaining access to information and in developing insights.

Further this case study will allow me to demonstrate the basis for planning 'with' community in relation to critical planning theory. Though it highlights the problems that arise from traditional planning 'for' communities - it is the 'with' learning experience that I have emphasized, and use to gain insights for planning practice.

3.1 Why this case study

This case study, examines the re-development of Robert A. Steen Community Centre between 1982-1992. This case has

been selected because the community of Wolseley, in which the project occurred had a discernible community planning ethic; it had active, well-informed and well-connected citizens. It is a recent project with information readily available and the participants were, for the most part, accessible for interviews and able to give a reflective, evaluative perspective. This project had its share of problems but were resolved. It is the attitudes and methods used to resolve problems in this project that are the important lessons, not the contentious issues themselves. There were short-term and long-term positive outcomes for both institution-based and community-based planning processes, and these outweighed the negatives. It provided an excellent opportunity to organize much detailed information, relate a personal narrative of a social action experience and demonstrate the benefits of planning 'with', for both the community and the institutional planner.

Other case studies were considered which were issue-driven, dealt with diverse positions and demonstrated a similar, discernible community ethic (a planning 'with' community mentality). For instance citizen action by Logan Community Development Corporation of North End Winnipeg was successful, a number of years ago, in salvaging a residential neighbourhood from conversion into a major industrial park. This project resulted in a unique partnership by working 'with' citizens and all government levels. Not only did a

community improve rather than disappear, the partnership created a community controlled corporation to manage and maintain neighbourhood housing, and to provide effective social support to owners and tenants.

Another interesting case of is the development of Payuk Inter-Tribal Co-op, an apartment block in downtown Winnipeg designed and managed by aboriginal women to meet their special housing needs. This group worked in partnership with government funders and were the 'contractor' as well as a significant decision-maker in a specific building design. They had a particular ethic, based on their aboriginality, which they wanted reflected in the construction process, completion problems and on-going management of a co-op residential housing complex. Here too is an issue-driven project that insisted on a planning 'with' method, and which shows that the system was able to adjust to, and accommodate change in the way institutions related to the community.

The Robert A. Steen Community Centre project was selected finally though, because of the particular relationship I had with this project and the Wolseley community. My involvement in this project was a continuation of community volunteer work that I had been doing for quite sometime, as an active citizen, in many matters that affected myself and a young family. I had been an executive member of the Laura Secord Sports and Recreation Association, in charge

of the canteen and had been a baseball coach. At the time of the case study project I was President of the Laura Secord Home and School Parent-Teacher Association and in this capacity attended early project meetings, and then acted as the Chairperson of the Laura Secord Community Development Committee in Stage 1 of the project. I was also a member of the Wolseley Residents Association (1980), pursuing an undergraduate degree in sociology and recreation studies while working part-time in the Community Access program at the University of Winnipeg Athletic Centre and for Winnipeg Core Area Initiative Community Programs as an Elderaerobics Fitness Instructor. I was involved in a number of other groups, for instance the Community Education Development Committee and the Inner City Education Conference Committee and a committee on inner-city literacy programs. When I assumed the role of Chairperson of the Laura Secord Community Development Committee, and in later project stages when I was President of the Wolseley NDP Association, Executive Assistant to the Member of the Legislative Assembly for Wolseley, and President of the Gordon Bell High School Parent-Teacher Association, I was in a position to be actively involved and connected to issues in the community and the processes that took place on this project at several political levels. This case study and practicum allows me to gain a personal and intellectual closure by working through one of many projects that started me on my odyssey through the planning school.

3.2 Case Study Methodology

A Case Study Method has been used to examine one case of issue-driven community planning practice. It is the method I have chosen to systematically organize and present a number of perspectives, and the relationship of that information to a planning theory. According to Yin (1984) it is acceptable to use one case study to do analytical generalization and expansion of theory.(p.21)

This practicum follows the five step Case Study Method outlined by Yin (Ibid.p.51):

1. Develop theory or identify the theory to which the case study is generalized.
2. Select a case study as the unit of analysis and follow the components of research design of a case study.
3. Do data collection through any or all of the six sources of evidence: documents, interviews, archival records, direct-observation, participant-observation, or physical artifacts.
4. Prepare a report with an analysis, pattern matches and policy implications.
- 5 Do final conclusions and recommendations.

This case study methodology is evident throughout the practicum document. The theory to which the case study is generalized, Critical Planning Theory (and my Themes of

Progressive Planning Practice), is fully developed in the Conclusion of the Chapter 2 - Literature Review. The background details of the case study, ascertained from research and a variety of documents, are found in Chapter 3 - Case Study Background and Documentation. Interviews, which provide an indepth view and confirmation of the case study data, along with an analysis of the lessons learned from the interviews are found in Chapter 4 - Case Study Interviews and Analysis. The themes of Progressive Planning Practice are raised again in the 'Analysis' section made at the end of each interview. The case study and practicum conclusions, and any recommendations, are found in Chapter 5 - Conclusions.

The planning issues and processes of both the institutional and community contexts are outlined in the case study, and further, their separation and mutuality, on the planning issues and processes that affect the community, is emphasized.

3.3 Sources of Evidence

The six themes of progressive planning practice are examined through a chain of evidence in the case study. This evidence has come from a number of sources: through my own participant-observation; from documents and archival records such as newspaper articles, meeting minutes, public notices;

direct observation of the events and process; and, through interviews with the participants. The actual end products in this case study, renovated buildings servicing the community, are exhibits of physical artifacts.

3.4 Reflection on Practice

The results of the interviews were reviewed through a reflection on practice, or in Schon's (1983) term, from the view of a 'reflective practitioner'. While a reflective practitioner would do reflection-in-practice, learning while doing and modifying theory and practice during the process, a reflective practitioner would also reflect on the events and processes at the end of a planning event, both to understand, and learn from practice. Through the methodology used in this practicum, it is possible to get an accurate picture of the positions, problems, and changes that occur when two 'opposing' structures - the institution and the community - intersect and work 'with' each other. It is possible to see how planning practice is linked to theory, and theory to action.

3.5 Case Study Background

3.5.0 Historical and Neighbourhood Context

The development site of the Robert A. Steen Memorial

Community Centre, located in an area known as Wolseley, is within the diverse ethnic, social and economic 'core area' of the City of Winnipeg. The Wolseley area is located in the west end between several long street blocks bounded by Portage Avenue to the north and the Assiniboine River to the south.

According to a booklet prepared in 1988 by The Manitoba Historical Society, titled "Walking In Wolseley", the neighbourhood was originally established as a middle-class urban residential area in a period of rapid expansion between 1890 to 1914. Prior to urban development of the west end of Winnipeg there was plenty of privately owned 'prairie' land. Land set aside for public use was limited. Comfortable homes were occupied by business people, civic leaders, activists and academics, whose ethnic background was almost exclusively Anglo-Saxon.

Besides residential development in the Wolseley area, a large tract of property was taken up by a privately owned, multi-attraction recreation park known as 'Happyland Park'. It operated from 1906 till 1914 on a site located between the east and west boundaries of Aubrey and Sherburn Streets and Portage Avenue and the Assiniboine River to the north and south. Happyland Park provided sports grounds, a bandstand, a ballroom, a figure eight roller coaster and many, many other amazing entertainment attractions for the enjoyment of all Winnipeg residents.

Laura Secord School, at the corner of Wolseley Avenue

between Ruby and Lenore Streets, was established when the cornerstone was laid in 1912. The building was completed by 1913 at a cost of \$208,000. It was one of forty-eight school buildings constructed between 1892 to 1928 that were designed with particular attention to fire safety, heating and ventilation. It had aesthetically pleasing features such as interior ornamentations, a courtyard which provided air and light, and an exterior with architecturally significant features. (Winnipeg Real Estate News, November 1, 1985) The school withstood the infamous Winnipeg Flood of 1950 that brought the flood waters up to its footings. It had undergone some structural changes in the 1960s when the bell tower was removed and interior alterations were made to meet with new safety and fire code regulations. In 1962 a hard playing surface of asphalt was installed adjacent to the back of the school. Over the years the basic integrity and purpose of the school's design, which was to provide the very best for students and staff, was maintained.

The neighbourhood continued to have steady urban housing development. The former Happyland Park area was filled in with new homes after the First World War. Large Wolseley area homes, often sub-divided into multi-family dwellings and rooming houses, increased the population density of the area. These tenant residents, mainly in the east end of Wolseley, did not stabilize the area though because they were more often than not individuals and families who were transient and on the lower end of the social and economic scale. The

deterioration of the homes from the constant turnover, and the lack of care paid to rental properties would become evident over time and led to action being taken by the community and the city against 'slum landlords'.

Wolseley had a reputation for business and political leadership. Many prominent citizens and activists are listed in "Walking in Wolseley" (1988) as one-time residents: J.S. Woodsworth (Methodist minister and co-founder of the CCF party), Clarence Tillenius (artist), Dr F.E. Warriner, R.D. Waugh (former city mayors), Gloria Queen-Hughes (sportscaster & politician), Mary Speechly (founder of the Women's Institute of Manitoba), William Tier (Dean of Arts and Science, University of Manitoba), Nellie McClung, Lillian Beynon Thomas, Martha Jane Hample (writers, social activists and suffragettes) and many others too numerous to mention.

In 1957 a group of local women made media headlines when they formed a human chain around the famous Wolseley Elm that grew in the middle of the street at the intersection of Basswood Street and Wolseley Avenue. They tried to save the 100 year old tree, which was to be replaced with asphalt and concrete, by refusing to allow the city to cut it down. The Wolseley Elm was given a reprieve until arson and vandalism eventually damaged it so badly that the city was forced to remove it in 1960. The tree had the distinction of being given an official death certificate by the city. (Winnipeg Free Press Weekly, May 1, 1988)

Restructuring of city wards, departments and priorities

had to keep taking place to deal with the rapid growth of the city. Planning for Winnipeg and its surrounding municipalities was supervised by the Metropolitan Planning Commission. Its effectiveness was mainly in achieving an understanding of the problems in Greater Winnipeg, doing a major transportation study, redesigning and improving roads and bridges, and, the creation of the Metropolitan Development Plan (1967) and the Downtown Development Plan (1969).

The creation of a metropolitan form of government (Metro) in 1960 was an ambitious experiment to deal with the problems of a complex urban area. It was followed in 1971 by a total amalgamation of districts and municipalities into another form of urban government called 'Unicity'. These significant changes, made to the way the City of Winnipeg was organised and governed, also highlighted the scarcity of land resources in the inner city. This, and a costly, aging infrastructure, would create a challenge for decisionmakers when preparing budgets and allocating resources equitably for both urban and suburban neighbourhoods.

Laura Secord School sports programs and recreational activities were run through the school administration in co-operation with the Laura Secord Sports and Recreation Association (1963) (LSSRA). The LSSRA had been started by a group of local parents as a means of providing after-hour program activities in the school and, baseball and ice hockey in the school field space. A green 'warm-up' shack was

erected at the end of the school yard to service the hockey teams. In 1973, again through community support, a new building was erected to replace the 'green shack' on school yard space leased from the Winnipeg School Division #1. A multipurpose addition was added in 1976 which doubled the amount of floorspace, and increased the calibre of programs and profile of LSSRA in the west end of Winnipeg. The school gym continued to be used by City of Winnipeg, Parks and Recreation Department for after-school programs and by community groups for a variety of multi-purpose functions. The hardsurface blacktop installed in 1962 at the back of the school was equipped for basketball and other games; the fields were used for soccer as well as baseball and winter sports. In 1984, the Laura Secord Home and School Parent Teacher Association (LSHSPTA) was able to gain permission, raise the funds and then erect a modernised playstructure on the east side of the blacktop at the rear of the school.

In the early 1980s strategic steps were taken by the LSSRA Executive Committee to raise the recreation centre to full community centre status. This was to be done so that players and the centre would be able to enjoy the rights and privileges accorded to community centres within league sports and to qualify for increased funding from the City of Winnipeg Department of Parks and Recreation. Full community centre status was achieved in 1984. The name chosen for the centre honoured the memory of the former Alderman and Mayor, Robert Ashley Steen, who had worked diligently on behalf of

the area and the LSSRA.

In June of 1980 an important organization was activated in the area. The Wolseley Residents Association (WRA) was started by two community activist women, Ruth (Rannie) Swan and Wendy (McCracken) Elliott. They saw a need to bring people together who wanted to preserve the character of the neighbourhood and stop any further residential and social deterioration. The WRA, a non-partisan organization, was enthusiastically supported by a cross-section of homeowners and renters in the Wolseley boundary. They worked together to investigate and take action on many local issues. It became a family or group affair. There were always volunteer jobs for everyone from distributing flyers to counting cars at intersections. The WRA, with other local organizations, became an important vocal social and political communication network. The WRA, unlike the previous West End Homeowners Association of the 1950s, is still currently active after fourteen years and has become one of the most effective lobbying organizations in the City of Winnipeg. The WRA worked on many community issues, prepared background reports and made many presentations especially before City Council. Their submission on Plan Winnipeg in 1981 covered many areas including recreation opportunities and child care facilities. (Wolseley Residents Association Newsletter, Vol 1, May 1983)

During 1980-1982, the Laura Secord Sports and Recreation Association executive, in co-operation with parents and the school administration, had responded to a need for lunch and

after-school child care with the establishment of the Laura Secord Community Child Care (LSCCC) in 1982. It was only a partial response to a growing community need. Day care was a major concern of many Laura Secord School parents and other working parents in the Wolseley area. The LSCCC operated on limited hours using portable equipment stored in the Common Room of the centre's overtaxed multi-purpose facilities. The space requirements and hours of an increased day care operation encroached into all aspects of the centre's other day and early evening programs. The space minimally met Provincial Day Care Standards.

The Laura Secord Sports and Recreation Association building, constricted by its present floor plan and space, was not able to fully accommodate the child care and sport and recreation programs. Laura Secord School, now 70 years old, needed new expanded space (for example, a regulation size gym) and general safety upgrading. However, renovations were not considered cost-effective because the school was structurally unsound because of recurring foundation problems. There was a rumour that a solution to these problems would be a large addition at the back of the school or a whole new school. Informal discussions between representatives of the user groups began on the topic of how to expand and upgrade these two buildings. These discussions took the form of long-range planning. Other ideas were suggested such as joint-use of renovated or additional school space. It was at this point, approximately in 1982, that the

neighbourhood issues and events began to take a larger public focus and involve a much broader community of interest. The community-based planning process, focused on the Laura Secord project, came up against the public planning processes of the Winnipeg School Division #1 and the City of Winnipeg.

3.5.1 Project Description

The case study examines the replacement of the Robert A. Steen Memorial Community Centre facility (formerly known as the Laura Secord Sports and Recreation Association) in the Wolseley area of Winnipeg, Manitoba, by a multi-use facility, during the years 1982-1992. This project increased the space available for community use from 2,800 square feet to 20,000 square feet. Valuable riverfront property and a unique urban environment became public property. This project also resulted in the retrofitting and conversion of the Laura Secord School, a heritage building, into a suitable functioning modern school facility. 2,500 square feet of play space at the south end of the school yard was freed up. (see Site Plan)

The Robert A. Steen Community Centre (RASCC) replacement project was orchestrated by the local community and politicians when agreement could not be reached with the Winnipeg School Division #1 (SD#1), to allow expansion and upgrading of the original recreation centre, located on school property.

The school division planners had intended to follow a plan in their capital replacement program which would replace Laura Secord School with a new building, possibly on the existing recreation and child care centre site. The centre's executive attempted to work on a joint-use agreement with the SD#1. When a new lease agreement, or any other arrangements, failed to materialize, the project leaders pushed forward on the option of acquiring and renovating an existing church which had become available.

The possible demolition of Laura Secord School was strongly opposed by the Wolseley community, and the wider city community. A heritage listing decision by City Council and a Provincial ministerial directive saved the school from demolition, and ensured financing of foundation and retrofitting work.

As it is, today in 1994, the Robert A. Steen Memorial Community Centre (RASCC) and the Laura Secord Community Child Care (LSCCC), operate their expanded programs out of a newly renovated 20,000 sq.ft. facility. Palmerston Street between Lenore and Ruby Streets is closed to vehicle traffic to create the site of Palmerston Park - a safe, easy pedestrian access between the centre and Laura Secord School yard. Laura Secord School steadfastly remains in its original historical location fully retrofitted, structurally underpinned and modernised to accommodate elementary education and a variety of support programs. Field space at the bottom end of the school property has been freed up. The

school uses the full-size gymnasium in the centre and the centre uses the school's playing field for summer and winter sports programs. Thanks to the efforts of many stakeholders, Laura Secord School and the Robert A. Steen Community Centre provide the local neighbourhood, and the surrounding community of Wolseley, with elementary education, lunch and after-school care, and sport and recreation programs in facility space that is unprecedented in a downtown Winnipeg neighbourhood.

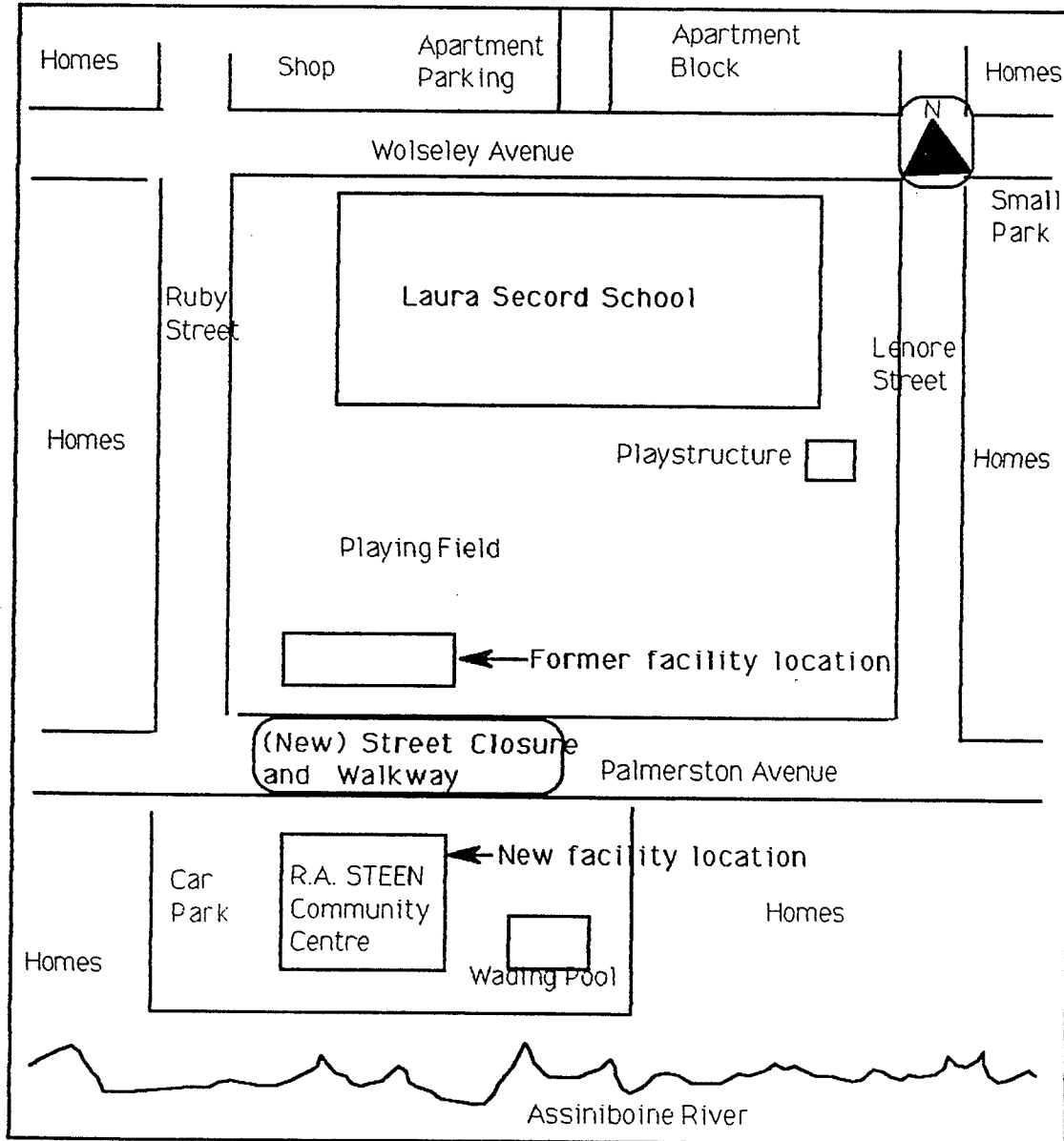
3.5.2 Stakeholders

Stakeholders are defined as people interested in particular outcomes or, more specifically, as community leaders who have a vested interest in positive outcomes. In this case study the executive and members of the Robert A. Steen Memorial Community Centre (RASCC) needed expanded facility space to qualify for community centre status and to service a variety of sport and recreation programs. The Laura Secord Community Child Care (LSCCC) executive and staff needed to expand and upgrade their program space in order to serve the growing need for child care spaces. The City of Winnipeg, Parks and Recreation Department wanted to address new budget priorities and some facility and program inequities of the inner city. The Winnipeg School Division #1 (SD #1) needed to address the structural building problems and education program needs of Laura Secord School. The City of Winnipeg, Civic Properties Division needed to be sure that

equitable and reasonable funding, as well as structurally correct work, was provided. The Wolseley Residents Association (WRA), representing a cross-section of the community, wanted to ensure that any redevelopment was compatible with the protection of residential property and the particular ethic and quality of life identified with the community. The Manitoba Historical Society and Heritage Winnipeg were concerned about the protection of both the physical and cultural meaning of Laura Secord School to the community and the city as a whole. The Westminster Ward (River Heights) City Councillor and the Wolseley - Member of the Legislative Assembly were both interested in increasing services in the area and achieving politically correct outcomes. There was a multiplicity of separate and overlapping interests in the project outcome.

The next section is a detailed description of the project stages wherein the institution-based planning processes met with the issue-driven community-based planning process.

3.5.3 Site Plan



(Schematic - not to scale.)

Figure Three. Development Site Plan. Schematic (not to scale) showing the former and new facility locations of the Robert A. Steen Memorial Community Centre, 980 Palmerston Avenue, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

3.6 Robert A. Steen Community Centre Project Stages

3.6.0 Stage 1(a) - 1982-1984

- Defining the problem, looking for solutions -

By 1982 it was clearly time to look at further expansion of the Laura Secord Sports and Recreation building to accommodate its diverse community needs now and for the future. Members of the local executives of LSSRA and LSCCC were aware of the limited resources of land and funding, and of the need to find an efficient co-operative solution. They saw an opportunity to do something different, but ultimately, something very suitable for the neighbourhood.

The LSSRA executive's ability to plan any building expansion independently would prove to be difficult because of several factors. The city viewed the recreation centre as only as a satellite operation existing because of the goodwill of the Winnipeg SD#1, and LSSRA had been resisting attempts by a large community centre north of Portage Avenue, to attract and absorb LSSRA programs and members. LSSRA was committed to maintaining its established location and having a local community focus. The executive was frustrated by the fact that it couldn't be a full 'community centre' if it didn't have a location and it couldn't get a location because it didn't have community centre status.

The present location of the building, used by the recreation centre, was on leased school division property.

The SD#1 was reluctant to renew the current lease, due to expire July 31, 1985, or to arrange a redefined, long-term lease, because this would limit the School Division's control of their property. Protection of school property, maintenance and cleaning service, liability and fire insurance were always factors they considered. The SD#1 felt that they were in the business of education and not social community programs. Community groups had to pre-book tightly controlled school grounds. They maintained this stance even though they were faced with the reality of inner city communities who needed more than academic programs, and who had limited public space available to them. Even school grounds were not considered public space, they had to be 'booked'. Protection of school property, maintenance and cleaning service, liability and fire insurance were overriding considerations of the school division. Community residents saw cost efficiency in the joint use of school space, especially after-hours.

The development of a joint-use agreement and community-use of the schools was something with which SD #1 was uncomfortable. The trend to community use of schools was evident in the planning and design of new schools for suburban neighbourhoods. But while suburban community groups were considered organized and responsible, inner city residents, with their lower economic and social status, were thought to lack the organizational and social skills to effectively co-operate with joint-use agreements.

Another factor was that Laura Secord School, now nearly 75 years old and falling into a deteriorated condition was being considered by SD#1 and the Public Schools Finance Board, for demolition and possible rebuilding on the space and sports fields being used by the recreation centre. The SD#1 was concerned with on-going maintenance budget requirements for Laura Secord School and other inner-city schools.

The main stumbling block on this project however, was that the SD#1 was not interested in discussing an extended lease for the recreation centre until its own decisions had been made about their primary responsibility, that is, Laura Secord School.

At this same time the provincial NDP government's policies were focused on child care. There was funding available for day care expansion or new construction that met provincial standards. The province was encouraging the development and expansion of child care facilities in community centres.

On the other hand, at the city level of government, due to inner-city funding rationalization on capital projects and reduced operating budgets, pressure was being put on community centres to reduce their expenditures; adjust to a Universal Funding Formula; find entrepreneurial ways of being self-funding; and in some cases amalgamation to reduce costs. This was particularly difficult for inner-city areas which did not have the population base to provide a suburban level

of programming. There was little or no capital money readily available at the SD#1 or City level, and certainly none would be readily forthcoming for the recreation centre. Capital budget spending is prepared five years in advance and the list of buildings and infrastructure in need of critical repairs and maintenance, for both the SD#1 and City, was lengthy.

Initially the executive members of the LSSRA and LSCCC, along with Laura Secord School Principal, examined the problem of expansion as a joint effort. This 'good' working relationship began to dissolve when it became evident that there was a significant imbalance between child care and recreation financial resources and the options that the SD#1 would consider. Child care programs had lucrative provincial funding sources to draw on; the recreation centre did not. There was a danger that the recreation centre would be ousted completely, and the building space be given by the SD#1 to child care, or that child care would be incorporated into the new school space. Fearing that this would not arrive at a viable and complete community recreation solution, a new approach was undertaken by the LSSRA executive members.

Preliminary meetings had been chaired by the president of LSSRA but with new priorities, it became evident that a separate 'ad hoc committee' had to be established with an independent chairperson. For this reason the President of the Laura Secord Home and School and Parent Teacher Association (LSHSPTA) (the practicum author), who had

attended some of the earlier meetings, was asked to be the Chairperson of a new ad hoc committee, called the Laura Secord Community Development Committee (LSCDC). She was to bring opposing forces together into a united focus to find a community solution. Like others in the community, she was a member of a number of other community and city organizations dealing with inner-city social and education issues. As an active resident, bringing up a young family, she had a good sense of the overall neighbourhood needs of Wolseley. The LSCDC had the support of both the City Councillor and the Provincial MLA-Wolseley, both of whom had attended some of the earliest meeting and lived in the immediate area. The School Trustees, not actively involved at this stage, allowed the SD#1 Administration to speak for them.

The planning style chosen by the LSCDC was a strategic one: that is, exploring their strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, threats and timelines. From this analysis, a breakdown of the problems was prioritized and tasks were assigned to committee members. This was a similar style that the WRA had successfully been using since its inception in 1980 to deal with a variety of residential issues. Information, people and resources were sought out that would help clarify the situation fully. Areas of concern were identified then responsibility for different aspects were assigned to LSCDC members: a timeline was prepared; action was taken incrementally.

Wolseley was unique for its network of professional

people and outside contacts. If a contact person didn't live in Wolseley, and no one knew them personally or professionally, then someone was always prepared to make contact with whoever it may be. With the help of these members and sources: day care officers, planners (in particular, key persons involved in urban revitalization), architects, landscape architects, builders, social planners, business owners, heritage experts, environmentalists, government project officers, lawyers, school administrators, politicians, community activists and city employees, a community-based plan was drawn up that took a multi-pronged approach.

The exact needs and space requirements had to be identified. As well, the intention to seek a community solution had to be made known to the SD#1, the City and any possible special funding sources, particularly, to the first Winnipeg Core Area Initiative, tri-partite agreement (Federal, Provincial, Municipal), fund. The LSCDC was informed by project planners (from CAI, Parks and Recreation) that a detailed community survey, that identified community needs, was required before any funding requests could be considered. With the assistance of the Federal Summer Works Program and Core Area Initiative funding, a multi-skilled team of university students was hired for the summer of 1984. They were to do a quantitative survey that would provide a realistic profile of community needs and wants. Fortunately, the school property and most of the study area involved in

this project fell within western edge boundary that qualified for CAI funding. CAI was therefore in a positive position to assist with other funding, such as a design and program requirements report. The expertise of an architect and a landscape architect, living locally and members of the WRA, was available to the committee to draw up a physical plan.

It soon became evident that the strength of the LSCDC as a whole was not in any one member's particular contribution, but the combined expertise and commitment that was made readily available by all the members-at-large. The committee's communicative actions were based on a personal and professional ethic of achieving equity for the community. Information was flowing and the process open. The tasks were organized through the Chairperson and LSCDC.

The co-operative nature of this style of planning made the work a pleasure and more than compensated for the nearly impenetrable task of communicating with School Division #1. For example, in the early stage of the LSCDC trying to learn about the requirements of joint-use agreements (January 1984), two separate meetings of the committee had to be arranged within days of each other so that the City and SD#1 officers could give their information and negotiable points independently. The City representative was willing to meet anywhere. However the School Division officer made it clear that he could not meet in the recreation centre or the school, or in fact at the same time as the City officer in case this action would give the impression of positive

working steps toward joint-use. Separate meetings had to be arranged in the home of the Chairperson. This incident irked the LSCDC, and in particular its Chairperson, for a number of reasons: it doubled their evening volunteer time on the matter, and, the way the information was doled was evidence of a patronizing attitude which was considered an outmoded way of doing community business in the 1980s. Members of the LSCDC - experienced in broader community activism, and especially flush with the recent successes of the WRA in issues of zoning and traffic management with the City - had very little patience with all levels of government redtape, patronizing attitudes, and lack of response, to 'the public good', as it was perceived by this community.

However while the SD#1 had a very closed and bureaucratic approach to the community, the Parks and Recreation Department, with a totally different mandate of providing for and working with community groups, had a much more open and flexible style in its communications with the community. It's representatives were much more adept at giving the appearance of cooperation but maintaining a subtle professional silence as well. In other words, whereas the school division saw its responsibilities in a narrow, remote, closed sense, (that is, a focus on education policy and accountability to the public through trustees, the elected representatives), Parks and Recreation saw its responsibility as meeting public needs within a fiscally responsible civic mandate, and, moreso, having a commitment to support

community development and to bring balance social recreational inequities. The difference in these two styles actually gave the project energy, the first as a negative system to counter, and the second as a positive system to encourage and work with.

By the end of this period, in September 1984, the community survey and profile had been completed; the SD#1 and the City were informed of the committee's intentions and activities; possible funders had been approached; and, with the help of a WRA General Meeting or two chaired by their President, public attention had been drawn to the important issues of the recreation centre, the child care centre, and the school. Community reaction to these concerns, and especially the possibility of the school being demolished, were as expected - vocal (pro and against), active, and united in finding an acceptable democratic community solution. But in fact, a solution was a long way off; by this time the ad hoc LSCDC had accepted the reality that it had no real power to act without tangible resources to negotiate with. Its strength lay in the influence and pressure it could have on the decision-makers - politicians, planners, administrators.

3.6.1 Stage 1(b) - 1984-1986

- Securing matching funds, looking at options -

With the Laura Secord Community Development Committee

Study - Summer 1984 as a benchmark, there was an official report to use as a basis for support of the community's needs: they were real and specific and beyond the limited community resources. The ad hoc committee had succeeded during the year, in bringing the principal players to a shared understanding of the problems and benefits of the project, and, in creating community awareness.

In the fall of 1984, the LSCDC Chairperson stepped down and turned the task back to the LSSRA Manager and both LSSRA & LACCC executives. Once the survey analysis was reviewed and discussed cooperatively, a strategy was prepared. When this was done, a copy of the report went to Parks and Recreation, the SD#1, the City Councillor, the MLA, CAI, and made available to other relevant parties for their information and, more importantly, to press for project support and any possible funding.

At this time in 1984 Parks and Recreation anticipated that the LSSRA would be successful in establishing a better facility eventually. Since they had met other requirements, the LSSRA was granted full 'community centre status' and became known as the Robert A. Steen Memorial Community Centre.

It must be kept in mind that there were a number of other issues in the Wolseley areas that were worked on simultaneously, often by the same people. These issues were: heritage listing and upgrading of the school, meeting the growing need for child care spaces through increased funded

licenced spots, maintaining recreation and sports programs, and numerous WRA issues - zoning, traffic, parks, and saving trees from Dutch Elm disease. Lobbying on these matters gave people overlapping experience and contacts with many, many decision-makers.

In 1985 the attention given to the historical listing of Laura Secord School created problems for School Division #1. The school division found its options limited when, after much lobbying and public outcry, the school was given, in September 1985, an Historical Protection listing by the City's Environment Committee. The SD#1 would now be required to renovate and expand the school in its present location rather than tear it down to build a new school. This was not their most cost efficient option, nor did it meet their conceptual plans and criteria for school facilities.

Also, in 1985, Core Area Initiative staff indicated that under their mandate for the kind of projects they funded, CAI would only be in a position to provide funding as long as those funds were allocated in 1986 and used no later than 1987. Due to a successful CAI second term renewal, the funds were earmarked for RASCC and administered later by CAI.

Back in 1984 it had been rumoured that the Immanuel Pentecostal Church at 980 Palmerston Avenue had outgrown its space requirements and was looking for a new location. In 1984 a slim possibility of the community centre doing something with that building and the land was given some consideration. However, by 1986, this long-shot was becoming

a real possibility. The background work and discussions of the WRA and the City Councillor, on the feasibility of acquiring the land and renovating the building, raised some optimism and some concerns. The church definitely wanted to move and had a suburban location in mind. However, the church buildings, which included offices, multipurpose rooms and a pastor's residence, was considered by some planners to be much larger than was required for a combined child care and community centre operation in this neighbourhood. As well, there were other associated problems that would require some planning decisions, such as re-zoning the property for commercial-recreational use, a partial road closure, and sorting out the objectors' concerns about 'the public interest'.

A funding appeal was put out to the local community in the hopes of raising some money, and to show immediate community responsibility, but more importantly, as a means of increasing public awareness of the possible roadblocks. Information on the project was distributed to many other organizations in an appeal for any other partnerships that could be created, and to inform their members of the project parameters.

In mid-1986 a feasibility study with three options had been presented to City Council's Community Committee and Board of Commissioners. A majority of support by the community was given to Option C - the acquisition and renovation of the church site. There were some objections to

this option, independently made to the city, by a few executive members who preferred a stand-alone facility on school division property. There was a flurry of official letters and responses to and fro, to clarify a situation which had created a false impression of lack of solidarity in the official representation by the community. The few objectors thought that the costs of acquisition and renovation of the church were unwarranted. They preferred the option of fitting into the renovated school building on the school site. However, this was not an option by the later part of 1986 because the School Division ruled out any possible renewal of the RASCC's lease in its present location. The focus became fixed on Option C, even though there were complaints about the cost involved and the excessive space created at the church site.

It was suggested that some of the excess space could be adapted for office purposes, and in particular some space would suit the relocation of city offices and services. For instance, the city ambulance service at the corner of Lipton Street and Westminster Avenue had been operating out of an inefficient old firehall and was slated for relocation. The possibility of extra traffic, siren noise and other "come and go" activity, became an increasing concern for the local neighbours. Even with all of this in mind, the immediate task of RASCC executive was to be in a negotiable position for the church site. A re-zoning application therefore had to be made to the City.

By November there had been a well-attended public meeting where Option C was pushed and the implications were discussed. Concern was expressed for the possible loss of CAI funding support which had to be used by 1986 or by 1987 at the latest. By December 1986, under the guidance and persuasion of the City Councillor, City Council had approved a commercial re-zoning application of the church site based on these conditions: it was temporary, and would extinguish if not used for the community centre option.

At this point, the project content was handed over to the Civic Properties staff and politicians to sort out an acceptable planning and political solution. The community continued to monitor and support the overall planning project.

3.6.2 STAGE 2 - 1987-1990

- Acquisition of the church site:preparing building plans -

In the Spring of 1987, while negotiations with the city and the church were underway on Option C, attention was focused on the 75th Anniversary of Laura Secord School in May. Around that time, there was a orchestrated community outcry, because of the lack of a decision by SD#1 to get on with plans to renovate the school. By July 1987, due mainly to community and political directives, a decision was made by the SD#1 on a three-year workplan. The retrofitting plans did not include a new gymnasium or an adjacent child care

facility. In fact, the SD#1 now seemed to speculate that if the church site was re-developed then it be in their best interests to use the new facilities there.

While the school situation was getting sorted out, the city councillors and bureaucrats had been working on a negotiated settlement with the church owners. Part of the deal revolved around an exchange of property and a cash settlement. In the Spring of 1988, the city decided that the land in south west Winnipeg, that the church was interested in, had to be held for future infrastructure development so was no longer available. The church responded by rejecting the 'cash only' offer of one million dollars made by the city because the church didn't have another suitable site in mind to make an offer on. Negotiations, handled quite assertively by the City Councillor, were to continue.

In the April of 1988 a Provincial Election was held. The NDP government was defeated by the Progressive Conservatives. The former City Councillor was elected as the Wolseley MLA and a local activist became the new City Councillor for Memorial Ward (later known as Westminster Ward) in the next civic election. By this time there had been a firm guarantee of funding from the Province of Manitoba's Community Places Grants program for both the child care and community centres of \$75,000.00 each (total \$150,000). This funding would remain protected, but there was a concern that if the project did not get underway very soon this money, and other city and CAI monies, would soon be extinguished. By

October 1989, a deal had been made with the church. To ensure progress in the matter, a hastily arranged official sod-turning at the new 12 acre site of Immanuel Pentecostal Church on Wilkes Avenue took place. It was reported in the paper two weeks later. This action placed pressure on the city administration to work out other necessary details. There was no turning back.

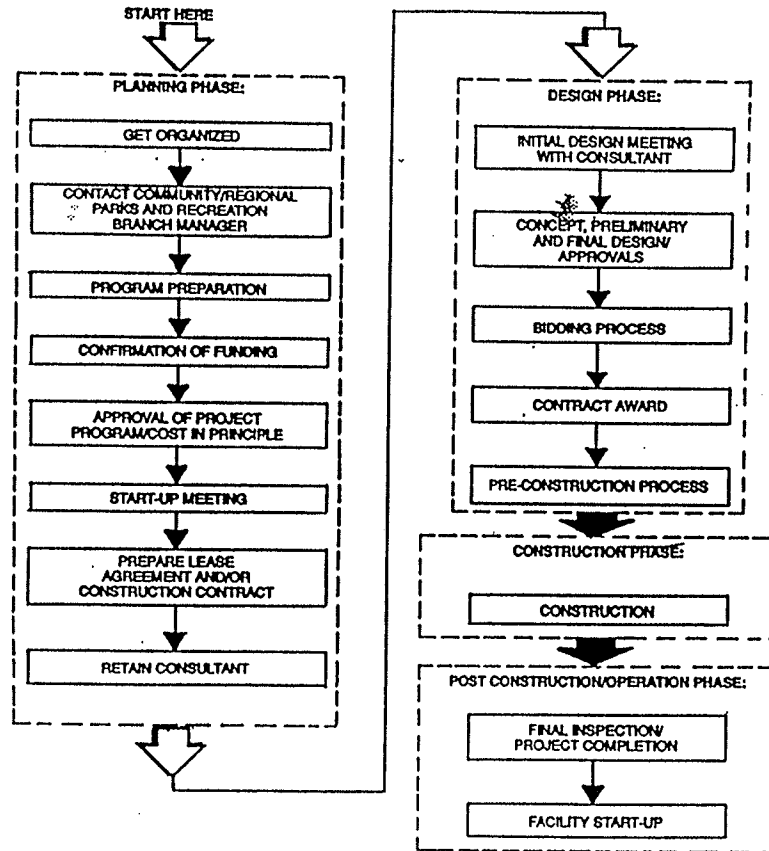
In October 1989 the Parks and Recreation Department brought out a very important pamphlet based on a new policy. Its title was the 'Construction or Renovation of Parks and Recreation Facilities on City Owned Property by Organizations Other Than Civic Departments.' The two sided brochure, which developed 'partnership', elaborated on four project phases: Planning, Design, Construction, Post Construction/Operation, and, showed a 'Project Implementation Flow Chart'. The partners were 1) Community Organization, 2) Parks and Recreation Department, 3) Civic Properties, 4) Law Department, 5) Consultant, 6) Contractor.

This policy and pamphlet, a 'How To' manual that defined the jurisdictional tasks, had come about in response to the proliferation of problems that had resulted from community groups beseiging and disrupting the planning system. The city departments, willing or un-willingly had changed with the times. A process, that recognized and worked with the many partners in development, was now established as policy. This was a major shift in the planning system. Planning was no longer seen as something that happened independently

within the institutional setting. The community was now considered influential as a 'partner'.

The community centre executive, recognized as an official 'partner' in the renovation of Parks and Recreation facilities on city-owned property, had an important role to play in the 'Design and Construction' phases, that is, with responsibility, for among other things, the issuance of progress payments and conducting routine inspections. Negotiations on specific matters by the RASCC Building Committee and the City Councillor with Civic Properties Department staff and other City Councillors continued through 1990 and 1991. It would be November 1991 before actual renovation of the Palmerston Avenue church site would begin.

PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION FLOW CHART



For more information contact the following Community/Regional Branch Managers:

Manager - City Centre/Fort Rouge
Parks and Recreation Branch
55 Garry Street
Phone: 986-5091

Manager - St. James/Assiniboia
Parks and Recreation Branch
2000 Portage Avenue
Phone: 986-3111

Manager - Lord Selkirk/West Kildonan
Parks and Recreation Branch
1760 Main Street
Phone: 986-3998

Manager - East Kildonan/Transcona
Parks and Recreation Branch
545 Watt Street
Phone: 986-3112

Manager - St. Boniface/St. Vital
Parks and Recreation Branch
219 Provencher Blvd.
Phone: 986-2675

Manager - Assiniboine Park/Fort Garry
Parks and Recreation Branch
1539 Waverley Street
Phone: 986-3871

Manager - Regional
Recreation Services Branch
2799 Roblin Blvd.
Phone: 986-3793

Manager - Regional
Parks Services
2799 Roblin Blvd.
Phone: 986-4165

PARTNERS FOR PROGRESS



"Where People Make the Difference"

Guidelines for Community
Organizations Planning to
Construct or Renovate
Parks and Recreation
Facilities on
City-Owned Property



THE CITY OF WINNIPEG
PARKS AND RECREATION DEPARTMENT

Figure Four. "Partners For Progress." (Back (L) and Front (R) pages) A pamphlet prepared by The City of Winnipeg, Parks and Recreation Department. (1989)

| PARTNER | PLANNING PHASE | DESIGN PHASE | CONSTRUCTION PHASE | POST CONSTRUCTION/OPERATION PHASE |
|--|---|---|---|--|
| COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • appoint project head and committee • identify facility needs • contact Parks and Recreation Department Community/Regional Branch Manager • develop Program requirements • recommend design Consultant • commission feasibility study • negotiate agreements • confirm funding • obtain approvals | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • delegate design responsibilities to Consultant • ensure City design standards and specifications are met • attend start up meeting • forward conceptual, preliminary, and final design to Civic Properties for Parks and Recreation Department approvals • approve final plans and specifications • recommend appointment of Contract Administrator (preferably Consultant) to Civic Properties • invite quotations/tenders • recommend contract award to Contractor | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • establish trust account for holdback required by Builders' Liens Act • issue progress payments upon approval of Civic Properties • conduct routine inspections | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ensure that all terms of the contract with the Contractor, Design Consultant, Contract Administrator and the Consultants are fulfilled • attend final inspection • identify and ensure deficiencies are resolved • issue final payment when authorized by Civic Properties Project Coordinator • release the 7 1/2% holdback to the Contractor after the required 40 day period has elapsed |
| PARKS AND RECREATION DEPARTMENT | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • describe City/Organization roles • assist with program development/studies • approve project • jointly prepare Lease Agreement with Law Department • work with Design Consultant | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • initiate start-up meeting to review responsibilities • assist Consultant in all stages of design process • authorize preparation of plans/specifications and estimates • ensure design is operationally effective • approve Final Detailed Plans and Specifications | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • conduct inspections for progress payments • confirm work and value of progress payment requests | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • attend final inspection • identify deficiencies • assist the organization with start-up of the building |
| CIVIC PROPERTIES DEPARTMENT (Project Co-ordinator) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • advise if Consultant is necessary • provide form of agreement for hiring Consultant • approve Consultant • indicate if Lease Agreement/Construction Contract required • assist in program preparation • indicate City Standards and Specifications • jointly prepare Construction Contract with Law Department • work with Design Consultant | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • assist Consultant in all stages of design process • review and recommend approval of all stages of design work • approve Contract Administrator • attend opening of bids/tenders • approve Organization's Contractor • forward Contractor's insurance and bid/performance securities to Law Department | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • review construction procedures with Contract Administrator and Contractor • authorize construction to begin • provide standard payment forms • inspect to review progress payment request • confirm work and value of progress payment requests • authorize payment of progress payments • provide organization with forms for Substantial and Total Performance stages | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • attend final inspection • verify deficiencies are resolved • forward copies of manufacturer's installation, operating manuals and parts lists to the appropriate Parks and Recreation Manager • assist the organization with start up of building |
| LAW DEPARTMENT | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • assist Parks and Recreation Department to prepare Lease Agreement, if required • assist Civic Properties to prepare Construction Contract, if required • retain copies of signed Agreement and Contract | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • obtain copy of approved final plans and specifications • approve and advise that Contractor's insurance and bid/performance security is in order | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • provide notice of any lien(s) • if City administers contract, take steps to have lien(s) removed • provide advice in the event of Contractor default | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • provide notice of any lien(s) • if City administers contract, take steps to have lien(s) removed • provide advice in the event of Contractor default |
| CONSULTANT (Designer/Contract Administrator) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • verifies liability insurance • prepare detailed program of requirements • prepare budget estimates and schedule • check zoning and By-Law Requirements • liaise with Organization and City | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • prepare all conceptual, preliminary and final design plans, estimates and schedules • assist with quotation/tender process • ensure Contractor submits insurance and performance security to Civic Properties | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • administers construction contract for Organization • verifies that Contractor is in good standing with Manitoba Workers Compensation Board (M.W.C.B.) • carries out routine inspections • review and approve progress payments • verifies progress payment work is complete according to plans and specifications • submit Substantial and Total Performance forms • confirm Contractor is in good standing with M.W.C.B. prior to approving payment for Total Performance • forwards all as built drawings and specifications to Civic Properties • forwards all inspection certificates to Civic Properties | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • schedules final inspection with City Departments and Contract representative • identifies and ensures that all deficiencies are resolved • remains on call for major design problems • provides Civic Properties Project Coordinator with Design Consultant written declaration that all work was constructed as per specifications • submits 3 sets of manufacturer's installation, operating manuals and parts lists to the Civic Properties Project Coordinator |
| CONTRACTOR (Builder) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • no role unless design/build or fast tracking approach is used | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • prepare and submit bids • provide insurance and bid/performance security to Civic Properties | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • supplies all labour and material required to construct the project • supervises construction and hires sub contractors as required • verifies work for progress payment was completed as per drawings and specifications | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • attend final inspection • insure that all terms and construction contract are fulfilled • resolve all deficiencies |

Figure Five. "Partners For Progress." (Inside Section) Note: Partner Column. A pamphlet prepared by The City of Winnipeg, Parks and Recreation Department. (1989)

3.6.3 STAGE 3 - 1990-1992

- Renovations and Official Opening -

Renovations to Laura Secord School continued: a new roof was put on in 1988; new windows in 1989. The underpinning foundation work and other interior renovations were completed at a total cost of \$2,704,618.00. This amount was funded mainly by the Public Schools Finance Board, except for a sum of \$35,000 from Manitoba Department of Cultural Affairs and Historical Resources. During this time child care and centre programs continued in the building at the end of the school yard. In a much publicised way, and with excellent community turn out in the middle of winter, Laura Secord School was officially re-opened on Heritage Day, February 18, 1991. The project architects and the School Division each proudly received, much to everyone's approval, three of the 1991 Heritage Winnipeg Awards for Institutional Conservation.

Renovations to the church were well underway by 1992. However, there continued to be many problems associated with details of property agreements, design elements, and responsibility between the City of Winnipeg and the Robert Steen Community Centre. The former City Councillor, now the former Wolseley MLA after the 1991 election defeat, acted in a consultancy role to the community centre.

New problems arose when city staff again acted unilaterally without consulting with the community. One example, was when a decision was made to send city staff in

to remove recycleable fixtures from the old building that was to be demolished. These fixtures were the property of the RASCC and had capital value in RASCC renovation budget. Another decision centered on the Church manse. It was part of the property assets of the RASCC to manage and was to have rental income until it was sold and moved to a suitable location. The City Real Estate department, not finding a immediate buyer, planned to demolish the manse. The City Health and Engineering department declared the manse inhabitable because the heating system had been damaged. Then, even though the community centre was not permitted to realize income from the property, the city allowed an organization to hold a two-day workshop free of charge. RASCC was not consulted on these matters. This started another spate of letters and calls that were virtually ignored by the Civic Properties department. Finally, although the community centre building committee had an 'ethical' option in terms of the careful demolition of the manse, that is, a community group offered to pay for the right to dismantle the manse and then recycle the building materials, Civic Properties department staff, without further consultation, arranged for a commercial contractor to simply demolish the house. This single action used up the \$12,000 budget that RASCC had intended to supplement rather than consume. There had been no consultation and then no discussion after the fact - it was a 'fait accompli'.

Now however there were more pressing matters to deal

with, such as the grave error that occurred when the plans drawn up by the building committee and sent to the architect, were not brought back to the Building Committee to review but went directly to the Civic Properties department staff. Renovations were started before RASCC could bring design errors to anyone's attention. As a result, at least two major design aspects (the wheelchair access location, and the height of the windows) had to be changed and resulted in a significant cost overrun. Access was an important community concern for any persons observing the outside skating rinks across the street and the gym room from the second-floor interior and exterior windows. Accommodating short stature people, mainly identified as women, children and the handicapped was a priority from RASCC's perspective. The added expense was considered grossly unnecessary by the city and very necessary by the Building Committee. Both sides blamed the other for creating this problem and cost.

Confidently, plans for the official opening were made throughout the summer of 1992. Endless details had to be attended to, for example, specifications in toilet cubicles for paper holders, specific lighting and signage.

On October 24, 1992 the Official Opening of Robert A Steen Memorial Community Centre at 980 Palmerston Street took place. The guest list included all the people who had been involved over the years and all new and prospective users. The project, supported by The City of Winnipeg Capital Budgets of 1988 and 1992, City of Winnipeg Incentive Grants,

Provincial Community Places Grants, Core Area Initiative funding, the Manitoba Lotteries Foundation, and the Robert A. Steen Community Centre at a total cost of \$1.8 million dollars, had created a new Wolseley landmark.

The Robert A. Steen Community Centre and the Laura Secord School projects gave the neighbourhood, and wider community, new and upgraded facility space. The benefits realized were not only intended for the established families using the former Laura Secord Sports and Recreation Centre, or Laura Secord School, but also for the generations of families that would need school and community centre services in the years to come.

In 1995, Robert A. Steen Community Centre, is in full use day and evening and in all seasons. Besides the sport and recreation uses, the Centre accommodates the Laura Secord Community Child Care in a separate part of the building. Other community services, such as the Association For Community Living and a senior citizens organization, also operate out of separate office space. The school staff and students regularly use the gym and other multi-purpose spaces for classes that meet school curriculum requirements. Casual bookings for meetings, workshops, and special functions from groups inside and outside the neighbourhood are accommodated.

There are still some unfinished details to be worked out between the city's departments and RASCC, like re-roofing the whole building and finding funds for the proposed tennis courts. After what has been accomplished, these additional

matters seem quite managable through the well established communication process and working partnership in place.

Throughout the case study the issue-driven community-based planning process was an active force influencing the institution-based planning processes, and vice versa. It is evident that discussions and negotiations on community planning matters became more than 'due process' when a planful,¹ organized citizenry in Wolseley had input into the selection of the 'means' and 'ends' for this project.

1. A 'planful' community is one like Wolseley, and one that I describe as having a general sense of the physical, environmental, emotional, and spiritual quality of life in which they live in and are committed to responsible, critical (social) communicative actions to achieve and maintain that community's quality of life, either through their own attention and actions on matters directly affecting them and their neighbours, or through democratic representation. A planful community is one in which the people and the communicative process is as important, or even more important, as the outcome. They balance their consumption with contribution. A planful community anticipates long-term results from actions taken in the short-term.

Chapter Four

Case Study Interviews and Analysis

4.0 Introduction

This chapter is a reflection on planning practice from evidence gathered through interviews of selected participants in the Robert A. Steen Community Centre project. The purpose of this step in the case study method is to collect corroborating evidence and to identify and analyze the relationship of actual planning practice to the six themes of progressive planning practice which are based on critical planning theory. This analysis will also confirm 'planning with communities' as a truly democratic practice.

Each interview report is made up of the interviewees' background, their responses and comments. The analysis of the interviews and lessons for planners in relation to the six themes concludes the case study. The interviewees were chosen because they were the official representatives at different stages of the project, and they represent separate institutional, political and community perspectives. A person from the Laura Secord Community Child Care was not interviewed because their representative sat on the RASCC Building Committee and this committee's official representative (RASCC President) has been interviewed. An

inquiry was made through Winnipeg School Division #1 for an official representative; no one with the history or status to represent them was available. I did not pursue this avenue because, although the school division was critical in the direction the project took, it was sidelined as a player very early, mostly by its own choice, and the significance of this action as a planning 'for' approach was common knowledge and would be confirmed by other interviewees. I have included a brief background of the interviewees because it communicates several important aspects about their legitimacy to represent their community or institutional perspective (over and above the fact that as participants in the project their responses would be valid in themselves) and their priorities at the time. The analysis of the interviews highlights the lessons that are learned and relevance of those lessons to the six themes.

After reviewing my own files of minutes, notices, newspaper clippings and other memorabilia, and after having access to the RASCC files, I arranged interviews with the participants in Winnipeg during May and June of 1994. I used an open-ended interviewing style to collect information on the events and issues. For the most part the interviews were handled informally. Although I had my own questions and issues in mind (centering on critical planning theory), I encouraged the interviewees to raise and discuss their own. One person's request for questions in advance was

accommodated. The page of questions, included here as reference, were intended to collect some basic information (eg. duties, policies); to identify the successes and problems; to identify critical moments; and, to discuss the lessons learned.

Those available for this study made an immediate effort to set up an interview appointment, and considered the chance to reflect on the process and results of the project, as a unique opportunity for them to discuss their knowledge and experience. The interview was the first chance many of them had for a systematic reflection on the project. The interviewees were aware that I would be using their names in this report. To my knowledge no other analysis has been done on the project or anything written on it. I had exceptional access to information, and also had good rapport with the interviewees because of my previous involvement in the project and my experience in social planning processes. The interviewees were all articulate and experienced in planning issues. Together, we explored the lessons that had been learned rather than judging the 'rightness' or 'wrongness' of opposing positions, and the difficult decisions and situations created in the project.

4.1 Interview Questions

The format of the interviews was informal. These questions, raised in the interviews, were not presented systematically but covered in the course of the overall interview.

1. What are the lessons for planners, the community and politicians, as a result of the development of R.A.Steen Community Centre into an expanded facility on Palmerston Avenue?
2. What factors contributed to the success of the project?
3. What factors created problems in this project for your department and for other departments?
4. What was your role and duties?
5. Identify the critical moments, the actions taken, and by whom?
6. What guidelines did you use or base your actions on?
7. What were the problems?
8. How do you define 'power'?
9. John Forester, in his book "Planning in the Face of Power" (1989), argues that planners need to become progressive and to use Critical Planning Theory to guide their actions.

He said "...the contribution of a critical planning theory is 'pragmatics with vision' - to reveal true alternatives, to correct false expectations, to counter cynicism, to foster inquiry, to spread political

responsibility, engagement and action. Critical planning practice, technically skilled and politically sensitive, is simultaneously an organizing and democratizing practice."

His work, and that of John Friedmann "Planning in the Public Domain: From Knowledge to Action"(1987), and Donald Schon "The Reflective Practitioner: How Professionals Think In Action"(1983), and others, have been prodding planners to think and act differently about planning - a political activity that affects democracy, and outcomes for the citizen and their communities.

Reflecting on the process and outcomes - What would you do the same? What would you do differently? What observations can you make about what others did during the process?

10. What policies were you following? How do they correspond to your own?
11. What is good for the public? What tools or information does the public require?

Note:The quote and information in Question 9, written out on an index card and given out to be read, was deliberately used to see if the public planners in particular were aware of these works, if not, it was hoped that they would be made aware of recent planning authors, titles and subject matter, if only in passing. It also served the purpose of opening discussion on some concepts.

Question 11 was purposely asked as 'good for the public' rather than 'the public good' because I wanted to know what was considered to be 'good enough' information.

4.2 Interviewees

The following persons were interviewed.

R.A.Steen Memorial Community Centre:

Mary Blondeau, Manager
Wendy Anthony, Past-President
Sid Rogers, Past-President
Wendy (McCracken) Elliott, Past-President

Politicians:

Myrna Phillips, (Former) Provincial Government
MLA - Wolseley
Harold Taylor, (Former) City Councillor and
(Former) Provincial Government
MLA - Wolseley

City of Winnipeg, Parks and Recreation Department

James Goho, Superintendent
Gary Solar, Community Manager (Retired)
Annitta Arpin, Community Manager

City of Winnipeg, Civic Properties Department

Robert Harasym, Project Co-ordinator

Winnipeg School Division #1

No formal interview. (Interview report attached)

4.3 Interviews

The interview reports give an introduction to the interviewees background and role; a synopsis of the interview; and, an analysis of the interviews in relation to the six themes of Progressive Planning Practice and Critical Planning Theory.

4.3.0 Robert A. Steen Memorial Community Centre

Mary Blondeau, Manager of RASCC (1982-94), Past President Wolseley Recreation Centre, Member WRA.

Mary Blondeau is currently full-time Manager of RASCC. She has been an active community member and dedicated parent, along with husband Larry, in all aspects of their children's school and club life. She has had many volunteer experiences in Wolseley, eg. Past President of the Wolseley Recreation Centre. She has been employed as the Manager of Laura Secord Sports and Recreation Centre/Robert A. Steen Community Centre for over a decade. She has been noted for her firm and even-handed management style, which has always been focused on ensuring that 'club' life and sport is balanced fun for everyone (that is, not at the expense of someone else).

During the project, besides keeping the centre's programs running efficiently, she was responsible for managing the 'information flow', keeping the executive aware of strategic factors, and, advocating for the centre's needs

at the community and city level.

Interview

Mary said "a multi-use facility was long overdue in a neighbourhood that had been shortchanged by past (city) planning practice". There was a mixed local population in growing need of sport and recreation programs, and adequate child care. She noted that it had been getting harder for the community centre to survive under the budget cutbacks imposed by city departments. RASCC was also hampered by the size of the facility and dependency on a SD#1 lease. Closure of the facility, or amalgamation with a club north of Portage Avenue, were not acceptable options in 1982.

At various times she had been told by some city officials that core area residents, who choose to live in the downtown, 'had to accept site and service limitations'. These officials also seemed to believe that core area residents were less able to be spokespersons for themselves or to manage club affairs responsibly - decisions had to be made for them. She said "it is upsetting to be treated in such a narrow, condescending manner when, in fact, this particular neighbourhood has informed presenters, and has been very capable in managing its volunteer organizations". She noted that all neighbourhoods should be seen as unique and not have assumptions made about them.

She said that numerous times during the RASCC project when the community made 'plans', they were told by the public

planners, "You really can't do that!" The community, not heeding this comment, would just pick apart the "why not?" and work incrementally with the bits they could do something about. It was this kind of plodding approach that moved the project in the direction RASCC executive wanted. She also said, "people got worn out and the project would begin to falter but there was always some one who came forward 'to pick up the torch', so to speak, and work on some bit or thread of hope." She gave high praise for the community members and planners "who stuck with the project and played key roles at crucial times."

She said the project ultimately benefited from the political tension that was created from councillors 'in-fighting', with one another, to get the best for their ward. The project also publicly raised the unresolved 'inequity issues' between the inner-city and suburbia. She noted "it was difficult to work with different city departments who had different mandates". For example, Parks and Recreation was mandated to offer services to the community, while Civic Properties did not work directly with the community on a regular basis.

In her opinion "it was effective to work with planners who really cared about the community and took action to get things done fairly". On the other hand, it was frustrating to deal with decision makers who were inconsistent in their dealings. An example she said, is "the City's double standards, allowing cost over-runs to be paid, without

question, on low tenders by private contractors on bridge and roadwork projects, but then, expecting the 'poor' public community centres to operate under or on budget, with no cushion to fall back on."

She noted that the new centre is used more than could ever have been projected, especially by the school. An example, of a continuing 'power' inequity, is the low rental fee arrangements agreed to between the School Division and Parks Department and imposed on the club. Besides limiting club income, 'their' arrangement excluded the club from the decision-making process. She said, "there is still some work to be done on 'true partnerships'."

Wendy Anthony, President RASCC (1990-93), Member WRA.

Wendy Anthony is a former teacher, now business owner. Along with husband Ron, she was very involved in all aspects of their children's school and community life. She has held local executive positions on RASCC and WRA, and has been involved in other community projects.

She took on the RASCC Presidency in Stage 3 of the project in order to 'get the job done'. Others commented on her performance: She worked effectively with the other members of the RASCC Building Committee, the Centre Manager, the architect and the City, with knowledge, strategy and assertion, to ensure that the centre's interests as 'Contractor' were properly represented. She insisted on equality and shared information between the partners.

Interview

Wendy said that she was determined to see this project completed with fairness and a result that met the community's expectations. She described how she, a non-design person, had to interject on a number of occasions into the unilateral planning practice of professionals. For instance, she had insisted on design changes when window design details did not accommodate a low enough viewing level for children and those sitting on chairs.

She noted, "working with city staff who had technical expertise, spoke a language of the average person, and brought people together was very helpful to the process." She resented the power that was exerted by department staff who made unilateral decisions or acted in direct contradiction to their own department policy of 'partnership'. The examples she used was when fixtures and fittings were removed from the old building without prior consultation; or when the manse was 'rented' for a workshop after RASCC had been told that they could not rent it as an income generating rental property; and, when demolition of the manse was handed to a private contractor without considering the community's 'alternative' option.

She reported that every effort was made by the RASCC Building Committee to ensure that the project was economically viable within the stated goals of the project - "There was real dollar value in retro-fitting as opposed to new construction." On 'a number of occasions' she had to

step forward, and stand up for, the right of the community to be included in some important decisions; for example, when objection had to be raised to design details that had been approved without further consultation with the committee. Only then did RASCC get the changes it wanted. Reversing and changing construction details, already underway, resulted in cost overruns. As well, she endeavoured to negotiate any concerns or problems raised by neighbours, or the wider community, with the project through personal contact or meetings.

She said, "certain planners worked for the success of the project in obvious and not so obvious ways depending on the flexibility of their position - one was arrogant, another helpful." She found it was best to work with planners who handled time crunches sensitively and coped with requests from the community for negotiated changes. She noted the encouragement and commitment given for the project by Mayor Bill Norrie, for the establishment of a worthy facility honouring his former colleague, Robert Steen. Wendy said "The politicians, in partnership with the community, played an important role in the decision-making process especially assuring that funding was 'found' and earmarked. A project like this needs constancy and people who knew and stuck with projects".

By the end of the process the community dynamics had changed. She said, "people were tired and worn out, there were fewer members to delegate work to. But once the

building was open and running an enthusiastic, new executive committee took over responsibility."

Sid Rogers, Past President RASCC, Member WRA.

Sid Rogers currently is the Senior Director of the Workers Compensation Board of Manitoba. He has been actively involved (eg. team coach), along with his wife Carole, in all aspects of their childrens' school and community life. Over the years he has taken a special interest in child care policy, citizen advocacy, and the Association for Community Living. He has been an executive member of RASCC, the WRA and other community organizations in Wolseley and elsewhere in Winnipeg.

He took on the Presidency during Stage 2 of the project 'by default' - his turn for this executive position had come up! As President he steered vital aspects of the project: identifying money, going through the proposals and general design, realising the acquisition of the church site, negotiating with the community and addressing the media.

Interview

Sid noted that Stage 2, involved with "some artful and serious deal-making for funding and site location", and needed to have political allies and community involvement. The negotiations and trade-offs were handled assertively by the local political representatives at both the City and Provincial level. For instance, when the precedent of a one-

time only agreement was accomplished by Councillor Taylor of having the total City's Community Committee budget of \$100,000 given to this single project, and, when other Provincial funding was held or earmarked, for an extended period of time while other details or negotiations were worked through. All these negotiations required many phone calls, meetings and strong arguments from the community and the politicians to the city. He said, "in the end some councillors just got worn down or accepted other compromises."

He remarked that "the school division representatives just didn't get it - the community was going to get what they wanted". In his opinion, "the School Division planners, administrators and trustees were not in touch with the community", and thought they could persist in doing 'traditional' planning. As a result, he said, "they ended up 'on their own'."

He liked working with planners who were "careful about what they said" and were supportive in "quiet ways". On the other hand, it was "a put-down" to be treated in an aloof so-called '"professional" manner, and quite confusing when planners ran "hot and cold". For instance, he said, "one planner worked more enthusiastically with the community when he thought they would go with the option he preferred, and made himself less available when they didn't." Another, concerned with the technical costing end seemed quite unsupportive, and even against the project, but when project

approval was given then he did his job well and worked quite positively with the community. Some of the planners seemed to Sid to be "long suffering in a system that set unrealistic limits and gave them little opportunity to work openly with the community".

He said that this project site gave the community a unique opportunity to gain facility space and public land. "Land was very relevant to us." He noted that the cost equation must be carefully considered in a downtown neighbourhood where there is little open green space and the option of tearing down homes to create a building site is unacceptable to the community ethic. The mix of family sizes, ages, and social needs of the neighbourhood warranted a community facility that could provide adequate sport and recreation programs, child care centre, school-use, and adult programs all within one building and in a central location.

Wendy (McCracken) Elliott, Past President RASCC, Past Co-Chairperson WRA, Executive Member of LSHSPTA.

Wendy (McCracken) Elliott is a public servant in the Department of Family Services with the Manitoba Provincial Government. She is responsible for access under the Freedom of Information Act and other departmental duties. She has been actively involved in all aspects of her children's school and community life, including being a team coach. She was co-founder of the WRA, executive member of LSHSPTA, President of RASCC from 1986-88 and active in a variety of

community organizations in Winnipeg.

She had input to the project during Stage 1 both as President, and as an outspoken advocate for RASCC, Laura Secord School, and the Wolseley neighbourhood in general. She and a committee of the Home and School had been instrumental in the negotiations, fund-raising and construction of a novel schoolyard playstructure. She gave influential leadership while RASCC President to the campaign to 'Save Laura Secord School'. The success of this campaign was an important milestone for the local neighbourhood, and the growing importance of real and perceived value in historical preservation of Winnipeg buildings.

Interview

Wendy said her role as club President kept her in touch with the Parks department staff, political leaders and community in general. There were several key tasks that she and the RASCC executive had to keep working on. One was to reach certain compromises with the Laura Secord Child Care executive so that their services continued to operate out of the present location. Others were: to ensure continued input into the negotiations that were taking place on the project; communication within the local community; and, giving leadership in the joint campaign to 'Save Laura Secord School'.

She said, "the successful drive to have the school listed with Historical Protection, and then getting financial

commitment so the work actually started, had an important impact on the direction that the RASCC project took." A commitment to retrofitting the school in its present location, ensured that a separate building option had to be pursued by the community centre. In her opinion, "the community saw the school as a very useful building and an important cultural landmark."

Wendy continued her involvement and interest in the project as a member of the Building Committee through to completion of the project in 1992. She noted how the people who had worked on the project, whether public employees or community activists, "had become better friends and associates over the ten year period." They had shared personal and professional changes under a variety of tough conditions, played many different roles, and grew to work effectively on the problems once there was trust, and 'understanding' of differences, established. Tasks during the preparations for the Official Opening, like preparing a guest list and history, was an opportunity for her and others, "to bring to mind the hardwork and sacrifices of time and energy, that ordinary citizens have to expend, to get fairness in a system that is secretive, rigid, and adversarial."

4.3.1 Politicians

Myrna Phillips, MLA-Wolseley (1981-88), Member WRA.

Myrna Phillips is now a public servant in the provincial government in Student Social Allowances. She had been actively involved in all aspects of her children's school and community life. She was Wolseley MLA from 1981-88, is a member of the New Democratic Party, and continues to be a strong union advocate. She began her political activism in her late teens and has continued 'to be political' as an outspoken feminist and family advocate, especially for economic security for women. While an MLA and Legislative Assistant, and before she became Speaker of the Manitoba Legislature in 1986, she had helped draft the Manitoba Community Child Daycare Standards Act (1985). She is an avid home handywoman, has a keen interest in older buildings, and promotes a prairie 'country style' quality of life.

The concerns of the Wolseley community for inner-city equity, the historical preservation of the school, and a combined child care and recreation facility were both her own personal, and political, concerns.

Interview

Myrna said, "as a neighbourhood resident I cared about the issues in the community but, as a politician, I had to listen to the concerns raised by the general community and the planners." She said she could not make an irresponsible

decision simply based on emotive feelings.

She said she was in a trusted position to secure provincial funding for the project and did so after attending many public meetings, reading reports, and considering the long term benefits. Using her political skill and will, she was able firstly, to recommend approval of Community Places Grants for both the community centre and the child care, securing this funding till negotiations were complete, and, secondly, to recommend to the Minister of Education that funding be approved by the Public School Finance Board for the work that needed to be done on the school. She said she tried to "listen to the community and to get the things they wanted." She said, "it was helpful that I could count on my colleagues in cabinet to support my requests." In the RASCC project, community support was also "fantastic", and the technical constraints, although requiring some adjustments, were not unmanageable.

Harold Taylor, MLA-Wolseley (1988-91), City Councillor-Memorial Ward (1983-88), Past Chairperson WRA.

Harold Taylor is now a private consultant to community and environmental planning projects. He had been a federal public servant in air transport planning services. His interest in the quality of life in Wolseley, for his and other families, led him into city politics as Memorial Councillor (1983-88) and later, as a Liberal Party member, with wider provincial concerns, to be elected Wolseley MLA

(1988-91). He had been a community activist since his teens and early adulthood. It seemed naturally to follow that he would continue his activism in Wolseley by becoming an executive member and Chair of the WRA. He is involved in other community organizations, for example, the Manitoba Air Museum.

Interview

Harold said, "I ran as a City Councillor because I wanted to do something about the lack of services to the area." He took his mandate from the community, listening to their needs and responding to the best of his ability. His working style was to work with city department staff to identify the needs and resources of Memorial Ward. For instance, he had the department engineer tour the ward with him to identify the opportunities and constraints of physical upgrading. He said he tried to talk, and deal with civil servants, "the way I like to be treated when doing my own job."

He said that he had learned, over the years, on other citizen projects and through political studies, "how the system worked." Certain steps have to be taken at certain times and then followed through the system very carefully - as he called it, "bird-dogging" approvals. Some of the experience he drew on for the RASCC project had been gained from a similar church renovation project elsewhere in Canada.

He said the Robert Steen project 'died' several times

before it became a solid agreement between all the partners. Political negotiations were very complicated and tense because of the number of different interests involved and the budget priorities that had to be considered. He said that the community partners' determination to get the project happening was very helpful in his political negotiations with other councillors "who did not agree with him philosophically." Once the project was a firmer possibility, it was the department staff who sped the process along, for example, by arranging official sod turnings at new work sites. Once this was done they had publicly declared a commitment to the project.

Harold said that in trying to develop real alternatives in planning it is sometimes necessary to create "strawman" alternatives. In other words, a variety of options, that generate discussion and strong opinions on their pros and cons, helped to reveal true alternatives from a wider audience of opinion. He said, "maintaining the status quo is not a good alternative if it continues to maintain inequalities." In the RASCC project there were several options to consider, but only one that really met the overall criteria set by the community partner.

He noted that political influence "can sometimes be effective but not always". There can be some strong debates and bad feelings created between councillors and bureaucrats when they are doing their different jobs. Projects he said "require an active partnership for success."

4.3.2 City of Winnipeg, Parks and Recreation

Jim Goho, Superintendent of Strategic Planning and Development Division (1994), former Research and Joint-Use Officer (1983-5), The City of Winnipeg, Parks and Recreation Department.

Jim Goho is a planning professional who has been employed in the department for many years. In January 1984, as the Research and Joint Use Officer, he met with the Laura Secord Development Committee to discuss the limited facility problem, to share information on joint-use policies and procedures, and to suggest several areas of further research to the committee, for instance, methods of financing and a definite project proposal.

Interview

Jim said, "I believed then, and now, that joint-use meets a community need in a financially responsible way." He pointed out that the joint-use agreement process was much more formal in 1982 than it is today because back then the planners were "different people with different attitudes". He also said, the Winnipeg School Division was always much more rigid in their negotiations than the Parks Department. Today things are much more informally done, and partnerships can be established because co-operative agreements have been shown to meet a community need in a financially responsible way. He said that joint-use agreements still have to clearly spell

out operational and technical requirements, such as liability and control of space. In the case of RASCC project he noted that the church site became available and money was identified once the school division was no longer in a negotiable joint-use position.

He said the department had a number of 'good' and 'bad' experiences over responsibility, costing and liability with other community groups on projects. This led to the development of a policy brochure in 1989 called 'Partners for Progress'. It set out guidelines for community organizations planning to construct or renovate parks and recreation facilities on city-owned property. He stated that this pamphlet pointed out the key phases of a project and the responsibilities of the various partners. The problems associated with negotiations for the RASCC project for site acquisition and funding, and design renovations, were also part of the lessons incorporated into the guidelines in this pamphlet.

He recalled that his original role with the project as a Joint-Use Officer was in "an advisory capacity" representing the department interests in an informative, cooperative and friendly way. He stressed the point that the planner is not to act political because "it is not our job". "Planners," he said, "have a responsibility to serve public needs, not parochial political interests." He stated that the way to achieve public good is "to do your homework" - providing facts, figures, and processes, being open and flexible, and

working with others, including politicians". In the Parks and Recreation Department's planning process, "the public good must be achieved beyond the lobby of special interest groups, and must reflect consideration of those who can't, or won't, speak for themselves". He said that the planning process does influence political decisions because, politicians will "listen to good reason when they find it in reports and recommendations, especially, if it matches their political priorities". Hopefully, he said, "the decision that is ultimately made, is one the planner can live with even if it is not their preferred one."

He explained how planning in the Parks Department has developed from a comprehensive style into a strategic process, in particular to keep step with today's economic and social realities. They pay attention to qualitative elements and focus on a 'vision'. He has learned that it is important to have all the stakeholders involved from the start, and to keep them involved right through to the final decisions. Involvement helps the community to take ownership of the planning design and to participate in the implementation process.

He recommended that no one person or group deal in isolation. A partnership requires that stakeholders be identified early and work together on all stages. To do planning well requires planners to pay attention to community issues and to work their own and others' analyses into the plan. He said he saw this process successfully implemented

through the recent department strategic plan that was approved "almost as a non-event" by City Councillors. "It was their plan by that time."

He pointed out that it is stressful to be a planner nowadays because hard decisions have to be made when there is "less with less". This makes it all the more important for planners to be in touch with the community and keep them informed so that decisions can be made with the community.

Gary Solar, Former Community Manager, District 1, City Centre/Fort Rouge, City of Winnipeg, Parks and Recreation Department.

Gary Solar came from a defence department background before he got involved in public service. He was promoted 'through the ranks' to become a Community Manager. He had developed a commonsense approach to the needs of the community, which was fueled from his own volunteerism and his keen interest in sports and recreation. He was aware of the history and effects of imbalances in the inner-city, after Metro and Unicity forms of government, altered the facility resources and financial allocations to his department.

He had a good working relationship with other city managers and in particular with Tom Yauk, Commissioner of Planning, who was himself a strong community development supporter.

Interview

Gary said he had worked in the field long enough to know that "it is difficult to raise funding for the inner-city, and for the most part people who live there were not organized or united in their focus on community development issues". He said he had been concerned about the community needs and the poor facilities in central Winnipeg, which were out of date and in need of repair. One of his overall goals as a Community Manager was "to achieve some equity and balance for District 1, in terms of facilities and services within the whole system".

He said that the community needs to be aware that planning technicians are working on a great many projects at the same time. Therefore, it is important that the pre-work be done by the community before they place expectations on the department. As a professional, he believes that managers should take a keen hands-on interest in projects and attempt to attend meetings at the local level. He noted that it is important to work with the community "to make planning decisions, which in turn, can be taken to the council level for funding". "Any changes in plans" he said, "should always be taken back for consultation with the community, and time given for adequate review."

Power was, in his opinion, at the community level but the ultimate responsibility is at the department level. For this reason, the community cannot always get the project that they want unless they are able to accept some responsibility

for fiscal management and long term programming.

He noted that in the case of RASCC there was an organized group of citizens that was in a position to take on project responsibility. The group had been able to secure funding at all levels of government and to provide some of its own funding. It was a project that met a definite need in a downtown neighbourhood and helped to achieve some equity. "It was 'a good project' with some hiccups that were tenaciously handled by Councillor Taylor as both a councillor and community activist. The project nearly died three times but he ended up reviving it and getting the job done."

Gary said he personally tried to be very supportive and professional in his approach, and to stick with his department's projects through all stages.

Annitta Arpin, (Former) Community Manager, District 1, City Centre/Fort Rouge District, City of Winnipeg, Department of Parks and Recreation.

Annitta Arpin, at the time of interview, was the Community Manager of City Centre/Fort Rouge District following Gary Solar's retirement from the same position. Over many years she was involved in parks and recreation issues as a departmental employee and in particular on the RASCC project. While working as a department Project Officer, she had become very familiar with many aspects of the problems that the Laura Secord Sports and Recreation Association had been facing. For example, she was familiar

with the process of the club achieving full community centre status. After a work leave during 1989-1990, she returned to her position and soon became re-activated into the RASCC project.

Interview

Annitta said that her department has to work with political decisions, this means, being able to adjust department time and money budgets to the priorities that arise. As a result she said, "projects are not always professionally planned because there are so many political deals that change their course". This can make the work very difficult. On the other hand, if there is a good rapport and trust built up with the community through consultation, and the determination exhibited by the stakeholders to get a product that meets most needs, then usually a good level of satisfaction and integrity can be achieved in projects. "There can be good process with community consultation." She repeated that the stakeholders have to get together as early as possible.

She said that for some years, the Department has been informally working on partnerships and an entrepreneurial approach in the management of facilities and resources. A shift in attitude by other departments, for instance in the engineering section, in line with Parks and Recreation's policies to include qualitative measures along with quantitative measures during project management, has started

to create an improved level of satisfaction for everyone and make better use of city resources. Personnel and departments who previously had been uncomfortable with "messy" partnerships with each other, and/or the community, are learning to work together. She said, "other departments have to, and even now want to, do community consultation." Her main question to herself is: "Am I being helpful to the process?" She noted for instance, that her role is not to write official letters on behalf of groups, but she can work with them to show how to write letters.

She said, "some projects, like RASCC, succeed because of sheer effort by a great many people (department, councillors, buy-ins from other programs, the community)." Institutional planners do not have the time to do the kind of community organizing that is required around issues. It has to be recognized that the overall present system still says "No" to projects at first, until it has a chance to see technical details of the project, do some negotiations and get the kind of political support for it.

She worked on the RASCC project through to the Official Opening. Even after 1992, she found it necessary to keep the RASCC file close at hand in her office cupboard because of the many outstanding details that still had to be handled even in 1994. She said she was "still fixing up problems and details". Old and new issues were brought to her attention by the club or neighbourhood weekly, and Councillors or staff often needed clarification on the precedents this case set.

She said her own personal philosophy is "to work on short and long terms goals, be inclusive and work for consensus." She has had success with a formula of trust and rapport being created between the planner and the community to achieve satisfactory outcomes. She indicated therefore that she is personally comfortable with the department's effort to have partnerships."

4.3.3 City of Winnipeg, Civic Properties

Bob Harasym, Project Co-ordinator (1994), City of Winnipeg Civic Properties Department.

Bob Harasym, as senior management, represented the views of the Civic Properties Department in relation to the project. Other department staff, such as Bill Jenkins, was originally the project co-ordinator till seconded to another assignment. Roland Gibson worked closely with the community and the Project Co-ordinator.

Interview

The role of this department is to handle a great many projects within a prescribed budget. Under the City of Winnipeg mandate and prioritizations, financing Works and Operations projects is a first priority, and recreation facility provision is down the list at about number eight. Therefore, the department is limited in the allocations that it can make to community recreation projects. Projects have

to be prioritized in relation to a number of factors and, even if they meet the criteria and deadlines, they still can then be 'bumped' because of a special project, for example, repairs to Sherbrook Pool bumped other projects. One political decision affects many of the Civic Properties Department's decisions down the line. Bob said, "Department staff find it hard to be effective if decisions are not within their control." The department is also limited by a strict operating budget that is now a third of what it used to be for the district.

Bob said he had "become more comfortable with community partnerships, and would be strongly supportive of these projects, as long as they let me do my overall job." He said, "the community and the politician should stay out of the complicated and special management processes that drive the technical side of planning work." He has recently learned that some projects can be effectively done with community participation, and "it actually improves them". He found the pamphlet "Partners For Progress" helpful because it clearly explained the breakdown of the different partners responsibilities and provided a means for working through the project efficiently.

He noted that funding is only part of his department's consideration. Liability is a much more serious issue because the City is left with any outstanding bills, and project responsibility, when community groups renege, whether from poor fiscal management or from inability to fulfill

their commitments. "For this reason" he said, "the Department is very careful about working with community groups". He also noted that in his experience with school divisions some good joint-use arrangements were made that saved money, and in other cases they failed to reach agreements. He had found Winnipeg School Division #1 to be much more "parochial" than other school divisions.

He recommends that the department be brought in early, as per the flow chart in the Parks and Recreation pamphlet 'Partners for Progress', so that there is lots of lead-time. A team, made up of Civic Properties staff and the user group, works well if the preparatory work has been done on program requirements, scheduling and funding.

He notes that the new model, that is increasingly being used, is not as authoritative or "top down" as the old model used to be when it was a matter of getting rid of impediments set up by the system. "The old model had been to at first say 'No' to funding to a community that had an idea for a facility. Then when they found some funding they were refused a request for land or a site till they managed to identify this for themselves. A request then became a 'Maybe' on condition that all restrictions to building design and construction be met. Finally, when all details were taken care of (through intense negotiations and many meetings) the department would be in a position to 'Approve'. The emphasis is now on partnership, early intervention and thoughtful consideration of all aspects and stakeholders. The new model

with earlier intervention and partnerships can be much, much better for everyone."

He said , "'power' by definition is illogical - if defined as 'knowledge is power', this ignores the fact that knowledge is not power if it is not readily available. Or, if defined as 'power is given from the people to the politician', this is not power if the councillors are ineffective and make the job more difficult for the department. Real power is partnership, timely information and adequate resources to work with - 'now that's power!'"

4.4 Analysis: Case Study and Interviews

The purpose of the analysis of the case study and interviews is to find evidence of any linkage between my six themes of progressive planning practice and to help identify whether a critical social analysis, or some other factor, makes a significant difference to the project process and outcome. I believe that this evidence will confirm 'planning with communities' is a citizen expectation that can be made to work in planning, have benefits for planners, and make planning a more truly democratic practice.

4.5 Criteria of Analysis

A case study method was used as a guideline to give

rigour and structure to the collection of information gathered from a variety of sources and open-ended interviews. The claims of validity in the case study analysis and conclusions, which support the proposition that the six themes are found in the case study, are made on the basis of documentation on the project and anecdotal observations and insights offered in the interviews. A simple criteria has been chosen to achieve validity in these claims: the presence of characteristics of the theme, any supporting statement, direct reference to 'witness', and any special factors.

The inter-relation of the remarks to another theme or themes makes it difficult to single out 'a statement' but I have done so, for purposes of illustration and support.

4.6 Analysis

4.6.0 Theme One - Fully Rational Planning

The development of a fully rational planning method that recognizes the validity of both technical and substantial rationality in the planning process is the focus of Theme One - Fully Rational Planning.

Failure to acknowledge and use both rationalities is most clearly illustrated by the approach used by the planners and administrators of SD#1. Their attention was focused on the technical realities of shifting foundations, high operating costs, and higher building and safety code requirements. They saw, as a solution to these technical

problems, the demolition of Laura Secord School, the LSSRA clubhouse and their replacement by a new facility.

In this fixed attention to this logical technical solution they failed to include, or even acknowledge, the community's views and values. Ultimately, as planners they failed to achieve any of their logical technical goals. They quickly found, that in this community at least, values and beliefs were indeed substantial. This substantial rationality, once articulated and mobilized by the community, overrode their technical solution. They were directed finally to abandon their planning for a new facility, and to restore Laura Secord School.

A more democratic, fully rational approach by the school division may have led to even more creative solutions to the recreational and educational goals of the community. Their rigid technical approach served neither SD#1 or the community well. As Sid Rogers said, "The School Division planners, administrators and trustees were not in touch with the community and thought they could persist in doing traditional planning." Wendy Elliott, who gave leadership to the campaign to "Save Laura Secord School" said, "The successful drive to have the school listed with Historical Protection, and then getting financial commitment so the work actually started, had an important impact on the direction the RASCC project took".

4.6.1 Theme Two - Power and Politics

Theme Two - Power and Politics the recognition of power in planning and the political nature of planning came out in the case study and interviews. Power was operating at several jurisdictional levels at the same time - local community (Wolseley), Winnipeg School Division #1, City of Winnipeg (municipal), Province of Manitoba (provincial) and Winnipeg Core Area Initiative Agreement (federal/provincial/municipal). All of these required separate appeal strategies and particular communication techniques, for instance the community was able to appeal to their elected representatives, the City Councillor negotiated with department staff and other councillors, the MLA had direct ministerial contact. The power held by the system is evident when Mary Blondeau noted that the community club had to accept "the low rental fee arrangement agreed to between the school division and the Parks Department and imposed on the club". Gary Solar said "Power was at the community level but the ultimate responsibility is at the department level". Power at the community level was evident when as Wendy Elliott said "the successful drive to have the school listed...had an important impact on the direction the RASCC project took". For Bob Harasym, "Real power is partnership, timely information and adequate resources to work with."

It is evident that politics was everything at certain stages of the project. As reported, the MLA and the City Councillor were both able to achieve unique and highly

political funding arrangements for the project even though there were technical constraints and time lags that would have precluded this possibility. They were able to " earmark " or hold funding until it was needed. Community political action on the matter of saving the school was successful. It was noted by several participants that the support of Mayor Norrie was very helpful to the project. He paid attention to the issues, kept in contact with the community executive and worked to resolve any roadblocks. Bob Harasym made the point "the community and the politician should stay out of the complicated and special management processes that drive the technical side of planning work". Technical details and fiscal management were an important and necessary part of planning. However, no matter how well this work was done, it was the political actions of the community putting pressure on the politicians, and the politicians exerting their influence that was a factor in the outcome of projects.

The political nature of planning was made obvious by the actions of both the community and institutional system. As Sid Rogers said "there was some artful and serious deal-making for funding and site location". Annitta Arpin, a public planner noted "projects are not always professionally planned because there are so many political deals that change their course". Wendy Anthony remarked "the politicians, in partnership with the community, played an important role in the decision-making process".

4.6.2 Theme Three - Role of the Planner

The role of the planner was generally perceived in two ways by the community - planners were either helpful or unhelpful to the process. Although the community had a preferred outcome, planners were not judged solely by the success of achieving community wishes. What they said, inferred, did and did not do was noticed. As Mary Blondeau said "it was effective to work with planners who really cared about the community and took action to get things done fairly". Sid Rogers found it unhelpful to have a planner run "hot and cold" with the community and helpful to work with a planner who may have been against the project but "did his (technical) job well and worked quite positively with the community" once department approval had been given. He also noted the tension planners work under: "(they) were long-suffering in a system that set unrealistic limits".

Public planners also spoke about the tension in the duality of their role. Bob Harasym noted that he had "become more comfortable with community partnerships, and would be strongly supportive of them, as long they let me do my overall job". Annitta Arpin reported the system was undergoing positive changes from a closed system to one of partnerships, not only with the community but other departments as well. It was a new learning experience especially for staff accustomed to having authority and control in one particular function. Both reported that it was a better way of working and that the positives outweighed

the negatives for everyone. Annitta Arpin, Bob Harasym and Jim Goho all reported that the policy statement of the pamphlet "Partners for Progress" was useful because it defined a role for the major players in a project.

In progressive planning practice Theme Three - Role of the Planner, the planner who seeks to be legitimate and authentic meets both institutional and community needs by performing a number of functions in the planning event and using a variety of strategies to meet diverse needs. The role of the progressive planner is based on the principle, that progressive planning practice and planning will improve as planners employ a critical theory of planning, in both their technical and political functions. This theory needs to have advocates who are not afraid to express their democratic values. Planners and others working together, who share a similar philosophy, understanding and process, will achieve efficacy (the power to produce an intended or desired result) in planning processes through co-operative action.

4.6.3 Theme Four - Critical Social Analysis

Working toward and achieving fairness through planning and social action was a repeated motivation expressed in the interviews. Gary Solar said "one of his goals was to achieve equity and balance for District 1". Harold Taylor said he "wanted to do something about the lack of services to the

area". There are a number of references made by the interviewees to past inequities, as Mary Blondeau said "in a neighbourhood that had been shortchanged by past city planning practices".

The resources of land, a sense of place, an environmental consciousness and cultural values were identified by the community as having an intrinsic value. Sid Rogers said "Land was very relevant to us". Wendy Elliott said "The community saw the school as a very useful building and an important cultural landmark".

All these comments are encompassed in Theme Four - Critical Analysis which is focused on the progressive planner endeavouring to critically listen to, and include, all voices and rationalities in a planning event. This is based on the critical planning theory principle that planning needs to be informed by critical social analysis and reflective examination of actions that will enhance or curtail an informed democratic process. There is also a recognition that inequities have resulted, and continue, from previous decisions which may have benefited one group over another.

Planners with a progressive planning practice and a critical analysis will encourage public participation and analysis of hidden relations of power in information. In the RASCC project the public good was defined by a combination of the community values and real financial costs to the local community, and the city as a whole. This was identified in the interviews when it was pointed out that that careful

attention was paid to the costs and benefits. Retro-fitting, as opposed to new construction, was seen by this neighbourhood, and supported by other citizens, for having both an intrinsic real dollar value and a social value. This was evident by wide community support for both the school and church retro-fitting projects and the disappointment that was felt when the city arranged for demolition of the manse by a private contractor and ignored the community option of using a recycling contractor.

4.6.4 Theme Five - Communicative Actions

A very common observation made by the interviewees centered on the communicative actions of themselves and others. Theme Five - Communicative Actions, based on a formal theory of communication competency, gives recognition to the enabling rules of ordinary communication (comprehensibility, sincerity, legitimacy, accuracy) as socially acceptable rules employed when we try to understand each other. Progressive planning practice is based on an important principle of critical planning theory: a critical function is added to the enabling rules which results in meaning-making of the words and actions of planners. In progressive planning practice the critical communicative actions of planners, that is what planners say and do, and not say and do, matters. The goal is not 'perfect speech' but critically examined communication. The directive from this principle is that a planner can be technically correct but has failed to be politically and

socially correct if there is not a critical social analysis.

In the communicative acts that took place, between, and among, planners and the community there was clarifying, posturing, buddying, bullying, persuasion, lobbying, counterattacking, due process, tradeoffs, and finally agreements made by democratic process. However Wendy Anthony was more inclined to believe the sincerity of a planner who was "sensitive to the particular constraints on the community", and less inclined to trust planners who acted unilaterally. Planners took notice of Wendy Anthony when she stood up for the rights of the community to be included in the decision-making process or when she was successful at having previous decisions reversed to meet community needs. Sid Rogers noticed a difference in planners who were "supportive in quiet (less obvious) ways" and he interpreted aloof "professional" behaviour to be patronizing. He found it better to work with planners who were consistent, friendly, and did not make promises they couldn't keep.

Wendy Elliott's communicative actions had a critical analysis. She was fully aware of beliefs and values and gave her time and energy willingly to the community through the Wolseley Residents Association, the RASCC project and in the fight to save Laura Secord School. Myrna Phillips' communicative actions were based in a critical analysis coming from her political party philosophy. And so was Harold Taylor's when he created "strawman" alternatives to flush out other points of view, biases and objections, Gary

Solar's when he consulted back with the community, and Annitta Arpin's when she asked herself "Am I being helpful to the process?"

On the other hand, Jim Goho and Bob Harasym's communicative actions were based on more of a system-based view of public participation in terms of the planning projects. Jim Goho said "the planner is not to act (openly) political" and that planners achieve the public good by "providing facts, figures, and processes, being open and flexible, and working (well) with others". Bob Harasym was becoming "more comfortable with community partnerships" and said he liked the fact that the pamphlet Partners For Progress "clearly explained the breakdown of the different partners' responsibilities and provided a means for working through the project efficiently."

4.6.5 Theme Six - Legitimacy

It is useful at this point to note that the problem with planning as presented in Theme One - Fully Rational Planning is directly related to Theme Six - Legitimacy. When the public questions what planners do and what is planning about, and, when planners themselves are asking what is their role and the relevance of planning in today's society then there is an overall question of legitimacy being posed. If legitimacy is not gained by force, coercion, or advice then planners and planning legitimacy in today's society must be

sought by achieving comprehensibility, accuracy, sincerity, and trust.

Theme Six - Legitimacy is based on the principle that there is a problem with planning's legitimacy and further that planning is an incremental and democratic activity which needs to give good reasons for its existence and use before it will be legitimated by the society it serves. Legitimacy comes from, among other things, expressed satisfaction with results. In the case study and interviews it is evident that when there was a planning 'for' community approach legitimacy was not achieved. When planners made plans unilaterally, acted secretively or rigidly, or prevented the community from assuming a shared role, as in the examples given by some community members, then planning and planners lost legitimacy in the eyes of the public. However, when the opposite was true, there were expressions of satisfaction and legitimacy. Mary Blondeau gave high praise to community members, and planners, who stuck with the project and played key roles at crucial times. Wendy Elliott noted that many of the participants whether community activists or public employees became better friends and associates over the years because of their shared understandings and process. Planners also validated their own satisfaction with a process that gave them the opportunity to use both their technical and political skills in their work. Jim Goho said he found professional satisfaction from working on the City of Winnipeg, Parks and Recreation Department's Strategic Plan

where he was "responsible less to quantifiable elements and more to vision" and where the stakeholders worked together right from the beginning. He also found satisfaction in the public legitimacy given his work when 'the plan' was approved by City Council. Bob Harasym found that "an improved level of satisfaction for everyone and making better use of city resources" has resulted from new inter-departmental policies which allow the inclusion of qualitative measures along with quantitative measures in projects.

4.7 "With-Ness"

The local community executive members originally got together with the understanding that they would work with each other to address their separate and mutual problems, and further to represent their wants and needs through democratic, representative channels and work with the institution-based planning system of the school division and municipal government. They approached the institution-based planning system with the intention of negotiating and arranging an agreement with the school division for a long-term lease and permission to expand the recreation building. The reluctance of the school division to have meaningful discussions on these matters, and later to learn that the school division planners already had tentative plans for the school property, which excluded the existing community-use, was an example which confirms that technical rational

planning for the community is done by the dominance of the institutional system, and that true democracy in community is in a precarious position. The city and the school division, it was learned by the community, had a 'planned obsolescence' for the Laura Secord Sports and Recreation Association building, and for Laura Secord School, which meant that the public users of these facilities had to operate, for some years, out of deteriorating, unsafe and inadequate space, and further, road-blocks were created by SD#1 planners to prevent the community from suggesting or creating an alternative that did not meet their institutional plans. Local public interest, safety and democracy was not being served. Further, the city department of Parks and Recreation, undergoing its own economic rational planning with regard to capital projects and funding to community centres, had advised Laura Secord Sports and Recreation Association that, unless they could meet facility standards of a full community club facility set by the department, existing programs would eventually have to shut down and be absorbed into a non-neighbourhood facility. In these situations the community was informed of the plan; community input was not given serious consideration; the planning 'for' system dominated.

The background to the case study outlined the historical, co-operative working style of Wolseley residents. However, community members ran into their own internal problems when it was discovered that the Laura Secord Community Child Care, using government funding, could

negotiate independently with the school division for expanded space either at the existing location or in a new addition on the school. Steps were taken to promote and maintain a united 'planning with each other' approach. Evidence of this is stated in Project Stage 1a, where members made the mutual decision to continue working on the problem together but through an independent chairperson and the original committee. There was also a practical reason - to reduce the workload duplication on two local organizations basically seeking similar public interest outcomes. This approach of working with each other by community organizations to achieve community goals was a common pattern, an expectation, and an ethic in the Wolseley community, made all the more active after 1980 with the formation and activities of the Wolseley Residents Association. The case study has shown that from the beginning to the end of the project the community members expected to work with each other in a democratic manner and to work with the institutionalized system in a democratic manner on decisions made about this community. Mary Blondeau's comment, "it was effective to work with planners who really cared about the community" and Wendy Anthony saying, "working with city staff who had technical expertise, spoke a language of the average person, and brought people together was very helpful to the process" are some references which confirm a community belief, and satisfaction, in the benefits of a working 'with' approach.

4.8 Conclusion

The six themes of progressive planning practice taken from the literature review were present in the case study and interviews.

There is also strong evidence that a critical social analysis was an important force, which created positive results and made a significant difference, in this project.

The timing and climate, made up of the circumstances and the key people in the RASCC project, were important factors in the way that the project developed. These factors however need to be viewed as the kind of opportunities and constraints that are present in all projects. The changing circumstances held both limitations and opportunities. For instance: expansion was constrained by the school division's plans but there was opportunity to acquire land and a building when the church decided to sell; Core Area Initiative funding was available but time-limited; the MLA was supportive and a representative of the provincial government in power but that representation changed. The circumstances were both positive and negative.

The project results: a combination of the new community centre in the old church, the renovated school building, the street closure, and the creation of walkway between the

schoolyard and the community centre, is well beyond the committee's original effort to get an expanded facility at the former location, and reflects the community's ability to adapt to changes and to work with each other. Although timing and climate were important factors, it was the process of citizens taking action on issues in their community, and addressing their needs and concerns around those issues to the institution-based planning system, and having persons with knowledge and authority acting with the community that created a 'withness' climate and achieved the successful outcome in this planning event - and would do so in other cases.

Chapter Five

Conclusions

5.0 Introduction

The institution-based planning system and issue-driven, community-based planning activities have been the focus of this practicum. They have been examined through an extensive literature review and a reflection on planning practice in a single case study of a neighbourhood project. I have established that my six themes of progressive planning practice, which emerged from the planning theory literature review, are evident in the case study of Robert A. Steen Community Centre project. The stakeholders who employed a critical social analysis and included substantial rationality were able to achieve a far different outcome than those stakeholders who relied mainly on technical rationality in the planning process. For this and other stated reasons I have concluded that, although all six themes are relevant to planning practice, it is Theme Four, Critical Social Analysis, that is the most instructive in informing a planning theory and practice which endeavours to plan 'with', rather than 'for' communities. A critical social analysis made, literally, a critical difference to the project.

I started the research for this practicum from a point

of public questioning, that is, I was a citizen who questioned, and wanted to understand, some particular aspects of planning: What do planners do? What is planning? Because of my own, and others, experiences of dealing with the planning system, I believed planning should be done differently and be less adversarial. My process of gathering information about planning led me into the City Planning graduate program. I soon discovered that the answers to my questions were not simple; planning as a profession and practice could be described in a number of very different ways and the planning theorists were challenged by similar questions to mine at a much broader intellectual level.

Planners do a variety of jobs under a variety of descriptive planner titles: advocate, strategic, social, technician. The public planners, who interpret and apply the legal statutes of the state to planning decisions, were of most interest to me because they were the ones, in my mind, with the power and influence to affect decisions at the community level.

Planning work deals with a variety of problems at the community level but also strives to develop the policies for, and a vision of, society. However planning itself has a vision problem - the theories of planning at the policy and vision level do not satisfactorily mesh with the practice of planning at the community level. The planning theorists

stated that planning was in 'crisis' and 'on the edge of an abyss' - not being able to move forward or backward. The legitimacy of planning and planners was seriously eroded. The reason there was public questioning of planning was precisely because planning practice results, as a totality, had not gained public confidence or approval. The root or normative basis of planning, which is presently dominated by technical rationality and focused on efficiency and effectiveness, was being questioned by the theorists as an appropriate basis for planning in today's and the future's society. The theorists agreed on the parameters of the problem but not on the solutions. The theorists agreed that the split in planning had come about mainly in the last century and had been caused by the dominance of one rationality over the other, that is, technical rationality over substantial rationality.

I concluded at the end of my literature research that there were six major themes of relevance to answer the following questions: what needs to be changed in planning? and how should it be done?

* The first theme was focused on problem identification: the theorists indicated that planning, established as economic rationalism - planning for a specific community of interest, failed to plan with the people or communities as a whole. This resulted in problems of legitimacy for both planning and planners.

* The second theme focused on the reason for the problem:

power was an ever present force in society that could be used for 'good' and 'bad' purposes. After the period of the Enlightenment, power was to be controlled by democratic political action and used in society, for individual and collective security and advancement. However the overpowering hegemony of economic rationalism had created, and continued to support, a technical rational planning model which was not a truly democratic practice and failed to adequately include substantial rationality.

* Theme Three focused on the role of the planner as the public servant, often named and discredited by society for the failures of planning. The literature indicated that planners themselves were questioning the tension of the duality of their roles in planning.

* Theme Four resulted from an analysis of the procedures theorists have identified to resolve the role and function of planning. The application of a critical social analysis to planning theory, where the task is to show the underlying relation of power which maintains social control, was repeatedly supported by the theorists as the possible link to close the gap between planning theory and practice. The degree and method of this analysis took on various forms when applied to the role of the planner (advocates, progressives, radicals). From my experience and knowledge of community, and my own beliefs, I believed that critical social analysis was indeed a most important factor that would inform the problem.

* Theme Five focused on action. Thinking, theorizing and postulating was a passive activity, communicative action was not - there was meaning in what was said and done, as well as what was not said and done. The dual nature of the actions of planners and planning activity, it was suggested by the theorists, needed to be examined ethically by a critical social analysis. Therefore attention to communicative actions, with a critical social analysis function added, gave a theoretical and practical basis for examining the decisions and processes of planning.

* Theme Six was a goal or end that the theorists wanted to arrive at, that is, understanding of and agreement on the kind of knowledge that would be useful, and seen as legitimating planning action, by a wider society of interest.

Whereas planning theorists were trying to resolve society's problems, they were also trying to resolve planning's function and role in society.

I could see the connection of the six themes to my own community development experiences, and noted how they matched my belief that the planning process needed to change in ways they described. I therefore checked for evidence of the six themes in a case study of a project, and in particular, for a theme or themes that were significant to the outcome of the project.

I found the six themes in the case study and concluded

that critical social analysis had a particular bearing on the outcome. I have further concluded that critical social analysis is particularly relevant to planning theory and practice because planners who have a self-consciousness of social and economic reality will assist people to have their own self-consciousness of what matters, and together they will strive for a truly democratic practice.

5.1 Planning 'for' Community

I illustrate and explain planning 'for' communities thus:

POLICY LEVEL

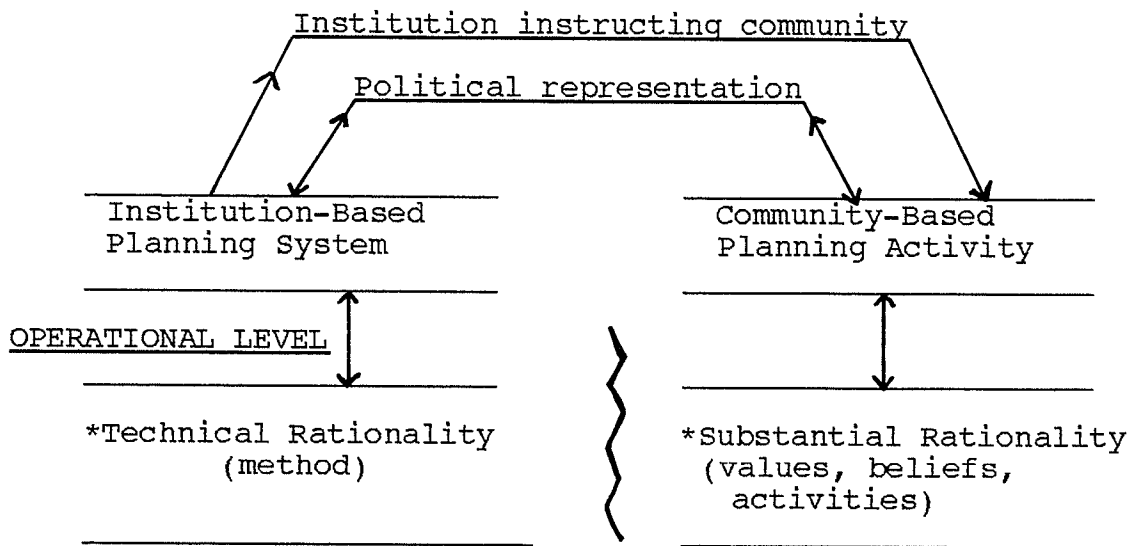


Figure Six. Planning 'for' Community. Institution-based Planning System not communicating directly with Community-Based Planning Activity at the Operational Level.

In 'planning for community' the two planning systems are separate and not interacting at all at the Operational/

Practice level. They are assumed to be, for the most part, incommensurable (that is, unable to find any mutuality).

The normative basis of planning has been technical rational and instrumental. The institution-based planning system is grounded in the use of a technical rational planning method. This method of problem solving in planning events was described in the literature as being the selection of technical instrumental means to achieve rationalized ends. An institution-based planning exercise structure plans 'for' the community. It is this 'planning for community' that has often given rise to planning problems because planners have contact with community members but act in a number of different roles that specifically support and legitimize the role of the institution. Institutionalized planning does not look to the community members to inform or contribute significantly to the technical rational method; community is on the receiving end of rationalized plans.

However, the community is not a passive, uninformed entity. The community is made up of individuals and groups, who define their social arrangements and declared purposes through expression of values, needs and issues. In this way citizens conduct their own internal community-based planning activities through an interactive, incremental, communicative method. Unlike the institution-based system which relies on scientifically proven facts, the community 'facts' are socially constructed as community members pay particular attention to any implications arising from the selection of

both ends and the means. There is knowing and knowledge in community that is substantial and rational.

Technical rational planning, with its roots in the scientific method, tends to exclude substantial rationality because the applied scientific method makes it difficult to absorb and utilize values and issues. This approach has been unrealistic because community-based planning activity does, in fact, inform institutionalized planning with 'real' planning information. The community informs in a number of ways through the democratic political process. Government policy and programs are written and designed as an expression of the collective wishes and needs of society. Community is represented by elected individuals who have the statutory right to recommend and make institutional changes to policy and programs on the community's behalf. The community has a democratic right to public participation, lobbying and persuasion, and, informs its political representatives through these accepted methods. But 'rights' have to be known and exercised if they are to be relevant and effective.

Sometimes, the community has to take extra-ordinary measures to bring attention to their concerns.

5.2 Planning 'with' Community

As this practicum has shown through the case study of an issue-driven, public planning process, community members with a critical social analysis are able to challenge and change

the institution-based planning process in a number of significant ways. For example, contrary to the plans of the institution-based system, the community-based planning activities of public participation, lobby, persuasion and protest were successful in 'Saving Laura Secord School', and in the decisions made to acquire new public land and retrofit two neighbourhood buildings, which now provide expanded community programs and services.

Further, the actions taken by this community, and others, activated formal changes in the policy and programs of institutional planning, for example, a policy document and pamphlet was developed called 'Partners for Progress'. The institution-based planning process by City of Winnipeg, Parks and Recreation Department, and other city departments involved in development projects affecting parks and recreation facilities on city-owned properties, was now clearly stated to be 'with', rather than 'for' the community. The role of the planner in this process was now legitimately, and openly, both advisory and active. A previously adversarial situation had been defused and power relationships had been positively reshaped to benefit everyone. Although the policy came from the Parks and Recreation Department, it has had an effect on the planning style adopted by other city planning departments, such as Civic Properties. A second illustration, Planning 'with' Community, shows these changes and how the flow of information is not only in the two systems but between the

systems. I have added critical social theory in the illustration as the spine and central processing system through which informed planners and citizens share information and work together to have a fair hearing. In this illustration, differences, respected and recognized as commensurable with broader social goals and values, are centered on democratic rights - institutions and people do not have to think the same to work with each other in a democracy.

POLICY LEVEL

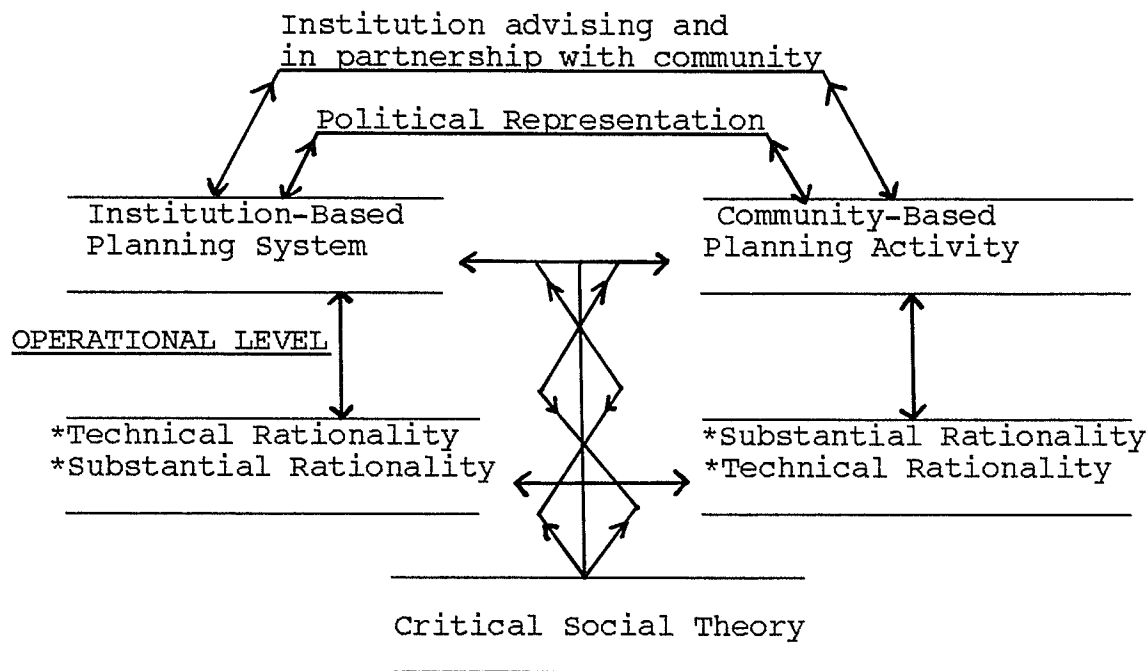


Figure Seven. Planning 'with' Community. Ethical action between, and among, the two systems is informed by Critical Social Theory and is based on a Critical Theory of Planning.

Further support for linking Critical Planning Theory, descriptive of planning 'with' community, to practice is outlined in the following diagram. In the planning literature a change has been identified in planning and planners's role as a shift in emphasis, away from the dominance of a technical rational method, towards an informed, interactive and critical method.

THE IMPLICATIONS, PROFESSIONALLY, OF FORESTER'S
FRAMEWORK FOR AN ETHICAL AND POLITICALLY
CRITICAL PLANNING THEORY/PRACTICE

Shifts In Emphasis:

| _____Away From_____ | _____Toward_____ |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| * Expertise and Efficiency | * Ethical commitment and Equity |
| * <u>What</u> planners know | * <u>How</u> they distribute their knowledge |
| * Ability to solve problems | * Opening up public debate about problems |
| * Public trust in planners' expertise | * Individual trust in planners' integrity |
| * Consent to planners drawing plans | * Consent to planners mediating debate |
| * Technical skill | * Political savvy |

Figure Eight. "Shifts In Emphasis." A personal communication from Dr. Ian Wight, September 20th, 1995 of an exhibit prepared by Dr. Wight and adapted from John Forester (1989) Planning in the Face of Power.

As was reported in the case study interviews, this 'new' partnership process works well, especially in issue-driven planning processes, when the premise and sense of equitable partnership is maintained. There would be however, in my opinion, a danger in having the community-based planning process institutionalized or simply viewed as statutory public participation. Incidents reported in the case study, where unilateral decisions were made and the community was not treated as a real 'partner', negatively changed, then interrupted and stopped the new, good 'working with' dynamic. A fully democratic, community-based process must remain a separate and vital process at both a Policy and Operational Levels.

5.3 The Lessons for Planners

5.3.0 Theme One - Fully Rational Planning

The dominance of the technical rational method as the normative basis of planning needs to be challenged, and significantly changed, to allow the full inclusion of substantial rationality with technical rationality. To begin with, planners will need to gain a full understanding of critical planning theory and practice so they can understand why they are taking a stance which challenges and changes the relationship of power, and control, that 'dominance' exerts, and why they are working to achieve 'shared power'.

5.3.1 Theme Two - Power and Politics

Planners must recognize that power and politics are necessary forces in the argumentative planning process, and that they have been inappropriately used much of the time to maintain the dominance of the institution-based planning system (economic, political, social). As Forester (1989) has said, "to politicize means to diversify alternatives, to strengthen participation and include previously excluded groups, to support progressive planning movements, to balance the reliance on technique with attention to regular political debates, negotiation, and criticism."(p.243) Planners will have to empower themselves and citizens by gaining and sharing specific and timely knowledge relevant to planning events.

5.3.2 Theme Three - Role of The Planner

Planners must allow the community they serve, to define their role in the planning event. When planners are able to connect with citizens at the operational level then they are able to act as facilitators. Planners may need to act as technicians, statutory planners or community development workers depending on the context of the planning event. Not only does the institution define the role of its planners, but the public clients they work with also will have to help define the role of planners. When roles are agreed on and this helps bring about the desired results, it successfully legitimizes planners and planning in the eyes of the

community.

5.3.3 Theme Four - Critical Social Analysis

Planners must learn about and intrinsically understand that a critical social analysis means they understand that the system maintains the status quo through domination, and, when they act in a progressive planning practice they openly share this understanding and actively work to make structural changes toward the goal of shared power. Ideologies, whether economic dominance or social justice, are not to be hidden or distorted. Planners must not remain neutral. Having critical social analysis they work to expose the structural sources of power and inequality in a progressive manner - that is, by trying to achieve a 'conventional' democratic society, they are working against the forces that prevent this becoming a reality.

5.3.4. Theme Five - Communicative Actions

Planners need to be aware that society is logocentric, that is, focused on words and meaning-making behaviours. Planners by their communicative actions impart meanings that can either clarify or confuse. Therefore, planners must be aware that what they say and do, and not say and do, does matter. Planners who pay attention to their communicative actions listen critically to authenticate and verify information. They do not impose any one rationality. They give insight to citizens about their rights and

responsibilities, and they critically inform the institutions they work for, ultimately anticipating and reshaping relations of power and powerlessness. Planners will need a variety of communication skills to achieve communication efficacy.

5.3.5 Theme Six - Legitimacy

The role of planning and planners has often been misunderstood or, at the very least, understood differently by those working in planning or affected by planning decisions. Planning is criticized for its failures and weaknesses both by planners and society. A belief that there are two incommensurable sides has been shown by Harper and Stein (1994) to be unsupportable. They point out that we may not always agree with each other but we can understand when anothers' position is different than our own, therefore we can agree to disagree and still move forward with a mutually agreeable democratic decision. To regain trust, and end the confusion about 'what planners do' and 'what planning is', planners need to work from a critical theory of planning and through a progressive planning practice. The planning profession will have to strive to establish a critical social consciousness and help recentre society in a fully democratic planning praxis (theory informing practice, practice informing theory).

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