

**An Inquiry into
the Relevance of Redeeming and Regenerating the Concept of
Community in Canadian Professional Planning Practice**

by

Glenn Perry Chubaty

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

MASTER OF CITY PLANNING

Department of City Planning
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**AN INQUIRY INTO THE RELEVANCE OF REDEEMING AND
REGENERATING THE CONCEPT OF COMMUNITY IN CANADIAN
PROFESSIONAL PLANNING PRACTICE**

BY

GLENN PERRY CHUBATY

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ABSTRACT

The term 'Community Planning' has come to be synonymous with the professional planning that is practiced in Canada. Gerald Hodge's text, Planning Canadian Communities, emphasizes this term. But what does 'Community Planning' really mean, and have Canadian professional planners been practicing it? The final paragraph of Hodge's second edition of Planning Canadian Communities questions the currency of the word 'community' and suggests that 'community planning' needs to be redeemed and regenerated. (Hodge 1991, 387)

This thesis examines the case for redeeming and regenerating community planning. The concept of community has a very broad range of meanings. And this concept has changed and evolved over time as society has developed and evolved. Three methods of study were used to determine what the term 'community planning' means, and how it relates to Canadian professional planning practice. The first method involved a literature search examining the concept of community and focusing on 'community planning' in Canadian professional planning. The second dealt with a case study of the development of the government of the City of Winnipeg and the role that 'community planning' has played in this environment. Thirdly, the 75th Anniversary Edition of the Plan Canada journal was analyzed to discover how contemporary planners perceive 'community' and 'community planning.'

Community today no longer means what it did in the past. New technologies, particularly in the fields of communications and transportation, have expanded people's ability to interact in a rapidly shrinking world. The physical limits that helped define the communities of the past are no longer relevant. It is impossible to return to old notions of community, and of community planning. Rather than redeeming and regenerating community planning, it will be necessary to rediscover and redefine community planning. This requires effective communication with communities and an increased effort to include communities in the planning process. Helping communities become the instrument of planning as well as the object of planning is where the future of true community planning lies.

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1.0 Introduction

The notion of 'community' has long been used to characterize planning for Canadian cities and towns, but it seems to have little currency in today's practice. Perhaps the solution lies in redeeming and regenerating *community* planning (Hodge 1991, 387).

These are the words that end Dr. Gerald Hodge's, Planning Canadian Communities, 2nd Ed., the most current text on contemporary Canadian professional planning. It is worth noting that they represent an addition to the 1st edition of this planning text. Hodge supports the notion that there is a lack of currency in contemporary practice of the term 'community planning' in part in response to the critiques of the likes of Kent Gerecke (*Resurrection of Community*, 1988), Harold Chorney (City of Dreams, 1990) and Scott Peck (The Different Drum, 1988). This inquiry constitutes an investigation of this concept of community planning as it relates to Canadian professional planning practice. Is there value in 'redeeming and regenerating *community* planning?' Hodge issued a challenge to Canadian planners. This thesis seeks to address this challenge in the contemporary Canadian professional planning context.

Both editions of Hodge's text use the term 'Community Planning' to describe the professional planning that is done in Canada. In these texts, Dr. Hodge uses the word community to represent environments in which people live, ranging in size from villages to metropolitan cities. This use includes an incredibly wide range of both physical and social elements. Used in such a broad sense, the word community holds very little meaning except as a synonym for a living environment and everything that goes along with it. When the word community is used in this way, it is left open to a very wide range of interpretations. Thus the ability of the word community to communicate a clear, concise meaning is lacking. As a word with positive connotations and a great range of interpretation, it has become a useful word for politicians and planners. A politician or planner can justify his or her actions by claiming they support community and never be called to account because community is such a broadly interpreted concept. John Dakin addressed this issue in a commentary he wrote for Plan Canada regarding the need for precision when using the word community.

There is a special complication in the word "community" as far as planners are concerned. In using the word they nearly always imply an undertone of what they think the community *ought* to be. This "ought" is all-pervasive and is not confined by any means to the physical aspects of the planning process. Planners often base their recommendations on assumed *desirables* for the community. A community *should* have a variety of groups in it. It *should* be of this or that size. The satellite principle is desirable or not desirable. The community, to be valid, *should* have this and that equipment, and so on.

These "oughts" arise and are tolerated because the planner needs to know certain social goals. Unfortunately these are rarely clearly formulated by anybody and the planner can be excused if he assumes something in order to get his work done. My plea here is that the assumptions should be made explicitly on the basis of the scientific knowledge which is available, and not implicitly in an arbitrary and individualistic way. We must, therefore, look very carefully at what we mean by the word "community" and must try to refine our concept of it (Dakin 1961, 99).

Dakin expressed a need for a refined definition of the word community. He wanted the assumptions in terms of size, makeup, location, resources and design expressed explicitly based on the most current scientific knowledge available. Unfortunately, it is very difficult to reach a consensus on what combination of these aspects of community constitute an ideal community. Successful communities vary in all these aspects. This varying nature of community is what allows Hodge to present community, and community planning in such a broad manner. It is also what frustrated Dakin and what makes it difficult to make a discussion about community absolutely precise.

Although the concept of community will be difficult to narrowly define, it is worthwhile to consider carefully the meanings of the other words in Hodge's challenge to 'redeem and regenerate community planning.' The definitions that follow are from The International Webster New Encyclopedic Dictionary of the English Language. 'Redeem' and 'regenerate' are similar in the respect that they both mean to regain something that was lost. The dictionary defines the word 'redeem' as "to recover, . . . to discharge or fulfill, as a pledge or promise." 'Regenerate' is defined as "to generate or produce anew; to bring into existence again . . . to recreate, reconstitute, or make over, esp. in a better form

or condition.” Dr. Hodge appears to have challenged planners to recover and to reproduce community planning.

Although it will not be possible to present a narrow, precise definition of ‘community,’ it is worthwhile to examine the meaning of this word, and this concept in some detail. This inquiry will begin with the dictionary’s definition of ‘community,’ and expand the discussion of community planning from there.

community: The state of being held in common; common possession, enjoyment, liability, etc.; common character; agreement; identity; social intercourse; association; life in association with others; the social state; a number of individuals associated together by the fact of residence in the same locality or of subjection to the same laws and regulations; a number of persons having common ties or interests and living in the same locality; hence, any body or group living together, esp. a monastic body; a communistic society; the body of people of a place; the public (The International WEBSTER New Encyclopedic DICTIONARY of the English Language 1975, 204).

Not surprisingly, the word ‘community’ has a definition which is general and does not represent a single, simple concept. It represents a combination of ideas that include physical, social, political and even legal elements. But a recurring theme in this definition is the notion of commonality. The word common appears four times. However the specifics differ, every definition of community includes the idea of something that is held in common by a group of people. That will be the starting point for the discussion of community in the chapters to follow.

Community planning, as the term is used today, dates back to a time just after World War II. Gerald Hodge describes the circumstances in which the term came to be a part of the Canadian planning vocabulary.

The first significant use of the term “community planning” appeared in a report to the Canadian government by a committee giving advice on the problems the country would face when World War II ended. The 1944 Advisory Committee on Reconstruction report *Housing and Community Planning* - which came to be known as the “Curtis Report” after its principal author, Professor C.H. Curtis of Queen’s University - argued that town planning had two distinct but complementary meanings. Town

planning, they felt, should encompass not only the "rational physical organization" of a city but also the concept of "better community living." Perhaps this was the stimulus to adopt the term "community planning" when the CPAC met two years later, for many of the members of the Curtis committee were founding members of Canada's first (and only) nation-wide citizen organization in planning (Hodge 1991, 390).

This does not mean that the term 'community planning' had never been used before. Certainly from the earliest days of planning in Canada, as far back as the formation of the Commission of Conservation, ideas about community and planning were known and were a part of planning. These ideas are important in the evolution of the concept of community and merit discussion in that regard. But the community planning that Hodge has challenged planners to redeem and regenerate is the 'community planning' that dates from after the Second World War. This contemporary 'community planning' will be the main focus of this inquiry.

1.1 Objectives

The objectives of this inquiry may be defined as follows:

1. Define the concept of community as it is most relevant to professional planning, specifically contemporary professional planning.

It must be established if, and if so, how, the concept of community has changed and evolved over time. Is community different today than it has been in the past? Or is the concept the same, but the context of society has changed so dramatically that within this context the concept of community must be treated differently?

2. Determine how this concept has been treated in the planning literature of the past and in contemporary planning theory.

Analyze and assess the relationship between planning and community: what has been the case in the past and what is the case in the present? Hodge's query raises questions about the relevance of the term community

planning as an appropriate characterization of contemporary professional planning in Canada. If it is true that the term is not current nor perceived as relevant, then there is a need to discover why this loss of currency and relevance occurred. It also begs the question, did the term 'community planning' actually ever accurately describe the professional planning which has been practiced in Canada?

3. Prescribe if and how planning should deal with the concept of community in the future, particularly the near future.

Discovering what role community planning can have in the future may be a key to professional planning remaining relevant. Gerald Hodge has offered that "perhaps the solution lies in redeeming and regenerating *community* planning." Rediscovering community planning may be the first step in this process.

1.2 Clarifying the Concept of Community

John Dakin, a Canadian planning theorist who has written quite extensively on Canadian planning, addressed the topic of community, in the planning context, very directly in an article in Plan Canada in 1961. Under the heading of 'Precision About Community Needed,' Dakin remarked:

We cannot think very long about the planning process as part of the life of the society in relation to the bureaucratic system without realizing that we should look afresh at our concept of the community.

The word "community" is variously used to mean a place - think of a village, for example; it may also be used to indicate a group of people, or the life that a group of people lead. It may be used to cover the life that a group of people live in a certain place - again think of the ideas suggested by the word "village." Very frequently the word is used without any indication of which meaning is intended and a passage of writing may start with one meaning and slide imperceptibly into another - the inevitable result of faulty definition of the concept. From troubles of this kind the planner is not exempt. If we are serious about planning for communities let us first make clear beyond doubt what we mean by the term (Dakin 1961, 98-9).

Dakin provides a very clear assessment of one of the most important issues Canadian professional planning has to deal with in order to achieve any kind of precision with regards to the word 'community.' The word 'community' has been used in a very broad manner. This lack of specificity has diminished the value of the word community as a technical term. Planners must be aware of the range of meaning and interpretation of the term 'community,' and not take for granted that their concept of community is the same as that of another planner, a politician, a developer or members of a community.

As well as being broad and general, the concept of community has been changing and evolving over time. Technological advances have changed the way people live. The most radical changes have come in the last two centuries. These changes have brought along with them different expectations from people in terms of what they want and what they need. Advances in communications technology have had perhaps the greatest impact on the evolution of the concept of community. Dakin addresses this, as his discussion about community continues.

A few centuries ago, because communications were slow, it was possible to identify "community" with place. With the development of instantaneous aural and visual communication and the increase in the frequency and rapidity of physical movement this identification has become a source of confusion. For us, that circle of common life, which we call the community, is immeasurably enlarged by the daily press, radio, television, telephone, motorcar and airplane. The local community is now in a very real sense part of the national group and can no longer be regarded, or regard itself, as a substantially isolated social organism (Dakin 1961, 98-9).

Since Dakin's article was published in 1961, transportation and communications technology have continued to improve and enlarge the 'circle of common life' that is community. Computers, satellite communications systems, fax machines, cellular telephones and faster, more efficient modes of transportation have all increased the potential to communicate with greater numbers of people. Physical boundaries that once limited the range of people that one came into contact with are now obsolete. The way in which individuals interact with each other, and communities interact with each other, has changed dramatically. The context in which today's communities exist is

unquestionably different and more complex than it has ever been before. Obviously this has implications for planning. As he concludes his article on the need for precision about community, Dakin describes this rapid change as increasing the need that communities will have for planning guidance.

They (communities) will, therefore, increasingly require the assistance of some central body capable of safeguarding their economic health, acting ahead of predictable change, and serving as a reservoir of knowledge about the larger stage on which the drama of the community's life must now be played. We are becoming one world and we cannot escape the implications of this when we come to consider such things as the physical equipment of the nation as a whole, power-production, and the development of natural resources along intelligently directed rational lines. We must understand that a new kind of community is being born (Dakin 1961, 98-9).

1.3 Planning and Community

Professional planning in the public domain (Friedmann 1987) deals with people, and how they act within, and interact with their environments. Hodge describes it as follows:

Modern community planning is a distinctive social function, a widely accepted public activity that aims to improve the quality of daily life in our cities, towns, and regions. Any such social function does not come into being either quickly or independently of its context. There has first to be the acknowledgement of a problem that affects community well-being, and then a desire to find a solution to it. This depends, of course, on a sufficient body of people being convinced that community planning can contribute significantly to the welfare and prosperity of city and town dwellers (Hodge 1991, 71).

There are two important points to take from this quote that are critical to this inquiry. First, Hodge described community planning as an activity that 'aims to improve the quality of daily life' through solving 'a problem that affects community well-being.' This reinforces the notion of commonality that the previous dictionary definition of 'community' provided. Any problem on the scale of a community is one that is held in common by a number of people who comprise that community. Second, Hodge touched on the question of the credibility and the relevancy of community planning. The notion of 'redeeming

and regenerating community planning' is what Hodge has suggested to return currency and relevancy to contemporary planning practice.

Hodge describes the term 'community planning,' as "peculiarly Canadian and especially appropriate to describe the activity of planning living environments in our variously sized settlements" (Hodge 1991, 390). And although he viewed it as an appropriate term for Canadian professional planning, he could not find any record which explained why the Community Planning Association chose "community planning" to describe Canadian planning. Hodge does provide two reasons why the term is an appropriate description of Canadian planning. First, the word community is general enough to describe settlements of all sizes from small towns to large metropolitan centres. He suggested that as all settlements in Canada are involved in some kind of planning, a description is needed that encompasses all these different sizes of settlements. Second, "community planning" implies that the community is involved in the planning process. Hodge emphasizes "the importance of the aspiration that the community should be doing the community planning" (Hodge 1991, 390-1).

1.4 The Evolution of Society and the Concept of Community

Today's society functions within a context of turbulent and often uncertain change. The world that today's children are born into will be vastly different from the one they will face as adults. One needs only to look back over the past century to realize this. Those born at the turn of the twentieth century entered a world where mechanical flight was still a dream. Today, it has been 25 years since people walked on the moon. Satellites, space shuttles and space stations that were the creatures of science fiction mere decades ago are a mundane part of our lives today. And the change just keeps coming. Economically, politically, socially and technologically the world is in upheaval. Local events influence the entire world through a complex web of global networks. What was sure and safe ten and twenty years ago is often irrelevant today. Alvin Toffler (Future Shock 1970, The Futurists 1972, The Third Wave 1980), Neil Postman (Technopoly 1992), Joel Barker (Future Edge 1992) and others have documented some of this change from varying perspectives. Professional planning, as a future-oriented discipline, cannot

ignore this change. Although he obviously does not write in the same genre as the authors mentioned above, John Friedmann has acknowledged the relationship of this changing environment to planning.

. . . And while all this planning is going on, the world continues to change. Just now it seems to be changing more rapidly than at any other time in history - so fast, in fact, that when the plans and projects are ready for implementation, they are no longer appropriate (assuming that, at the time of their conception, they responded to a correct interpretation of the world). Central plans have become obsolete even before they are announced (Friedmann: 1987, 312-3).

Understanding why the world and society are changing so fast is critical to effective planning. Yet, a comprehensive understanding of how everything functions and relates in modern society is an impossibility. Neil Postman provides an enlightening anecdote on this point.

As a college undergraduate, I was told by an enthusiastic professor of German literature that Goethe was the last person who knew everything. I assume she meant, by this astounding remark, less to deify Goethe than to suggest that by the year of his death, 1832, it was no longer possible for even the most brilliant mind to comprehend, let alone integrate, what was known (Postman 1992, 88).

While it is dubious whether even as brilliant a mind as Goethe actually knew everything there was to know in the early 1800s, the point is well made. The amount of information available today is so immense that the human mind can only begin to assimilate the very tiniest portion of it. Even within this vast amount of information which borders on the infinite, there are sub-groups of information which themselves may be considered almost infinite; at least in the context of the ability of the human mind to comprehend and understand them. Society, cities, the social sciences, some of the building blocks of planning, definitely fit into this category. Each of these separate topics has been the subject of intense study over a very long period of time. As a result, each is home to immense amounts of knowledge and information which no one person can realistically claim to completely understand. Even with all that we do know about these things, there is perhaps more yet which has not been discovered or is simply not understood. And the world is definitely not standing still. New

discoveries are made every day, every month and every year. Society is changing and the concept of community is evolving along with it. Planning must deal with the evolving concept of community in its contemporary context.

1.5 Defining Community

It is alongside and through this constantly evolving kaleidoscope of change that communities have formed, grown and developed since the beginning of human settlement. Today, in common usage, community has come to have a somewhat nebulous and uncertain definition. It has become one of those abstract concepts about which everyone has their own intuitive ideas, but when it comes to putting these ideas down on paper, or putting forth criteria to define exactly what a community consists of, people most often find that a suitable definition eludes them. The dictionary has provided a starting point by defining community as something that is held in common by a group of people. There is definitely more to community than simply that. But although there may be more, there will not necessarily be a definition at the end of this discussion. Community is a rich and varied concept that covers a wide range of interpretations. Discovering the boundaries of this concept and setting parameters that are relevant to planning may be as close to a definition as this inquiry will come.

Chapter Two presents an in-depth search for the meanings and conceptual nuances of this word, community. More than a simple dictionary definition is needed to effectively represent the breadth of the idea of community. It is a concept that has a rich and varied past. But has it, somewhere along the way, lost the clarity of its definition? If it can mean many different things to different people, has it lost its value as a term that is capable of describing a definitive situation? Chapter Two will trace how the concept of community has changed and evolved in the broader search for a relevant meaning in the context of modern society and contemporary planning.

Contemporary winds of change are pushing today's communities, however they may be defined, in opposite directions. Globalization is a driving economic and cultural force born of a technological revolution which has made

physical and geographical boundaries irrelevant in many ways. Localization is a newer response, or perhaps a revival of an old theme, which has sprung up to oppose globalization because of the imperfections and inadequacies which are evident in the global ethic. The struggle between these global and local forces is well evidenced at the community level. The personal level of human interaction, face-to-face relationships, are not accounted for in the push for globalism. Reactions to globalism such as 'cocooning' (Popcorn Report 1992) are important reactions to the sameness and conformity of globalism. Postmodernism is an example at the level of the built environment of a reaction against the global sameness of modernism.

The transition from modernism to postmodernism in architecture and urban planning, at least symbolically, is often placed at 3:32 pm on 15 July 1972, when a housing development for low-income people in St. Louis, a prize-winning version of Le Corbusier's "machine for modern living" now considered uninhabitable, was dynamited and torn down. Ideas of diversity and flexibility have entered more and more into the discourse of urban planning and architecture. Rather than following the dictates of the universalizing discourses of modernism, which had led to cityscapes of sameness with their glass towers and concrete blocks that denounced 'all ornament as crime, all individuality as sentimentality, all romanticism as kitsch,' postmodernist design has given us ornamented office towers, imitation medieval squares and fishing villages, renovated factories and warehouses, landscapes of greater variety, and custom-designed housing. Postmodernist urban planners see the urban process as often uncontrollable and chaotic and, as in literary theory, view cities as texts with their own special codes. One of the ironies of postmodernism is that, while it abandons ideas of progress and hence historical continuity, it raids the past to create the present pastiche (Irving 1993, 483).

The postmodernist ethic, as it is represented here, is driven by a search for the elements of life that modernism did not account for. These are the more personal elements such as distinctness of relationships and environments, individuality and even imperfection. These often intangible things are a significant part of what makes life interesting and unique. The modernist/postmodernist divide in many ways mirrors the conflicting elements of globalization and localization. The drive to make things more personal and livable in an increasingly globalized and standardized environment is an important part of the evolution of contemporary society.

1.6 Analyzing the Community/Planning Relationship

It is important at this time to step away from the discussion of the evolution of society and its relationship to the concept of community, and to look specifically at planning for a moment. As another often generalized concept, planning must be defined, and its context limited, before entering into a discussion about it. For the purposes of this thesis, John Dakin's recently espoused cardinal goals of planning will set the context, in terms of what is meant by professional planning, for the discussion to follow.

1 Intervening in ongoing processes to make the existing system more efficient: in the West, the achievement of the smoothest-running system possible with a free-market ideology. This implies our human self-interest is seen as the *summum bonum*: THE MATERIALLY EFFICIENT, 'FREE' SOCIETY.

2 Intervening to ameliorate inequalities, to assist the achievement of social, economic, political, and ecological, but not necessarily psychological, justice for all: THE JUST SOCIETY.

3 Intervening to help bring our human behaviour into line with the limits set by natural systems. The goal here is to take out no more than the system can tolerate over the long term, thus avoiding a life-support catastrophe: THE SUSTAINABLE SOCIETY.

4 Intervening to move towards realizing a vision of how the full potential of our modern capabilities may be used for the maximum development of personality: THE SHANGRI-LA OR 'RADIANT' SOCIETY (John Dakin 1993, 419-20).

How professional planners in the public realm seek to realize these goals through planning sets the context for how this thesis addresses the relationship between community and planning. Each goal involves an intervention by planners in an attempt to improve an element of society. Each goal speaks to the idea of improving people's quality of life, of which the concept of community is definitely a part.

By investigating how planning has approached the issue of community in the past and is dealing with it in the present, this inquiry intends to clarify what direction this relationship between planning and community will take in the future. Tracing the development of Plan Canada, the journal of the Canadian

Institute of Planners, and how it reveals different aspects of the concept of community, will provide a history of how the planning profession has dealt with community in Canada.

1.7 Prognosis and Prescription

Social, economic and especially technological change can shift the balance of equilibrium in society as to what people have, what people consider to be their rights, what people want and what people expect. The greater the rate at which change occurs, the greater the shift in the equilibrium of society as to what people want, need and expect. The world as we know it is changing at the most drastic rate ever. The make-up and the attitudes of society are also changing. It is incredibly difficult to predict what kind of world these changes will lead to. The Baby Boomers are getting older. Their children, 'Generation X' (Douglas Coupland 1991) have grown up. People want more and different things from life, and from their cities. How successfully planning can anticipate and address these issues will dictate how relevant planning will be in the future. Where will community fit into their lives? Will there be a need to return to traditional models of community by redeeming and regenerating the notion as Hodge suggested? Or is it necessary to redesign and redevelop the concept of community to fit the contemporary milieu?

Upon a first reading of materials on the topics of community and planning, it is evident that there are some opportunities and some options available to planners who wish to relate the development of community to professional planning. Discovering what these opportunities and options are is part of the purpose of this inquiry. Does it involve 'redeeming and regenerating community planning' as Hodge suggested, or is it more a case of rediscovering and redefining what community represents today and what role planning can play in supporting it? The concept of community has had a very significant role in professional planning literature in Canada. The methods and techniques which are most relevant to the concept of community will emerge from the research as a whole, and particularly from the 75th Anniversary edition of Plan Canada (July 1994), which is in effect a snapshot of contemporary Canadian planning. This issue of the journal attempts to encompass a look back at where

professional planning in Canada has come from, and a look forward to where it is going.

1.8 Research Methods

The first component of the inquiry consists of a literature review, tracing the history of professional planning in Canada and its relationship to the concept of community. It begins with some more general works on the concept of community (Chapter Two) and then focuses this down to community and professional planning, and finally to community and professional planning in Canada (Chapter Three). This will provide a starting point and a context for examining contemporary planning in Canada and its relationship to community.

The second component of the inquiry involves a case study of the development of the government of the City of Winnipeg. Today's City of Winnipeg is an amalgamation of what were originally many separate municipalities. Each of these different municipalities was concerned about maintaining its own distinct character when they were amalgamated into the single entity that eventually became the unified City of Winnipeg. Community wards, which attempted to adhere to the areas defined by the former municipalities, addressed this issue. As a result, the concept of community was very prevalent in the development of the government for Metropolitan Winnipeg, in the 1960s. The provincial government used the word community generously in its design for the political structure for the new, unified City of Winnipeg which came into existence in 1972. The word community remains very prominent in contemporary municipal government, particularly through the Community Committees which form an important part of the planning environment in Winnipeg. Looking at this real life situation will clarify the context of what is mostly a theoretical inquiry.

Selecting the appropriate major research methods for an inquiry responding to the challenge of redeeming and regenerating community planning in Canada has been somewhat of a challenge. There are numerous methods for such an exercise. There are several important issues to consider when selecting a methodology.

What is the nature of the entity to be studied? In this case the entity is professional planning in Canada and its relationship to the concept of community. Is this an entity which can be broken down and measured, or one that is complex, interrelated and difficult to measure? Obviously, in its complexity, this topic fits better into the second, more qualitative context. This is not to say that it could not be broken down into a number of smaller topics. But if this was done much of the context and the meaning of important interrelationships would be lost. For these reasons, a mostly qualitative mode of inquiry has been chosen for this study. Qualitative methods allow one to search for patterns among complex situations, to consider context as an important element and hence to not rely on manipulation or control.

The openness of qualitative inquiry allows the researcher to approach the inherent complexity of social interaction and to do justice to that complexity, to respect it in its own right. Qualitative researchers avoid simplifying social phenomena and instead explore the range of behaviour and expand their understanding of the resulting interactions. Throughout the research process, they assume that social interaction is complex and that they will uncover some of that complexity (Glesne and Peshkin 1992, 7).

A qualitative approach is thus well-suited for studying the complex subjects of planning and community within the context of contemporary society.

The recently published 75th Anniversary issue of Plan Canada provides an excellent representation of contemporary Canadian professional planning. It is a compilation of articles which examines the past, present and future of professional planning in Canada, written by some of the leading theorists and practitioners in the field. It is in essence a summary of contemporary planning. This special edition of the journal is separated into two parts. The first looks at where Canadian professional planners have come from, the second looks at where planners are at the present and where they are headed in the future. Analyzing and categorizing this issue according to these different perspectives provides an insight into the role of community in professional planning in Canada over time. Finally, a content analysis targeting the concepts of community and planning, and where they fit in the different time perspectives, clarifies how these concepts are related. Other recurring themes, key words

and phrases, in the combined contexts of community and planning are also noted and discussed.

The concluding chapter synthesizes the information gathered and discussed in the previous chapters, and discusses the relationship of these findings to the inquiry's goal of determining the value and the relevance of redeeming and regenerating community planning in Canada.

2.0 The Nature of Community

The human community has its inception in the traits of human nature and the needs of human beings. Man is a gregarious animal: he cannot live alone; he is relatively weak and needs not only the company of other human associates but shelter and protection from the elements as well (Park et al. 1968, p. 65).

2.1 Historical Overview of Communities

Over time, communities have changed and grown as the people who formed them have changed and grown. The intuitive concept that acting as a community can be more beneficial to people than acting alone is one of the main reasons people began settling in large groups rather than small family units. This fits with the dictionary definition of community which cites common interests as the foundation for community. Getting past the basic instincts of what is needed strictly for survival, to what is necessary for a better quality of life is one of the things which sets human beings apart from animals. Even in the plant and animal kingdoms, there are examples of communities, but these are of a less complex nature than the communities formed by humans, particularly in modern society. The fact that positive interaction with other people is something which adds quality and substance to people's lives is at the foundation of the opening quote, and is one of the most basic reasons that people form communities.

In the first human settlements, there were many relationships which were direct and obvious in terms of how they were needed, how they served an individual, and how they served the community as a whole. Whether it was hunters and gatherers collecting food or the first farmers planting and harvesting crops, the direct benefits and rewards of their actions were obvious. Food for the individual and food for the community were necessary for survival. Also, the camaraderie and the beneficial interaction of people with other people encouraged our ancestors to seek out and develop cooperative groups of people. Our evolution beyond this rudimentary and basic form of community is one of the ways in which human beings have progressed beyond the many animal forms of life. Colonies of ants, hives of bees, packs of wolves, prides of

lions and flocks of geese all exhibit these very elementary forms of community. Human beings have obviously developed far beyond this. In the words of Park, Burgess and McKenzie:

The essential difference between the plant and animal organism is that the animal has the power of locomotion which enables it to gather nutriment from a wider environment, but, in addition to the power to move in space, the human animal has the ability to contrive and adapt the environment to his needs. In a word, the human community differs from the plant community in the two dominant characteristics of mobility and purpose, that is, in the power to select a habitat and in the ability to control or modify the conditions of the habitat (Park et al. 1968, 65-6).

This ability to control and modify the conditions of our living habitat is an important part of why there are the professions of architecture and city planning today. Today's society has developed to a point where people can specialize in this very specific element of human interaction. Such was not always the case. In the earliest days of human settlement everyone was forced to play many roles including those of carpenter, builder, architect and planner. In those 'simpler' times, everyone was forced to do whatever was necessary to survive. There was a very direct relationship between what one did and whether one survived.

As society progressed and became more complex, the relationships between what an individual did for a living and how this task was directly related to his or her survival became less direct. The relationship to what was 'common' to all members of a community changed. When civilization, as we know it, began to develop in ancient Egypt, Greece, Mesopotamia and elsewhere, distinction between classes of people separated land owners from serfs, citizens from slaves, those who owned the land from those who worked it. Human relationships became more complex on a number of social levels. However, even with this added complexity, there remained identifiable communities of people.

2.2 Estate as Community

One example is the various groups who made up the estate of a citizen landowner in ancient Greece. There were slaves who did the farming, slaves who looked after the household, the women who looked after the men and finally the men who were in charge of everything and were the only ones who held status as citizens. Everyone had an identifiable role in the running of the estate, and in the functioning of the community formed by the estate. There were also examples of communities within a given class. This was particularly true for the citizens, who had the most rights and the most freedom to enjoy pursuits other than labour.

In early communities, labor itself is a part-time activity, impossible to segregate completely from other functions of life, like religion, play, communal intercourse, even sexuality. In the city specialized work became for the first time an all-day, year-round occupation. As a result, the specialized worker, a magnified hand, or arm, or eye, achieved excellence and efficiency in the part, to a degree impossible to reach except by such specialization; but he lost his grip on life as a whole. This sacrifice was one of the chronic miscarriages of civilization: so universal that it has become 'second nature' to urban man. The blessing of a varied, fully humanized life, released from occupational constraints, was monopolized by the ruling classes. The nobles recognized this; and in more than one culture reserved the title 'true men' for themselves (Mumford 1961, 103).

This form of community continued in a fairly identifiable form on through the 'dark ages' in western Europe and into the Middle Ages where the estates of feudal lords exhibited strikingly similar characteristics to their Greek and Roman forerunners. Everyone had their place in society dictated by class. Everyone had their specific tasks to do to keep the estate running smoothly. Perhaps most importantly, everybody knew not only their own tasks, but recognized the tasks of others and how they contributed to the functioning of the estate. While this does not mean that everyone was happy, or even treated fairly or that this was a just system, it does mean that everyone could recognize the direct contributions that everyone else made to their community.

The development and rise to power of the merchant class and the guild and craftsman classes in Medieval Europe, along with the increasing importance of

money in a portable and transferable form, brought new elements into the growing complexity of society. As currency became more and more standardized, it fostered a growing separation between the specific roles of individuals in society. Economic and social activities became more specialized and segregated. A merchant could sell goods, trade for others, and never see or know the farmer producing the food he or she was eating, or any of the individuals who worked to create the various goods that he or she used. The more specialized people became, whether it was functioning as merchants, crafts people or something else, the less direct and accountable the relationships between the various specialists in society became. Specialization, which Mumford characterized as "one of the chronic miscarriages of civilization" (Mumford 1961, 103), became an ingrained part of western civilization.

2.3 Impact of the Industrial Revolution

The advent of the industrial revolution brought with it the ultimate in the specialization of roles that people play in the functioning of their job at the micro-scale, and of society at the macro-scale. The industrial revolution transformed society forever. The knowledge and the advances that have resulted from and occurred since cannot be forgotten or erased. This has been clearly illustrated by Adam Smith's classic example of the efficiency of the making of a pin. According to Smith, the process of making a pin can be divided up into at least eighteen different processes. Whereas one person doing each of these processes would be hard-pressed to make twenty pins in a day, Smith's example of ten men (with most performing more than one of the eighteen tasks) could make twelve pounds of pins in a day, which amounts to approximately forty-eight thousand pins. This amounts to more than twenty-five hundred pins per man per day (Smith 1904, 6-7).

In the name of efficiency, every job became a separate, specialized little element of the production process. And this process of specialization has continued to develop and become more and more refined in the years since Adam Smith's time. The mindless production jobs of Smith's age have rapidly been taken over by machines. Recently, in the developed world, there has

been a steady shift in number of jobs from the industrial sector to the service sector. Every year, as efficiency increases, it takes less people to produce more goods. Those people whose jobs are not made obsolete by advancing technologies face more and more specialized tasks. Increased specialization gives everyone a much narrower focus for their job, which makes it more difficult to fit that job into the context of how it is relevant to society as a whole. And often there is no identifiable relationship between one's job and any of what one perceives to be one's communities.

2.4 Capitalist Society and Community

Capitalist society has forced and conditioned people to work for money first, rather than directly for the health and welfare of themselves, their family or their community. They work for money, which is the necessary means to acquire the goods that will allow one to lead a healthy, comfortable life. In the words of the consummate capitalist, Adam Smith:

When the division of labour has been once thoroughly established, it is but a very small part of a man's wants which the produce of his own labour can supply. He supplies the far greater part of them by exchanging that surplus part of the produce of his own labour, which is over and above his own consumption, for such parts of the produce of other men's labour as he has occasion for. Every man thus lives by exchanging, or becomes in some measure a merchant, and the society itself grows to be what is properly a commercial society (Smith 1904, 24).

This is the reality of the capitalist system that dominates western society. Without money one's freedoms and choices are very limited. But, in the ever important quest to acquire enough money to live decently in western society, the broader perspective, of how the different jobs that people do contribute to the functioning of society, is lost.

The increased specialization of society has hidden the causal relationships between people's jobs and how what they do relates to serving society or, more specifically, one's own community. Very few people work primarily for the good of any of what they consider to be their communities. Whether it is a person's physical community, i.e.: where they live, or their social communities,

i.e.: the people with whom they spend most of their time, the communities remain secondary and often very disconnected from one's individual needs. Modern western society and its capitalist nature force people to work for themselves first. This individualistic attitude can work against any attempts to build community, especially among the poorest people who must often struggle just to survive. The goal of working for a 'common good' has been replaced by the need to work for one's own survival.

The decline of the nuclear family is another important factor of modern times which has had a major impact on the deterioration of the traditional neighbourhood community in North American cities. Once the norm, or at least the idealized norm, for North American society, the nuclear family with one parent working and the other staying at home to take care of the children is becoming a progressively rarer situation (Elkind 1994, 3). This is not a judgement on whether the nuclear family should or should not be the model for our society or any society. The fact simply is that suburban neighbourhoods were designed to function with nuclear families as the inhabitants. Without that model nuclear family to inhabit suburban neighbourhoods, many of the reasons for suburban neighbourhoods disappear. What are amenities for nuclear families can be difficulties for differently structured family types and households.

The needs and wants of modern society often surpass the ability of a single wage earner to support a family, even if it is a family with only one child. The traditional design of a suburban neighbourhood can add to this difficulty. Two-parent families can be hindered by a suburban lifestyle if both parents work. With both parents working, the children go to daycare, and the home becomes a place to spend the evening and to sleep. Suburbs were not designed to be of maximum value to families with both parents working and commuting to other parts of the city to work. In such families people get to see their neighbours on a somewhat regular basis only if their schedules happen not to conflict. Without someone staying home with the children during the day, the physical location of the home loses much of its relevance. Children play with their friends at school or daycare, not necessarily with their friends who live next door, or down the street. The mobility of modern western society has removed much of the relationship between the location of one's home and the

development of one's social groups, which is a significant part of what makes up one's communities.

It is plain that both the term and the concept of community have had a broad and varied history. This section has endeavoured to introduce community initially in a very broad sense. Many different fields and professions can rightfully lay a claim to the term community in a number of conceptual forms. This inquiry is most interested in determining the appropriate concept of community for the profession of planning in Canada, and for the task of determining the value of 'redeeming and regenerating *community* planning.'

The next section provides a historical perspective of professional planning in Canada in relation to the concept of community.

3.0 Professional Planning in Canada

Chapter Two provided a discussion of the concept of community and an introduction to the potential relationship between community and professional planning. This chapter begins with a look at the roots of professional planning in Canada and traces the development of planning from those early beginnings through to today. The term 'Community Planning' has come to represent professional planning in Canada. Gerald Hodge's Planning Canadian Communities, as one of the most recent texts on Canadian professional planning (1991), emphasizes this terminology. His closing challenge, the notion that redeeming and regenerating *community* planning is a possible solution to the relevancy problem of contemporary planning practice, is a focus for this inquiry. This chapter's historical study of Canadian professional planning puts into perspective the role that *community* planning has had in Canada.

3.1 The Beginnings

The roots of modern Canadian professional planning may be traced to the town planning movements that arose at the same time and slightly earlier in the United States and Great Britain respectively. In Canada, in the spring of 1909, Sir Wilfred Laurier introduced an Act of Parliament that established the Commission for the Conservation of Natural Resources (Gertler 1968, 18). In September of 1909, the Honourable Clifford Sifton was named the chairman of the Commission (Gertler 1968, 19). Much of the Commission's work dealt with the natural environment and the impacts of human encroachment upon it. But, there were also elements of the Commission that dealt directly with the urban environment.

Dr. Charles Hodgetts, appointed as the Adviser on Public Health, was one of the first permanent specialists appointed by the Commission (Gertler 1968, 21). One of his primary concerns was the urban environment. Hodgetts' ideas about town planning were quite simple. His primary concerns were for: 1. sufficient light, air and space for housing, 2. forethought for future transportation needs and 3. a reasonable quality of life for everyone (Hodgetts

in Gertler 1968, 23). There was no direct mention of the word community. General statements about improving quality of life were as close as the committees of the Commission of Conservation came to dealing with the concept of community.

Thomas Adams emigrated to Canada in October of 1914 to act as an adviser to the Commission of Conservation on Town Planning (Gertler 1968, 27). He went on to found and become the first president of the Town Planning Institute of Canada (the forerunner of the Canadian Institute of Planners). Adams described town planning as follows:

Now town planning in brief includes the consideration of every aspect of civic life and civic growth. There is nothing in the development of a city which does not come under the purview of town planning properly understood. And the essence of town planning, as the essence of city life, is the safeguarding of the health of the community and the provision of proper homes for the people. On that basis we have to build up the whole of our theory and practice on the subject. The first essential in the development of a town is that the people who form the units of the community shall live in healthy conditions and that everything shall go to the proper ordering and the proper control of the public health within that community.

It is an essential part, it is true, of the healthy life of the community that they should have factories to work in, light and air in these factories, places for their children to play in, baths for them to wash in and all the pleasing amenities of a civic community (Adams 1962, 261; original 1915).

Adams used the word 'community' to describe the physical environment where people lived. Planning activity was referred to as "town planning" in these early days of professional planning in Canada. Apparent in Adams' quote is the great concern for health, and creating a healthy living environment. That was the primary concern of planning in those early days.

3.2 Health and Efficiency

Abominable living conditions for factory workers in the early days of the industrial revolution, in Canada and in other western nations, were the norm.

The general lack of any kind of adequate housing for great numbers of city dwellers and the resultant health problems were major factors in precipitating the social reforms which gave birth to modern professional planning (Wolfe 1994, 13). This physical, health-oriented beginning for planning has shaped and influenced it to this day.

Ironically, one of the reasons that reforms led to better living conditions for those people who were oppressed by the industrial barons of the age was the belief that the principles of industrial manufacturing could be applied to society. Efficiency, getting the most productivity out of the least resources, was the idea that drove the industrial revolution and inspired the advancement of technology. When the concept of efficiency was transferred from the work force to society, words like mechanization and specialization were replaced by words like health and happiness. The rationale was that a healthier, happier society would provide a more efficient, more productive workforce. Godfrey L. Spragge, in an article exploring the roots of Canadian professional planning described the situation in Canada under the heading of Efficiency in Town Planning and Industrial Management:

. . . many aspects of Canadian planning evolved from a concern with public health. To suggest that this concern was without humanitarian motivation would overstate the case. In 1890 Dr. Roome, in moving that the federal government establish a Health Department spoke of 'the sickness and suffering our children have to endure'. But of adults he said 'thousands are cut off in the prime of life and often our best and most useful citizens'. He went on to estimate the economic cost of sickness: 'Taking the time lost by the sick, and those waiting on them, at \$2 per day, there is a loss of \$12,000,000 more, or a total loss of \$24,000,000 to the people of Canada. There is not only this direct loss, but an indirect loss also, for during the time of sickness, nothing is added to the wealth of our country. There is also to be added another indirect loss from those who have died' (Spragge 1975, 7-8).

Distinguishing whether there was, at that time, a greater concern for health, or a greater concern for efficiency, is impossible. There were doubtless many people who were motivated by one concern or the other and many who were aware of both. The fact is that the combination of the benefits of both health and efficiency paved the way for legislation and planning reforms. At that time, there was a particular need to address the physical aspects of planning.

Housing standards had to be set to assure a reasonable quality of life and an acceptable level of health and safety. After World War I, thousands of veterans were returning home as heroes who needed and deserved quality places to live. Thus early planning in Canada consisted, to a large degree, of land use planning. Zoning and traffic planning were important for healthy, orderly and efficient living environments. The following section includes statements by Thomas Adams which illustrate the focus of the planning movement in Canada in the 1920s.

3.3 Early Principles of Town Planning

The first issue of the Journal of the Town Planning Institute (October, 1920) included an excerpt from a statement made by Thomas Adams to the Inter-Allied Housing and Town Planning Congress in 1920. In it he emphasized the following principles of town planning:

- (1) That in order to secure adequate provision of air and light in and around the homes of the people there should be definite limitation of the number of dwellings per hectare, and for space adjacent to dwellings such limitation being a matter of Governmental determination in each country.
- (2) That the policy of decentralization of industries and the building of new garden cities should be encouraged by legislative provisions and by all other means, both public and private.
- (3) That each Government, acting in partnership with local authorities, should prepare in advance and carry into effect a regional survey, followed by planning schemes, with a view to putting an end to wasteful and chaotic developments and securing that the lines of future growth shall be well ordered and scientific.
- (4) That in view of the acknowledged necessity of such action the Government should, acting in co-operation with local authorities, control the direction and assist in the upkeep of main and arterial roads (Inter-Allied Housing and Town Planning Congress 1920, 6).

Adams' description is a very functional one that is closely tied to government institutions. He uses terms like 'governmental determination', 'legislative provisions', 'well-ordered and scientific growth', 'co-operation with local

authorities' and 'controlling the direction.' There is little room for community input in this concept of planning. In Adams' time, planning was seen to be a scientific exercise carried out by professional planners.

In these scientific principles can be seen many of the traditional elements that have defined Canadian professional planning throughout the twentieth century. With good reason, the emphasis has been on the functional, physical side of planning from the beginning. There was a need for it. The exploitation of factory workers in the early days of the industrial revolution left a legacy of abominable living conditions that needed to be addressed. Planning legislation had to be put in place. The authority of professional planning had to be established. The result was the development of professional planning as a regulatory tool to ensure a minimum quality of living environment to which everyone was entitled. This is not to say that planners were unaware of the social impacts that go along with any act of planning. As the following excerpts from a very early edition of the Journal of the Town Planning Institute of Canada indicate, planners were hoping to achieve certain social ideals through their physical planning.

Definition of Town Planning

Town planning is the philosophy of human relativity in the maintenance of life; it is the personal equation to existence and survival, to subsistence and ascension. Town planning is to society as mind is to matter - the pathfinder of sociological aspirations.

...
Planning quickens the cumulative permeation of efficiency in the community, in domestic shelter economy, in health and amenity, in securing adequate sunlight and air, in obviating congestion, and so facilitating free circulation and intercourse (Cauchon 1921, 25).

Noulan Cauchon, at the time Chairman of the Ottawa Town Planning Commission, held to a very noble philosophical perspective on professional planning. Cauchon took the philosophical high ground in describing the ideal goals to which professional planning should aspire. He eloquently described the social goals of freedom in a manner that remains very relevant today. He continued his discussion with a view of the ethics of town planning.

Town planning in theory and in practice is the technique of sociology; it is the professional application of knowledge to the ends of social betterment; it seeks to free and to facilitate human intercourse towards the attainment of economic freedom and healthy sustenance, towards intellectual emancipation and social liberty, towards the pursuit of happiness that comes of that mastery of mind over matter which begets a realization of life (Cauchon 1921, 25).

In an article of the Journal of the Town Planning Institute in the March 1924 edition, A. W. Brunner relates these social ideals to the physical workings of the city.

The basic principle of city planning is to increase the working efficiency of the city. No far-seeing business man would undertake the construction of a large manufacturing plant without making provision for further expansion, but the building of a city is mostly hap-hazard without preparation for change or growth. It is the guidance into proper channels of a community's impulses toward larger and broader life. On the face of it it has to do with things physical - the laying out of streets and parks and rapid transit lines. But its real significance is far deeper; a proper city plan has a powerful influence for good upon the mental and moral development of the people; it is the firm basis for the building of a happy and healthy community (Brunner in Buck 1924, 8-9).

These excerpts include the traditional notions that planning is a scientific technique that can be learned, and a science that when applied to living environments will improve them. The social elements were not ignored. They were simply viewed from the perspective that planners could design living environments which could cultivate positive social aspects of community. The word 'community' was commonly used at this time to describe the physical living environments of cities and towns. Professional planning at this time was physical planning.

Notably, the terms 'town planning' and 'city planning' did appear, even when the environments the authors were describing were named as communities (See preceding quotes by Cauchon and Brunner). Although the word community was used in the early days of the Town Planning Institute of Canada, the term 'community planning,' as a description of Canadian professional planning, had not yet entered the Canadian professional planning vocabulary.

The word 'community' does not appear very often in the early issues of the Canadian planning profession's journal. This is particularly true of the journal in its first run under the title: Journal of the Town Planning Institute (1920-32). And when it does appear, it is not well defined. As has been described in some of the articles which have been discussed earlier, notions of community definitely did exist then. And they were tied very closely to physical and spatial concepts of living environments, the 'neighbourhood' being one of the more common descriptions used. The words 'neighbourhood' and 'community' were often used interchangeably in the early journals. The limited transportation and communication technology, relative to today, made a spatially and physically limited perception of community more relevant for planning at that time (the first third of the twentieth century) than it is today.

3.4 The Garden City and Community

A discussion of planning, and a discussion of community at this time would be incomplete without some consideration of Ebenezer Howard's concept of the Garden City. Thomas Adams advocated the use of garden city principles in his earliest planning strategies for Canada. The following excerpt from Plan Canada shows how Howard's ideas were influential here in Canada, and aptly describes the concept of the Garden City:

It may be asked "Just exactly what *is* a Garden City?" The essential features of the Garden City idea may be summed up as follows: Garden Cities are towns, limited in size and population, possessing a permanent reservation of rural land all round them, carefully planned so as to avoid crowding of houses and factories, in a self-contained community with sufficient industries to provide occupation for the inhabitants; with the population living in self-contained houses with gardens, as a rule with not more than eight families to the acre and with the land owned by the community and administered either by the municipality or by democratic non-profit-making bodies on behalf of the community (Hancock 1961, 5-6).

The concept of the Garden City is essential in a discussion of the concept of community and its relationship to planning. It was Ebenezer Howard's planning solution to the ills of overcrowded industrial cities. Where planning tools such as zoning and minimum standards tried to address the problems in their existing

setting, Howard's Garden Cities took people out of the cities. His solution was to bring together the best elements of urban and rural living in his new Garden Cities. Lewis Mumford describes Howard's contribution in an introduction to Howard's Garden Cities of To-morrow. "Howard's prime contribution was to outline the nature of a balanced community and to show what steps were necessary, in an ill-organized and disoriented society, to bring it into existence" (Howard 1945, 33).

Mumford's description of Howard's contribution to planning shows how Howard's intentions mirrored those of the other planners of his time. His unique contribution stems from the fact that he developed, and perhaps most importantly implemented, a different solution than his contemporaries. Howard's notions were not entirely new and original. Over two thousand years ago the Romans implemented new towns with limited sizes. Medieval towns were excellent examples of living environments which were very much in tune with the limits that their adjacent agricultural capabilities set for them. Howard's very significant contribution is that he applied these concepts to a modern industrial setting and made them work.

Although Howard does not stress the idea that his new towns are built to foster a sense of community, he does use language which points strongly in that direction.

These crowded cities have done their work; they were the best which a society largely based on selfishness and rapacity could construct, but they are in the nature of things entirely unadapted for a society in which the social side of our nature is demanding a larger share of recognition - a society where even the very love of self leads us to insist upon a greater regard for the well-being of our fellows. The large cities of today are scarcely better adapted for the expression of the fraternal spirit than would a work on astronomy which taught that the earth was the centre of the universe be capable of adaptation for use in our schools (Howard 1945, 146).

Howard attempted to address these problems with his Garden Cities. He influenced the planners and designers who followed him through his ideas of bringing together of rural and urban lifestyles to create a living environment which combined the best of both worlds. His application of this concept to

industrial society was well thought out and, as he proved, it was possible to implement. In terms of community, the Garden City, and the ideas it inspired, Howard accented the importance of a positive living environment which included a balance of urban and rural amenities.

3.5 The Depression Years

The themes of health, efficiency and physical community run through much of the work of the first third of this century. Better health conditions led to a happier workforce, which made for a more efficient workforce. The side effect was to be a living environment which fostered a sense of community. The comparatively limited communication and transportation technology of the time kept people who lived in the same area together to a large extent. The belief was that once the crowding and health problems were addressed, people had more time and energy to interact and develop a sense of community.

In the late 1920s and early 1930s, with the crash of the stock market and the Depression, much changed for planning, as it did for all aspects of society. As a function of government in a time of economic difficulty and downright disaster, planning went through some major changes. The Town Planning Institute of Canada closed its doors in 1932 when the Department of the Interior withdrew its funding which had supported the publishing of the journal. It would not be until 1952 that the Institute would be revived and not until 1959 that it would again begin to publish a journal.

In the depression years, and the years that followed, planning was most often done in a reactive and often ad-hoc manner. Perhaps the most important thrust for planning in Canada at that time was the push for a social support system.

The most remarkable program for change was that of the League for Social Reconstruction. Spearheaded by Eugene Forsey, J. King Gordon, Leonard Marsh, J. F. Parkinson, Frank Scott, Graham Spry and Frank H. Underhill, the League published an all-encompassing manifesto for a new social order. Titled *Social Planning for Canada*, it analyzed social conditions and proposed almost all of the benefits we enjoy today: old age pensions, unemployment insurance, mothers' allowances, health care, town planning and social housing (Wolfe 1994, 23).

The search for health and efficiency continued, but with the depression, and the hardships that it caused, people now wanted and expected more from their governments. Our current social safety net is the result of the reforms that people of that era demanded. Planning became enmeshed with a larger bundle of social concerns. Physical planning could no longer be viewed as being totally separate from social services, or social concerns.

3.6 After World War II

World War II interrupted planning in Canada. When the war was over housing was seen as a necessity and it was built in tremendous amounts all over Canada. This was supported by the creation of the Central (later Canada) Mortgage and Housing Corporation, CMHC. Wartime Housing was a federal agency created in 1941. Originally created to build housing for wartime factory workers, by 1944 it was building homes only for returning veterans. Wartime Housing built over forty-six thousand housing units before it was eliminated in 1949 (Gunton 1981, 268-9). The years following the war were full of hope and enthusiasm.

It was in the decade following the immediate postwar years that Canadian planning became truly institutionalized and really assumed many of its present characteristics. It was a decade of prosperity and expansion; jobs were readily available in all sectors of the economy; many of the social programs, which today are under such severe scrutiny, were being adopted or designed. Optimism prevailed (Wolfe 1994, 26).

In 1941, the federal government commissioned an Advisory Committee on Post-War Reconstruction. One part of the final report was titled *Housing and Community Planning*. It came to be known as the Curtis Report after its principal author, C. A. Curtis, then an economics professor at Queen's University. Gerald Hodge marks the title of this report as "the first significant use of the term 'community planning'" (Hodge 1991, 390). He goes on further to describe the influence this may have had on the naming of the Community Planning Association of Canada (CPAC). "Perhaps this was the stimulus to adopt the term 'community planning' when the CPAC met two years later, for many of the members of the Curtis committee were founding members of

Canada's first (and only) nation-wide citizen organization in planning" (Hodge 1991, 390). CPAC will not be discussed in detail here as the focus of this inquiry is on community planning in the context of professional planning.

In 1952 the Canadian Institute of Planners was revived, and in 1959 the journal once again began publishing, under the title *Plan Canada*. The mood was positive, and planners were confident in their abilities and cognizant of their responsibilities. Planning was a science to be applied to cities. Complete communities could be designed and built. The enormity of the task of designing a community and all of the elements necessary to make it successful did not seem out of reach. Macklin Hancock commented on how building a community was more than constructing the buildings. "The fundamental responsibility in an undertaking of such scale places upon the prime movers the building of a 'community' rather than a mere collection of housing structures and ancillary features." (Hancock 1961, 21) For Hancock, it was a matter of philosophy. "The neighbourhood or community must be designed, planned and developed as a whole. The wholeness of philosophy in conception implies both consistency and variety" (Hancock 1961, 21).

Such were the days when Canadian planners believed they were on sound scientific footing, and viewed the living environment as a place where successful communities could be designed and developed. "It is during this period that the planning process was systematized. The belief was that through scientific analysis and the application of objective judgement, planning problems could be solved" (Wolfe 1994, 26). Planners relied on the concept of rational comprehensive planning to help them systematize professional planning. Hodge credits American planners Martin Meyerson and Edward C. Banfield with formulating the rational-comprehensive approach as the following three general steps: "(1) to consider all the alternative courses of action; (2) to identify and evaluate all of the consequences following from the adoption of each alternative; and (3) to select the alternative that will most likely achieve the community's most valued objectives" (Hodge 1991, 171).

Planners believed that by following these steps, good planning could produce good communities. It was a climate of generous government spending on social programs, and planning rode the public funding bandwagon along with

all the other government departments. Large scale urban renewal studies were undertaken and some projects were implemented. The science of planning was clearing away 'slums' and building 'communities.' The fact that these so-called 'slums' may already have been home to 'communities' was ignored because of their outwardly unsightly appearance.

The failure of these massive urban renewal projects which demolished depressed neighbourhoods and replaced them with massive housing projects has been well documented (Jacobs 1961, 270, Hodge 1991, 98). Suffice it to say that these renewal projects most often did not accomplish their goals of building successful living environments. They did not address the roots of the problems in the communities that they affected. The limits of planning from an outside perspective became clear as many of the housing projects developed problems which were as bad as, if not worse than, the 'slums' they replaced. Planning, at least in the respect that it became obvious that the workings of community were different than previously assumed, needed some reassessing.

The failures of the past provide a lesson for planners as to the limits they face in trying to design and build communities. Massive-scale housing projects failed miserably. They failed to integrate with the communities which surrounded them. They failed to provide safe, secure living environments for the people who lived in them. They failed to create successful communities. The only thing they accomplished was to put a temporary new facade on old problems that were never dealt with. Understandably, this form of urban renewal fell quickly out of favour as planners realized its lack of efficacy (Jacobs 1961, 270; Hodge 1991, 98).

3.7 Contemporary Planning and Community

Throughout the 1960s and 70s, several related movements developed which would influence the built environment and, as a result, professional planning. Jeanne Wolfe, in her article in the Anniversary Issue of Plan Canada identifies the following social currents as occurring between 1965 and 1980: conservation and historic preservation, environmentalism, energy efficiency and participatory democracy (Wolfe 1994, 10-11). Three main themes arise

out of these social currents. First, there developed a serious concern for the future health of the environment. Second, was a desire to conserve our historical landmarks as a link to our past. Third, there was a desire to include the public in the planning process. Planners had come to realize that they did not hold all the answers. Planning as a technical, scientific process was being questioned. Community participation and involvement was becoming a crucial element of successful planning.

By refusing to exclude any group or interest from participating in the decisions emanating from the planning exercise, participatory processes appear to answer the questions of legitimacy raised when public servants, judges, or even elected officials are left to be the final arbiters. Such processes can also be truly humane by reducing the coercive aspects and resulting tensions of traditional planning decisions. Even more important, the participatory process might itself be designed so as to contribute to individual growth and to the development of meaningful human relations (Graham 1973, 68-9).

In the context of this discussion about community, these trends were of significant influence. Of primary relevance was the trend towards participatory democracy. As Graham observes, processes which included public participation added a legitimacy and an accountability to the planning process that top-down, scientific planning could never claim. Including the public in the planning process has helped justify the use of the term 'community planning,' especially in terms of the notion of the community as both the object and the instrument of planning.

From the 1970s, through to today, community participation in the planning process has continued to gain more support and more influence. The very process of planning has changed to accommodate the need to involve the public in planning decisions. Public involvement and public consultation have become very important additions to the traditional 'scientific' planning process. Planners have taken on roles as advisors, intermediaries and consultants who must justify their actions and their decisions to the communities with whom they are making decisions. Significantly, planners today are making decisions *with* people rather than strictly *for* people. This role for planners fits into what Friedmann describes as "The Recovery of Political Community."

It is to shift the axis of power accumulation in society from the vertical, which connects the domain of the corporate economy to the state, to the horizontal, which relates civil society to political community. As its public face, political community is civil society organized for a life in common (Friedmann 1987, 344).

Furthermore, Friedmann relates the 'Recovery of Political Community' to the emergence of 'radical planning practice.'

. . . in radical practice, the elaboration of a realistic vision concerns a future for which the people are themselves responsible. Their vision, then, is more than a wish list; *it is a commitment to its realization through practice*. And so the role of the planner changes as well. The traditional advocate planner mediates between the state and the people of a given community, shuttling information back and forth. Whatever people may contribute to the process of decision-making, the final word is spoken by the state. The radical planner, by contrast, must draw from a potential actor, such as a community-based action group, a commitment to engage in a transformative practice of its own. The essential planning mediation is between theory and practice, where both, ultimately, belong to the people (Friedmann 1987, 400).

Friedmann included the recovery of political community and radical practice in a section of his book titled "Emergents." These are the new, current planning realities. They have been developing for the past few decades and are now coming forward to claim a prominent place in planning practice. In the Canadian planning context, these developments in professional practice are adding validity to the contemporary version of 'community planning.' This is planning which closely involves members of the community involved in the planning process. Considering this in terms of John Dakin's cardinal goals for planning, this fits in with the second goal, which was to provide fairness and justice for all in creating the 'Just Society.' Involving people in the process for making decisions which affect them has taken professional planning towards this goal.

Alongside this movement for greater public participation in the planning process is a continually growing and developing concern for the health of the environment. Members of communities are taking a greater interest in the planning decisions which affect them. They must also take a greater

responsibility for the impacts that their actions have on the environment. Thus the conservation, environmentalism and energy efficiency movements of the late 1960s and 70s have led to the 'sustainable development' and 'healthy cities' movements in the 1980s and 90s. These trends support Dakin's third cardinal goal for planning, developing the 'Sustainable Society.' They represent a modern day reflection of the concern for the environment that first emerged in Canadian professional planning with the Commission of Conservation.

Our Common Future, a report published by the World Commission on Environment and Development (commissioned by the General Assembly of the United Nations) in 1987 demands attention for these issues of conservation, environmental protection, sustainable development and cooperation at a global scale. These issues are of common interest to everyone, and to the 'global community.'

This chapter ends here. Other dimensions of the realities and the needs of contemporary planning are discussed in further detail in later chapters. A quote from Hans Blumenfeld, a Canadian 'community planner,' touches on one of the most important elements of community in contemporary society, the importance of communication.

The terms "community" and "communication" stem from the same root. Without communication there can be no community. It is mutual access to persons, to goods and services, and to messages that knit a community together. Therefore planning for a community, on any scale, means planning its communications (Blumenfeld 1986, 90).

The development of communications technology, along with that of transportation technology, is the most significant of technological advances in terms of affecting peoples' concepts of community. Expanding the boundaries that allow people to communicate with each other has provided them with freedoms that their grandparents, and even their parents, never had. Professional planners today must plan in the context of a world filled with more aware, better educated people who have more choices than ever before.

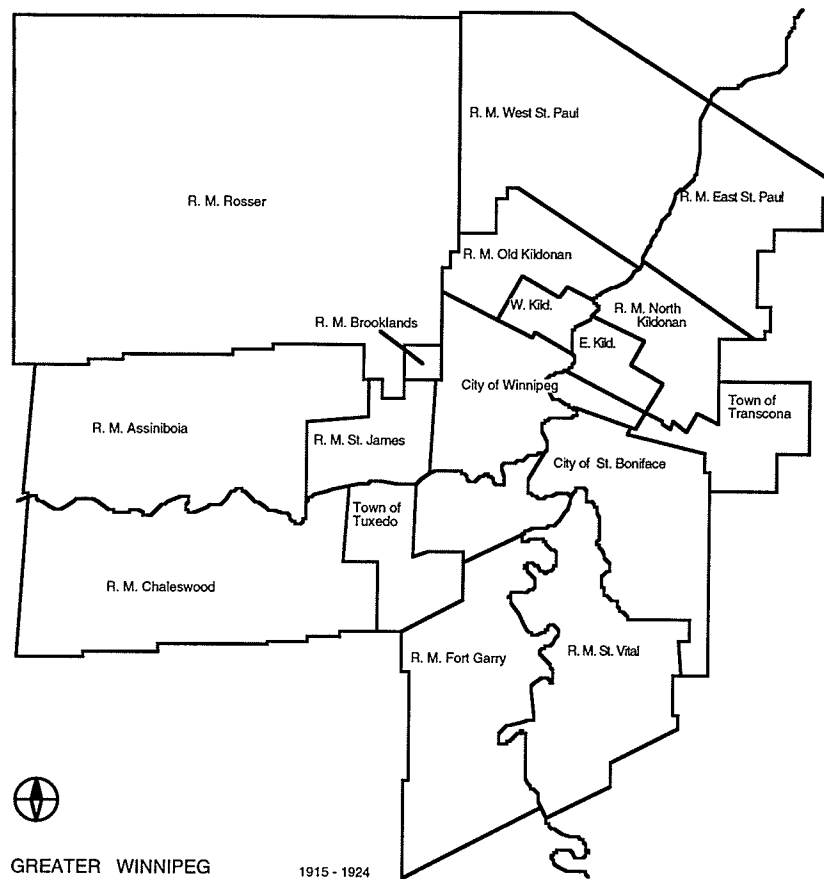
Being aware of these developments is a beginning. Addressing them successfully is the ongoing challenge of professional planning.

4.0 Winnipeg: A Case Study of Community

4.1 An Introduction to Winnipeg

Winnipeg is a city where the concept of community has always been a very significant element both in terms of its citizens and the language that its leaders have used. The City of Winnipeg was amalgamated from a group of smaller municipalities that grew up around the confluence of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers. By 1921, there were 13 municipalities which formed the Greater Winnipeg area (see map, p. 41): the Cities of Winnipeg and St. Boniface, the Towns of Transcona and Tuxedo and the Rural Municipalities of Assiniboia, Charleswood, East Kildonan, Fort Garry, St. James, St. Vital, West Kildonan, East St. Paul and West St. Paul (Levin 1993, 239). Most of these names originated as parishes built up around various churches during the time of the original settling of the area (Levin 1993, 221). All of these names are still used to identify different parts of Winnipeg today.

This inquiry is most interested in the recent history dating from the 1950s up to today. The 13 municipalities which were to eventually become the unified City of Winnipeg were each originally communities that had their own history and their own identities. In 1960, the upper-tier Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg created a regional-level bond which tied these communities together. And in 1972, "Unicity" forced these many different municipalities to combine into a single larger entity. Today, the City of Winnipeg proclaims itself as "One Great City," (Municipal Manual 1993, cover) but that was not always the case. These smaller municipalities had had years, decades and even centuries as their own independent communities. In creating the unified City of Winnipeg there was an opportunity to retain and even strengthen these existing communities by creating a supportive framework for community planning. This chapter examines the evolution of the post-World War II government of Winnipeg and how it dealt with supporting its communities.



GREATER WINNIPEG

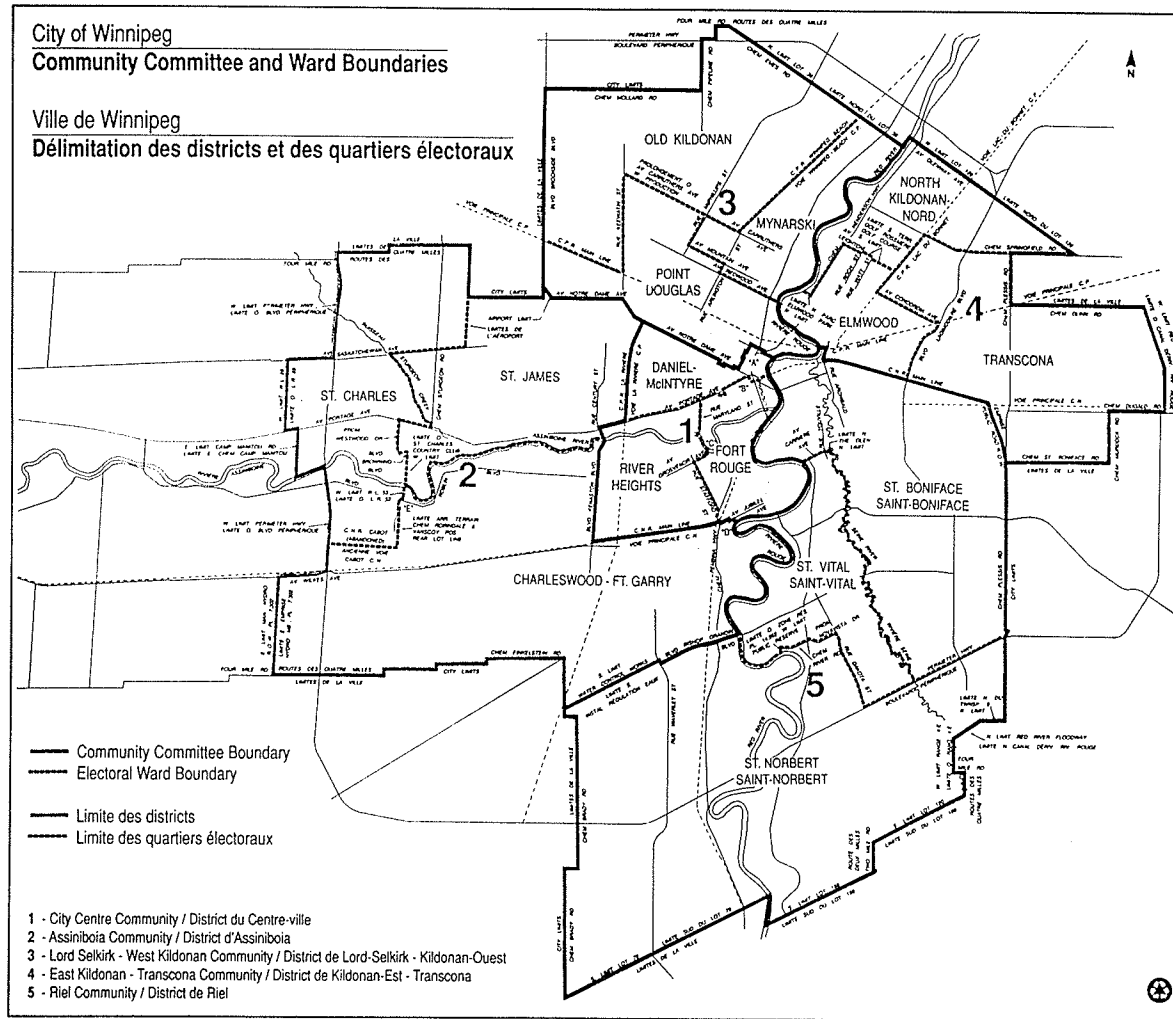
1915 - 1924

1920 - R. M. St. James separated out of R. M. Assiniboia
 1921 - R. M. Brooklands separated out of R. M. Rosser
 1921 - Old Kildonan separated out of West Kildonan
 1924 - North Kildonan separated out of East Kildonan

(Adapted from Greater Winnipeg Investigating Commission: Report and Recommendations: 1959, Map 3)

As the following map (page 42) illustrates, many of the names of former municipalities remain in use to identify different districts within the City of Winnipeg.

The City of Winnipeg's history in terms of its government shows the influence that the strength of small communities can have. The communities that would eventually form modern-day Winnipeg were originally autonomous municipalities that grew up from the parishes that founded them. By the late 1950s the need for a single governing body to coordinate issues that affected the entire metropolitan area became apparent (Levin 1993, 254). But the local authorities were not prepared to give up their power in their own municipalities.



(Adapted from 1995 Map produced by the City of Winnipeg Land Surveys and Real Estate Branch on behalf of the City Clerk's Office)

As the suburban population grew, the suburban identities became more sharply distinguished and more deeply entrenched. The suburban residents identified themselves ever more staunchly with their local community, and the municipal councils grew ever more jealous and protective of their local authority. The historical pattern of suburban growth, strong local community identity, and entrenched multiple municipal governments has probably been the most powerful single influence on the planning and development of metropolitan Winnipeg and continues to affect those aspects of the city's government today (Levin 1993, 241).

Yet, there was a need for a government body that could address the metropolitan-wide concerns without taking away all the power from the local government. In 1961, the Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg was established to address this need.

The metropolitan area encompassed 14 municipalities - the City of Winnipeg and the 13 municipalities surrounding it - and the boundaries of the metropolitan area were defined by the outer boundaries of the constituent municipalities. The government of this metropolitan area was made up of two components, a "metropolitan" component, designated as the "Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg," and an "area municipalities" component made up of the surrounding municipal corporations. . . . The metropolitan level was given responsibility for those services which were regarded as "inter-municipal" or "metropolitan" in scope and character. These included planning, zoning, building controls, assessment of property for tax purposes, water supply and wholesale distribution of water within the metropolitan area, sewage and land drainage, major streets and bridges, public transportation, major parks and recreation areas, civil defence and emergency measures, and mosquito abatement.

The area municipalities were left with the responsibility for those services which were considered "local" in character. These in effect included those services provided for under existing legislation but not assigned to the metropolitan government. These comprised such largely local functions as the protection of persons and property, local roads, local sewer and water distribution systems, welfare, recreation, local parks. The City of Winnipeg retained jurisdiction over its public health, electric power distribution and traffic (other than on the "regional" streets) (Levin 1993, 258-9).

This bi-level system of government for the metropolitan region of Winnipeg lasted for 11 years until 1972. On January 1, 1972 the City of Winnipeg Act came into effect and the modern City of Winnipeg was born. In essence, the Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg (Metro) covered a transition period for the amalgamation of the 14 municipalities into a single City of Winnipeg. The fact that a transition period was necessary speaks to the strength of these various municipalities and their desire to maintain the individuality they had developed over time. They had interests which they saw as their own and they wanted to protect those interests. What follows describes how the government sought to appease, and in theory protect, the interests of these communities through the organization of the government of the unified City of Winnipeg.

4.2 Government's Use of the Word Community

For planning, government is important in that it creates the jurisdictional environment in which much of what is considered professional planning takes place. Such was the case in the early 1970s when the Provincial Government of Manitoba designed the government structure for the modern version of the City of Winnipeg. The transition period of the Metro government was over. The government saw that a unified government for the City of Winnipeg would be the most effective and efficient governing body for the metropolitan Winnipeg region. Their design for the City of Winnipeg created a legacy for planning in this city. Included in this legacy, because of the language that was used in the proposal for the government of the unified City of Winnipeg, was the concept of community.

The use of the word community in professional planning in Canada has had a varied past which has been lacking a consistent definition. The word community has been used extensively, but a definitive meaning has never accompanied this use. One example of how the word community can absolutely infuse a planning situation, without a concise definition, is present in the development of the government of the City of Winnipeg.

The province of Manitoba, in its White Paper, titled Proposals for Urban Reorganization in the Greater Winnipeg Area (1970), defined a new organizational structure for the government of Metropolitan Winnipeg. The word community appears frequently in this text often changing meanings from social to political to physical. The following paragraph appears on the second page of the document:

The Greater Winnipeg area has this in common with a great many urban centres in North America -- the nature of the community has changed so radically that the familiar and traditional structures, which in the case of Greater Winnipeg served it so well in its early stages of growth, can no longer meet the demands now placed under them (Government of Manitoba 1970, 2).

Without defining the word community, this paragraph pinpoints the problem with narrowly defining the concept. Society has changed so rapidly in recent times that many concepts, including that of community, have come to have meanings which change faster than the institutions and professions that use them. Yet concepts like community remain necessary. Perhaps the most basic definition of community would be a positive social and sometimes physical relationship that is held in common among a group of people. This is of course a very general definition. Even at this very general level, it is an important concept in the arena of professional planning.

The modern urban community has, of course, a much wider function and significance than that which can be designated as purely local. It is furthermore not simply a matter of "structural machinery" at the local level which determines the quality of local government. Program and fiscal activities of both provincial and federal governments have enormous influence on the urban community; hence, it is the nature of such activities at the provincial and federal levels which, in part, explain urban problems.

. . . .

In any attempt to define the problems that confront a modern city, one fact can never be lost sight of. It is that the urban community is nothing more, nor less, than the sum of its people. It is the people who make the community -- not merely the structural forms they have devised over the years to help them accomplish their common ends. Structural forms, governmental set-ups, all these things, are meaningless, except insofar as they serve the people who live within them.

For example, it is generally acknowledged that the true strength of the Greater Winnipeg community, that essence which makes it unique among Canadian cities, lies in its tremendous ethnic, cultural and social diversity. In Greater Winnipeg we have the astonishing phenomenon of large numbers of highly diverse groups, all living within the borders of a single local municipality. Any structure of local government that fails to take this reservoir of civic strength into account -- and more than that, to call it forth and make the most of it -- fails to fulfill its most fundamental purpose (Government of Manitoba 1970, 3-4).

In these paragraphs, several different aspects of community are discussed. The authors speak in a very general and imprecise way when using the word community. Sometimes it represents the citizens of Winnipeg as a whole, sometimes it only refers to certain groups and sometimes it is used as a sense of community with social connotations. One might assume that the authors of this document were comfortable with these varied uses of the word community. As an imprecise concept, it can be very versatile. And as an imprecise concept with definite positive connotations, it becomes a useful tool for planning discourse and also for political purposes.

4.3 Community and Effective Government

The word community was used very freely in the discussion of the political organization being contemplated for the new government of 'Metropolitan Winnipeg' in the early 1970s. The government described how they intended to maximize direct contact between citizens and councillors as follows:

We propose to accomplish this, as will be set out in detail, through the use of wards and groupings of wards into Community Committees. Although certain consolidations will be indicated, in the main, existing municipal boundaries will be maintained intact and used as a basis for establishing the grouping of wards into Community Committees. Hence (except for certain consolidations) each of the existing municipal areas would contain its own group of electoral wards and thus its own Community Committee and its traditional identity (Government of Manitoba 1970, 10).

The language used here shows the intent to maintain community identities through the ward and Community Committee system. The authors seem to

equate the formation of jurisdictions named Community Committees with the retention of the traditional identity of the communities that these committees represent. Determining the success of such an endeavor is of course practically impossible. Aligning political boundaries with existing communities has been an issue and a problem as long as political boundaries have existed. The language used by the government in this instance separates the Greater Winnipeg urban community into several smaller communities based on municipal history and geographical location. Here a community is subjected to the limits of the political system.

This Government agrees with some of the most current thinking of urban planners in other jurisdictions who suggest that the appropriate base for effective popular representation is one councillor for every 10-12,000 people. The Boundaries Commission, for example, proposed 10,000 people as the appropriate number per representative.

This base applied to Greater Winnipeg would produce some 40 to 46 elected representatives. It is proposed, however, that the council of the new unified city would consist of 48 members.

The reasons for this are simple and practical. In light of the proposal to establish a system of Community Committees and the functions to be assigned to them, it was deemed essential that no municipal area should have less than three representatives. As will be explained subsequently, it is expected that substantial administrative responsibilities and powers will be retained at the local level. In addition, the Community Committees will have important and permanent duties too onerous for one or two councillors to fulfill (Government of Manitoba 1970, 11).

With the wards limited in size to between 10 and 12,000 people, this put a minimum size on a community to be served by a Community Committee at approximately 30,000 people. The sizes are based not on a reflection of the nature of communities, but on political realities. At the time, common belief set the size of a ward which one person could effectively represent at 10 to 12,000 people. A Community Committee needed at least three members because of the "functions to be assigned to them" (Government of Manitoba 1970, 11). Even with these political limitations, the Provincial Government continued to stress the importance of maintaining historically established communities-cum-municipalities.

It cannot be emphasized too strongly at this point that no effort would be spared in making the boundaries of these wards -- which would be subject to review at regular intervals by an independent review commission -- as accurately as possible a reflection, not merely of existing municipal boundaries, but of the established local, historical, traditional -- that is, natural and familiar -- community groupings.

The object of this adherence to the familiar is, obviously, to strengthen local character and identity, rather than to have them obliterated in the process of unification. It is the view of the government that the proposed urban reforms afford a unique opportunity to call forth and to put to best community use the tremendous integral (but now latent and dormant) strength which lies in true community identification (Government of Manitoba 1970, 13).

It is obvious from language like this the important role that the concept of community had to play in the political and planning environments. The authors of the White Paper speak about community in terms of character and identity and strength. They state that they are willing to do everything possible to retain the positive characteristics of community that already exist in the city. However, claiming intent does not necessarily translate into true intent, and intent does not necessarily guarantee success.

In the following example, which refers to the time of the creation of the government of the unified City of Winnipeg in the early 1972, the concept of community is linked in the literature to citizen participation in government. "The local committees so formed would have the additional advantage of reinforcing local community identities and, in this way, help to stimulate citizen participation" (Government of Manitoba 1970, 21). A little further on in the proposal, the authors discuss this relationship in further detail.

The system of Community Committees proposed here will provide, in our view, both a structure and a format with real potential for citizen involvement in the affairs of the community.

Precisely how people would respond in this situation will, of course, depend to a great extent on the existing community patterns within a given area. Where citizens have been active, either individually or through a variety of organizations, access to politicians and officials would now be much easier and qualitatively better. Where they have not been active the

opportunity, under this system, would now exist. Much will depend too on how individual councillors use the opportunity to achieve a heightened relationship with their constituents. The important point, however, is that the avenues of political access will have been opened, and if openness is exhibited, citizens, in our view, will respond (Government of Manitoba 1970, 22).

The situation that has been described so far in this section deals primarily with the intentions of the Provincial Government for the functioning of the unified Municipal Government of the City of Winnipeg. Obviously the concept of community played a large role in this plan. Also apparent is the lack of a single, well-defined concept of community which applied to all or even most of the occurrences of the word. Community is definitely something which the authors of this document professed to be extremely important. It is something which they strove to support and to create. It is something which they saw as a support to citizen participation in government, which they also saw as important.

Yet in spite of the Provincial Government's emphasis on community, on fostering and developing community, they did not provide any kind of concise definition of community. In fact, they used the word community to cover a broad range of concepts. Also, they faced the problem that all governments face when delineating political boundaries. It is virtually impossible to match simple, neat political or bureaucratic boundaries with the messy, more random and often overlapping relationships that form communities. Even as the authors of the White Paper talk about preserving these informal 'communities', they acknowledge that institutional needs create contrived boundaries necessary for the political system.

Such was the case in 1972 when the government of the newly created unified City of Winnipeg was created. Today, some things have changed a great deal, while others have stayed basically the same. The next section examines these similarities and changes and how they reflect the goals and intentions that were set out by the provincial government in their design for the government of the unified City of Winnipeg.

4.4 Winnipeg Today

Winnipeg today has changed a great deal from the Winnipeg that existed in 1972, when The City of Winnipeg Act first came into effect. It has grown both in terms of area and population. At the same time, City Council has shrunk from its original 48 members to only 15. Three mayors have come and gone and a fourth, Susan Thompson is the current mayor.

The language used by the provincial government claimed that Winnipeg's new government (new on January 1, 1972) would help to retain the distinctness of the communities that existed before Unicity. Does today's Winnipeg reflect the success of that goal that the provincial government set back in 1972, to retain and support the existing communities? From the excerpts from the Provincial Government's White Paper that were discussed in the previous section, we know that there were some ambitious hopes for the City of Winnipeg in terms of maintaining and strengthening communities. A good place to begin, would be the Community Committees, which still go by the same name that they did twenty years ago.

The role and mandate of the Community Committees, as described in the City of Winnipeg's 1993 Municipal Manual are as follows:

Community Committees are established pursuant to The City of Winnipeg Act, in order to develop a closer relationship between the citizens and the local government system that serves them, and are composed of councillors representing the wards in the community.

The role and mandate of the committees is defined as follows:

- to maintain the closest possible communication between the City and the residents of the community;
- to provide the residents of the community with information concerning existing and potential City policies, programs and budgets;
- to make the fullest and best use of the residents' advisory group for the community. (32)

Much of the language is very similar to the original words used by the Provincial Government in the early 1970s. But, the Community Committee of

today is much different in terms of the people it represents than the Community Committee that the Provincial Government initially proposed. Originally, City Council was to be composed of 48 members, each representing between 10 and 12,000 people. At least 3 Councillors were to sit on the Community Committee, setting the minimum size of the Community that the Committee was to represent at about 30,000. Today, we have 15 councillors for a city of more than 600,000. That means each councillor represents an average of 40,000 constituents. Each Community Committee now consists of exactly 3 councillors. That means each Community Committee now serves an average of 120,000 people.

The language may be the same, but the numbers tell a different story. Representation based on the size of the constituency has been replaced by a much reduced council that makes for an efficient policy-making body. A councillor for every 10-12,000 people has been replaced by a councillor for every 40,000. The sizes were once based on what politicians believed was an ideal size to effectively represent a constituency. Now, the sizes are based on what politicians believe can be an efficient government. Yet the government of Winnipeg is trying to use the same words in describing its commitment to fostering community. And they still do not provide a definition of what they believe community to be.

Today, there are some residents' advisory groups which are supposed to act as a liaison between councillors and the community. But again, the prohibitively large size of the 'communities' that the Community Committees are supposed to represent makes this a difficult task to carry out effectively. Although the goal of the municipal government is to maintain the closest possible communication with the citizens of Winnipeg, reorganizations over the years which have shrunk the size of council have effectively done precisely the opposite. This shift to a smaller council has made it more difficult for politicians to interact with their constituents. And this has made communication with people at the community level more and more difficult.

Is this a shift from a government which seeks to be the most *effective* to a government which seeks to be the most *efficient*? Governments, institutions and businesses have all had to make sacrifices to remain effective and/or

competitive in an increasingly competitive economic environment. The government of the City of Winnipeg is no exception. And although they continue to speak of good intentions, including those of supporting the growth and development of communities, the harsh reality is that sacrifices have been made in the name of greater efficiency.

This chapter has been a study of the use of the word community in a practical, real life setting. At the outset, when the Province of Manitoba published its White Paper on the formation of the government for the newly formed 'unified' City of Winnipeg, community was obviously seen as a very important element of the city. Also obvious was an intent to see that a government was put into place that could foster community. Ward and Community Committee sizes were based on how many people a councillor could effectively represent and communicate with. Although community itself was never defined, it was seen as a positive element of the City of Winnipeg.

The language has been carried over from that earlier time. But, the structure of the government has changed somewhat. Can the smaller council of today accomplish the same goals that were set up for a much larger council in 1972? Possibly. Can they do it as effectively? Probably not. So in this case, there was and possibly still is an intent to foster and support community in the City of Winnipeg. Recent changes have ensured that this will be difficult to do in the future.

5.0 Analyzing the 75th Anniversary Edition of Plan Canada

In July of 1994, The Canadian Institute of Planners published the 75th Anniversary edition of Plan Canada. Contemporary professional planners and planning educators were invited to contribute their thoughts on contemporary planning in Canada. This issue examined where Canadian professional planning has come from, and where it is headed. Gerry Couture, Chairman of the Editorial Committee, described the intent of the editorial committee in the Introduction section of the issue.

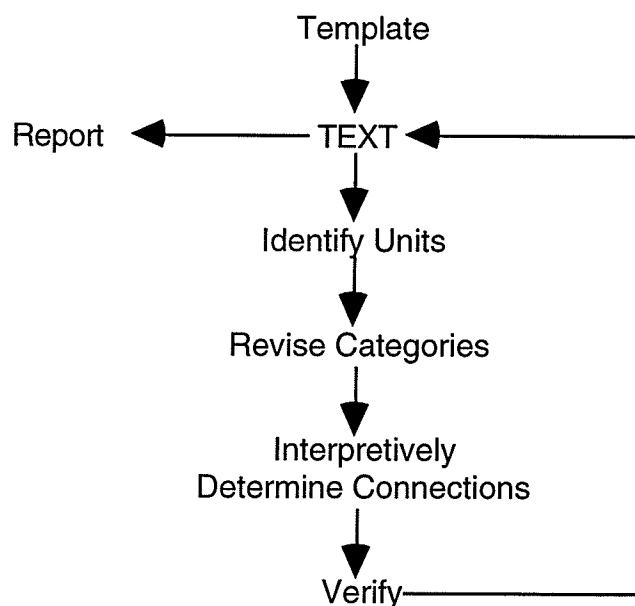
The first half of the issue celebrates our past through historical documentation and interpretation. What unfolds is our legacy - a sense of who we are in the context of where we have come from. Four major articles together with numerous sidebars comprise this section. The second half of the issue reflects on the current state of the planning profession and the challenges that lie ahead. Seventeen different planners offer more personal views, providing readers with stimulating, insightful and provocative commentary (Couture 1994, 6).

Professional planning today has gone in directions that its founders probably could not have imagined. Included in the Anniversary Edition are a range of planning issues including: 'regional planning' (Hodge 1994), 'engendering planning theory discourse' (Hendler and MacGregor 1994), 'ecological plumbing' (Tyler 1994) and 'healthy communities' (Witty 1994). The diversified nature of today's Canadian Institute of Planning is a testament to the evolution of professional planning, and it is reflected in the profession's journal. The result is an incredible diversity in what are regarded as planning issues. How each of these different planning perspectives deal with the concept of 'community planning' is the concern of this inquiry. The purpose of this chapter is to assess this Anniversary Edition of Canada's professional planning journal from the perspective of questioning whether redeeming and regenerating community planning is a solution for improving the relevancy of contemporary planning practice.

The primary focus of this thesis is closely connected to the concept of community and its relationship to professional planning in Canada. This

chapter analyzes the concept of community as it is relevant to contemporary planning as represented by the articles published in the 75th Anniversary Edition of Plan Canada. As was mentioned in the introductory chapter, a primarily qualitative style of analysis was selected as the most appropriate for a study of this complex and varied information. The method of qualitative analysis I have chosen as the basis for this exercise is a form of content analysis termed the Template Analysis Style. The following diagram illustrates the process:

Figure 1
Template Analysis Style



(Taken from: Crabtree and Miller 18, 1992)

5.1 Template Set-Up

The Template consists of an initial set of assumptions about the data. The topics of community and planning provided a focus for designing the template. An initial screening of relevant literature, specifically the 75th Anniversary edition of the journal, other recent editions of the journal and relevant contemporary planning literature including Friedmann's Planning in the Public Domain (Friedmann 1987) and Hodge's Planning Canadian Communities (Hodge 1991), identified the following topics as the starting point for developing units for the template: community planning, sustainability and

environmental/ecological trends, public participation, planning *with* people, feminism in planning and politics in planning. These topics cover some of the major issues which are being discussed in contemporary planning literature. These initial topics were adapted, changed and reworked as the text was analyzed until they emerged as the units seen in Tables 2 (page 58) and 3 (page 64).

5.2 Text: Content Analysis

The actual text of the 75th Anniversary edition of Plan Canada's journal yielded some interesting information. As the topics of community and planning are the focus of this study, they became the dual focus of the text analysis. The words 'community' and 'planning,' and all the different variations of them, were subjected to word counts. These identified the presence and the context of the words 'community' and 'planning' and helped develop the final topic categories that follow. It also produced two large sets of data to compare. The first involved all of the places in the text where the word community appeared, the second where the word planning appeared. As this inquiry focuses on the relationship of the concept of community to planning, comparing the contexts in which these two words appeared provides some valuable insights into that relationship.

The word community, or one of several variations of it (eg.: 'communities,' 'a community's'), appears 227 times in the text. By examining the context in which it is used, the inquiry has sought to develop a clearer idea of how planners view and use the word community. Also, by examining how community is used in the 'Historical' section of the special issue of the journal, compared to how it is used in the 'Reflective' part, it is hoped that insight can be gained into how the concept has evolved.

The word planning, or one of several variations of it (eg.: 'plan,' 'planner'), appears 1191 times in the text. Examining the occurrences of the word planning is useful in two ways. First, by examining the contexts surrounding the use of the word planning, it becomes clearer how much and how often the concept of community is used in relation to planning. Secondly, by examining

the differences between the uses in the first and second sections of the journal, it was expected that any changes in the concept of community as it relates to planning could be clarified.

5.3 'Community' Content

For the word community, seven different units were identified, i.e. seven different contexts within which the word community was used. These seven were labeled as follows: general description, community planning, community development, healthy community, journal/report, social meaning and sustainable community.

5.3.1 General Description

This unit with the short title of 'General Description,' is used to account for the times that the word community is used to describe a living environment in a very general sense. One example would be the sentence on page 5: "Canadian *communities* are well-planned, liveable places." Another example would be the sentence on page 101: "What does the future hold for our *communities*, and for us?"

5.3.2 Community Planning

The unit titled 'Community Planning' covers the times that the concept of community appears in conjunction with the word planning. One example can be found on page 24: "With the end of the war in sight, sweeping changes were made to the NHA in 1944 to stimulate the construction of new houses, facilitate the repair and modernization of old, promote *community* planning and provide employment." Another example is on page 100: "Early planners believed they could make healthier, safer *communities* by applying scientific principles to urban management."

5.3.3 Community Development

This unit includes all the occurrences of the topic of community development. Examples of this can be found on page 31: "many local agencies, whether municipalities or third-sector, have been drawn into *community* development work," and on page 101: "Certainly many planners promote *community*

economic development as an option for development based on local skills and resources.”

5.3.4 Healthy Communities

The ‘Healthy Communities’ unit includes all the occurrences of the word community which make a direct reference to the Healthy Communities movement. Also included in this are several occurrences of concern about the health of communities which do not refer directly to the Healthy Communities Movement. An example of the Healthy Communities Movement use is on page 21: “It accelerated after 1986 with the cycling manual, property rights and acid rain statements, the healthy *communities* project, the student scholarship and sustainable development.” An example of the second kind of usage in this unit can be found on page 99: “It’s the year 2020 and you’re hovering five hundred metres above your ideal healthy *community*.”

5.3.5 Journal/Report

There are several occurrences of the word community in the titles of journals, reports or different associations. These uses have their own category because they are often not directly related to the context of the text that surrounds them. They are often mentioned but not discussed in any detail.

5.3.6 Social Meaning

The usages of the word community that refer to the social, rather than the physical, aspect of community are included in this unit. There is an example of this on page 31: “The Healthy Communities movement recognizes that a good physical environment and supportive *community* have probably done more for people’s health and well-being than all the technological advances in medicine put together.” Another example is on page 103: “Nevertheless, take note of the lesson of visioning: Canadians crave a sense of *community* and of place.”

5.3.7 Sustainable Community

This unit includes all the uses of the word community that are used in the context of environmental or sustainability concerns. One example of this occurs on page 90: “it is to be hoped that future alterations will be tempered with the kind of good judgement and planned enhancement that will ensure, not

jeopardize, the *community's* long-term environmental sustainability, growth and prosperity." Another example is on page 102: "To ensure the viability of our *communities* and our profession, planners should observe the motto of the environmental movement: think globally, act locally."

5.4 Connections: 'Community' with 'Planning'

5.4.1 Community

Including the sidebars, there were thirty-five articles that comprised the 75th Anniversary Edition of Plan Canada. This does not include the three introductory statements, of which only the President's Message included the word community. Of the thirty-five articles, twenty were in the Historical section and fifteen in the Reflective section. Of the twenty articles in the Historical section, fifteen or 75% included the word community. Thirteen of the fifteen, or 87%, of the articles in the Reflective section included the word community.

Table 1
Articles that Mention the Word Community

	Historical	Reflective	Total
Articles that mention Community	15	13	28
Articles that do not mention Community	5	2	7

It is difficult from this preliminary survey of the text to draw any definite conclusions. In both sections, the majority of the articles made at least some mention of the word community. The Reflective section included a noticeably higher proportion of articles that use the word community. It would be very difficult to attribute any statistical significance to this. The sample is very small and the nature of the sample does not allow for it to be any larger. At best, it is an indication that the word community has always been an important part of Canadian planning thought. This suggests that today, community is at least as important as it has ever been. It requires a more detailed examination of the text to support these initial impressions.

The word community appeared a total of 227 times in the text. Three of those occurrences are in the President's Message, leaving 224 occurrences in the main body of work. This number differs slightly from the number in Table 2,

because there were several occurrences of the word community that were included in more than one category.

Table 2
Occurrences of the Word 'Community'

Category	Historical	Reflective	Total
General Description	42	46	88
Community Planning	17	29	46
Community Development	13	5	18
Healthy Community	13	19	32
Journal/Report	6	6	12
Social Meaning	7	15	22
Sustainable Community	2	21	23
	100	141	241

5.4.2 General Description

This category contains the most occurrences of the word community. There were forty-two in the historical section and forty-six in the Reflective section for a total of eighty-eight examples where the word community was used to provide a general description of a living environment. Planners are obviously very comfortable using the word community to describe the living environments with which they interact. The ambiguity of the word and the concept provides a broad range of living environments to which it can be applied. Community seems to be a handy synonym for towns, cities, municipalities and living environments of all sizes and natures. There seems to be very little difference in how planners have historically described their living environment contexts.

The free use that planners seem to make of the word community is a large part of the problem that will have to be faced in any attempt to redeem and regenerate community planning. If 'community planning' is so broad a term as to have no single definable meaning, it will be impossible to develop any meaningful theory or practice based on 'community planning.' If people, including professional planners, do not have a common, precise understanding of the term, it is not valuable except as a catch-all phrase to describe planning in a very general sense. The fact that this category had the most frequent occurrences of the word 'community' leads one to believe that

currently community is a very broad and general term used to describe living environments of all types. This broadness does provide a richness in that it includes a large range of concepts and opportunities for community planning. But it leaves room for misunderstanding and miscommunication because of the many different interpretations it allows.

5.4.3 Community Planning and Community Development

In the category of 'Community Planning,' there were seventeen occurrences in the Historical section and twenty-nine in the Reflective section, for a total of forty-six occurrences. In 'Community Development,' there were thirteen occurrences of the word community in the Historical section and five in the Reflective section. The reason these two categories have been grouped together is their similarity. But it is the differences between the two concepts that are perhaps more significant.

The similarity is obvious in that both community planning and community development involve intervening to change things for the better in some way. The important difference is the manner of change, and the way in which that change is implemented. Community development implies an intervention from outside that adds something to the community, a growth of some kind. Community planning implies more of an internal approach that leads to change, not necessarily growth. It also implies that the community is involved in the planning, something that is not necessarily true for community development. This is not to say that this is the case in every instance for community development and community planning. But the language carries with it these connotations.

In the text, community development occurs more than twice as often in the Historical section. Community planning occurs almost twice as much in the Reflective section. There is bound to be some overlap between these two areas in terms of what is intended and what is accomplished. But it seems evident, in the language at least, that planners today are taking care to approach the intervention involving communities in a less dictatorial (planning *for*) and more cooperative (planning *with*) manner.

5.4.4 Healthy Community

In the category of 'Healthy Community,' there were thirteen occurrences in the Historical section and nineteen in the Reflective section, for a total of thirty-two occurrences. The majority of the occurrences of the term 'Healthy Community' are a direct reference to the 'Healthy Communities Movement.' Jeanne Wolfe has a section on this movement in her article in the Historical section and Dave Witty wrote an article on this movement for the Reflective section. It is difficult to draw any conclusions from this other than the fact that the Healthy Communities Movement was and still is an influential force in Canadian professional planning. It is a recent addition to the planning literature which continues to be important today and may become even more important in the future.

5.4.5 Journal/Report

There were six occurrences of the word community which related directly to a journal or a report in both the Historical and the Reflective sections of the journal. These occurrences of the word 'community' are not particularly meaningful for this inquiry.

5.4.6 Social Meaning

For the category of 'Social Meaning,' there were seven occurrences in the Historical section and fifteen occurrences in the Reflective section. This means that more than twice as often in the Reflective section, the word community was used to communicate only the social aspects of community and not the physical.

These numbers tell us two things. One, the social aspect is not a very commonly used meaning that planners attribute to the word community. Two, although it has not been a commonly used meaning for the word community, the social aspect is more evident in current planning practice than it has been in the past. This is not surprising given how communications and transportation technologies have broken down physical barriers and provided more opportunities to establish relationships based on common need or interest rather than geography. This includes everything from public transportation and automobiles to supersonic jet planes, cellular telephones and computer networks. As these technologies improve, people have more choices as to how they wish to form their social groups. In terms of forming communities, a

shift from physical to social is understandable. Given more choices, people can be more selective of who they spend their time with. Each new technological improvement that makes it easier for people to communicate with each other, shifts the way people view 'community' away from physical limitations and toward social opportunities.

5.4.7 Sustainable Community

The most dramatic difference between the Historical and Reflective sections is evident in the category of 'Sustainable Community.' There are only two occurrences of the word community in this context in the Historical section, while there are twenty-one in the Reflective section. This is not very surprising, because sustainability is a word which has entered the common vocabulary only in the past few years. It has become a very important part of planning, because of the future-oriented nature of the profession. While sustainability has always, or should have always, been an important component of planning, it is only in the past few years that it has been brought to the forefront of professional debate.

The Commission of Conservation, which was instrumental in the beginnings of the planning profession in Canada, imparted to Canadian planning a strong element of respect and concern for the natural environment. In the past few years, this concern has become more prominent. Today there is an urgency about the future of the environment that has never been present before. Technology has brought us to the point where the power now exists to do irreparable damage to the environment. Pollution, nuclear power and the depletion of the ozone layer have forced people, and particularly planners, to question the means by which we have been living. Can this lifestyle be sustained, and if so, for how long? Searching for a sustainable way for communities to operate is obviously one of the most important challenges planners face in the future.

5.5 'Planning' Content

For the word planning, there were six different units identified, i.e. six different contexts within which the word planning was used. These six were labeled as

the following categories: general description, community planning, environmental/sustainable, new process, journal/report and Institute.

5.5.1 General Description

The category of 'General Description' accounts for all the times that planning, or a form of the word planning, is used as a general description for professional planning. Generally, these usages represent professional planning in its more traditional forms. Physical land use planning, regional planning, top-down planning and the planner as expert are the kinds of planning included here. One example appears on page 19: "At first, much of the effort of the new professionals was devoted to campaigning for town *planning*." Another appears on page 94: "Such fundamental instrumental issues do not appear in official *plans*."

5.5.2 Community Planning

The 'Community Planning' category includes all the uses of the word planning that relate directly to the concept of community. This category is similar to the 'Community Planning' section in the community part of this text analysis. On page 5 is an example of this: "Canadian communities are well-*planned*, liveable places." Another example is on page 100: "Early *planners* believed they could make healthier, safer communities by applying scientific principles to urban management."

5.5.3 Environmental/Sustainable

This category accounts for every time the concepts of sustainability or environmental protection are attached to the word planning. Again, this category is very similar to the 'Environmental/Sustainable' category in the Community section of the text analysis. Examples of this use are on page 51: "Another emerging challenge to *planning* is found in the pleas for a more environmentally friendly or sustainable agriculture," and on page 95: "*Planners* are lost between the theories of the ecologists and the practical matter of reconciling sustainability with continuing development."

5.5.4 New Process

This category accounts for all the occurrences of the word planning that refer to forms or processes of planning which do not fit into the 'General Description'

category. Typically these are processes which have become a part of professional planning in the past few decades or even the past few years. Planning methods such as advocacy planning, strategic planning and historic preservation are examples of this. Including the public in the planning process is another example of an entry in this category. Examples of the context in the text include the following on page 34: "Meanwhile, entrepreneurial *planning* and community development - *planning* by negotiation - continue to be important." and on page 110: "That's why risk assessment, negotiation, mediation and other participatory, conflict resolution techniques are becoming so central to *planning*."

5.5.5 Journal/Report

There are several occurrences of the word planning in the titles of journals, reports or different associations. These uses have their own category because they are often not directly related to the context of the text that surrounds them. They are often mentioned but not discussed in any detail. This category is not of particular interest to this inquiry.

5.5.6 Institute

All the occurrences of the word planning as part of the name or title of a planning institute are included here. These include Canadian, British and American institutes in their various forms as they have changed over the years. This category is not of particular interest to this inquiry.

5.6 Connections: 'Planning' with 'Community'

5.6.1 Planning

Each of the thirty-five articles that made up the 75th Anniversary Edition of Plan Canada included several uses of some form of the word planning. In fact, the three introductory pieces which are not a part of the main body of work contained thirty-one occurrences of some form of the word planning. In the main body of work, the word planning, or some form thereof, occurred 1160 times. This number differs slightly from the number in Table 3 (page 65) because there were several occurrences of the word planning that were included in more than one category.

Table 3
Occurrences of the Word 'Planning'

Category	Historical	Reflective	Total
General Description	384	371	755
Community Planning	18	39	57
Environmental/Sustainable	67	70	137
New Process	50	55	105
Journal/Report	75	5	80
Institute	28	14	42
	622	554	1176

5.6.2 General Description

Similar to the 'General Description,' category in the Community part of this content analysis, the 'General Description' category in the planning section contained the most occurrences of the word being counted. In this case, the Historical section contained 384 occurrences of the word planning, and the Reflective section contained 371, for a total of 755 examples where the word planning was used in a general way to describe the planning process or profession.

Also, like the general description in the section detailing the occurrences of the word community, this section shows how broadly planners use the word 'planning.' In an inquiry to determine the case for redeeming and regenerating 'community planning,' this causes some difficulties. If both the words 'community' and 'planning' are very broad and general in nature, and open to a broad range of interpretations, how can a meaningful definition for the term 'community planning' be determined? It is impossible to redeem and regenerate something if nobody agrees on what that thing is. Such may be the case with community planning.

5.6.3 Community Planning

Obviously, this is the category that is of the greatest interest for this inquiry. There were eighteen occurrences of 'Community Planning' in the Historical section and thirty-nine in the Reflective section. This makes for a total of fifty-seven times where the concept of 'Community Planning' appears. Out of a total of 1176 occurrences of the word planning, this accounts for less than 5%.

'Community Planning' did occur more than twice as often in the Reflective section than it did in the Historical section. That would seem to indicate that there is an increased interest in community planning in recent times. But with a frequency of less than 5% of the occurrences of planning referring to community in some way, it seems that community planning is not the most important aspect of professional planning in Canada.

5.6.4 Environmental/Sustainable

With occurrences of the word planning falling into this category sixty-seven times in the Historical section and seventy times in the Reflective section, this category came in at the highest percentage other than that of the 'General Description' category. A total of 137 out of 1176 occurrences of the word planning, or just under 12%, had to do with an environmental or sustainability issue. This topic is obviously at the forefront of planning thought, and always has been, in some form or another.

5.6.5 New Process

The category of 'New Process' included fifty occurrences in the Historical section and fifty-five occurrences in the Reflective section of the journal. One hundred and ten occurrences translates into just under 10% of the total occurrences of the word planning. Next to 'General Description' and 'Environmental/Sustainable,' this is the most common meaning accompanying the word planning. The equal distribution between the Historical and Reflective sections is interesting. In fact, the Historical section includes a significant amount of information on recent and present planning situations. That is where the majority of these occurrences are found.

There is a connection between the category of 'New Process' and community planning in that many of the newer planning methodologies involve different ways of involving the public, and hence members of communities, in the planning process. This relationship will be discussed in further detail in the following chapter.

5.6.6 Journal/Report and Institute

One hundred and twenty-two of the occurrences of the word planning directly reference journals, reports or one of a number of different planning institutes.

5.7 Summary

This chapter has presented the information found in the investigation of the 75th Anniversary Edition of Plan Canada. The words 'community' and 'planning' have been examined with respect to their use and the context in which they are used to clarify whether or not there is a case for redeeming and regenerating 'community planning.' The next chapter analyzes this information along with the information gleaned from the historical study of professional planning in Canada and the case study of the City of Winnipeg.

6.0 Discussion and Analysis

The nature of community has proven to be a broad, rich and varied concept which is difficult if not impossible to narrowly define. Community is a word which has been appropriated by a number of disciplines to mean different things. Even within the profession of planning, it has been used in a number of different ways. Concepts of community range from the physical to the social, from the neighbourhood to the computer network. This has contributed to confusing its meaning. This inquiry has explored some of the breadth of the meanings of the word community in an effort to find a definition which is appropriate for Canadian professional planning. It has done this through a survey of literature, some more general and some specific planning literature, a case study of the development of the political and planning environment in Winnipeg and finally through the analysis of a landmark issue of Plan Canada, the journal published by the Canadian Institute of Planners. At this point, each of these areas of study will be revisited, keeping in mind the larger context of community in Canadian professional planning, and the case for redeeming and regenerating community planning.

6.1 Community in General: The Starting Point

Much can be learned from looking back at what the past has to teach. Such is definitely the case for this discussion of community. The concept of community is something that has developed over time, yet still has powerful roots which are influential even today. This is what Jill Grant discovered in the visioning exercise she described in her article in the 75th Anniversary Issue of Plan Canada.

To the melodic questions of the facilitator, each of us created an image of the future. Or was it the past? As I floated through my vision, I couldn't help thinking that I must have read too many L.M. Montgomery (of *Anne of Green Gables* fame) books to my children. To my surprise, though, the other participants shared basic elements of my fantasy: they too visited small, safe, agriculturally based communities with cottage industries, trees and animals. The facilitator explained that across Canada the visioning exercise produces similar results: everyone pictures the medieval village and no one sees cars in the future (Grant 1994, 99).

Echoes of this rustic utopian dream can be seen at various stages of professional planning. Howard's Garden Cities, Radburn's pedestrian-oriented suburbs and the trend toward exurban development today all show evidence of attempts to provide a pastoral setting without sacrificing the amenities that only an urban centre can provide. Each has been influential to a degree in determining how professional planning is done. Each involved creating a safe, pleasant environment to live in. But each was based on a physically limited community that has lost relevance in today's instant communication and mass transportation society. Community is so much more than just the physical neighbourhood. It is a much richer and more varied concept today.

Community cannot be narrowly defined. But what are the aspects of community that are important to people today? In the previous chapters many different elements that could be important to people's sense of community were discussed. This chapter continues this discussion as community is analyzed from the following perspectives: Community as a Physical Entity, Community as a Cultural and Social Entity and Community as a Political and Institutional Entity.

6.2 Community as a Physical Entity

The physical aspect of community was once probably the most important element in the development of community. The concept of community was very much controlled by the limits of transportation and communication technology. The past two hundred years have seen this change dramatically. Physical limits that once controlled people's ability to form communities are now obsolete. People now have the ability to choose which groups of people they will interact with on scales varying from city-wide to world-wide. The suburb that caters to the traditional nuclear family is catering to a rarer and rarer client. The nuclear family is a minority in Canadian society today (Canadian Families in Transition: The Implications and Challenges of Change 1992, 18). What does this mean for planners in terms of developing physical settings for the cultivation of community? It means that planners must realize the limitations they face when considering the relationship between the built environment and the development of community. People are no longer forced to participate in

the community that physically surrounds them. If they do participate in their 'neighbourhood' community, it is because they choose to, not because they have to.

6.3 Community as a Cultural and Social Entity

The cultural/social element of community is one which has definitely increased in significance in recent times. At one time this element was dependent on the physical limitations that were created by the limits of transportation and communication technology. Telephones, computers, fax machines, automobiles, airplanes and other technologies have broken through those barriers. People now consider themselves to be involved in communities through work, religion, interest and hobby groups and any other group of people they need or choose to be involved with. Computers, although still available only to a limited amount of the population, allow people to form ties to others with similar interests and concerns all over the world. Communities are popping up at points all over the 'information highway.' Planners must be aware of how well the people they are planning for are able to participate in these 'virtual communities.' If planners retain their main focus as the physical community, they must realize that it may take a back seat to the socially based communities that people today are forming, no matter what planners do with regards to the physical community.

6.4 Community as a Political and Institutional Entity

The political/institutional aspect of community is one with which planners are very familiar. The political/institutional environment is where many professional planners do much of their work. Unfortunately for planners it is an environment over which they have very little control. Efficiency is one of the driving forces in government today. Planners often face frequent reorganization and changing job descriptions. It is becoming an environment which is more and more distant from citizens at large, and from communities. Reorganization in the name of more efficient government has meant less government representatives for larger numbers of people. It has also meant larger constituencies for politicians in cities like Winnipeg where the number of constituents for each

councillor has more than tripled in the past twenty years. Although they function in the institutional/political environment, planners really have very little control over that environment, or their role in it.

6.5 The Limits of Planning Community

From examining these different elements of community and realizing the limits of the planners' influence in each area, it seems that planners are very limited in terms of what they can do to influence community development. Certainly, planners alone will never bring about the idyllic and oxymoronic medieval village of the future. Nothing short of a complete restructuring of modern western civilization could accomplish this. Planners must be content with making small changes in elements of community where they have influence. Depending on individual planning environments, the physical and environmental elements are definitely open to influence. It is possible that sometimes the social and political environments are open to some influence as well. The best tool a planner has for developing community is an awareness of the importance of community in peoples' lives. With this awareness, a planner can use all the other planning methods at his/her disposal to encourage and support the development and growth of community.

6.6 Planning in Canada: Community Planning?

Canadian professional planning has its roots in the health reform movements born of the excesses of the Industrial Revolution. The poor health and living conditions of that time necessitated a reaction and the profession of planning came into being. To say that Canadian planning was community planning, or even tried to be community planning from the very beginning would be less than the complete truth. Similar to its British and American counterparts, Canadian planning started out as a very practical, health-oriented, functional and rational discipline. It began as a very science-based exercise which aimed to make living environments cleaner and healthier by imposing order through improved organization.

Community is something that developed alongside the reforms that were creating a better living environment for people. More humane living conditions and more reasonable working hours and work weeks gave people more time and freedom to interact with each other. Although it may not be totally fair to say that planners stumbled onto the concept of community, it was definitely not a priority in the early days of Canadian professional planning.

Some of the first notions of community emerged when Ebenezer Howard proposed his Garden Cities. Howard's 'Garden Cities of To-morrow' do Jill Grant's vision of a future medieval community proud. Howard's goal was to bring the best of the urban environment and the best of the rural environment together in one setting. In his words:

. . . neither the Town magnet nor the Country magnet represents the full plan and purpose of nature. Human society and the beauty of nature are meant to be enjoyed together. The two magnets must be made one. As man and woman by their varied gifts and faculties supplement each other, so should town and country. The town is the symbol of society - of mutual help and friendly co-operation, of fatherhood, motherhood, brotherhood, sisterhood, of wide relations between man and man - of broad, expanding sympathies - of science, art, culture, religion. And the country! The country is the symbol of God's love and care for man. All that we are and all that we have comes from it. Our bodies are formed of it; to it they return. We are fed by it, clothed by it, and by it are we warmed and sheltered. On its bosom we rest. Its beauty is the inspiration of art, of music, of poetry. Its forces propel all the wheels of industry. It is the source of all health, all wealth, all knowledge. But its fullness of joy and wisdom has not revealed itself to man. Nor can it ever, so long as this unholy, unnatural separation of society and nature endures. Town and country *must be married*, and out of this joyous union will spring a new hope, a new life, a new civilization (Howard 48, 1945).

Although he does not use the word community, many aspects of community are obvious in this passage. Mutual help, friendly co-operation and brotherhood are elements of a strong community. This is not to say that community did not exist before Ebenezer Howard began to talk about it. But he was one of the first to talk about these things, and have those in the planning profession listen. Unfortunately for Howard, his dream of a nation of Garden Cities never materialized. There were prototypes. Letchworth and Welwyn were built. But

the grand scheme never happened. Howard's ideas did, however, have great influence on planning thought and practice. Perhaps more than anyone else, Howard emphasized the importance of bringing some of the country into the city. The City Beautiful movement, the development of parks, and ultimately the suburban dream of a house with a yard all owe a boon to the ideas of Ebenezer Howard.

In this respect, Howard's ideas were very important for finding a place for the concept of community in professional planning. While his contemporaries were trying to improve people's living conditions through building requirements and health reforms, Howard was trying to create an environment where people could live a better, more fulfilling life; an environment that people today often associate with the word community. He helped plant the seed of the idea that planners could influence people's quality of life in ways other than physical land use planning and health reform. He was responsible in part for getting planners to think not strictly in terms of health and efficiency, but of the human side of planning.

After Garden Cities and green space, the next phase of planning that significantly contributed to an understanding of the nature of community in Canada was the development of Canada's social safety net and the institutionalization of Canadian planning. After the depression, people were desperate for government to provide social services. Planning was bundled in with these social services as an area where the government could help improve and stabilize people's lives. An important element of the planners' role at this time was developing social housing. Perhaps more from their failures at this than anything else, planners learned about community.

The large scale housing projects that were built to replace 'slum housing' for the most part failed miserably (Jacobs 1961, 270; Hodge 1991, 98). Existing problems were given a new face but failed to go away. The most important thing that planners learned from this about their ability to design for community was the very real limitations they face. Attempts to design contained communities in housing projects that were oriented inward and cut off from the rest of the neighbourhood served to magnify existing problems rather than stimulate the development of community. To live in a housing project became a

badge of shame and a mark of being in the lower class of society. Professional planning's first foray into large-scale social reform forced planners to re-examine the methods and processes of planning.

The most enlightening element of this exercise for planning, especially with regard to its understanding of the concept of community, was the realization of why these forms of social housing failed. Planners had attempted to come at the problem from an external perspective without consulting in depth with the people for whom they were planning. The science of planning was supposed to allow planners to assess and analyze the problem, determine the best alternatives, implement the best solution and make everyone happy. People and their relationships proved to be too complex for this 'simple' scientific approach.

Planners came to realize that if they were going to plan *with* people, they were going to have to talk to people, interact with them and get them involved in the planning process. Terms like partnership planning, citizen involvement, public participation and planning *with* people rather than planning *for* people entered into the planning vocabulary. This seems to bode well for the relationship between planning and community. In the past there has been an intent to foster, develop and encourage community. The tools and methodologies have at times been found lacking. How the methods of today will stand up to the challenge of supporting the concept of community remains to be seen. The next section, which discusses contemporary planning through a study of the 75th Anniversary edition of Plan Canada, the journal of the Canadian Institute of Planners, will explain more about what is going on today, and gives us a glimpse of what the future holds.

6.7 Winnipeg: A Community Planning Environment?

Upon first reading the intentions of the Provincial Government of Manitoba in creating the government structure for the modern City of Winnipeg, one might conclude that Winnipeg is a strong community planning environment.

Unfortunately, the reality is not that simple. Winnipeg definitely has some strong communities, many which have grown up from the days when Winnipeg

was made up of a group of separate municipalities (Levin 1993, 241). These strong, separate communities influenced the Provincial Government in how they set up the municipal government for the City of Winnipeg. First, there was the metro government that allowed these separate municipalities to retain some of their control over local matters. Then, there was the community committee system that the government claimed would help established communities retain their individual character.

The Provincial Government strongly advocated the position that retaining the sense of community that existed in the municipalities that existed prior to 'Unicity' was a priority for them (Government of Manitoba 1970, 4). This included a ward system that was based on one government representative for every 10,000 citizens and a community committee system based on the boundaries of the old municipalities. The goal was to create a "climate in which citizen interest, participation and active involvement" (Government of Manitoba 1970, 18) could flourish.

Unfortunately, over time, these original goals seem to have been forgotten. Council has shrunk over the years from over fifty at the outset of Unicity to only fifteen today. Representation has ballooned from one councillor for every 10,000 citizens to one for over 40,000 citizens. This was something that the Provincial Government, in designing the original structure for the municipal government, sought to avoid.

There has been, in recent years, a marked trend, wherever new local government forms have been undertaken in Canada (for example, Metro Toronto, Metro Winnipeg, the new regional governments in Ontario and British Columbia), toward making governments more remote from the people. This has been characterized, on the one hand, by a high degree of professionalism and competence among administrative staff, and, on the other hand, by increasingly smaller councils or boards, and a very high ratio of citizens to elected representatives. One result has been, almost consistently, to achieve the desired improvement in efficiency and quality of services. But there is now clear evidence of another result as well -- a significant loss of public responsiveness and citizen involvement. (Government of Manitoba 1970, 9)

Winnipeg has gone down this road towards efficiency and quality services and away from public responsiveness and citizen involvement. The municipal government has accomplished precisely what the provincial government originally sought to avoid. The result is a system which has carried over the language of a government that was interested in involving the community in government and planning, but has today shifted away from that to a government that focuses on efficiency and fiscal responsibility. The opportunity for 'community planning,' planning which directly involves the community, has slipped away, or at the very least become much more difficult.

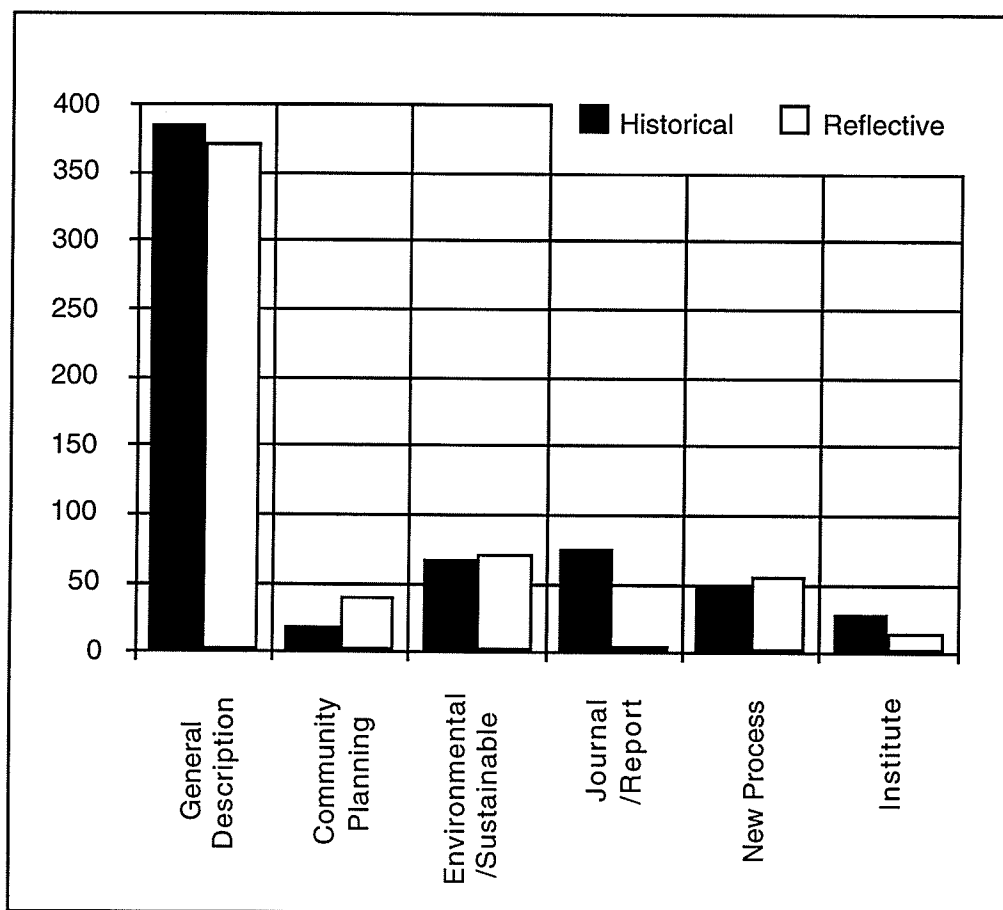
6.8 Plan Canada: A Snapshot of Contemporary Planning

The notion of community first developed a long time before anyone ever started writing about it. It evolved over time and has come to have a meaning and significance that is unique to modern civilization, to the twentieth century and to today. The relationship between Canadian professional planning and the concept of community has been an extensive one. Canadian planners have used the term 'community planning' to describe the essence of what Canadian planning has been. Gerald Hodge's Planning Canadian Communities uses the term community planning almost exclusively to describe the professional planning that has been done in Canada. Scanning the literature on the history of Canadian planning leaves little doubt that there has always been an intent to plan for community, or to plan for communities. There has simply never been a clear distinction of just what community is, or what methods are best used to plan for it.

Regional planning, planning for cities, towns and municipalities, all kinds of planning can be, and in the planning literature have been, lumped together under the term 'community planning.' In fact, these different types of planning all compete for the planner's attention and for government resources. All represent very different individual interpretations, and different scales of both 'community' and 'planning.' The examination of the 75th Anniversary edition of Plan Canada, has provided a clearer picture of how planners are using these terms.

The 75th Anniversary edition of Plan Canada examined both the history of planning in Canada and some of the possible futures. None of the authors involved in this issue wrote specifically from the perspective of developing the relationship between community and planning. But exactly because of this, much can be learned about how Canadian planners view community and its relationship to planning. A consideration of in what contexts the word planning was used can tell us much about where, amongst other planning issues, community fits into contemporary planning.

Chart 1: Occurrences of Forms of the Word 'Planning'



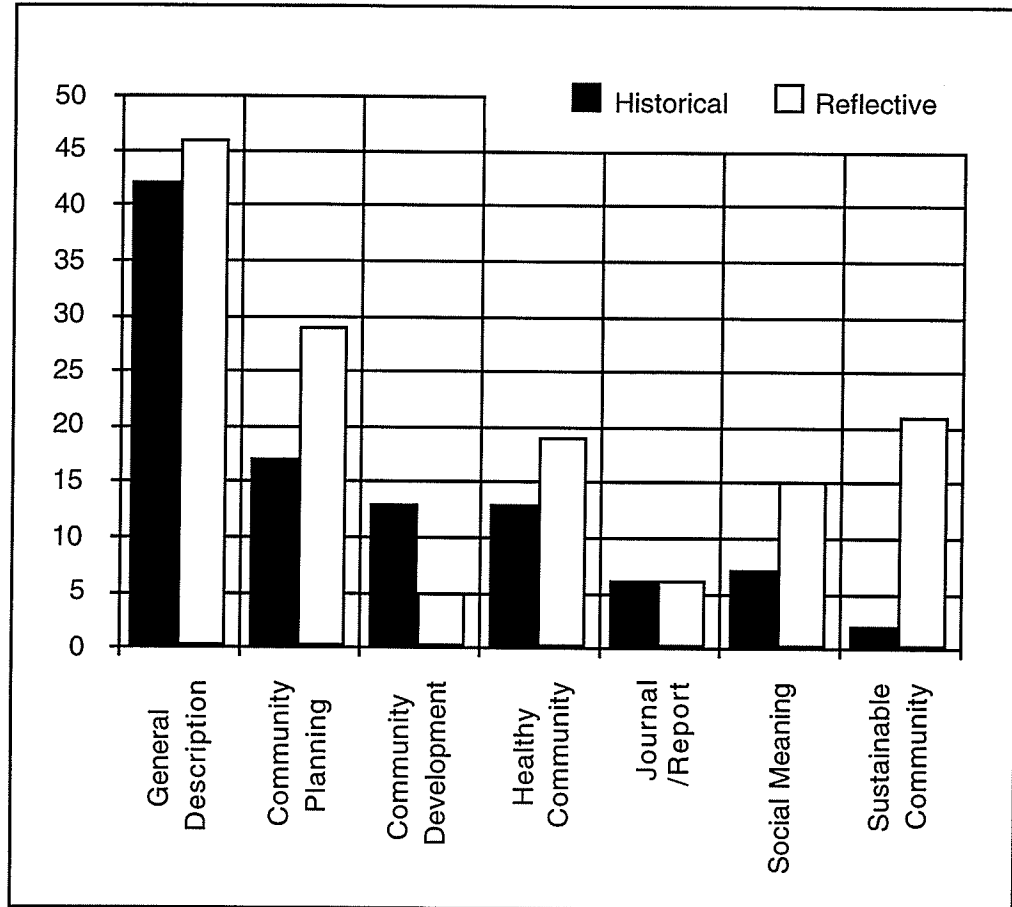
The general description category, which included uses of the word 'planning' in the more traditional sense was by far the largest category. Much of the language, both in the Historical section and the Reflective section still uses the word planning in the more traditional contexts. Most of the history of modern professional planning has been of the traditional, top-down, externally-driven,

scientific-based nature. Change seems to be occurring slowly. The categories which showed a greater number of occurrences in the Reflective rather than the Historical section may be indicators of this change.

Not surprisingly, the categories that showed a greater number of occurrences in the Reflective section than the Historical section were Community Planning, Environmental/Sustainable and New Process. As was discussed in the previous section, many of the new processes are linked to better communication with people in discovering what they want for their living environments. Although this does not necessarily fit under the category of Community Planning, there is a relationship between the two categories. Getting people involved in the decisions that affect their living environment is definitely an element of developing community.

The concept of community is receiving a great deal of support from the new processes that are becoming a part of mainstream planning. These involve citizen participation and involving the public in the planning process. Also, concepts of environmental preservation and sustainable development demand large-scale public participation if they are to be effective. As major issues of our times, their influence can only be expected to grow in the coming years. There is support in professional planning for the development of community. The next chart focuses more precisely on what planners believe community to be.

Chart 2: Occurrences of Forms of the Word 'Community'



The word community appeared 141 times in the Reflective section of the journal as compared to only one hundred times in the Historical section. Again, this supports the idea that community is beginning to become a more important element of planning than it has ever been before. This study showed less of a disparity than did the count of the uses of the word planning. In the Historical section, there were four categories which included at least 10% of the total occurrences and in the Reflective section there were five such categories. General Description, Community Planning and Healthy Community both included at least 10% in both sections. Community Development included more than 10% of the Historical occurrences of the word community. Social Meaning and Sustainable Community included more than 10% of the Reflective occurrences of the word community.

These findings support much of what was found in the search that involved the word planning. Community planning is garnering a larger position in planning literature. There were twenty-nine occurrences in the Reflective section compared to only seventeen in the Historical section. There were also significant increases in the categories of Healthy Community, Social Meaning and especially Sustainable Community. These findings match up closely with the findings in the word search for the word 'planning' which found that community planning, new processes which involve public participation and environmental/sustainable issues are increasing in importance and impact today.

After studying the history of the concept of community, the important issues, those relevant to planning have been identified. Planning processes involving public participation, healthy/environmentally sound/sustainable planning methods and planning which takes into account the social elements of community are all issues which planning must address today and in the future. These are the important elements of relevant, contemporary community planning. How planning can accomplish these goals, and what kind of community it will be planning for, are discussed in the following chapter, the conclusion of this inquiry.

7.0 Conclusions

The relationship between community and Canadian professional planning is one that is likely never going to end. Contemporary planners are faced with an interesting dilemma. They are more aware and more active in trying to involve members of the communities they plan for than the planners of the past. But the context they live and work in is the most complex and swiftly changing of any that has existed before. Cities are bigger, people are more mobile and technology has broken down all kinds of previously insurmountable boundaries. Transportation technology has given most people close to unlimited freedom of movement within cities. For those who can afford it, the transportation industries can take people anywhere in the world. Communication technology has had perhaps an even greater impact on planning and communities. Telephones, facsimile machines and computers can all stretch peoples' communications horizons all the way around the world. From a communications point of view, the world has become a much smaller place than ever before.

With this changing technology, people have changed. Television, radio and other forms of media have given more people more information than ever before. People know more and expect more. The planners of one hundred years ago who planned from outside, or 'above,' would have very little success in this world. In this smaller world, planners are learning to adapt and change. The physical boundaries which were so real and solid one hundred years ago are completely obsolete. The processes that guided the planning of the past have evolved and changed to deal with the new needs and wants of today.

Now, it is time to revisit the objectives which were the foundations of this inquiry into the case for redeeming and regenerating *community* planning. Addressing each of these separately will provide the clearest picture of the issues that this inquiry has discussed and brought into focus.

7.1 Objective 1

Define the concept of community as it is most relevant to professional planning, specifically contemporary professional planning.

Where has this inquiry brought us with respect to the concept of community? It has involved a search for a meaning of community that is relevant to professional planning in Canada. This search has made it apparent that any narrow definition of community would not do justice to the concept of community. No simple definition covers all the complexities and nuances that make up the concept of community. Rather than try to squeeze all the different elements of community into one simple definition, all the elements of community that have been found to be relevant for contemporary society, and hence for contemporary planning, will be presented here. What ties them all together is the notion that whatever they believe community to be, it involves something that is held in common by a group of people.

Each aspect of community is intrinsically related to the others. Logically, the first element of community to deal with would be the physical. It has been the most influential for the longest time. But today, the extent of its influence has changed significantly. Physical limits used to provide natural boundaries for communities. People could only travel so far, and conveniently communicate with people at very limited distances. Today, without these boundaries, the physical community is put in an entirely different perspective. People no longer need to interact with people who live in their neighbourhood. If they do so, it is by choice. The more money people have, the more choices they have. Developers realize this and aggressively market their subdivisions as neighborhoods that promise certain lifestyles. Those who cannot afford to live in the best new subdivisions are forced to live in older areas or less expensive ones.

The physical element of community is still relevant today. People who have the means to choose where they live are doing so in part based on the lifestyle that a neighbourhood can provide for them. So although people are less limited in terms of the people with whom they interact, the physical element of community is still important. For some it is a prestige factor, for others it is a strictly

practical one. People want a safe, pleasant environment in which to live. Planners must understand the demographics of the neighbourhood for which they are planning and do what they can to help the residents function effectively in their lives. Whether it is maintaining character through zoning and permits, demanding that developers provide community amenities, or any other physical planning tools, the physical part of planning can still influence the quality of community in a neighbourhood. Physical planning helps set the context in which the other elements of community can function.

Sustainability and a concern for the health of the environment, which are closely related to many of the issues that are important to physical planning, have become increasingly prominent in planning in recent times. Efficient use of resources, appropriate placing of new subdivisions to maximize the efficiency of existing infrastructure, cleaning up rivers and vacant lots, implementing more stringent building standards and even watershed planning are all important parts of contemporary planning that are related to preserving and protecting the environment and increasing the sustainability of contemporary living environments (Tyler 1994, 170). The high visibility of environmental and sustainability issues provides planners with a focal point that can bring people in a community together. Attending to these issues not only helps to improve the physical environment, but the attention crosses over into the social realm as well.

The social element of community has traditionally been tied closely to the physical. As has been discussed extensively here, that connection is no longer necessarily the case in contemporary society. People today are forming what they consider to be communities that have no relation whatsoever to any physical boundaries, i.e. communities of interest rather than neighbourhood communities. Planners must be aware of this and realize that the communities that are tied to physical boundaries, the communities with which planners do most of their work, are only a small percentage of the social groups that people may participate in. Local issues and local causes can mobilize the neighbourhood community for short periods of time. And the trend towards citizen involvement in planning is working to support the neighbourhood community, even if that proves to be difficult in the institutional environment of the government. But the social community that is tied to the

physical neighbourhood will never return to the prominence in people's lives that it enjoyed before communication and transportation gave people so many other options.

Finally, there is the 'official' or functional designation of community, the political and institutional element. This has always been and will always be important as the setting for the government organization and the designator of official communities. It creates the environment in which politicians are elected and within which public sector planners function. It sets the framework within which many of the other elements of community exist. Although they operate in this environment, planners often have little control over how it is organized and sometimes what their role is within it. Matching up the boundaries of political institutions with the less formal boundaries of communities will continue to be a challenge for both politicians and the planners who advise them.

A definition of community that is relevant to contemporary Canadian professional planning includes all these different elements of community. The physical, environmental, historical, social, cultural and institutional elements all play a role in influencing the development and maintenance of community. The importance of any single element of community will vary according to different individual circumstances. Improved communications technology and a trend in planning towards increased public participation have shifted the main focus of community from the physical to the social. But all these different elements remain relevant to the Canadian professional planner's definition of 'community.' What must be remembered is the idea that a community is what a group of people have a common interest in. Where a planner can find this common interest, s/he can work towards developing 'community.'

7.2 Objective 2

Determine how this concept has been treated in the planning literature of the past and in contemporary planning theory.

The concept of community has been present in planning literature, especially Canadian planning literature, for the entire time there has been professional

planning in Canada. Since the very beginning, the word community has been very loosely defined, if it was ever defined at all. John Dakin's plea for a clear definition of community in his 1961 article in Plan Canada, recounted in Chapter 1, laments this fact. Planners have been trying to design communities, trying to create communities, trying to create a sense of community and trying to do or facilitate community planning. But almost never have any of these planners stopped to define what they meant when they used the word community. Although this broadness of meaning adds a richness to the concept of community, this lack of clarity can cause some confusion when one is looking for a common thread that runs through the different contexts in which the word community appears.

This lack of clarity in the use of the word community makes it difficult to determine a single meaning or even a definable goal that planners have had with regard to community. There are so many different interpretations that the word community can invoke. Community has always been a positive thing that planners and politicians strive to develop and support. But the ambiguity of the term has made it into one that is generally positive and good, but specifically, almost worthless. It is a word that planners and politicians can use and never be called to account for because it is neither definable nor measurable. And, to further complicate matters, advancing technology has continued to change the way people think about community.

Today's planners continue to use the word community. There is still no single accepted definition of the term. But new attitudes toward planning have resulted in a subtle shift in the use of the word community from the early days of Canadian professional planning. Planning methods and techniques today are including more public input and participation. This new respect for the ideas of the public-at-large naturally spills over into how planning deals with the concept of community. Contemporary planning literature talks about planning *with* people rather than planning *for* people. Instead of planning communities, planners are now planning *with* communities. The idea that planning professionals have the expert knowledge to impose a sense of community is no longer seen as valid. Planners can plan to help set up an environment where community can flourish, but true community is something that grows from a group of people 'communing' over time. It cannot be imposed.

Canadian professional planning has long used the term community planning to describe the type of planning that professional planners in Canada do. Gerald Hodge's text Planning Canadian Communities has emphasized this term. Hodge used the term 'community planning' to cover all types of planning with one broad term. In this sense, it almost seems that he equates 'community planning' with a comprehensiveness that covers all these different types of planning. However, that does not mean that all Canadian planning has always been community planning. It has certainly not always been comprehensive. The literature shows a definite attempt to consider the impacts on communities of planning actions and interventions. In the past, it was very much a relationship where planners would make decisions and plans based on their 'scientific' planning training. History has shown that this type of approach has often had unexpected results and side effects. Today's planners are trying to live up to the community planning legacy of the past. It is very likely that in terms of developing and supporting community, they will surpass it. By planning *with* communities rather than *for* them, today's planners can much more effectively make appropriately informed planning decisions.

Recent trends toward citizen involvement and public participation have made community planning more of a community process. The intentions that were always there now have a more appropriate and effective medium by which they can be achieved. The evolution of professional planning in Canada has been a continual learning process. The community element of planning has benefited from the latest changes which involve members of community in the planning process. In terms of sincerely including community in the planning process, Canadian planning is heading in a very positive direction.

7.3 Objective 3

Prescribe if and how planning should deal with the concept of community in the future, particularly the near future.

In terms of community, planning seems to be moving in a positive direction. Involving people in the planning decisions which affect them will make them feel more involved and more connected to the neighborhoods they live in.

Empowering people in this way will make them feel more involved and give them a sense of ownership over their living environment and a sense of what their community is. It will also help planners do better planning. Nobody knows what people want better than the people themselves. In this sense, planners have learned from the mistakes made in the past. Today they are trying to plan with people rather than planning for them. This is particularly important in light of the fact that society is changing more swiftly now than it ever has before, and is thus even more unpredictable than in the past.

Technology has changed the way people live and it continues to do so today. The world has become a smaller place and continues to shrink as every new year brings new or improved technology that increases people's ability to communicate and to travel. The freedom of mobility and the increased ability to communicate has given community a different meaning than it has had in the past. People have more choices in the social groups they wish to join. They are not necessarily tied to any particular geographical location. But more powerful technology brings with it greater costs, especially in terms of the impact it has on the health of the natural environment.

The health of the natural environment and the concept of sustainability for our built living environments are also very current issues for planning. It seems likely that their importance can only increase in the future as we move closer and closer to the end of our non-renewable resources. Involving people in determining more sustainable ways of living will fall at least in part to the planners of the future. That may be the most significant contribution that planners can make in our time. New technologies that allow people to live more sustainably are advancing along-side new technologies that have an increasingly costly impact on the natural environment. Finding the balance between these competing technologies, and maintaining an acceptable standard of living combine to make a complicated set of issues for professional planners and politicians of the future to deal with.

Predicting what the future will be like is an uncertain process at best. Yet it is an important element of professional planning. The word planning implies a concern for the future. There are many scenarios that could possibly describe the communities of the future. The fact that there will be a greater variety of

issues than ever before is the simplest way to enter a discussion of the planning issues of the future. The nuclear family is no longer the norm today, and is not likely to be the norm in the future. Planners must consider an expanding variety of household types when making any planning decisions. Transportation and communication technology continue to expand the range of people's abilities to travel and communicate. Some time in the future, it is likely that people's use of technology and the health of the environment will come into conflict. Nobody can predict exactly how this collision of applied science and nature will manifest itself. It may be a gradual process. It may be signaled by one, or more than one, spectacular event. Bringing people's lifestyles into a balance with what the natural environment can support is a very likely challenge for planners in the not so distant future.

Planning has changed and evolved just as society has changed and evolved. Planning methods and techniques today are more in tune with what is actually going on in communities than ever before. Public participation, participatory democracy and planning *with* people, rather than for them, are all planning tools which are allowing planners to plan more effectively. Refining these planning techniques will help planners in the uncertain context of what the next few years and decades may be. Society will continue to change. If planners can become and remain closely connected to what is going on in their communities, they can continue to plan in a way that improves and supports people in their lives.

7.4 Redeeming and Regenerating Community Planning

The notion of 'community' has long been used to characterize planning for Canadian cities and towns, but it seems to have little currency in today's practice. Perhaps the solution lies in redeeming and regenerating *community* planning (Hodge 1991, 387).

This quote from Gerald Hodge is one of the elements that inspired this inquiry into the role of the concept of community in Canadian professional planning practice. As it was an appropriate beginning, so it is an appropriate ending to this discussion.

This thesis did not examine planning which was not included in the realm of professional planning. The focus has been planning that is recognized by the Canadian Institute of Planners. Yet there are many types of planning which do not fall under the auspices of the Canadian Institute of Planners. This inquiry has dealt with professional planning in Canada and its relationship to the concept of community, both in the past and in the present; so too will the conclusions presented here.

Dr. Hodge assesses contemporary planning as lacking in the currency of the concept of *community* in the sense that the term community planning implies. Unfortunately, as this inquiry has discovered, the term *community planning* may have never accurately described the professional planning that has been done in Canada. The word community was used in many different contexts with many different intents. But to say that community planning accurately describes the heritage of professional planning in Canada would not be entirely correct.

This is not to say that community planning has never happened before in Canada. There are certainly examples. An interesting contrast is provided by comparing Macklin Hancock's community development at Don Mills with the recent (1995) winner of CIP's Eric W. Thrift Award for Planning Excellence, the Boyle Street/McCauley Area Redevelopment Plan. In the 75th Anniversary edition of Plan Canada, Macklin Hancock wrote an article titled: "Don Mills, a Paradigm of Community Design" (Hancock 1994, 87). Hancock's paradigm of community planning was a community designed from the ground up by planning professionals. By awarding the Eric W. Thrift Award for Planning Excellence to the Boyle Street/McCauley Area Redevelopment Plan, CIP is recognizing a different paradigm for professional planning, one that involves and empowers the community for (and now by) which the planning is being done. This new paradigm for planning intends that the community is no longer simply the object of planning endeavours, but also the instrument of planning. Professional planners are no longer the sole plan-makers, they facilitate planning by the communities themselves.

The communities of the past were different in nature than the communities of today. Transportation and communication limitations made physical

communities, neighbourhoods, the focal point for community. In today's society, people have access to a much greater range of choices, particularly in the aspects of the social groups they choose to belong to. Society, and planning, will never return to the isolated communities of the past. Planning for community in contemporary society is much more difficult than in the past, but today's methods are sincere in involving more people than ever before in the planning process.

Returning to the past, to notions of community that were held in the past, is not the answer for improving the currency of contemporary planning practice. In fact, the findings of this inquiry have shown that planning today is more deserving of the title 'community planning,' than it has ever been. Today's planning is involving members of the community in the planning process more than ever before. Public participation is an integral part of contemporary planning practice. Rather than move backward, planning needs to go forward. Discovering, inventing and redefining community would be a more constructive attitude for professional planners of the future to take. What do people imagine the communities of the future will be like? Is this a realistic future? How can planners play a positive role in developing communities that bridge the gap between what people want as their ideal future communities and what is possible? These are the questions that planners need to be asking themselves today.

Communities of the future will be more complex and more interrelated than ever before. Communities that are formed based on people's interests already exist at all scales from the local to the global. Improving communications technology will allow people to continue forming these communities which have no relationship to physical limitations. These 'communities of interest' will continue to overlap with the traditional 'neighbourhood-based' communities. The relationship between these 'communities of interest' and 'communities of place' will define what 'community planning' is in the future. People who belong to many overlapping and interrelated communities will have different and more complex and sophisticated planning needs than they did before.

As communities, and their relationships between each other, become more varied, the need to include them in the planning process is increasing.

Understanding the different types of communities that already exist requires direct communication between the planner and the community. The need to represent the community's interests in the planning process is impelling the community to no longer be only the object of planning, but the instrument of planning as well. The role of the planner in this future of varied, overlapping communities will be to advise and empower communities to plan for themselves. An important part of this will include discovering where the communities are and in what forms they are developing. 'Communities of interest' and 'communities of place' will have different needs and will place different demands on their planners.

The goal in professional planning has long been to be as comprehensive as possible. The comprehensive planning of the future will be planning that is done by communities themselves. Who knows what a community needs better than that community itself. The community planners of the future will be those who understand communities well enough and can communicate with them effectively enough to facilitate the communities' ability to plan for themselves.

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