Professional Ethics and Social Justice in City Planning:

The Right to the City in Winnipeg, Manitoba

By

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ABSTRACT

City planners as allies for social justice depend on understanding the relationship between and consequences of capitalism, and urbanism and demands more just alternatives for collective and democratic self-determination. Systemic political and economic practices as well as the traditional planning role of neutrality, limit planners' ability to implement evidence-based, non-partisan, socially just standards, plans and processes. The right to the city lens is an interdisciplinary call to action to expose injustice, propose alternatives and politicize issues, citizens and spatial environments. Applying this organizing concept requires critical reflection, learning and debate on the role and responsibility of the profession to work toward democracy, ethics, collective rights and justice to challenge oppressive practices and redistribute power and wealth.

Community organizations in Winnipeg, such as City Watch highlight a coordinated approach to civic literacy and change. With leadership, vision, and collective responsibility, planners and allies can envision and build more equitable communities.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

DEDICATION

To the supportive and inspiring people in my life!

Aggie, Rhoda, Jake, Pamela, John, Oscar, Milla, Jen and Harry

And to those whose footsteps I walk in…

"Another world is not only possible, she is on her way.

On a quiet day, I can hear her breathing." Arundhati Roy (2003)

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CHAPTER 1: Introduction

This thesis will advance the concept of the collective *right to the city* (RTTC) by examining relationships between city planning, politics, and civics; specifically how planners can better integrate democracy, social justice and community organizing into professional planning ethics. By understanding approaches that can transform knowledge to action, respond to power dynamics, inform political decision-making, and organize communities, planners can strive for more just responses to the inequitable outcomes of conventional planning and political processes. This research critically reflects on foundational planning principles to inform planning processes, policies and practices that aim to produce genuine democratic urban environments.

Many people are left out of decision-making processes that have impacts on their lives due to societal inequalities. This is perpetuated by unfettered growth currently expressed through neoliberal ideologies. The right to the city is an umbrella concept that explores the relationship between and consequences of capitalism, and urbanism and demands more just alternatives for collective self-determination or autonomy for communities in the places they inhabit. By applying a right to the city lens, I strive to learn how planners can be better allies to all citizens – but specifically marginalized individuals and communities – to influence governance structures to redistribute power and wealth. Within this frame I explore: experiences within the power dynamics of planning and politics; translation of professional ethics for public interest; building multidisciplinary and community allies; and the role of the planning profession in advocating for and striving towards social justice.

1.1 Background

Current and future generations face challenges addressing issues like democracy, climate change, and increasing inequalities between the rich and poor. These issues cross generations, are interconnected and define systemic challenges – but they also present opportunities for socially-just alternatives within planning and governance. In this section, I explore the current political context, examining characteristics of neoliberalism, and capitalism, to better understand political and economic practices at the global, national, provincial and municipal levels. It is within this context that planners work, and it is the backdrop against which many attempt to address inequities.

1.1.1 Neoliberalization and Capitalism

Neoliberalism, according to Sager (2011), is a political strategy, a process that has reshaped the relationship of politics and the economy through complex urbanization and globalization processes of mobile investment capital, intercity competition and public entrepreneurialism (p.147). Peck and Tickell (2002) add that it is characterized by uneven urban growth through economic development, using the market as a baseline for policy evaluation, privatization, deregulation and competition (p.47). This results in "fewer restrictions on business operations, extended property rights… erosion of the welfare state, devolution of central government…and increasing social polarisation" (Sager, 2011, p148-9). Neoliberalism has been strategically framed as the only acceptable policy option thus trying to limit citizen agency to change it.

Characteristics of neoliberalism are not all, or always, viewed in a negative light. From the communicative planning theory perspective, Sager (2011) argues that privatization, for example, only becomes a problem when it restricts transparency,

informed dialogue and critique, access to central public gathering spaces, segregates people or limits the potential of collective understanding and action (p.181). He suggests that planners engage in dialogue about political trends and bureaucratic transformations such as neoliberalism in order to understand and respond to urban contexts, social democracy and regulatory structures (p.149). The neoliberal critique of planning – the regulation of the spatial environment – is that "state failure is typically worse than market failure" (p.150). Thus a formal assault on public urban planning emerged with neoliberal strategies (p.180) and a "growth first approach to urban development" became the norm (p.149).

Different stages and adaptations of neoliberalism have become embedded in societal institutions since World War II, when growth and consumption practices were encouraged, and cities were the sites of this competition (Brenner & Theodore, 2002, p.26). Peck and Tickell (2002) observe that neoliberalism is in a constant state of adaptation as it reacts to its own contradictions and crisis (p.53). They describe how, in the 1980s, "roll-back" policies emerged with polarizing disinvestment and destruction of government for the benefit of private business (p.53). This was followed by "roll-out" neoliberalism in the early 1990s that created new mechanisms of crisis displacement and instability at the urban scale. Examples include capitalist regulation on wage and labour relations, the removal of international investment barriers and monetary and finance regulation (p.27).

Neoliberalism gained ground in the 1990s due to the "communist implosion" but there has been renewed scrutiny due to the global financial crisis in 2008 (Sager, 2011, p. 149). To encourage buy-in of neoliberalization, Peck and Tickell (2002) observed how

cities that opposed interurban competition policies were threatened with and excluded from access to resources regardless of social need (p.48). They argue that limited resource access exacerbated the effects of poverty, leaving cities that opposed neoliberal policies with few options but to comply with entrepreneurial responses to the issues and become "accomplices in their own subordination" (p.46).

Other tactics are also deployed to encourage conformity with the neo-liberal agenda. Crises are often used by conservative politicians to introduce austerity, measures in social services, often followed by deregulation and economic stimulants to encourage urban development (Harvey, 2012, p.52). Communities are intentionally destabilized through state deregulation, wage insecurity and assaults on organized opposition (Brenner & Theodore, 2002, p.17). Once destabilized, impoverished areas are viewed as opportunities for private business to revitalize or gentrify, supporting and reinforcing neoliberal policies (Peck & Tickell, 2002, p.46). This cycle of crisis and revitalization has become the profitable norm. It is important to note that neoliberalism is not the only factor influencing interurban competition but "the parallel ascendancy of neoliberalism has been crucial in reinforcing, extending and normalizing these transurban tendencies towards reflexive and entrepreneurial city governance" (p.47).

Sager (2011) challenges planners to bring attention to inequalities produced and reproduced by market-oriented systems, arguing that public goods should remain outside of the market and that citizens should be understood as having "political roles, rights and agendas–not only as recipients of service" (p.181). In resisting neoliberal strategies, he argues that a strong planning message is needed; one that promotes inclusive and

justifiable collective decision-making as opposed to economic efficiency in public planning (p.181).

Critiques of neoliberalism demonstrate tension between capitalism and democracy, and highlight the consequences of prioritizing the efficient market over often costly and unpredictable democratic planning processes (Sager, 2011, p.180). Friedmann (1987) argues that capitalism "has in effect colonized civil society" (p. 387). Characteristics of a colonizing urban political economy include "the expansion of dominant interests (spatially or otherwise); exploitation of marginalized groups; essentialization of identities; [and] hierarchical and coerced segregation" (Yiftachel, 2012, p.158). Yiftachel (2012) illustrates how capitalism acts as a mainstream form of oppression and control, encouraging competition over cooperation – and argues that this needs to be recognized urban social relations in planning and politics are to be reformed (p.158-9).

While planning has been used as a tool to address market failures, to avoid costs and increase economic production of cities, Sager (2011) observes that any opposition to the market or private influence can be seen as a threat (p.149). Most planners, he argues seek, what they believe to be professionally good solutions, avoiding confronting choices between politics and the market (p.149). However, if forced to choose, their preference is usually for some sort of political intervention to move market activities back to the public realm (p.149). For Harvey (2012), it is apparent that capitalist forms of urbanization have become institutionally embedded and reproduced and he argues that they should be addressed together through anti-capitalist alternatives (p.65). As the gap between the rich and poor grows, predictable cycles of crisis and redevelopment stimulate growth and wealth for a small number of people and contribute to significant challenges such as

poverty and crumbling democratic processes. With this worldview, professional planners and citizen planners (e.g. non-governmental or community-based organizations, activists or volunteers who participate in planning activities) can begin to understand how capitalism places value on and uses labour, urbanization and the built environment; planners can help demystify the complex social, environmental, political and economic legacy it has left globally.

1.1.2 Political System

Neoliberalism is often paired with the dominant frame of liberal democracy (Purcell, 2008, p.76; Sager, 2011, p.180) that redistributes power to corporations as a "strategy for depoliticisation" (Sager, 2011, p.150). This has been successful in limiting the influence of public pressure because, unlike public officials, the private sector is a step removed from public criticism (p.150). Increased privatization and control, pared with reduced government transparency, and accountability also limits citizens' abilities to collectively influence their ideological, political and spatial environments (p.181). Tait (2011) identifies decreasing trust of governments in all areas of civic life, and parallels their capacity and willingness to act in the common interest of citizens (p.157). Society is experiencing a crisis of leadership and Mark Warren argues that the task of

> revitalizing democracy requires effective connections between well organized communities and our political system. As political parties have lost their base in communities, new forms of mediating institutions are needed that can hold public institutions… accountable to communities (quoted in Diers, 2004, p.11).

Neoliberal policies manifest themselves at different scales. Leo (2006) identifies an increasingly borderless world, made possible by globalization, free trade agreements and advances in communications, that result in increased competition between

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communities for limited national resources (p.482). At the same time, transnational

solidarity networks have emerged to work toward anti-capitalist and social justice

objectives, described as alter-globalization (Pickerill & Chatterton, 2006, p.731).

The neoliberal impact on local communities has meant fewer resources and less

protection from national governments and responsibilities have been decentralized (Leo,

2006, p.482). In order to address the withdrawal of senior government support,

municipalities are building local economic development strategies, thus de-centring the

economy and social support provision (p.483-4). For Leo, neither the argument for a

stronger central government or for municipal autonomy that relies on the private market

are enough to create security for all income earners. He concludes that deep federalism

with the flexibility of "national policy that respects community difference, in some form,

is the only way forward" (p.503).

Some governments are beginning to understand the need to be more responsive to

the needs of communities. Yetano, Royo, and Acerte (2010) report that, in response to

growing dissatisfaction with democratic processes and decreasing meaningful citizen

participation, some jurisdictions are initiating programs to support more participatory

governance (p.783). With an appropriate and responsive process and government buy-in,

they argue that public engagement can shift from representative to participatory and

actually change decision-making structures rather than simply promoting information

sharing (p.797). Chantal Mouffe calls for political structures and processes that embrace

societal differences (in Pickerill & Chatterton, 2006, p.741). Others make similar

arguments. For example, Purcell (2008) argues that collective decision-making,

undertaken through debate and deliberation, should incorporate difference, pluralism and

democracy (p.63); Sager (2011) argues for challenging the political control exerted by the market and income inequality (Sager, 2011, p. 181).

For Friedmann (2011), good governance criteria for both formal government structures and social movements should include: inspired political leadership, public accountability, transparency and the right to information, inclusiveness, responsiveness, and non-violent conflict management (p.156-7). Meaningful citizen participation in the production of political life is the base of any fundamental democratic change. Magnusson (2011) describes how cities and people participate in self-government everyday but argues that they do not frame or recognize their power in a political way (p.153). Society's ability to solve complex problems is a test of democracy and will use a range of participatory methods, through formal rational debate, dissent and resistance, to build civic capacity and effective collective action (De Souza Briggs, 2008, p.42).

1.1.3 Manitoba Political Context

Understanding the local political and planning contexts of Manitoba can help translate and apply the lessons learned in this thesis. Despite the province's long history with unions, activists and co-operatives, and while they have led many social democratic changes, there is a tendency to maintain the status quo within the prevalent neoliberalism. As institutional legacies influence politics today, this brief political overview highlights patterns of fragmentation and resistance in Manitoba.

In 1969, Manitoba elected its first social democratic government, the New Democratic Party (NDP) led by Ed Schreyer (Black & Silver, 2012); since then the NDP have won eight of twelve elections. Both the Schreyer (1969-1977) and Pawley governments (1981-1988) prioritized egalitarian policies, seeking a society based on

cooperation "equality, citizen participation, stronger unions and a positive role for the state" (Black & Silver, 2012, p.2). As neoliberalism became entwined with the global economy and politics, leadership and policies the Progressive Conservative governments of Sterling Lyon (1977-1981) and Gary Filmon (1988-1999,) advocated for "smaller governments, balanced budgets and removal of trade union rights to promote competition in labour markets" (Black & Silver, 2012, p.3). Subsequent NDP governments, namely Gary Doer (1999-2009) and current leader, Greg Selinger (2009-present), tend to govern with more caution, leaning toward centrist views that do not challenge the status quo (Black & Silver, 2012, p.4). After four terms in power, the NDP appears complacent and without a clear vision of alternatives to neoliberalism could be.

While social justice has experienced gains and setbacks, the decreasing democratic participation in elections at all levels may be even more concerning. In the 2011 Federal election, 53.8% citizens participated, the second lowest turn out in history (The Conference Board of Canada, 2013), 56% voted in the 2011 Manitoba election (Elections Manitoba, 2011) and in the 2010 Winnipeg civic election, voter turnout was 47% (City of Winnipeg, 2010). It is safe to say that democratic institutions do not currently represent the majority of citizen voices.

One institutional legacy that grew in strength in parallel to social democratic politics is the province's strong labour movement with a long history. The Winnipeg Labour Council, formerly the Winnipeg Trades and Labour Council, dates back to 1894. Both Manitoba and Quebec have reputations within Canada for having influential, place-based labour cultures and activism. Manitoba is a hot bed of knowledge, creativity and credibility about labour legislation. Positive labour impacts in the Winnipeg context,

despite some bumps in the road, include employment standards, workplace health and safety, and compensation for agricultural workers. Politics and labour organizing go hand in hand, for example, when unions endorse municipal candidates who align with their members' philosophies – Glen Murray, Winnipeg mayor from 1998 to 2004 (Winnipeg Labour Council, 2003) – or when a city councillor and future city mayor, John Queen (1935-6 and 1937-42) took part in organizing the 1919 General Strike (Winnipeg Labour Council, 1994).

As the Province gives authority to municipalities, the above context is relevant to understanding the political and planning contexts in Manitoba and more specifically in Winnipeg. Manitoba's largest urban centre had an estimated population of 704, 800 in 2012 in a province of approximately 1, 267, 000 people (City of Winnipeg, 2013). Winnipeg has been a slow growth, stable city, and remains a reasonably affordable place to live, and supports cultural diversity through immigration (Leo, 2006, p.499-500).

Research Questions

The main objective of this research is to better understand and identify opportunities within the planning profession to implement processes, methods and systemic changes that address issues of equity to increase the quality and influence of participation by marginalized groups in Winnipeg, Manitoba. It aims to support more democratic, just and sustainable community planning processes. The following research questions shape the exploration:

1. How are ethics, democracy and social justice understood and translated into professional planning culture and practice?

2. How can professional planners, elected officials and citizen planners improve the implementation of equitable planning practices through democratic governance processes?

3. How could social justice standards or a framework be developed, coordinated, measured and enforced?

4. What lessons learned could be applied in the municipal and provincial planning and political context in Winnipeg, Manitoba to increase the voices and influence of marginalized ideas and groups?

This research sought to understand how ethics, values, collective rights, and justice manifest themselves in planning, politics and institutional decision-making. It challenged planning professionals to look beyond the technical, growth-focused, efficient city building status quo to seek more democratic alternatives. The research explores how lessons learned from a range of professions can translate into policy and practice to reduce barriers and identify opportunities for collective self-determination in the Winnipeg context. It suggests that professional city planners and allies for social justice can build discourse, relationships and some agreement about the public interest and how to address it, in order to influence political decision-making and accountability.

This thesis contributes short-term benefits to participants, including an opportunity to reflect on their individual ability to influence public interests, on how they make ethical decisions, and about the roles of the profession within challenging political and economic structures. The longer-term benefits include the identification of areas for professional investment, such as ongoing ethical debate and learning, the role of social planning, defining the public interest, providing members support when addressing issues

it, advocating for just public policy, and how to become better allies for marginalized groups.

The right to the city (RTTC) frames the conversation of how to translate principles of collective justice and ethics into action. Reflecting on foundational issues is useful for the planning profession to reevaluate the role of the profession and adapt to changing political, social, economic and environmental contexts. The RTTC is a complex, interdisciplinary web of issues to address and this thesis will only brush the surface. But it is a worthwhile pursuit as Harvey (2012) argues, the right and freedom to reshape ourselves and the city is "one of the most precious yet most neglected of our human rights" (p.4).

CHAPTER 2: Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

Forsyth (2012) identifies four research sub-cultures in planning: "scientific frontier, focused on practical relevance, demonstrating reflective practice, and engaging with enduring questions (including making provocative critiques of planning)" (p.160). In categorizing research types, she connects the intellectual diversity of various planning identities rather than perpetuate marginalization of ideas that often occurs within the profession. In seeking to understand planning's role within the planning academy, this thesis is engaged in the tradition of questioning "the bigger, challenging, and recurring issues of the good and the right, power and values, and the role of planning in the world" (Forsyth, 2012, p.165). This frame illustrates the constant struggle for change and the complexities that will continue to confront practitioners.

Paired with the right to the city concept, critical urban theory is a reflective lens that has been applied to literature selection and analysis. Knowledge can be used or misused and it is increasingly important to understand how planners synthesize knowledge to gain external credibility when consequences are context specific and often unpredictable (Campbell, 2012, p.136-7). Literature from adjacent disciplines is explored for parallels with planning theory such as community development, and urban political economy among others. Although the planning professions interest is to carve out an expert role for itself, it would do well to be more collaborative with other disciplines (Friedman, 2008, p.248) or build what Healey calls a "planning community of inquiry" (2012, p.201). Interdisciplinary opportunities to learn, translate and apply knowledge, and build coalitions with others rooted in collective planning practices can develop the creativity and influence to tackle complex issues.

The literature review addresses social justice and community organizing in planning practice from various perspectives. Section 2.1 explores attempts made by the planning profession to address social justice, from advocacy planning to more radical practice; and section 2.2, the critical analysis lens of the right to the city to be applied throughout this thesis.

The next four sections apply the principles of democracy, rights, justice, and ethics to analyze the attempts the planning profession has made to integrate them into practice. Section 2.3 examines the roots of democracy, such as how knowledge is translated into action for social change, creating public space in cities to participate in democratic processes, how professional planning has contributed to democratic theory and precedent. Section 2.4 investigates how rights are defined and realized in communities and the role of planners in navigating those interests. Section 2.5 frames the concept of social justice in planning processes and outcomes, governance and the distribution of resources. Section 2.6 describes ethical considerations for planners as described in professional codes of conduct. Section 2.7 investigates formal an informal community organizing processes and how to translate knowledge into action through social learning, capacity building and understanding methods of participation.

2.1 Planning Transformation: From Equity to Radical Planning

Urban planning is, as Beard and Basolo (2009) observe, a multi-disciplinary profession whose roles and definitions are highly debated (p.233-4). The lack of a dominant paradigm or identity is both a challenge and strength. They identify the challenge in misunderstandings about the scope of planning on the part of other professions, but this

mirrors uncertainty about the goals of planning from within the discipline itself (p.233).

At the same time, though, they argue that the multiplicity of knowledge and methods can

enable adaptability in a rapidly changing society (p.233-4).

Planners play many roles. For Fischler (2012), they mobilize collective will,

design future actions to meet objectives, and manage urban development activities that

have unexpected consequences (p.108-9). Forester (2004) notes that they work in

uncertain, conflicting, politically complex environments that rely on the power of

interdependence, relationships and institutionalized interactions (p.245). They are not,

however, decision-makers – rather they should, as Marcuse (2000) argues, they give

ethical advice, suggest alternative solutions, judge possible results and leave decisions to

democratic bodies. Healey (2012) emphasizes that planning actions should be based on

the interconnection, liveability, and sustainability of the collective across time and space,

through open, transparent and reasoned public knowledge and government processes

(p.199).

Over the past 50 years, North American planning practice, in its attempt to

address social justice, has been influenced and understood through and array of theories,

identified by Friedmann (2008) as "dialogue, social learning, mutual learning, social

participation, collaboration, mediation, social mobilization, social and political

empowerment, and strategic planning or visioning" (p.254). An understanding of the

profession's history of addressing equity or social justice planning, and how neoliberal

practices have had impacts on its progress, might help inform a path forward. This

section provides this context.

Pierre Clavel (1994), described city planning and political practices from the mid-

1940s until the 1960s as including a "superficial pluralism," excluding of low income and minority groups, and prioritizing physical land use planning. In this, planners were viewed as experts in seeking the public interest (p.146). *Equity planning* emerged in response to these modern and top down planning practices and Sandercock (2005) credits the rise of civil society in the 1960s as an important catalyst to pressure urban design, planning and heritage institutions to democratize the meaning and use of space and techniques used to explore different worldviews (p.438). Bernstein (2005) describes these social movements as being more focused on culture and identity rather than challenging class power relations (p.49) which can limit their potential, scale and impact as foci for community organizing (p.51).

Paul Davidoff's 1965 "Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning" anticipated that planners could work both as advocates in this new equity frame, and as bureaucrats in the old comprehensive ideology to provide more inclusive services for marginalized groups (Clavel, 1994, p.146). According to Clavel, Davidoff hoped that working from both sides would lead to increased professional debate on the root causes of inequality and alternatives, but the advances in achieving social justice were limited (p.146).

In North America, social justice has been important in planning as demonstrated by the creation of Planners for Equal Opportunities (POE) which Davidoff, Chester Hartman and others began in 1964. The group grew into an international Planners Network organization that shares information through a quarterly Progressive Planning magazine, a publication that started as a simple newsletter in 1975 (Friedmann, 2008, p.249). Planners Network frames its identity as being "an effective political and social force, working with other progressive organizations to inform public opinion and public

policy and to provide assistance to those seeking to understand, control, and change the forces which affect their lives" (www.plannersnetwork.org). Friedmann (2008) argues that these organizational and communication outlets created space within the profession to critically debate progressive topics and "move from values to action" (p.249).

In the 1970s, advocacy jobs with redistributive objectives were institutionalized in government-sponsored agencies to attempt to bridge gaps between community and government (Clavel, 1994, p.147). At the time, neoclassical institutional reform included privatization, devolution of planning and economic decision-making to local governments and the introduction of public-private partnerships, all of which contributed to increased unemployment and inflation (Kim, 2011, p.330). During this period, Clavel (1994) notes that the planning profession continued to question its role and its relationships to the power in local politics, and to ask where (i.e. in community or city hall) core institutions could be challenged with alternative, more equitable practices (p.147). As more advocate planners worked in municipal governments and adapted their bureaucratic methods, he argues they became more committed to real pluralism, resulting in more credibility for social movements (p.149).

In the 1980s and 1990s communicative action was a prominent theory both inside and beyond planning, and it was applied at the both municipal and regional levels (Irazábal, 2009, p.120). Theorists from both inside and outside the planning profession took different approaches to communicative action. For example, John Friedmann's (1987) important contribution of *Planning in the Public Domain: From Knowledge to Action* was based on defining the planning discipline using professional, local, or indigenous knowledge, action and the public domain (Beard & Basolo, 2009, p.236).

Friedmann (1987) moved beyond the traditional planning roles featuring top-down, rationale societal guidance to that of an activist or radical planning role that challenges capitalist state structures (p.10-11). He argued for societal transformation to "re-center political power in civil society" (p.13), through a struggle for collective self-determination and self-production of life (p. 61). Others, like Sager (2012), argued that communicative planning through deliberative democracy methods legitimizes the public interest by determining what choices and why they should be made (p.39). He frames it as a social technology because it links planning and political processes and systems, it pools diverse information and judgments, and challenges power relationships that weaken opportunities for self-determination (p.35).

Progressive planners have worked hard to address equity through participatory processes. In the 1990s, for example, Port Alegre, Brazil began experimenting with participatory budgeting that has led to more efforts in Brazil, Europe, Canada and the United States (Friedmann, 2008, p.253). Later in the decade, Leonie Sandercock's radical planning practices heard the voices of First Nations, women, gays and lesbians and others often in the fringes (Friedmann, 2008, p.253). First Nations work has been documented by Libby Porter (2004) who explores cross-cultural learning, (post)colonial structures and power relationships with Indigenous people in Australia, highlighting a need to unlearn individual privilege and critically reflect on our personal and professional roles in equality, power relationships and recognition of rights (p.105). She argues that without recognition of indigenous rights, radical or democratic practices will not change attitudes or societal structures that perpetuate inequalities (Porter, 2004, p.105).

The progressive planning movement has continued to grow yet its views are often

marginalized within the profession as compared to prominent reformist or technicist streams (Marcuse, 2012. p.237). Friedmann (2008) suggests that the largest shift in theoretical planning will include whole-society process-based perspectives rather than relying on technocratic approaches (p.254). He argues that this will require a change in thinking to include planning as a political art, with an awareness of power differentials and implications, and an understanding of planners' roles as one of political actors directly engaged in processes rather limited roles as mean advisors or facilitators (p.254). The future of planning theory, he argues, should include a philosophical task, adapting practice to constraints of scale, complexity and time, and the ability to translate knowledge from other disciplines for use in planning (p.248). He goes a step further to question if planning theory and practice would benefit from an evolution of practice from a value-based to a human-centred philosophy, to help move values into action (p.249).

In moving beyond facilitation, Friedmann (2011) defines *radical planner* as mediators between transformative theory and radical practice (p.60). In a similar vein, Marcuse (2011) describes a *critical social justice planner* as one who critically questions the motives of people in power and challenges them to adopt the goal of social justice. Healey (2012) defines *progressive planning* as "a form of collective action, or governance – 'place governance with a planning orientation'" (p.199). She describes this commitment with five attributes: future-oriented with action now for future potential; livability and sustainability for all people, focus on interdependence and interconnections between phenomena over space and time, expand on informed public action, and transparent government processes in the public realm (p.199). To move toward resilient futures, Campanella and Godschalk (2012) argue that planners need to research and

explore a new leadership role of the planner as activist through increased creativity, consensus building and activist innovation (p.233). Chatterton (2010) issued a "call to arms" for planners and related disciplines to seek the urban commons, social justice outcomes and scrutinize the work planners do for these objectives (p.625). Creating more strength within the planning profession and mobilizing communities to gain democratic power have the potential to create more equitable environments.

With better processes, including increased dialogue among more participants and competent facilitators (Sager, 2012, p.37), there is potential for better plans and, therefore, more informed public influence in decision-making and future actions (Hopkins, 2012, p. 16). Sandercock (2005) believes that even with the inherent challenges and uncertainty of acting on big plans, it is worth the effort to build democracy and learning potential (p.441).

2.2 The Right to the City

Henri Lefebvre, a French Marxist philosopher and sociologist explored *Le Droit a la ville* (1968) or the right to the city as a theory for critique of the everyday and it became a slogan for social mobilization. Many planning theorists and activists have been influenced by Lefebvre, argue for the *right to the city* and have been working on social justice issues in communities for a long time. But the idea is being reinvigorated at a time when tensions are building between political decision-makers and citizens. There are many approaches for broad social change at the city scale. Some social movements have built from personal experience and struggle, never having heard of or having the need for Lefebvre's concept (Harvey, 2012, p.xii). Yet their visions are similar. The right to the

city is not a blueprint or a complete alternative way of life. Rather, for Boer and de Vries (2009) it provides a foundation for critical analysis of decision-making processes that could lead to change through urban revolution (p.1322). It can be used as a frame, they suggest, to link different social movements and stakeholders addressing similar social issues (p.1328). It can also provide a clear message to help understand complex problems, work on flexible and broadly applicable topics (e.g. processes, poverty) and reframe radical concepts to appeal more to mainstream media, politicians, "inactive neighbors," and for working inside movements (p.1329).

For Brenner, Marcuse and Mayer (2012), the RTTC examines and proposes how cities and urban life can be envisioned beyond commodification and capitalist processes, to uncover the root causes of unequal political, economic and spatial city patterns (p.1). Marcuse (2009) outlines a set of principles to identify the intent of the right to the city for a democratic society including "justice, equity, democracy, full development of human potentials or capabilities, to all according to their needs, from all according to their abilities, the recognition of human differences" (p.193). He strives to expose injustice, propose, and politicize alternatives and transform cities to meet the needs of oppressed people (p.185). Schmid (2012) argues that Lefebvre's understanding of the right to the city suggests a "generalized form of self-management" and goes farther than interpretations by Friedmann in which the streets belong to the people; or Harvey where the right for citizens to control and create new forms of urbanization processes (Schmid, 2012, p.59). Lefebvre describes a right to self-determination and transformation, to create a different society that strives for more than survival and a right to exist (Schmid, 2012, p.59). Harvey (2012) elaborates and frames the RTTC as an active right to re-

create everyday lives and cities in an alternative socialist vision that finds solutions to social and environmental inequalities, not simply as the right to the existing city (p.138).

Marcuse (2009) identifies two groups of people who would benefit from changes to unequal societal structures: those deprived of basic standards of living and legal rights; and the discontent or alienated who perceive structural limits to their potential for growth and creativity (p.190). Harvey (2012) is more specific in encouraging students, immigrants, underemployed coalitions, creative workers and artists to join forces (p.163) to question material and political ideas of collective citizenship, sovereignty and self-determination and to link space, identity, class and power (p.160). Purcell (2002) identified two core concepts related to the RTTC (Boer & de Vries, 2009, p.1322), a continuous struggle to participate in collective decision-making and appropriation of urban space rights, and the legal application and enforcement of democratic rights (p.1328). Advocates of the RTTC, call for all inhabitants, not only *citizens*, "to exercise full influence on all decisions made in respect to the production of space and the city" (p.1322) and to challenge how space is prioritized for producing economic value rather than use value of its inhabitants (p.1322).

The right to the city is often criticized for having a broad scope, lack of content and focus. But this feature, argue Boer and de Vries (2009) has the potential to connect different groups and social movements with framework to create agreement, themes and agendas (p.1328). Yet Marcuse (2009) cautions that it is ineffective in creating a more concrete vision of the future as it is only through the process and experiences of people trying to reach those goals that democratic ideals and practices can be shaped (p.194). For Lefebvre, urban transformation or revolution will succeed if unity and difference cease to

be in opposition (Schmid, 2012, p.59). By making inequalities more visible, there is potential to increase awareness and learning, to empower by naming discontent and to build a collective movement to reduce oppression.

For Harvey (2012), the city as a whole is a site of class struggle, production and use of surplus capital and the struggle should not be isolated in factories or unions (p.135). He explains how cycles of continuous growth and surpluses are used in processes of global urbanization and are required for capitalism to succeed (p.12). Surplus capital in urban development often values profit over the well being of people and the accumulation of private property is a form of political control through displacement and dispossession of the poor (p.15). Privatization of the extraction of land and property rent from the commons, limits the ability for the social practice of "commoning," the collective and non-commodified use of the commons (p.73; see also Chatterton, 2010, p.626). Harvey (2012) notes that the right to the city has been proposed as an ideology with which to gain "democratic control over the production and use of the surplus" as a tool to redistribute wealth (p.22).

Mayer (2012) describes two points around which to mobilize around that have both global and local implications (p.69). The first is to confront neoliberal growth politics as seen through the competitive goals, form and impacts that corporate development has on cities (p.68); and the second is to address the neoliberalization of social and labour market policies (p.69). Harvey (2012) recommends a new approach to organize labour, by geography and sector (p.134-35). This would aim to create a stronger link between issues of culture, gender and dispossession and solidarity within and between political living and work environments (p.133-4). The anti-capitalist struggle is

at the root of class relations of production and, therefore, requires more fair and equal methods that create self-worth through self-determination (p.122). For instance, DeFilippis, Fisher and Shragge, (2010) cites the example of alternative service organizations, such as worker-owned co-operatives, democratize ownership and management through participation, decision-making structures, and link advocacy to employment (p.94-5).

Harvey (2012) describes three dimensions that should be addressed to determine appropriate solutions, formulations, organizational forms and political agendas; poverty, environmental degradation and compound growth and dominant class (p.127). To attempt this he suggests that labour union movements need to better connect to local communities and their role in the production and reproduction of urban life, at the point of production, living space and where surplus value is used (p.138-140).

2.2.1 Critical Urban Theory

According to Brenner, Marcuse and Mayer (2012), critical urban theory argues for the right to the city by analyzing the intersection of urbanization and capitalism through changing power relations in systemic socio-spatial and political-institutional arrangements and the implications for marginalized people (p.5). It draws from the critique of political economy by Karl Marx through "other ways of organizing material life, social capacities, and society/nature relations" (Brenner, 2012, p.13). The theory focuses research on points of conflict, crisis and contradiction within the city to develop interventions that can create more "progressive, socially just, emancipatory, and sustainable formations of urban life" (Brenner et al. 2012, p.5) by rejecting neoliberal forms of knowing (Brenner, 2012, p.11). Critical urban theory looks at how to work with

"difference and disagreement (and thus the challenge to negotiate), incommensurability (no reason to think that diverse interests and concerns can be monetized, for example) and historical relational interdependence" (Forester, 2012, p.12). Rankin (2012) links normative planning theory and critical urban theory because they both seek to analyze, predict and develop criteria to judge political and capitalist norms, advocate for revolutionary change and question "the ends in relation to the means of practice," something that only a few planning professionals do (p.102).

To apply critical theory Brenner (2012) argues that one must look at four areas: theory (i.e. intentionally abstract, reflecting knowledge and philosophy of urban processes), reflexive (i.e. critical consciousness of power and historical relations), requires critique of instrumental reason (i.e. normative questioning of means and ends in the reproduction of urban space) and highlights the disconnect between the actual and the possible (i.e. possible to work within existing systems while working to change them) (p. 19). Critical theory then applies the critique to itself, to adapt with the world. As capitalism and urban contexts change, becoming increasingly global and complex, so must the theory be reevaluated and reconceptualized (p.19). Today, radical efforts continue to inspire a new generation of planners to translate critical urban theory knowledge into radical urban practice (Marcuse, 2009, p.194).

2.2.2 Right to the City Precedents

The following precedents demonstrate how interdisciplinary teams including city planners, governments, and citizens have begun to apply the right to the city in various parts of the world.

A World Charter on the Right to the City was developed by social activists, non-

governmental organizations and networks at the World Urban Forum and Social Forum of the Americas in 2004. It is an instrument intended to recognize an international human rights system of collective rights, responsibilities and measures of social justice and sustainability (World Urban Forum, 2004). This approach is supportive of individual rights that are present in Canada's Charter of Rights and Freedoms, for example, but seeks more societal mobilization to change urban processes and outcomes (Wigle & Zárate, 2012, p. 35). The World Charter on the Right to the City applies to economic, social, cultural and environmental rights to access to public services, housing, education, work, culture and leisure, health and the environment. Principles include: the social function and common ownership of the city and property; the ability to exercise citizenship, equality and non-discrimination; protection for marginalized people and groups; private sector responsibility of social solidarity and equality; enhancing economic solidarity; and imposing progressive policies (World Charter, 2004).

In addition, the principle of democratic management of the city includes provisions for: sustainable and equitable urban development, participation in the design of the city budget, transparency in management of the city, and a right to public information (World Charter, 2004). Civil and political rights include: liberty and integrity, political participation, the right of association, assembly, expression and the democratic use of public space, the right to justice and the right to public scrutiny and to coexistence based on peace, solidarity and multiculturalism (World Charter, 2004).

Local groups or alliances work to apply the right to the city, using the charter as a guide adapting it to their local priorities and context. Boer and de Vries (2009) describe some of right to the city interpretations. *La Chartre Montréalaise*, (the Montreal Charter)

for example is focused on the maintenance of individual rights and reform agendas as compared to collective political struggle (p.1323). The *Estatuto da Ciudade Brasil,* or the Brazilian City Statute, developed in 2001 is a close application of original radical concepts of the right to the city including: "the regulation of informal settlements and democratization of urban governance" and a law that prioritizes the social function of land or real estate over the right to private property, which includes consideration of surplus value for societal benefit (p.1323). Institutionalization of the Statute began in 2003 with a the development of the Ministry of Cities that oversaw the national coordination and framework of urban reform with over 1400 municipal plans toward a "new legal order" (Wigle & Zárate, 2012, p.36). Political commitment to enforcing the RTTC concepts in municipal plans is still to be seen, especially when displacement of Favela residents is occurring in preparation for the World Cup in 2014 and the Olympics in 2016.

Mexico City's Charter for the Right to the City was signed in 2010, after approximately 5000 people took part in a process to define its scope (Wigle & Zárate, 2012, p.35). The implementation of the Charter is proving to be challenging and, according to Wigle and Zárate (2012) ongoing social mobilization is required to enact and defend hard fought rights (p.35). Protests in support of the Charter tend to be at the local scale related to impacts of urbanization processes and elite spaces rather than connecting at the larger city scale and root causes (p.37). Multiple strategies to integrate the Charter into institutional structures have been devised by local action committees. They review new and existing laws, and promote, educate and gain commitment for implementation from elected officials, bureaucrats, community-based organizations and

citizens within the cities (Wigle & Zárate, 2012, p.37).

The Right to the City Alliance began in 2007 and is based in the United States. Members from forty-seven community based organizations and allies from thirteen states (www.righttothecity.org/) and Liss (2012) recounts how they apply the RTTC principles while being conscious of inequalities based on class, race and gender in their organizing (p.260). This creates space, he argues, for political debate and understanding of difference. Examples of member work include democratizing the system through voter registration, implementing participatory budgeting or municipal zoning and identifying opportunities for critical consciousness and solidarity (p.260).

While RTTC has been discussed in many cities, its adoption in policy remains limited. For example, the *European Charter for the Safeguarding of Human Rights in the City* was developed in 2000 with over 350 cities supporting the guiding principles, however, this was more a matter of political commitment than legal power (www.idhc.org/eng/131_ceuropea.asp). Article 31 in the Ecuadorian Constitution incorporates RTTC language but is unclear how this is interpreted or applied in planning practices:

> Persons have the right to fully enjoy the city and its public spaces, on the basis of principles of sustainability, social justice, respect for different urban cultures and a balance between the urban and rural sectors. Exercising the right to the city is based on the democratic management of the city, with respect to the social and environmental function of property and the city and with the full exercise of citizenship.
> (http://pdba.georgetown.edu/Constitutions/Ecuador/english08.html).

All of these precedents provide different interpretations and inspiration in which to establish learning and structures to apply right to the city concepts.

2.3 Democracy

Barber (1998) defines democracy as an active process toward "a classless and tolerant form of society" where the "power resides in the people and is exercised by them directly or by means of elected representatives" through a form of government. Fainstein describes it as "the extent to which the city meets popular demand" (quoted in Uitermark 2012, p.201). She suggests that democratic processes can be used for both good and ill, and do not ensure equity or diversity exist (p.201). Uitermark (2012) adds that democracy is where "residents have control over their living environment, that is, they engage with the polity of which they form a part" (p.201). Power resides in people so long as they have knowledge with which to make informed decisions and they choose to use that power. Campbell (2006) however, cautions that with increased societal fragmentation, collective skills such as those useful to genuinely participate in democracies, need to be redeveloped and "social solidarity needs to be politically constructed" (p.101).

2.3.1 Knowledge to Action

For Kim (2011) institutions are products of socially and politically constructed processes; therefore, transformative social change is possible (p.331). They include collaboration, regulations, governance, culture, norms, habits, social networks and information flows, market structures, and localities (p.329), and she describes those that constrain the conditions of marginalized groups, and continue to be actively reinforced by social, economic and government structures (p.332). She notes that planners play a key role in institutional changes that shape urban landscapes through design and governance; through interactions, actions and mediations; and within, between and outside of

institutions (p. 328). Recently there has been increasing interest from planners to research

such institutions (p.329). She suggests that if planners asked citizens the right questions

and provided good opportunities to participate, then new behaviours and expectations

might result in more meaningful policies and institutional change (p. 344).

In order to work towards democracy, Beard and Basolo (2009) suggest a

reorientation for the planning profession is needed to organize the concepts in

Friedmann's knowledge-action framework toward collective self-determination in the

public domain (p.234), described previously in Section 2.1. They expand on Friedmann's

theoretical objectives including good society, and space and power (p.236), and ask how

the collective learning and action of social movements can be integrated into planning

practice (p.237). Building a clear understanding of collective political values and public

interest through widespread public debate is an important task for the profession and the

public (Tait, 2011, p.169). Planners could also extend their professional learning to better

understand how planning is embedded into political institutions (Friedmann, 2008,

p.248).

In identifying how people understand ideas and values and translate them into

action requires reflection on how people learn and strategies to accomplish it. Sandercock

(1999) describes five different ways of knowing that take into account the multiplicity

and diversity that planners should tap: knowledge through dialogue (p.172), learning

from experience-based local knowledge (p.174), learning to read symbolic, non-verbal

evidence, learning through contemplative or appreciative knowledge (p. 176) and

learning by doing or action planning (p.177). More recently, Sandercock (2004) has also

highlighted that planning for cultural diversity requires four key qualities: being

politically active (p.135); for bureaucracies to think long term and transfer control to public decision-making processes (p.136); to develop creative methods and solutions to encourage community leadership and change (p.137); and to use community organizing as a therapeutic process to deal with oppression (p.133).

In learning how to change oppressive norms, Kim (2011) suggests planners use a social cognition approach to study interactions and transactions of interpersonal relationships (p.334). Extending beyond principles of consensus and communicative action, the social cognition approach is broader and understands that many "unimaginable changes" occur outside of official planning meetings; thus she encourages engaging with existing social networks and influential community figures (p.334). Further, she explains that identifying which community members are predisposed to observe and learn new information from within existing social circles, can be a powerful method for planners to network and change perceptions (p.334). She reminds planners that communication is often non-verbal or textual and, therefore, they must be well versed in the language of visual observation (p.335). The social cognition approach also questions where effective planning practice occurs, who should be engaged and what communication methods will resonate with citizens (p.335). This suggests that formal training programs or lectures by consultants or associations may limit community learning potential (p.334). As Forester (2012) has noted, planning processes require assessment of the groups, convening safe spaces for being heard and for listening, mutual learning and inquiry on issues upon which future decisions will be made, and negotiating next steps and actions that practically address concerns and interests (Forester, 2012, p.17).

McKoy and Vincent (2007) recommend situated learning theory for planning

professionals and other groups to better incorporate local context, culture and methods (p.390). Authentic learning experiences are developed through social participation of small groups working together to solve common problems (p.390). Gilchrist (2009) observed that social capital is built through bonding, bridging and linking with close knit groups, colleagues with overlapping interests and going outside of familiar boundaries (p.12). She recommends intermediary bodies to assist community-based organizations to better develop relationships that cross identity and geographic boundaries (p.163). Friedmann (1987) suggests expanding experiential learning within and between sectors or policy areas (p.176-77).

Many strategies have been applied in attempts to change systems from both inside and outside power, and have had varied levels of success. Friedmann (1987) ranked institutional approaches on a continuum based on their ability to link knowledge to action, from least to most progressive: social reform, policy analysis, social learning, and social mobilization (p.11). Two main political strategies in social mobilization, include politics of disengagement and confrontational politics (p.83). Two areas planners need to better acknowledge and understand include subversive actions behind deviance and non-participation (Rankin, 2012, p.110). Along similar lines, DeFillipis et al. (2010) discuss approaches to mobilization that can be used in attempts to change oppressive structures (p.22). They argue that systemic change requires diverse and parallel approaches to successfully move towards social justice.

Radical and reformist agendas have often been viewed as having contradictory relationships to each other, yet little research has been conducted to determine how they interact in practice. Boer and de Vries (2009), however, cite one example, in Barceloneta,

a district of Barcelona, Spain, the application of a right to the city lens, demonstrates that although individual rights through reform were more often realized, the radical politics for collective rights had better results (p.1329). Experts also described reformist methods led to "'social peace' in which the action readiness and the autonomy of social movements will decrease," whereas radical politics led to an increased voice and a more balanced power dynamic in the neighbourhood (p.1329). Boer and de Vries argue that critical consciousness and active participation in everyday life are both needed. The power lies in the continuous exercising of collective rights, building networks and relationships, and that concrete achievements will follow (p.1329). Examples of alternative approaches (including both reform and radical to various degrees) shared combinations of the following elements: decommodification of the production and distribution of societal needs, central state power through fully democratic processes, organizing social movements, coalitions and networks beyond local geography to connect with larger scale initiatives, and creating more public spaces in cities for debate and collective action. Planners could benefit from considering what approaches can have the most positive public interest impact, learning from the strategies and outcomes of the past.

The idea of "non-reformist reforms" is to work within the dominant structure while creating practical conditions for more radical reform over time (Fraser 2003, p.79 quoted in Fainstein, 2010, p.18). Harvey (2012) identifies participatory budgeting or living wages to be based on a reformist ideology but that the efforts may lead to building of a revolutionary movement (p.136). Social learning is a collective effort but also an inner journey for self-acceptance, learning empathy, and patience to cooperate with diverse people. Social learning is an integral component in building community capacity,

or unlearning oppressive practices but it does not strive to change existing power relationships as social mobilization or radical planning strives for (Friedmann, 1987, p.222). Another example is historical materialism, one stream of the most progressive method, social mobilization (i.e. other streams include utopianism and social anarchism). It is in opposition of social reform, seeking collective self-reliance outside of capitalist systems (Friedmann, 1987, p.225). Historical materialism is understood based on a "unity of opposites", the interdependence of economy, culture, ideas and institutions in the production of a material base, a critique of capitalism through class struggle is expressed through the distribution of resources and space, and political actions require critical consciousness and structural social change (Friedmann, 1987, p.227-8). It could be useful for planners and community organizers to understand various learning methods and strategies, and debate how they support or hinder collective efforts toward democracy, rights, justice, ethics and political participation. In order for the planning profession or community-based groups to function politically, Friedmann (1987) identifies that physical and mental space at a variety of scales must be available to successfully participate.

3.3.2 Democratic Space

Public space provides a social function of the city. Prerequisites for genuine participation include freedom to gather in physical space, to debate public values, to be free from poverty and free from fear of dominant ideologies (Friedmann, 1987, p.346; Tait, 2011, p.169). Yet capitalist production imposes social costs, or externalities, onto political and physical commons that limit participation, similar to a tax, but without appropriate representation or access to resources (Friedmann, 1987, p.369; Harvey, 2012, p.85). To

overcome this, civil society must reclaim "a genuine political life with widespread citizen involvement; territorial autonomy in production and politics; the collective self-production of life; and the discovery of one's individuality in the context of specific social relations" (Friedmann, 1987, p.387; see also Harvey, 2012, p.xvi). Critical urban theory, according to Brenner (2012) "emphasizes the politically and ideologically mediated, socially contested and therefore malleable character of urban space – that is, its continual (re)construction as a site, medium and outcome of historically specific relations of social power" (p.11). Marcuse notes that power relations are most visibly expressed through architecture and design in "the extent of public space, of recreational opportunities, of access and mobility, of environmental quality, of the differential management, maintenance, and indeed the availability of infrastructure" (Flierl and Marcuse, 2012, p.232).

Communities are made up of people with both competing and common interests that often transcend real or perceived boundaries. Communities are often assumed to be neutral and good places, but they are always sites of contestation and change (DeFilippis et al. 2010, p.16). As planning becomes more collaborative, democratic planning literature has been criticized for romanticizes communities as "repositories of local democracy, local knowledge and progressive potential," (Sandercock, 2005, p. 440) yet planners cannot forget that communities often choose to be exclusionary. Ostrom describes two factors related to the commons; the level of enclosure and scale of effective organizing (cited in Harvey, 2012, p.70). Enclosure is described as "a temporary political means to pursue a common political end" (cited in Harvey 2012, p.70). It can be a geographical location used to preserve something, a frame for action such as a

neighbourhood seeking local autonomy, or a community building used for activism (p.70-1). Groups, usually those in power, define the level of exclusion or openness to the use of common goods such as knowledge, social practices or natural resources (p.73). Community organizing may occur to transform spaces into political commons for people to gather for dialogue, debate and build solidarity when people are excluded from or included in those common goods. Harvey (2012) describes this as one of the most effective methods in gaining access to oppressive practices (p.161). Such *autonomous geographies*, a term coined by Pickerill and Chatterton (2006), exist at multiple scales, and in-between and overlap other spaces (p.730).

Friedmann (1987) describes political communities at the spatial scales of the household, the workplace and home region, the developing world and the global community (p.14). Planning theory tends to prioritize democracy and justice at a local community scale. This is an important site for claiming space for social change, collective memory, production and reproduction, political meaning and social relationships (DeFilippis et al. 2010, p.168) and redistribution of authority for democracy (Magnusson, 2011, p.158). For Campbell (2006), planning theory has contributed to justice at the local level but has done it a disservice at the national and global levels (p.104). Through patterns of globalization, interconnected relationships on all scales reinforce the need for reciprocal responsibilities to strangers (p.100). In building trust and relationships, Tait (2011) suggests analysis that goes beyond interpersonal interactions to connect individuals, institutions and ideological levels (p.158). It is also useful to expand beyond geographical-, identity- or interest-based objectives to understand the interactions of the political economy and broader society. The challenge

in shifting from one scale to another is that solutions at one scale do not usually translate easily to another scale (Harvey, 2012, p.70). Yet community organizing which is the process of building community power (Diers, 2004, p.170) has the potential to increase its power and impact if it connects local issues with a common frame on a national scale (Liss, 2012, p.262).

2.3.3 Planning Contributions to Democratic Theory

Few planners have made contributions to democratic theory because they have typically focused on the local level (Friedmann, 2008, p.250). Hajer and Wagenaar's (2003) research explores the relationships of planning and political science and the shift in language from *government* to *governance*, and from a focus on outcomes to social change processes (p.2-3). At the same time, a network society has emerged, that has increased the access of marginalized groups to decision-making powers. This has changed relationships between politics and policymaking, state and society, collective learning and conflict resolution (p.6; DeFilippis, et al. 2010, p.13) and created opportunities for more public participation. With greater access to information and feedback, Hajer and Wagenaar (2003) argue that citizens and policy makers need to determine what kind of knowledge or evidence is politically relevant to society and how is the relationship between analysis and democracy conceptualized (p.15). They identify challenges in building democracy including: reinvented political spaces that acknowledge working within conditions of "radical uncertainty", and the dynamics of difference, trust and identity within a common interdependence (p.8).

Purcell (2002) interprets Lefebvre's vision of the right to the city as an "urban politics of the inhabitant" (p.100). This process can either be used to challenge

oppression and begin an urban revolution, or create new forms of domination in social

and spatial environments (p.100). Purcell (2008) identifies a range of democratic

ideologies that have various levels of success in accessing the system. Deliberative and

participatory forms of democracy are useful in building dialogue but, as Sager (2011)

notes, are easily co-opted (p.78). Revolutionary democracy requires economic, political

and cultural transformation of society not just methods for dialogue, or the ability to vote

(Purcell, 2008, p.57). Radical pluralism critiques democratic ideologies to synthesize

democratic attitudes and provide alternative ways forward (p.61). Purcell (2008) argues,

however, that spatial and urban elements that "demands a right to be present in the city,

to inhabit it, to occupy it, and use it as a political forum" are missing in these ideologies

(p.75-6). He seeks opportunities for planners to meld democratic attitudes with the spatial

and urban elements of the right to the city and critical urban theory (p.61).

Purcell's (2008) democratic attitudes, using radical pluralism as a base, can

provide common ground for diverse groups to debate about shared elements of neoliberal

oppression (p.76). He suggests:

- A commitment to oppose neoliberalism; its values create democratic deficits and growing inequality raises questions about the political legitimacy of governments who follow it (p.83);
- Rejecting the pairing of neoliberalism with liberal democracy that allegedly seeks to democratize corporations and institutions that control capital (p.76-7);
- Reject claims that the goal of democratic decision-making is to achieve consensus or the common good, instead support marginalized groups efforts to mobilize themselves with social movement models for democratic outcomes (p.77);
- Build diverse, agonistic (i.e. theory that accepts political conflict as a necessary step toward democracy) coalitions that retain their autonomy but struggle together to fight inequality (p.82); and
- Moving radical democratization and equalization into areas it has been excluded from within private and public spheres and as John Dryzek states, determine levels of authenticity in democratic participation (Dryzek 1996, in Purcell, 2008, p.83-4).

While Purcell focuses on a vision for democratic attitudes, other researchers focus on evaluating current systems at various scales. De Souza Briggs (2008), for example, describes how democracy can be evaluated on the inclusiveness of public decision-making and effectiveness of dealing with public problems (p.314). The governance types are classified on the range from effective democracy, incompetent democracy (i.e. disengaged formalism, activist impasse) to effective autocracy and incompetent autocracy (p.314).

On another scale, Agger and Löfgren (2008) focus on the "micro-level local arrangements for citizen involvement" (p.151). They highlight the assessment of the quality of collaborative planning input, processes and outcomes that have often been overlooked in democratic and planning frameworks or theories (p.145). Democratic evaluation "identifies the extent to which democratic values are either enhanced, or undermined, by certain institutions or practices" rather than by the success or failure of outcomes that are common in policy process evaluations (p.148). The democratic criteria they developed combine modern democratic theory, universal principles, and democratic norms of collaborative planning to assess collaborative planning in institutional settings (p.148-9). They include: "public access to political influence, public deliberation, development of adaptiveness, accountability and finally, the development of political identities and capabilities" (p. 147). They argue these are good base criteria but the difficulty lies in systematically evaluating democratic components and norms, which is still a relatively new venture for the planning discipline (p.148). Even if a process is deemed to be undemocratic, most planners are not trained to do more than expose factors that prevent democracy (Marcuse, 2012, p.147).

2.3.4 Democratic Planning Precedents

This section explores democratically-based precedents as potential planning building blocks to support the right to the city movement. The Urban Land Institute and the Seattle Department of Neighborhoods are two examples that illustrate how coordinated processes, organizational structures, and active participation from politicians, professionals and citizens can increase democratic methods and outcomes in planning and politics.

The Urban Land Institute (ULI), based in Washington, D.C, established the non-profit Daniel Rose Center for Public Leadership in 2008. Its purpose is to encourage excellence in land use decision-making through professional development, leadership training and technical planning expertise about local challenges (Urban Land Institute, 2012). It shares, planning information, promising practices, networks, and resources are with public officials over a year long Fellowship in seeking to develop more sustainable and practical policies for cities (Urban Land Institute, 2012). Participating cities are visited by planning experts and Fellows to assist in integrated problem solving for public benefit often associated with political risk, public-private collaboration and stakeholder roles (Urban Land Institute, 2012). Topics discussed include real estate market economics, creative public finance tools, urban demographics, infrastructure and sustainability and the decision-making processes. Jess Zimbabwe, the current executive director of the Center, also worked on the Mayor's Institute on City Design. The Mayor's Institute worked with US mayors to promote the use planning and design as tools to advocate for livability and diversity (James, 2002). Educational models such as these have the potential to build interdisciplinary connection with planning knowledge at the

expert level, to create opportunities for on-going dialogue, to focus priorities and to develop solutions.

The Seattle Department of Neighborhoods (DON), initiated in 1988, works within government; it helps community residents empower themselves through civic discourse, democratic processes and hands-on projects (Government of Seattle, 2013). This occurs by increasing community power to act on issues including neighbourhood planning, increasing access to politicians and city staff, building trust and cultivating an active city culture. The DON provides programs including Neighborhood Matching Funds grants, the People's Academy for Community Engagement (PACE) and neighborhood service centers (Government of Seattle, 2013).

Neighborhood Matching Grants projects are initiated by resident proposals, and must involve and reflect the diversity of the community before they are approved by a citizen panel and then City Council (Government of Seattle, 2013). Matching grants are an important revenue source for the City since they leverage community money and create a sense of ownership and community (Diers, 2004, p.165). Jim Diers (2004) notes that this is an investment the City can not afford *not to* make, when citizens are willing to, in effect, tax themselves for projects their communities require (p.172). The program has had tremendous impact with $49 million in grants for 4,000 projects, $72 million in community matching grants and 500,000 volunteer hours contributed (Government of Seattle, 2013).

A City Neighborhood Council, composed of elected members from District Councils, provides a forum for discussion, coordination and advise for the Neighborhood Matching Funds, and other programs (Government of Seattle, 2013). Skills to enable

wide participation in these processes were developed through the PACE program. It provides residents with leadership, facilitation and community organizing skills, and methods for accessing government, inclusive civic engagement, and conflict management (Government of Seattle, 2013). Neighbourhood service centres or "little city halls" are another initiative to increase citizen access to government information and programs, and acts as an anchor business for community development (Diers, 2004, p.47).

These initiatives changed the focus of citizens from one of fighting city hall and development, to questions of how citizens could make their communities better with support from City (Diers, 2004, p. 67). Empowered citizens built capacity and leadership through volunteerism and create long-term investment in political endeavours (p.77). Diers highlights the importance of making connections and encouraging collaboration at all levels between, for example, City departments, organizations, districts or neighbourhoods, and schools (p.147). The success of these programs depends on the level of commitment and meaningful participation, capacity built and institutionalization of programs and processes, and ability to adapt to changing circumstances (p.174).

Jim Diers was a community organizer instrumental in the development of the DON programs. Reflecting on the process, John Forester (2012) reported that Diers thinks planners should strive to be organizers who empower community voices, create meaningful relationships and encourage action on issues they are passionate about (p.20). Processes for political mobilization include open and active listening, acknowledging that all participants and facilitators are learning together, and co-generating information, inquiry and action (p.21-2). The purpose of these strategies is to enable people to do what they can for themselves, rather than creating dependence (p.18). Diers (March 7, 2011)

suggested that governments and democracy work better if pressure to change derives from citizens rather than regulations (Winnipeg, Manitoba, presentation, personal communication notes).

Diers (2011) recommends training for government and community leaders who want to serve on planning committees. A paradigm shift is needed to alter government and citizen relationships. Creative planning educational models and training processes in communities and government have the potential to shift power relationships, increase learning and participation and mobilize alternative institutional methods.

2.4 Rights

In trying to realize rights, actions depend on social relationships that enable or limit actions of other people (Campbell, 2006, p. 95). Just as communities include or exclude people, so do sets of democratic rights open up or constrain activities that try to ensure "the right not to be marginalized in decision-making" (McCann, 2005 in Attoh, 2011, p.676). In seeking the commons, Harvey (2012) argues that analysts and decision-makers must try not to protect one common at the expense of another but decide whose interest to protect and how (p.71). Rights require an acknowledgement of reciprocal obligations to others in a community, or they are meaningless. Therefore, rights must be thought of as larger than the individual, in a relational context that describes a shared human experience or "community of common interests" (Harvey, cited in Campbell 2006, p.95).

It can be difficult for planners to judge whose rights are to be given, and Kim (2011) notes the different priorities given the many polarizing ideologies – state versus market, public versus private, bottom up versus top down, incremental versus rational

(p.329). Instead of focusing on these engrained political dualities, Kim suggests an institutional approach to planning that seeks to understand broader issues, situations and variables, and how to integrate and negotiate dualities within current events in order to create solutions (p.329). Making difficult decisions to create community change requires openness to uncertainty, experimentation and adaptability (Pickerill & Chatterton, 2006, p.743). Campbell (2006) argues that planners need be able to reflect critically on substantive value positions and understand the potential for fallibility of judgments (p.103).

Attoh (2011) suggests that right to the city scholars clarify differences in rights definition, applications, conflicts and measurability as they determine what kind of cities are physically and politically shaped through resistance in the maintenance of those rights (p.678). He defines three types of rights to consider in framing the right to the city; legal rights, first, second and third generation rights, and moral rights (p.670).

Legal rights and their practical application include one or a combination of four basic types of rights including: claim rights (i.e. duties implied in attaining rights), liberty rights (i.e. defines freedom from duty); and secondary rights (i.e. individuals or groups can adapt or ignore existing legal entitlements) that include powers that change legal relationships and immunities that allow to be "free of another's legal power" (Hohfeld in Attoh, 2011, p.671).

First generation rights are "traditional liberties and privileges of citizenship" such as free speech and a right to vote (Waldron in Attoh, 2011, p.671). Attoh (2011) argues that first generation rights cannot be considered in isolation of second generation rights or without a principle relating to the distribution of means of material well-being (p.671).

Second generation rights refer to socio-economic entitlements such as material poverty or fair wages. They require a foundation in justice theory to determine what appropriate trade-offs for whose rights are recognized (p.671). Very different policy outcomes emerge depending on the how the relationship between these rights are perceived (Attoh, p.672).

Attoh (2011) defines *third generation rights*, or solidarity rights, as those seeking to protect common goods associated with communities, peoples or groups such as national self-determination, environmental values or co-operative production (p.672). Most commonly, arguments against third generation rights as a basis for the right to the city include infringement of individual rights over collective rights (p.672). One example occurred at Bolivia's 2010 World People's Conference on Climate Change and the Rights of Mother Earth, where a *Universal Declaration of the Rights of Mother Earth* was developed to support collective rights (http://therightsofnature.org). These rights may be difficult to enforce but have the potential to change cultural relationships and behaviour.

Finally, *moral rights* are tested by constitutional laws, challenge the status quo and are judged by peers so that they "protect individuals that act in ways that a democratic majority deems unacceptable" (Dworkin, quoted in Attoh, 2011, p.672-3). For Attoh, the value of the right to the city lies in its ability to gather diverse political struggles together in solidarity while trying to address basic needs for survival (p.678). It must also examine the institutionalization of rights and debate "the degree to which all rights, including rights to the city, pose costs, necessitate trade-offs and may come at the expense of other rights we deem important" (p.679).

The concept of collective rights, Jovanovic (2005) observes, has largely had an

"unacknowledged presence" in the legal world (p.650). The development of theory has

been limited and difficult due to sociological and cultural issues (p.650). This includes:

the classification of collective rights, clearly defining "representativeness" (p.644),

fluidity of group membership and definition of interconnected boundaries through non

oppressive processes and outcomes (p.650). Jovanovic asks questions about the

unintended discriminatory impacts, the theoretical dilemmas and legal criteria for

defining collective rights, and who is entitled to be "moral and legal rights bearers"

(p.625).

Diverse groups such as women or people with disabilities share traits, but

Jovanovic (2005) argues that they are not qualified to hold specified moral rights on the

same level as a culturally entwined minority group such as Indigenous people because

their physical existence has not historically been threatened (p.636-7). Without a clear

identity, marginalized groups are unable to attain moral standing and, therefore, cannot

claim rights to physical or cultural survival based on ethnic, religious or linguistic

identities (p.637). Other challenges revolve around group membership, including

recognition of rights and who is "entitled to exercise this collective right on behalf of the

group" (p.643). Jovanovic deems collective rights are sustainable if "we are to recognize

the intrinsic, non-instrumental value of certain collective entities" (p.630).

How can unrecognized collective entities, such as homeless people, gain group

rights – e.g. their right to housing? Or groups who already have claim to minority rights,

such as First Nations peoples, get governments to follow through on their commitments?

What about societal impacts of capitalism or climate change as a result of human

activities of over consuming natural resource that threatens physical and cultural

survival? Such questions about rights cross boundaries of ethnicity, religion and language. Collective autonomy is "a given society's or group's self-rule through the freedom of its institutions and equal participation in institutions" (Pickerill & Chatterton, 2006, p.733-4). Collective autonomy can be applied on various levels and occurs through direct action founded on four principles: "political ownership and control; cultural and media literacy; the self-determination of organizational forms; and economic self-reliance" (Carmen in Pickerill & Chatterton, 2006, p.734). Common autonomous characteristics include personal freedom, faith in collective processes, rejection to routes of power, independence from political parties, self-management, and constant negotiation between the global and local, the actually existing conditions and the future alternative in progress, resistance and creation (Pickerill & Chatterton, 2006, p.734 & p.736-7). Autonomy can be used as a tool to reinvent political and socio-spatial strategies in everyday life through urban social centres, direct democracy, spokesperson councils, voluntary organizations, or open source software (p.734). Autonomous relationships are often discounted by capitalist systems, as they do not measure up to capitalist indicators of seeking power, political leadership or organizational coherence (p.739). Measurement within new autonomous frames, spaces and movements are also difficult to frame due to the intangibility or ambiguity of culture, politics and spatiality (p.739). The creation of solutions that cross boundaries of ideology, class, age or geography, may require a different rights frame.

Fainstein's (2010) interpretation of the right to the city adds two useful dimensions to the discussion on third generation rights from the environmental movement (p.53). Intergenerational and interspecies relationships are crucial in

developing more equitable long-term plans and broad-based alliances (p.53). George, Whitehouse and Whitehouse (2011) advance that local, intergenerational, reciprocal learning communities should be developed to encourage informed and responsible social, civic, and environmental action to address complex societal problems (p.390). For Fredriksen-Goldsen (2005), this requires acknowledgement of reciprocal rights, obligations and influences at various scales of interaction such as family or culture (p.126). Miller and Siggins (2003) suggest that the goal of intergenerational planning is an interdependent cohesive society accomplished through relationship building, exchanging of skills and ideas, and the development of equitable labour markets, social services, policy and programs (p.22). The idea of intergenerativity encourages breaking down ideological and physical barriers to generate new ideas, relationships and actions concentrated on cooperation between diverse disciplines, generations, and discourses (George, et al, 2011, p.402). Walker (2002) examines the idea of a social contract and explores the ethical base for intergenerational solidarity (p.297). Implications for intergenerational planning activities, social policy and service provision depend on what timeframe decisions are made for (e.g. within a political cycle, within the life course or seven generations), how resources are allocated, and cooperation based organizational forms and structural changes needed to reduce fragmentation and the reproduction of socioeconomic inequalities within and between generations (Walker, 2002, p.297; Miller & Siggins, 2003, p.23-4; Fredriksen-Goldsen, 2005, p.126).

Due to the complicated nature of rights, Nash (2012) suggests that future research should not over simplify the field, but develop theories and methods that enable a "diversity of organizational forms through which human rights are being defined and

claimed, and the complexity of the multi-scalar law through which they are being (partially and controversially) institutionalised" (p.808). Diverse groups defending a range of rights could benefit from working together to strengthen collective rights.

2.5 Justice

Marcuse (2011) describes justice as "the organization of society and the distribution of social benefits." For him, *social justice* is a planning goal that includes individual justice, but overrides it (Marcuse, 2012, p.143). Individual justice and conforming to the law is the concern of lawyers, whereas planners' concern is with "justice of public actions and must therefore advocate for government action in social justice and to determine the 'appropriate role of government'" (p.143). He advocates that planners take an active role in justice because "while negative discrimination is always unjust, the absence of negative discrimination does not make an action just; nondiscrimination is not an adequate definition of justice for planners" (p.149).

Campbell (2006) notes that justice, in the libertarian application, enables individual choice through processes such as deliberation and public reasoning (p.97). The limitation of this is that it places the conversation of values and what is good into the private realm, focusing more on having a fair procedure than determining what a just end would entail. However, determining the content of what is just or reasonable through "open, uncoerced reasoning between free and equal citizens" occurs in the public realm (p.97). She cautions, however, that a democratic or just process does not necessarily equate to a just outcome, and that ideas should not be supported just because they are popular (p.98).

The planning profession would benefit from defining what just processes and outcomes are in order to better advise the public and elected officials. If procedural justice is one goal then a democratic process must be verified. In seeking just distribution of resources Marcuse (2012) identifies three rules:

1. *A rule of hierarchy*, in which the importance of the multiple and potentially conflicting criteria for distribution are rank-ordered (What Distribution?).
2. *A rule of primacy*, in which the "things that are to be shared" are identified and their importance is balanced against the importance of others (The Distribution of What?).
3. *A rule of proportionality*, in which the extent to which criteria are met needs to be balanced against the importance of the criteria (Beyond Distributional Justice?) (p.150, original emphasis).

For Marcuse (2012), equality is not synonymous with justice. Justice does not require an equal distribution of goods and services yet it does require equal access in the political, economic and cultural spheres (p.151). Looking at these spheres respectively, equal access to legal rights, access to basic requirements of life, and respect of individuality and difference (p. 151). Questions about who needs and deserves assistance is a complex debate that reflects on factors such as effort, results, faults and morality (p.150). Society's ability to provide a social safety net is directly related to the debate of proportional justice and the amount that should be redistributed (p.152). A prerequisite for just distribution of resources should be "absolute equality of political rights and political powers" (p. 152).

Even if a democratic public process is implemented and just recommendations made, they may not adopted or given authority within the policy domain (Campbell, 2012, p.139). Planners' abilities to influence complex political environments with public planning values is limited as demonstrated by a survey of Canadian city planners conducted by Witty (2003). Results showed that 59% of respondents agree that the

influence of politics in planning compromises the outcomes, 44% experience a lack of understanding of planning by politicians, and 42% experience a lack of political support for planning (p.29).

In a conventional rational comprehensive approach, planners are often expected to distance themselves from value-based decision-making (Campbell, 2012, p.139). Peiser's (1990) findings support the above statement that planners' voices or advisory roles rarely impact the decision-making of politicians – decisions are often not grounded in evidence and this renders public participation ineffective (cited in Saini, 2010, p.2-3). Planners interviewed in Saini's (2010) research described the limited voice planners have and how they often feel "buried in the [public sector] bureaucracy" (p.122). Saini (2010) interviewed Jeanne Wolfe who believed that "planners have never had the amount of influence that they should have" (p.128). Wolfe also observed how the Canadian Institute of Planners willingness to take positions on public policy issues has decreased since the 1970s when it was successful in raising an alarm on the causes and negative impacts of acid rain (Saini, 2010, p.148-9). Planning leadership is needed to resist, organize and transform dominant societal structures that hinder the pursuit of democracy and justice. Instead planning practitioners are often looking for immediate answers that live in the realm of description and prescription, that often maintain the status quo of systems and practices rather than questioning what ought to be done (Campbell, 2012, p.138; Saini, 2010, p.105). This thwarts public trust in planning and highlights power imbalances. As Tait (2011) notes: "Building trust in the *collective values and ideas* underpinning institutions such as public planning, and in a coherent and persuasive definition of the "public interest" that it serves, becomes a critical task (p.169, original emphasis).

Campbell (2006) argues that planning decisions can never be neutral, and require an acknowledgement of values in decision-making and a re-politicization of actions (p.98). When planners stop playing neutral, objective and technical roles they move into the more personal and therefore political realms, where processes become more complex, unpredictable and require more transparency (Sandercock, 2004, p.134-5). When powerful interests are at play, challenging societal norms can be riskier than being passive (Campbell, 2012, p.143). Yet some risk is required in the pursuit of justice.

2.6 Ethics

Ethics describes a set of principles that outline ideal behaviour and procedures of an individual or group. The planning profession conducts itself based on a code of ethics to broadly determine to whom it is responsible, and what that responsibility entails. Yet having ethics and following rules does not ensure social justice.

Marcuse (cited in Wight 2013) identifies four sources of ethical obligation in planning practice. The first is that planners are human beings, who have rights and responsibilities, who evolve and should be passionate in what they do (p.20). Secondly, planners are citizens with constitutional obligations, who function in the public domain, and interact with the state, market, civil society and the political community. Both civil society and the political community are "equally legitimate" and have "received short shrift, if not active disdain, from the established professional planning community" (Wight, 2013, p.20). The third ethical obligation is the inherent link between planning and democracy in the relationships between ideas, inhabited spaces and the active participation of people in transforming it (p.20). Finally, planning professionalization

through certification, seeks to ensure that a higher level of expertise and therefore additional reciprocal responsibilities are required (p.21). Friedmann (2011) also raises questions about the profession's philosophical position beyond the commonly acknowledged role of public participation (p.211).

The American Institute of Certified Planners (AICP) *Code of Ethics and Professional Conduct* defines their responsibility to the public to include meaningful citizen participation in planning that affects them, the search for social justice and protection of natural environments, among other aspirations (2009). More specifically, the Code enhances the potential for social justice with the following sections (see Appendix A for additional detail):

- considering the rights of others (section 1a);
- seeking social justice, and promoting racial and economic integration, especially for disadvantaged peoples (section 1f);
- creating opportunities for underrepresented groups to become professional planners (section 3g);
- critically analyzing of ethical issues in planning (section 3i); and
- creating a culture of professional volunteerism for groups with limited access to or inadequate planning resources (section 3j).

Although the principles highlight issues related to social justice, Marcuse (2011) argues that the AICP Professional Code of Ethics governs individual and interpersonal conduct and procedures, rather than considering actions or standards based on wider societal values or consequences. Kitchen (2007) also argues that professional codes of conduct often focus on the individual scale and on the reputation of the profession (p.151). Determining what planning actions are unethical depends on social declarations of them being unethical (Marcuse, 2011). Marcuse argues this requires lengthy and wide debate, rather than universal agreement in the creation of programs, goals, or standards

that strive for justice rather than just avoiding injustice. Marcuse (2012) further suggests

that planning codes of ethics need to more clearly commit to justice and how planning

practices addresses it, to have enforceable obligations, and support planners who are

being challenged by an employer, the public or client in their commitment to addressing

ethics and social justice (p.158).

The Canadian Institute of Planners (CIP) with approximately 7000 planners

across Canada are governed by two basic concepts for individual ethics: competence to

know and apply planners' areas of expertise; and integrity to be responsible to judge

without bias (2008). These concepts are applied to the CIP Statement of Values that

speak to the concern for public goods and are open to interpreted by diverse practitioners:

1. To respect and integrate the needs of future generations;
2. To overcome or compensate for jurisdictional limitations;
3. To value the natural and cultural environment;
4. To recognize and react positively to uncertainty;
5. To respect diversity;
6. To balance the needs of communities and individuals;
7. To foster public participation; and
8. To articulate and communicate values. (Canadian Institute of Planners, n.d.)

CIP has prioritized the improvement of national planning standards, labour

mobility, and raising the profile of the profession through a provincial legislative

designation of Registered Professional Planner. This has been done through a process

called *Planning for the Future* (PFF) that seeks to improve competency, ethics and

certification processes in planning and a designation as a Registered Professional Planner

(Canadian Institute of Planners, 2009).

The PFF recommendations were elaborated on through a 2012-2015 Strategic

Plan to strengthen service to members, relationships with affiliates and stakeholders and

become the "national voice" for planning information (CIP 2012, p.4). However, structural power imbalances that influence if and how ethical practice might be realized are not addressed. CIP's priorities appear to focus more on building credibility through membership certification and professionalization rather than how to tackle issues of social justice. PFF addresses the importance of building relationships with government and others to play a larger role in legislation, policy and standards development, but does not describe what that role would look like (CIP, 2009, p.40).

As part of the PFF process, an Ethical Standards Task Force (ESTF) revised the CIP Code of Professional Conduct in 2008, in efforts to maintain and enhance professional integrity and competence. Each affiliate member has the authority to develop its own code of conduct but CIP encourages the use of the minimum national standard, for more consistency and support (Canadian Institute of Planners, 2008, p.3). Factors that vary the adherence include education in planning schools, affiliate continued professional learning, public communication of planners' responsibilities and how to make a claim if ethical practice as not followed (p.3-4). Planners must agree to comply with the Code, while each affiliates agree to administer and enforce it (Canadian Institute of Planners, 2008, p.4). Through discussions the ESTF learned that "complaints are rare, or there should be more, or there is uncertainty in this area" (p.4).

The Manitoba Professional Planners Institute (MPPI) uses CIP's Code of Ethics as a base for their version with minor changes to language not content (see Appendix A or www.mppi.mb.ca/conduct.asp). The Code of Professional Conduct (CPC) explores planners' responsibilities to the public, to clients and employers and to the profession. Creating opportunities for on-going critical reflection on the Code could encourage

professional planning culture to better adapt to the challenges of our time, and become more inclusive and robust. Learning how other planning professions or disciplines address ethical code issues could highlight strategies to assist with this ambiguity.

While the profession determines how to define its role in social justice, mechanisms that enable planners to highlight ethical issues would be useful. Professional support could take the form of member advice or a "whistle-blowers support fund" to financially support planners and lessen risks associated with exposing injustice (Marcuse, 2012, p.159). Diers (2007) notes that many public employees have limited resources to address systemic social issues and are trapped in broken systems (p.27). As an example, Andrew Weremy, the president of Winnipeg Association of Public Service Officers (WAPSO) noted that there is a lack of "protection for employees who wish to speak out regarding actions that are not consistent with the interests of the City, violate policy or are inconsistent with professional ethics" (WAPSO, 2013). WAPSO called on the City of Winnipeg "to pass whistleblower protection laws similar to those that apply to Manitoba government employees" (WAPSO, 2013). While this would be a step to protect planners who are public employees, those in the private sector would still be at risk of losing contracts if they opposed client wishes. Without this protection public sector planners can still be allies to the non-profit sector, and seek to challenge leadership when appropriate to prevent leaders from getting complacent in their positions of power (Diers, 2004, p.10).

Other professions face similar ethical issues. Similar to the planning profession, social work shares a legacy of oppressive practices, advocacy and works within challenging political and structural environments. Through the concept of moral distress,

Weinberg (2009) notes that the social work profession has connected the restrictions professionals feel to act ethically to larger political and structural forces (p.139). Weinberg recommends moving beyond a state in which individual professionals are left to puzzle out ethical dilemmas with limited power and resources, toward a situation that places political responsibility for societal change on the collective agency of the profession (p.144). Mullaly (cited in Weinberg 2009) developed a code of ethics for progressive social workers who do not claim to be neutral agents and defines how practices for social justice manifest themselves at political, physical and geographic levels (p.149). This could be a direction for further interdisciplinary inquiry.

Wight (2013) envisions a new planning ethos that makes the case for the profession's value to the community in challenging the status quo. He suggests roles for planners that link knowledge, with vision and collective action, where public interventions are ethically judged by a "good for the community" test (p.21). Perhaps in the future evolution of the profession, planners will be less concerned with enhancing the professional expert persona and rather transform from a profession that often maintains societal oppression, toward engaged citizen and activist planners.

The principles of democracy, rights, justice and ethics, are present within the complexity of issues planners and citizens apply in practice. It is worthwhile to understand their implications in the reproduction of ideas in space, institutions and processes.

2.7 Community Organizing

The following outlines the interactions collective actors and community-based organizations experience within political contexts, how they represent the meanings and

values of citizens (e.g. identity politics), and the interrelationships with other actors (e.g. conflict). It identifies examples of how city planners might benefit from crossing traditional boundaries into community organizing and participatory planning processes.

Forester (2004), suggests that planning theory needs to reconstruct itself from being about "mechanisms for social control" to provide more political critique, and identify points of access within institutional regimes that would be vulnerable to organized resistance efforts (p.243). Right to the city coalitions, for Mayer (2012), might be considered a new phase of urban social movements and have significant "potential to unify a multiplicity of urban demands under one common banner and thus to create a real challenge to neoliberal planners, politicians and developers" (p.63). They may illustrate how Smith (2005) argues that collective actors can seek to create accountability, educate and generate the public on alternatives, and create credibility in transforming the values and institutions in society (p.34).

Strong community solidarity is commonly found when a group's collective existence is threatened by extreme poverty, unemployment and limited access to state decision-making, and this can develop into social movements of resistance and empowerment for survival (Gilchrist, 2009, p.5; Harvey, 2012, p.141). People are more likely to participate, take collective ownership and fight for "less crime, stronger governance, and better local environmental conditions" if they have secure housing tenure (World Development Report in Harvey, 2012, p.30). Community members who believe in collective efficacy, who work together to challenge and change injustices are stronger when initiated by communities within existing social networks (Gilchrist, 2009, p.16).

Marcuse (2009) explores other organizational forms needed to oppose oppression including forums, coalition building, alliances, movements, assemblies, networks and networks of networks to promote a goal of a democratic society (p.192). Pickerill and Chatterton (2006) also note that organizing ephemeral networks or movements of movements enable cross-fertilization of different group approaches (p.742). For these organizations to succeed, Beard and Basolo (2009) argue that the must identify how formal structures, methods and rules support or hinder collective action is required to resolve complex planning problems (p.237). By understanding root causes and processes that produce social movements, planners could better connect with covert, radical and insurgent methods (p.239).

Conflict plays a central role in community organizing. DeFilippis et al (2010) argue that understanding conflict and power relationships can help develop alternative strategies for countering power influences (e.g. public pressure, media exposure, labour resistance) (p.171). For them, political education and critical analysis can strategically develop a more active political culture by exposing and demystifying central issues of systemic power (i.e. role of class, capital and the state) and inequality (p.180). This can lead to the development of longer-term democratic visions, and broad-based alliances connected to everyday awareness and action (p.180) by "connecting the alternative to the oppositional" (p.172).

Because of the intent of social movements is to challenge institutional authority from the outside, it is often difficult for planners to connect with organizations, despite the potential value (Snow in Bernstein & Armstrong, 2008, p.84). In addition, the loose organization of the group, oppositional power relationships, time and scale are difficult

factors to plan for (Beard & Basolo, 2009, p.239). Even with these challenges, Friedmann (1987) notes that professional and citizen planners continue to facilitate the recovery of political community by strategically coordinating actions of networks and coalitions (p.400) in many small autonomous centres of local knowledge (p.395).

2.7.1 Organizational Structures

When building social movements or community organizations, moving from a small to larger scale of community organizing, from more informal to formal structures, what participatory and accountable organizational models could translate into "new, and more flexible institutions" (Agger & Löfgren, 2008, p.147-8)?

Harvey (2012) describes traditional Left actors as "bedevilled by an all-consuming 'fetishism of organizational form'" (p.125). Determining which institutional or organizational strategies are genuinely democratic or have been co-opted can be challenging (p.82-3). In response, he notes, progressives on the Left have often moved away from democratic centralism, as seen in political parties and labour union organizational structures, to principles of horizontal decision-making, non-hierarchy or radical democracy (p.125). Yet those approaches do not ensure less corruption, can be difficult to implement at larger scales (p.125) and thus limit the ability to oppose existing power structures (p.70). For Harvey (2012), increasing organizational scale raises questions the Left is often reluctant to address, related to consolidation of rebellion power to avoid lapse back to reformist or neoliberal strategy or local level power (p.151). Although Friedmann (1987) notes that loose and informal networks enable more appropriate, self-reliant local actions, space for experimentation, learning and mobilization with diverse worldviews of the issues (p.395), Harvey (2012) observes that

it is a constant uphill battle for alternative visions competing with embedded state institutions of law, policing and administration among others (p.151). Harvey outlines the need for a higher authority to mandate and enforce a redistribution of wealth, opportunities and potentially outcomes across municipal bodies in conjunction with citizen decision makers at various levels (p.152). Any hierarchy would require mechanisms to ensure democratic rather than dictatorial, monocentric, corporatist practices occur (p.152). Perhaps if Friedmann's (2011) value based "good society" is attained and currently marginalized peoples have more equal power, then those groups may not seek to replace state power with their own hierarchy; as they will inherently have power but it will be based on values separate from the state (p.58).

Alone or in combination the following organizational theories begin to question where mechanisms for change exist in our current structures. Similar to Purcell's (2008) "networks of equivalence", where members are autonomous but choose to work together in parallel for a common goals (p.82). Gilchrist (2009) recommends meta-networking, a process of coordinating interpersonal and inter-organizational relationships to support and transform other people's networks (p.105). This role would include mapping of power dynamics in a complex social and organizational system, building connections between people, with space and opportunities to interact, share information, and seek solidarity for resistance, deal with conflict within and between the network, and develop network structures that facilitate a sustainable network (p.105-6). Effective networks can contribute to collective problem solving, resource mobilisation, organisation development and social change (Gilchrist, 2009, p.119). One example used at the 2003 G8 Summit in France was that of the *hub and spoke* model of representation where each neighbourhood

or organization is a membership *hub*, connected to all of their members who nominate a *spoke* to a spokescouncil that makes decisions on a larger scale based on consensus (Pickerill & Chatterton, 2006, p.740).

Harvey (2012) describes Bookchin's organizational structure of "confederalism". Bookchin examines replacing the state structure with a network of direct democracy focused, municipal citizen bodies in open assemblies (p.84-5) that are connected at a level of territorial governance (p.125). Harvey thinks this networking and decision-making structure holds the most potential for the "creation and collective use of the commons across a variety of scales" (p.85).

Fung and Olin Wright (cited in DeFilippis et al 2010) describe empowered participatory governance as collaborative governance that integrates "popular participation, decentralized decision-making, practical focus, continuous deliberation and engagement, and cooperation among opposing parties and interests" (p.122). DeFilippis et al. argue that the theme of power sharing requires embedded bargaining power between autonomous participants (p.121). Further, for Bernstein and Armstrong (2008) "multi-institutional politics" describes power that is not limited to one source, where culture is an essential component, actors seek changes to the rules of the game and institutions overlap and are nested (p.76, 82).

Other characteristics or factors for consideration to encourage democratic behaviours include: inter-organizational communication and mobilization (Becher, 2010, p.497); continuity of public interests regardless of political cycles, and where policymaking, politics and institutions adapt to a network society (Hajer & Wagenaar, 2003, p.5); ability for participants in various power relationships to be in conflict with

powerful institutional bodies yet still be an integral actor and the mechanisms to mediate those roles (Becher, 2010, p.508-9); as scale increases from the grassroots level, democratic participation decreases and power increases for fewer individuals (Fainstein, 2009 in Hopkins, 2012, p.742) and spatial elements of governance in building political agency and civic capacity (Irazábal, 2009, p.119).

2.7.2 Community Based Organizations

DeFilippis et al (2010) discuss the formation of community-based organizations (CBO) to hold government accountable and to provide public services that governments previously provided on a contract basis (p.78-9). Recent years have been marked by continued market growth into the social sphere (e.g. community development) and increased local responsibility through decentralization of the state (p.5). By subcontracting to an often insecure non-profit sector, the government has fewer regulations to follow and can obtain cheaper labour (p.87). Within this context, accountability has become more difficult within an increasingly restricted, narrow (p.5) and co-opted by the neoliberal community organizing agenda (p.1). Therefore poverty and other socio-economic issues are primarily addressed by professionals and community-based non-profit organizations who by providing necessary services "deresponsibilize" the state and market, and therefore reduce the apparent importance of state interventions (p.177).

In the US context, a focus on the community scale through a non-governmental organization culture is part of the problem that perpetuates superficial change, and limits progressive change (Harvey in DeFilippis et al., p.11). This structure also disconnects ordinary citizens from taking action or being responsible for their part in the reproducing

the problem (Friedmann, 2011, p.91). Interest groups or community-based organizations that lobby governments for power may not be representative of their membership or democratic in their governance. Political processes interest groups use to lobby the government for influence have, in essence become commoditized, thus limiting access for citizen voices.

Although non-profits advocate for political communities, they are often uncoordinated in their actions, and in competition with other non-profits for limited resources (Friedmann, 2011, p. 91). The corporatization and marginalization by neoliberal priorities have, according to DeFilippis et al (2010) limited CBOs' abilities to fight for social change, as their mandates are limited (p.92). Being dependent on government funding, and fear of loosing it, makes it hard to challenge the status quo, to fight for additional service provisions in fear of losing existing resources, and limits their ability to mobilize community members who require such services due to power relationships (p.92-3). Another challenge is that CBOs' funding sources, both public and private, often stress an inward community focus that do not seek additional resources, collaboration or challenge structures outside of their communities (p.111-2). DeFilippis et al. recommend better connections between organizations, the building of alliances and agendas that go beyond local work and deal with broader issues for fundamental change (p.32).

Community-based organizations that organize themselves based on identity are often in competition with others and this can perpetuate or reinforce injustice, dogma and bigotry (Campbell, 2006, p.100). Bernstein (2005) argues that identity politics can create divisions between interconnected issues and can limit the openness to building coalitions

and larger scale revolutionary changes that challenge power relationships (p.51) - in essence a strategy to divide and conquer. Although this possible isolation presents challenges, she suggests that identity politics can be useful at three levels of analysis necessary for social movements mobilization including: 1) shared collective identity; 2) as a strategy by the collective to discuss status quo; and 3) as a goal to gain acceptance of a specific group (p.59). Individuals do not have to trade their personal identity to "create a democratic commons" (Bickford cited in Bernstein, 2005, p.51) but it is useful to realize how identity politics fit into broader institutional, political economy issues and coalitions to become more legitimate political actors (p.68).

To strengthen complex community relationships at various scales, DeFilippis et al. (2010) encourage connecting community development work, that is traditionally consensus focused, with community organizing, traditionally conflict based, to both strengthen consensus, and utilize conflict and civil disobedience where appropriate (p.138). It is important to understand how organizations function differently, what common elements unite their work together and the consequences of *not* working together (p.176). Factors to consider include level of organizational formality, ebb and flow of issues, resource stability and competition, and the focus on a project, service or ideology (p.175). They recommend that CBOs develop longer-term goals for social and economic justice (p.1) through an understanding of the impact of neoliberalism and capitalist power relationships (p.4). This strategy is supported by an awareness of political limits, sites of resistance, oppression and agents of change within a community to increase the impact of community based activities (p.4).

Similar to planners, community organizations have traditionally tried to be non-ideological or non-political but DeFilippis et al (2010) argue that it is time to name the problem to fight inequality (p.178-9). There are many parallels between the literature about planning and community-based organizations. Both could benefit from better understanding the role of community organizing beyond traditional boundaries to unite social movements efforts, and critical analysis of conflict and power relationships in political education (p.180).

2.8 Chapter Summary

Thus far, the literature suggests that it is important to re-evaluate how the city planning profession implements social justice. This reflects increasingly challenging political and ethical situations that require different approaches from those that contributed to the problems, to avoid perpetuating inequities. By increasing planners ability to be critical of and act within political environments, to define the public good, apply community organizing methods, interdisciplinary collaboration and learning, institutional changes, and professional leadership, planning can reinvigorate democracy.

In bridging the gap between knowledge and action to implement evidence based alternative solutions will require trust, power sharing, adaptability and creativity. There is much to learn from personal and professional critical inquiry into foundational planning values. The process of translating them into tangible solutions can create a new vision of the future that leaves communities equipped with democratic power to co-create their environments. This won't occur without struggle.

CHAPTER 3: Research Methods

Two main data collection strategies have been used to gain perspective on the topic of inquiry: a targeted literature review and semi-structured interviews. Both primary and secondary research contributed to a wide spectrum of information to determine if and how lessons could be applied in a local context.

This topic of inquiry emerged through personal experiences in city planning coursework and volunteering in community organizations, where I have become more aware of planning, political and citizens' relationships. This thesis is an opportunity to develop a rational foundation for future planning practice that stem from questioning personal experiences. Qualitative research seeks to access and understand the complexities of lived experience, interactions, and processes in the contexts they occur, as well as the researcher's role within it (Gray, 2009, p.164). Inquiry methods are based on participant observations of real experiences they have in planning and political environments rather than theorizing about projects, institutions and individuals. Qualitative inquiry focuses on people's attitudes and emotions, motivations, interpersonal relationships and effects and consequences of actions (Gray, 2009, p.166, 502).

The ability for researchers to be objective is questionable as they are all products and influenced by the time and context in which they live (Gray, 2009, p.166). Therefore interviews are not neutral data collection tools, and both participants negotiate the conversation. Outcomes are uncertain and depend on factors such as participant openness to share, and power dynamics.

3.1 Literature Review

Extending beyond planning theory, the literature review introduced and connected parallel ideas, and issues from other professions. Within the literature various theoretical perspectives were examined with democracy and the right to the city as common threads throughout. The multi-disciplinary literature underscores and validates similar challenges with oppressive policies that city planners face. These connections could be a starting point for further research and collaboration in the future. The literature provided the baseline for critical analysis in planning values and principles including democracy, participation, good governance and collective rights. It also focused on processes in urban politics, community organizing, social movements and community-based organizations rather than specific issues. From these cross-issue topics and critical approaches, interview questions and themes for analysis were developed and applied.

3.2 Semi-structured Interviews

Terkel's interview method is focused on having a genuine conversation based on respect and curiosity, listening, relating to comments and acknowledging human flaws (Kovach, 2002). This approach builds common ground for open communication when outcomes are uncertain. Questions were asked based on local knowledge and personal experiences on processes, challenges, opportunities and how interviewees responded to various situations and why. Semi-structured interviews were used to facilitate a mutually educational conversation, collect data, and identify lessons learned for local organizing and social justice action. Interviews with stakeholders included professional city planners, and interdisciplinary professionals who participate in planning activities in Winnipeg,

Manitoba.

In total, ten interviews were conducted, approximately one hour in length either in person, or through online video. Five professional planners were interviewed for their range of experiences from within the public, private and non-profit sectors, four of whom were members of Manitoba Professional Planners Institute (MPPI). Five professionals from other disciplines were also interviewed, people who could be described as citizen or community-based planners who participate in planning activities but are not professionally trained as city planners. A retired politics academic, labour organizer, and an elected municipal official provided perspectives on working with city planners and community groups on municipal issues as part of the Winnipeg-based network named City Watch. In addition one social work and one law academic were consulted to determine how their professions frame parallel issues, address and enforce professional ethics, and what the role of collective rights play in seeking social justice. All of those interviewed had an intimate knowledge of the Winnipeg, Manitoba context.

Interviews probed personal reflection on interactions with professional and social ethics, social justice, relationships between planners, elected officials and citizen planners and their influence on institutional change in policy or practice in planning activities. Interview questions (see Appendix B) guided the discussion and were made available to participants ahead of time. Interview participants were all asked ten primary questions. Due to the diversity of key informant backgrounds, up to ten secondary questions were also used to obtain more detail depending on the information shared and follow-up required. Prior to the interview a summary background document and statement of informed consent were shared.

Because the right to the city concept was new to many participants, some of the interview time was taken to familiarize participants with the concept and answer any questions they had. Before beginning the interviewees were asked to signing a copy of consent form and whether they would allow digital recording of the interviews. Due to varying power relationships, and given the small pool of relevant participants, in a small organization or a profession with a small number of members in Winnipeg, there is a moderate chance a participant might be identifiable by their choice of words. However, to limit this potential participants have been coded based on their professional or organizational role.

When all of the interviews were completed and data transcribed, analysis began. The process began with axial coding that seeks to identify categories or subcategories of the "broader structural context" (Gray, 2009, p.508) that influenced the outcomes of action, inaction or interactions (p.506). Through preliminary analysis of the literature review, common themes or codes presented themselves in which to compare basic relationships and characteristics between themes and data sets based on local context, strategies and ethical outcomes. The four planning dimensions included:

- Scale: questions the level of enclosure within societally produced boundaries that limit or open up opportunities for social connection, learning and power
- Power: considers the various sources of power, and who has access to it
- Space: describes the sociospatial qualities of how we use and value space such as growth patterns, public and private space, and human and non-human environments.
- Time: links the uncertainty of planning processes and outcomes with consideration of decision-making lifecycles. These include being proactive, intergenerational, adaptable or the quality or breadth of participatory processes.

The interviews provided rich local data in which to validate trends in the literature review. The adaptable research process enabled the research to be more responsive to preliminary findings and therefore make the results more useful in the local context.

CHAPTER 4: Interview Findings and Analysis

The interview process was one that validated literature concepts, created opportunities for reciprocal learning, translated ethical concepts, challenged assumptions and grounded academic insights in real experience.

In total, ten key informants including professional city planners and professions from other related disciplines were interviewed. Those interviewed represented many roles and their perspectives support the broad picture and analysis of planning and political culture in Winnipeg:

- Planner 1 is a recent Master of City Planning graduate with a social work background. She facilitates City Watch through the Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, but is not a member of the professional planning organization (CIP);

- Planner 2 has been in the planning profession for 27 years, most at the City of Winnipeg in public administration and policy, strategic and long-range planning roles. In recent years, he has worked as a private planning consultant. He is a member of CIP;

- Planner 3 has about 10 years of experience planning in the non-profit sector and self-identifies as a social planner and convener, helping to implement community-based projects. He is a member of CIP;

- Planner 4 has worked in the private planning sector for 15 years, and is often contracted to do work for public entities. He was closely involved with the CIP at the provincial and national levels;

- Planner 5 has 16 years experience working in the public and private sectors in economic development and revitalization, housing policy and heritage conservation. She is a member of CIP;

- Retired Politics Academic has been a professor in political science for four decades and continues to conduct research about urban politics and city planning issues. He is active in community groups including City Watch;

- Labour Organizer has about 20 years of experience in the labour movement and is an elected spokesperson for a coalition of unions in Winnipeg. This organization is politically active on municipal issues that have impacts on its members and is a member of City Watch;

- Law Academic has 25 years experience teaching and conducting research in Manitoba with expertise in constitutional and administrative law, sexual and reproductive rights, and human rights;

- Elected Official has been a city councillor in Winnipeg for four consecutive terms, is passionate about urban planning issues and ethical political practices and participates with City Watch;

- Social Work Academic has diverse social activism and community organizing experience on issues of housing and restorative justice based in community organizations and academic settings in Manitoba.

The analysis begins with a discussion of city planning and political activities in Winnipeg. The discussion narrows to planning experiences of the individual interviewees within the public, private and non-profit sectors. Finally, it examines the interdisciplinary

perspectives that are emerging from the ad hoc City Watch network. Lessons learned

from all interviewees address the role of the planning profession and professionals in

community organizing to promote social justice. Building upon the literature review and

research questions, the interview findings highlighted the following theme areas related

to planning for social justice:

- planning and political culture;
- applying professional ethics in planning practice;
- cross-disciplinary and community-based advocacy; and
- the role of the planning profession and collective ethics.

4.1 Planning and Political Culture in Winnipeg

Interview participants demonstrated a strong connection to place through their intimate

knowledge of history, of current events at the municipal level and their passion for the

issues. Their personal experiences generated strong opinions and frustration about the

current state of social equity in the city, but also determination to realize Winnipeg's

potential. Although citizens are often the driving force behind many positive changes in

the City (Elected Official), this section will focus on the challenges that have contributed

to the current planning context including: the low value placed on planning activities,

lack of political leadership, limited vision, and power dynamics.

City planning has increasingly become an afterthought in Winnipeg and the

Retired Politics Academic described planning as "going to hell in a hand basket and it is

farcical." The lack of trust in planning practice has been exacerbated by decreased

democratic participation and loss of transparency and accountability in all municipal

activities, Some lack of trust is not surprising as "planning has traditionally not been a

respected profession in… the City and maybe even the Province" (Planner 4), yet the

situation appears to have become worse in recent years. Planner 1 described the current

planning situation as "appallingly bad, our City doesn't do community planning." The

Elected Official described a meeting with a high level Canadian planner who was asked

to reflect on why planning projects go wrong. The reply was that municipalities who

hired planners did not know what they needed to ask for, "and that made me think that's

our whole city's situation: we are rudderless, there isn't that vision, it comes back to that

leadership, vision thing, we don't even know what we want." The last three Winnipeg

mayors have significantly influenced politics and planning practice and perceptions in the

city. Planner 2 recalled noted Winnipeg planner Earl Levin's comments:

> He used to say that the type of city planning you have is a direct reflection
> of the type of city government you've got. He said you can't separate
> government from planning they are just one and the same and I am
> starting to see that more and more (Planner 2).

In the early 1990s, City policy was characterized by fiscal restraint under Mayor

Susan Thompson's business style leadership. Planner 2 remembered "it was a really

difficult time to be a planner at the City of Winnipeg because we saw a lot of

restructuring, reorganizing and downsizing and I would say really quite frankly the

profession was seen as devalued." He said that the priority was to reduce budgets, and

find efficiencies that focused more on day-to-day management than long-term vision.

These neoliberal policy strategies began to undermine public planning processes.

In contrast, Mayor Glen Murray (1998-2004) placed greater value on urban

planning, reinvested in planning staff, long-range plans and citizen engagement; Elected

Official remembers there were no watchdog organizations during Murray's mayoral terns

because they were not needed to keep the government accountable. She went on to

suggest that since Glen Murray stepped down from office and Sam Katz was elected mayor in 2004, there has been a politically motivated decline in progressive planning, vision and leadership. Katz has primarily focused on economic opportunities and development, while allowing little public participation. The Retired Politics Academic noted that, in the current climate, unless planners can create both great neighbourhoods *and* profit, good planning will lose. Planner 4 described some positive change in the City of Winnipeg's planning department. Its current approach is less anti-development and this has led to openness and increased collaboration between the public and private sectors. At the same time, he acknowledges that transparency has decreased under the current leadership, and there have been some questionable planning practices that have ignored due diligence. These practices relate to conflict of interest, ethics and public-private partnerships in real estate and development (Kives, 2013).

There was consensus among the interviewees that the lack of leadership or any long-term vision in the public interest at City Hall, combined with a thirteen year property tax freeze, have resulted in: loss of administrative capacity, inconsistent City processes, lack of good governance practices, outsourcing, and privatization. These practices have become institutionalized and changing them will be more challenging than simply electing a new mayor and councillors in the October 2014 municipal election. Thus, Elected Official observed that "pipes, police and pavement" continue to be the preferred status quo investments because "there is no clear way to decide what to do first with limited resources." She argued, "we are building infrastructure based on politics" rather than need, which wastes resources. Although this inconsistency and inefficiency creates distrust, it also generates opportunities for organizing. As Planner 1 remarked:

luckily…our City doesn't really follow any specific ideology except maybe corporatism or neoliberalism…a lot of their decisions don't make sense from a Right or a Left perspective so it is easier to bring people together over those bad decisions.

Almost all interviewees have experienced the lip service that City Council pays to good planning practices and its efforts to maintain appearances of community engagement, both of which are important to preserve its position of power. However, citizens are becoming aware that this sort of limited participation can be a smokescreen and are beginning to demand better. The Elected Official believes that "people [at City Hall] don't fully realize the importance of planning" and could benefit from learning about the planning process and alternative ideas from city planners. Planners interviewed suggested that elected officials, citizens and advocacy groups need to "make use of civic rights" and should be "holding politicians feet to the fire" (Planner 4), while professional planners within the bureaucracy work with others to create incremental changes from within the system (Planner 5). They suggested that this could be accomplished through on-going civic participation (not just voting during elections), electing leaders who do not seek personal power, identifying clear public roles and genuine representation, and creating space for open, meaningful and cooperative processes and actions.

Planner 4 thought that the "infrastructure is there" for genuine participation but it might not be being used as intended. For example, there are five geographically-based Community Committees in the City. They provide recommendations to Council based on local knowledge of issues that have city-wide implications, and hold public hearings on issues such as land uses and licensing (City of Winnipeg, 2013). The original intention of this committee structure "was that decision-making could be more grassroots…would give citizens more direct access to the process and engage them more" (Planner 4). But

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this has not happened; instead the three councillors appointed to each community committee often defer power to the councillor whose ward will be affected most by the outcome of the process, and the result is even less shared power and little ability for citizens to have influence. Another example, noted by the Labour Organizer, is the historical legacy of the 1972 forced amalgamation of the thirteen communities that now make up the City of Winnipeg (City of Winnipeg, 2014). He noted that the inter-municipal competition that existed before amalgamation, there is now competition between the wards for scarce resources and the large size of the wards can present challenges for councillors to accurately represent their constituents. In 2011, efforts were made to redraw ward boundaries to provide better representation but the initiative was cancelled (Labour Organizer).

The Planning Department at the City is very small compared other Canadian cities of similar size. Due to limited resources, its mandate is primarily to respond to developer proposals for projects. In Planner 5's experience, the trend at the Provincial level is to give municipalities money to hire expensive consultants to create development plans rather have the work prepared by in-house staff who are more familiar with the context. However, Planner 5 also observed that this outsourcing creates some separation between plan development and regulation and this might help protect public interests: "the City is … the regulator, so if you are doing the plan and regulating the plan, you are kind of self-regulating. It is not necessarily a bad thing but you need a robust regulatory side as well."

Interviewees described other factors that challenge planners at the City. Planner 1 described the City's guiding planning document, *OurWinnipeg* (City of Winnipeg, 2011) as, "a valiant attempt at trying to get the City to do something sustainable. The document

the planners created was completely changed by the administration so now it doesn't

follow those values anymore." She described *OurWinnipeg* as a bit of a charade because

of the lack of resources and support to move from aspirations to implementation. The

plan is broadly defined and its loopholes lead to inconsistent interpretations by

developers and City Council (Retired Politics Academic, Elected Official). Some

planners have complained about this to no avail, so Planner 1 concluded that the failure is

in leadership, lack of resources and processes that limit professional planners ability to do

well-rounded planning:

> What is the responsibility of planners, can they say no, that isn't the plan
> that we came up with based on what we heard from 40,000 people, can
> they say that? I don't think they could keep their job if they did.

This demonstrates how political dynamics in the City influence the plan-making

process, the integrity of the plan itself and implementation of the plan. Planners who

work in the City have to tolerate challenging power dynamics from within the

bureaucracy (Elected Official), and political interference makes it difficult to be

innovative. Planner 5 believed that "the best a planner can do is provide sound

recommendations, good advice and hope to influence decisions. But ultimately decisions

are typically made at a higher level." Interestingly, the Manitoba Professional Planning

Institute (MPPI) awarded *OurWinnipeg* the 2012 Manitoba Planning Excellence Award

and the Canadian Institute of Planners (CIP) awarded the City of Winnipeg with the 2011

CIP Award for Excellence (City of Winnipeg, n.d.). These awards make Planner 1

question how the profession evaluates the quality of planning processes.

There are many historical and current factors that influence if and how cities

thrive. The general consensus among interviewees was that the limited capacity for good

processes and socially-just outcomes was not due to lack of effort or bad planning by the City's planners. City dwellers need to elect people who understand planning and have a "big picture vision" (Elected Official) – or as the Labour Organizer notes: "it is a political problem that we have, not anything to do with planners." Yet there is an inherent relationship between politics and planning. In the research thus far, I have found that external political forces may limit planners' abilities to influence decision-making processes but limited professional cohesion between planners on what constitutes the public interest, democracy or social justice, and how they are addressed in practice also contribute to the challenge.

4.2 Applying Professional Planning Ethics

Interviews with city planners suggested that the profession would benefit from renewed conversations on foundational planning issues about ethics. Clarity and debate about what constitutes good planning, the roles of planners, and planning actions on both the individual and collective scales could strengthen trust, cohesion and professional influence in the public interest. Planner 1 noted that, historically, planning has been "used as tools of oppression, tools of colonialism, imperialism, neoliberalism" and has played roles in the destruction of communities." She added that the profession could do more to actively learn from and counter past mistakes to right power imbalances through planning education, in ways similar to those made in social work. She described months of social work classes that focused on the code of ethics, principles and criticisms, how they are upheld, and how to act when dealing with ethical dilemmas. In her planning education, this discussion was not as well developed. Due to all the challenging grey areas and

complexities in planning decision-making, she argued that planners need to change the relationships they have with ethics. Others noted that professional codes of conduct provide a starting point but "there are no easy answers or trade-offs" (Planner 3) and "it can be really difficult to draw the line and know if someone has crossed it" (Planner 2). Therefore, "planners have to try to find different strategies for having some planning ethics in their work" (Planner 1) and these will be found in their interactions with the political system.

Planners can promote thorough engagement processes through informed discussions, community learning, mobilization and ethical advice. But understandings of ethics are challenging and complex and as Planner 4 observed, they work on a continuum of responsibility, but even though "every planner in every role has an obligation to contribute to positive change, we won't all agree on what is positive and it will be to varying degrees." Even if individuals try to act ethically, the result will not necessarily be an increase in social justice; as Planner 5 noted about personal practice: "I draw from my personal ethics more than anything but ethics and social justice aren't necessarily combined. You could be doing something perfectly ethically, following the rules and it has nothing to do with improving social justice." This connection, or lack thereof, between ethics and social justice is a critical gap for discussion in the profession. How can rules or guidelines be ethical if they do not address social justice?

During the interviews, all city planner participants remarked on the challenge of answering questions about ethics. Each interviewee interpreted personal ethics slightly differently and shared how they have tried to act on them. They all struggled with determining whose ethics to follow, what evidence should be used in decision-making

and what types of strategies could increase social just outcomes in communities. Planner 2 noted that ethics are difficult to apply when personal beliefs are in conflict with professional and societal interests. External factors such as political agendas, profit or community preferences add further complexity. Planner 2 also suggested challenging the boundaries within these constraints, that "planners need to be as bold as [they] possibly can while building consensus around the ideas [they] are bringing forward."

Planner 1 discussed the progressive frame of the University of Manitoba's Master of City Planning program, where critical personal and professional discussions about city planning values and professional praxis occur. After graduation, professional organizations such as the MPPI and CIP provide members opportunities to come together for 'continued professional learning' events but few critical conversations occur at these. Therefore, Planner 1 suggested "we need an on-going advanced theory [class] but then how do we even apply that theory, that ethics?" Planner 2 identified areas for continued dialogue:

> [It is] helpful to have discussions and show examples of context, experiences, potential outcomes what do you think about that? How do you think this could have been prevented, worked better? What should be considered and if this or that happens then here are some alternatives.

Planners and interviewees from other disciplines generally felt that the planning profession has ethical intentions to serve public interests, but they were less clear about what principles, concepts, and criticisms framed those intentions. Planner 1 had previously thought that the "profession was very progressive and now that I am in that profession, working at a community agency, I sort of feel otherwise." She alluded to a disconnection that exists between the profession's aspirations and the results:

> I think people believe in those [planning principles/values] from talking to a lot of planners but they don't really challenge the status quo and when I say planners in that way, I mean the professional body or those working for government or consulting firms.

The Retired Politics Academic identified another problem – a lack of enforcement of ethical standards. Whereas, Planner 2 questioned planning concepts that lack clarity, such as "complete communities" (City of Winnipeg, 2011): "what does it mean and how do you translate it into the work [planners do that] could actually be beneficial?"

The following sections address ethical dilemmas in three sectors, the public, private and non-profit sectors, to demonstrate how they manifest themselves differently depending on power relationships and environment – and look for opportunities for more critical practice.

4.2.1 Public

Public sector planners in this study, with experience at the municipal and provincial levels, noted that they work *within* power and political structures to exert influence for ethical planning. They suggested that for planners' advice to be taken seriously, they must first convince those in power that a combination of community input and evidence-based solutions are in the public interest: "you have to have the ability to bridge that gap on the power spectrum" (Planner 4). Planner 2 thought that parallel engagement processes (e.g. workshops, information sessions) that include both politicians and communities are useful so no one is surprised by proposals, potential concerns are accommodated, and support can be built. If the engagement is carried out well, approval processes will be simple formalities with little opposition. Planner 2 explained how he judges planning success:

> If there is anything I take some pride in over the course of my career, it isn't necessarily the quality of the plans themselves, because anyone could look at the plan and say this could have been stronger, that could have been different, but in the end what made them successful…was that I think almost everything I ever brought before council was adopted unanimously by council and that also meant that council was unified.

In Planner 5's experience, community members want genuine opportunities to participate in decision-making and it is obvious to them when outcomes are a fait accompli – and in those cases, the engagement process is just window dressing. For Planner 2, city dwellers have a responsibility to make clear their "aspirations of what kind of community [they] want," and elected officials should "reflect the best interests of community." Public sector planners should listen to and interpret those interests to provide strong direction to elected officials about how resources should be distributed (Planner 2). However, internal processes may not encourage this sort of engagement, instead planners may find themselves in 'pressure cooker' work environments where they are not encouraged to be reflective, to others in which the "government can languish forever" (Planner 5). Planner 2 believed that civil servants are responsible to see a decision or plan through the whole process, to ensure that it works administratively, is translated into departmental agendas, and is followed. This experience informs his work in the private sector. Instead of "walk[ing] away at the end when the product is developed" Planner 2 educates clients on political dynamics and next steps the plan will face through to implementation.

There are many opportunities within public planning processes to leverage stakeholder agendas and strategically frame planning values. Yet the application of planning ethics is dependent on political will. Planner 2 tried to create better processes and structures through the public administration side of municipal planning as political

agendas often change, asking questions about:

> How to make the government work properly, how to make political decisions reflect the needs of the community, how to make administration responsible and responsive to the interests. So it was trying to make a more efficient and effective government, the administration and the political system working in a cohesive way.

However, as Planner 5 observed, the best ideas can be overlooked based on individual politicians' agendas.

Political agendas, however, can be influenced by citizen involvement. Planner 5 suggested that to avoid citizen apathy "the Province in particular needs to maybe develop some principles … if there could be a code of conduct around consultation." Planner 2 argued that, in efforts to influence stakeholders it had been important to remain politically (in terms of party politics) neutral. He strived to build professional relationship, and "keep a certain distance from elected officials" to avoid falling into a trap of reciprocal favours. He found that achieving the middle ground with elected officials and people with various political agendas is easier if there are high moral standards, clear values and integrity on which to build trust and respect. When he found the work environment untenable due to lack of trust and personal integrity among colleagues, he left the public sector:

> I didn't want my fingerprints on the work that was coming out of the office anymore, some of the reports were being changed. It makes it really difficult for you to work effectively as a planner, where you just don't trust the people you are working with.

Part of a planner's job is to make ethical judgments, but these do not always follow popular opinion or politicians' agendas. If a planner were to make an ethical, evidence-based decision that follows the professional code of conduct and was fired because it did not fit with political agendas, Planner 1 does not think she could count on

the support of the professional organization to help fight the dismissal. These references point to the need for a stronger role of the professional organization to support its membership when the integrity of planning is compromised by political agendas.

4.2.2 Private

In the private sector, power is exerted over planners by paying clients, rather than elected officials and public pressure. In a recent MPPI membership survey, Planner 5 recalls "public service planners being the majority of members but that [the membership] is shifting to the private [sector]." She thinks this is due to planning becoming "more sophisticated" requiring more specialized, technical skills, and Planner 4 argued "there will always be a role for private planners because [they] are more nimble than a government."

Planner 4 works closely with public sector planners, and thinks those in the private sector should have more prominent roles in City of Winnipeg. He felt that it was possible in the private sector to use ethical criteria when selecting clients "because life is good here, economics are good, we have the luxury once in a while of selecting to say no to a project." In contrast, Planner 5's experience highlighted stress and insecurity in constantly seeking new clients, which could make it more difficult to decline jobs that conflict with a planner's ethics. While working in the private sector, she participated in a consultation process that had significant tri-level funding and a tight timeframe for completion: "It was too rushed to include as broad an audience as we would have liked". As it is unlikely a project would be delayed to accommodate appropriate consultation, planners can face an ethical dilemma to blow the whistle, do the best they can within the

constraints or quit in protest. Planner 5 added that it is important to "respect the position of your employer or in the case of a consultant the wishes of your client, even if you personally would prefer to see a different course of action." This again highlights the need for another option, one where a professional organization can protect and advocate for the integrity of planning values.

Planner 4 has experienced tension between planning professionals and citizen planners, largely due to the limited knowledge citizens have of municipal development processes: "They didn't even understand how to participate…their learning curve was so steep that I had to teach them about how the process worked and it took a long time." In that case, a two and a half year education process to build trust and relationships with the citizen group, turned opposition into support. Planner 4 observed the value in encouraging the client to have on-going consultation with citizens even after projects are approved and the planners have fulfilled their contract: "power dynamics changes when you get approval, [and then] those citizen groups have much less power. When they were in opposition, they had sway over, they could have stopped development … as soon as there is approval they don't."

Planner 4 takes pride in this ability to convince clients to invest in community engagement. The outcomes of his effort often result in citizens empowered through planning education, client trust built through transparency, and integrity. He also argues that good planning principles and processes that involve the citizens affected are more likely to gain City approval. His ethical practice is subtler than direct advocacy. Similar to the public sector, private sector planners still seek out good planning practices but have limited control over the outcomes. They can only encourage and make clients aware of

better practices, but the power differential remains as with public practice. Additionally, once plans are handed over to clients, the planners have no influence on implementation and its ethical implications (Planner 2).

4.2.3 Non-profit

Understanding of the social function of planning differs within the profession and between work environments. Social planning is more often demonstrated in non-profit or community-based organizations as they can have more freedom to be overtly political than planners in conventional or technical careers. For Planner 1, "those [planners] working in community are quite active challenging the status quo but I feel like those working in community are not seen as planners in the same sense as those working as consultants or the government." Planner 3 expressed a similar sentiment, describing social planning in the non-profit sector as a "nebulous zone" around the technical planning core of the profession.

Opinions varied on the role and value of social planning and included the perceptions of conventional planners and the realities faced by social planners. Planner 4 highlighted the disconnection between social planners and MPPI: "we don't have a lot of social planners [in MPPI] because they don't see the value in the organization. I wish they would be members." Planner 5 found that "lots of planners … end up in the non-profit sector and in social planning, there is definitely room there for planners." This may imply that, for many, the place of social planners is only in the non-profit sector, segregated from, rather than integrated with other planning roles.

Interactions between social planners and colleagues working in the public sector

can be limited by institutional expectations. When inviting public planners to a community event, Planner 1 learned that the administration had sent a memo instructing planning employees not to attend. Even if there was interest to participate, individual planners could only attend the event by putting their jobs at risk. Planner 1 related how some "work really hard to stay separate because that is how they think they can be objective but to me that is not good planning and that is not objective." Support for social planning activities can be found from professional and community planners who are retired from the public sector. Private sector planners who have experience with the City of Winnipeg structure have also provided social planners with advice about how to respond to municipal issues.

Social planners often seek paid or volunteer work, in non-profits or CBOs where being political and challenging the status quo is supported. But it is not a secure option as core funding for the organizations from governments is rare and success of grant applications is unpredictable. Planners should be aware that some non-profits function under a charity model focusing on fundraising rather than a more critical role of fighting for social justice and root causes of injustice (Social Work Academic). Planner 1 participates in multiple organizations and feels fortunate to also find support in her job at the Social Planning Council of Winnipeg:

> I am lucky at my organization, because…my values and my personal ethics align perfectly with my organizations…That is not a privilege that many people have, or many planners have so it is easier for me to follow my own ethics.

Interviewees identified groups that helped fill gaps not covered by the

professional organization, such as Planners Network Manitoba[1] and informal planning

groups consisting of women or activists from multiple disciplines. Planner 3 participates

in the aspects of the professional organization that align with his planning philosophy and

finds support in other organizations that can more easily act on social justice issues. He

does not expect professional organizations to cater to his social interests in planning. In

contrast, Planner 1 hoped that social planning would be recognized by her professional

organization. However, her efforts to become a registered member of CIP had been

frustrating. She had been told to contact them when she worked in a conventional

planning job, rather than the current social planning role she holds: "I feel unsupported

by our professional organization in the progressive work I do, would like to do and care

about doing." Other progressive, social planners she knows have also had limited, if any,

participation in the provincial professional affiliate for similar reasons.

Conventional divisions within the profession can limit city planners' abilities to

tackle complex issues, to work with interdisciplinary teams, link diverse stakeholders and

address democratic issues. Social planning plays an important role in community

organizing for political activities. The Elected Official values this role: "what helps us as

councillors to do a better job in our part of the whole process, is to have engaged citizens

organizing." Planner 5 similarly comments that "advocacy and non-profit groups are

actually easier to engage because they are aware what is going on and they engage

themselves and identify themselves as stakeholders" in contrast to the unorganized and

often underrepresented "Joe Public." The Social Work Academic took this further,

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[1] Planners Network Manitoba is a local chapter of the continent-wide Planners Network that is "an association of professionals, activists, academics, and students involved in physical, social, economic, and environmental planning in urban and rural areas, who promote fundamental change in our political and economic systems." www.pnmb.ca/

seeking to move from advocacy to empowerment. For him, it is especially important to mobilize "low income people…to overcome their marginalization. They have to be involved in those struggles, there are no two ways about it, power is never given up by people in positions of privilege easily." He adds that social workers also need to do more to question their role in social work and in challenge structures of oppression and injustice. Similarly, planners are in privileged positions even with limited political influence and, therefore, have responsibilities to share tools and resources to help marginalized groups empower themselves. As the Social Work Academic commented, building coalitions and being political can be effective strategies:

> The fact is that governments are usually more afraid of attacking groups if they are vocal, if they have a constituency and are speaking out. I don't think we [non-profit organizations] deserve to exist if we aren't going to play an advocacy role.

Pushing against mainstream ideology is not an easy task but many are struggling for change. The Elected Official notes that planners "are in the same position I am in, as a planner, and as a citizen, we are all in the same boat and I don't know how we change that." And both can benefit from increasing social justice activities, "connect[ing] to other professions" (Planner 2) and allies across conventional boundaries to address root causes of inequality.

4.3 Interdisciplinary and Community-based Advocacy

Many levels of social organization are necessary for societies to thrive. As neo-liberal approaches have stressed the importance of individual experience, groups within civil society are having to relearn how to cooperate. Labour Organizer reminds us that "human

beings are pack animals and we always function within a collective operation". When political institutions have implemented processes that have left the public with questionable results, community organizing is a means to seek a stronger voice in decision-making processes. Planner 1 describes the relationship between community groups and governments in providing public services:

> It is interesting to me how much community groups have taken over what the City should be doing. Sometimes I think it is fine that the City doesn't do things because they don't do a very good job. Then I think we don't have any resources or support, we are always fighting an uphill battle, if the City just did it, it would be so much easier. But it is interesting because a lot of community groups try to do things that the City should be doing as opposed to putting the onus back on the City.

City Watch is a Winnipeg example of an interdisciplinary community-organizing network trying to make a municipal government accountable in planning and development activities. The catalyst for forming the network was a transit fare increase and overwhelming frustration with the lack of meaningful citizen input in civic decisions at City Hall. The non-partisan political network was established in January 2012 with eleven community organizations and diverse individuals who meet monthly and communicate through an email list. It is "an informal network of community, research and advocacy groups dedicated to citizen awareness and targeted coordinated action;" it "represent[s] community organizations that want to see a progressive city" to address issues "that [require] working with mayor and council as they exist" (Planner 1). City Watch members agree the current state of the City demonstrates an absence of ethics and principles (e.g. transparency, accountability, environmental responsibility), as well as a lack of genuine public participation in committees and decision-making processes, consultation, and policy-making.

City Watch is facilitated by a community-based, social policy non-profit organization called the Social Planning Council of Winnipeg (SPCW). After community members identified the need for public dialogue on civic issues, SPCW began to coordinate partnerships and educational events, and to mobilize communities as part of its mandate to promote a socially just, equitable, sustainable and caring community. According to Planner 1, the early success of City Watch as a place to organize advocacy for municipal accountability was due to the coordination efforts of a paid staff person at SPCW rather than relying on volunteer based organizing. The connection of City Watch to SPCW also provides the coalition with credibility, community connections and capacity to organize participatory strategic action involving actors representing diverse interests.

City Watch members are interested in interconnected issues such as outdoor urban recreation, public transit, social research and policy, the natural environment, labour issues, student issues, neighbourhood revitalization, preservation and municipal planning and political processes. Specific examples include the privatization of municipal services, living wages, public transit fares, public land swaps with private developers, lack of public consultation on municipal budgets, and planning for the 2014 municipal election. Based on these issues, members have organized public education forums. The underlying common interest of participants is to build coordinated action to promote social inclusion, environmental responsibility and accountability in planning and decision-making processes in Winnipeg.

The Labour Organizer, who is a member of City Watch, also noted that the participation of the labour movement can further increase credibility of this sort of

coalition. The labour movement sees its roles as protecting essential public services (e.g. fair wages, progressive taxation), supporting community endeavours and influencing politics based on members' needs and public interests. Labour acts to amplify community voices, to coordinate resources and organize in the political arena. It is the "subtle little underbelly of a lot of progressive politics across the country" (Labour Organizer). The Social Work Academic emphasized the need to understand long-term historical views to see the ebb and flow, struggle and progress society has made towards rights for workers (e.g. the 8 hour work day) and social equity (e.g. women's rights to attend university). He added that union power is important, but would like to see more active promotion of social justice interests in unions.

To avoid creating another organization and to reduce the possibility of being labelled or targeted politically by others, City Watch frames itself as an ad hoc network. Its diverse membership is able to adapt and share leadership across a range of interests and areas of expertise. Although there are personal or organizational agendas within the network, it is the responsibility of each interest group to frame the message and rationale to gain the support of other members of the network. However, the Retired Politics Academic expressed concerns about political posturing for power from those with personal or organizational agendas within City Watch and the political Left in general. He also thinks more critical discussions about new policies, approaches and tangible alternatives could benefit the network, challenge the status quo and improve situations for communities (Retired Politics Academic).

All four interviewees appreciated how the informal structure of City Watch allowed its members to cooperate, adapt and respond to situations on an on-going basis,

and the leadership rotates depending on the issue and areas of expertise. This way more energy is focused on issues or campaigns, which creates longer-term sustainability with the hope that this will help change public attitudes. While the network is critical of municipal activities, it hopes to building positive relationships rather than only being known as an adversarial watchdog (Elected Official).

City Watch has demonstrated the building of what Purcell (2008) would call "networks of equivalence," within which members retain their autonomy but work together for a common purpose (p.82). Through its actions City Watch already supports some principles that align with the right to the city and the next section examines if and how it could use this framework to further unify, expand and shape diverse its membership and its actions to further influence municipal politics and planning.

4.4 Right To The City?

Because few of the interview participants were familiar with the *right to the city* (RTTC), I introduced the concept to them in the background material that was distributed before the interviews, and it was discussed further *during* the interviews. First impressions of bringing diverse interests together for social justice, based on the guiding principles of the right to the city platform were positive (see Section 2.6.2. for more on the RTTC Alliance or Appendix C for the platform). Questions probed planning professionals to see if there were links between professional codes of conduct and broader ethical issues, and how they might consider applying principles of social justice in practice. Practitioners were asked if the RTTC platform might provide a starting place to help focus planners on their "primary responsibility to define and serve the interests of the public" and on "the inter-related nature of planning decisions and their consequences" (see Appendix A or

). Reactions varied. In the planning context, interviewees
were not sure if the RTTC could connect diverse planning perspectives or even if it was
appropriate for planners to advocate for social justice:

> Could there be one voice, statement of practice, could there be a position
> paper that represents the profession? I don't know. I don't even know if
> that is needed, I find inspiration from other groups who can do that kind of
> work (Planner 3).

> These are strong principles that advocacy groups want to keep pushing for
> and that is a good thing. Could some of this stuff work its way into a code
> of practice for city planning? Maybe. Where would that dialogue start?
> I'm not even sure. I think there are things in here that do work their way
> into good planning principles (Planner 5).

The Law Academic provided legal context about group rights, human rights,
social justice and the possibility of planners using city charters to help apply RTTC
principles and policies. The law is one enforcement mechanism to uphold rights, but it
has its limitations. Because of this, she has devoted her career to "evaluating that law and
finding ways to make those laws work better for larger groups of people, especially the
socially disenfranchised."

Although the law profession serves individual clients, court decisions and case
law can affect broader societal groups. Group rights – including, those related to religion,
minority status and language – are entrenched in Canada's constitution under the *Charter
of Rights and Freedoms*. The Law Academic, however, shared two precedents that
demonstrate the limitations of the legal system when applied to the enforcement of group
rights. The first case describes age discrimination in Quebec's welfare system. In the
2002 Gosselin case, she suggested that the Supreme Court "might feel badly that this
might be a bad law but [it was not] going to force the government to pay any money."
The second is a case of gender employment equity in the Newfoundland Association of

Public Employees in 1996. The outcome was a ten-year process to determine an appropriate settlement to compensate underpaid female public servants. Even though the plaintiffs won the case, the government claimed it could not afford the billions in settlement money. While the court may not be able to ensure that rights are upheld, the value of a legal approach to addressing collective rights is in the opportunity "to tell the story of the injustice over and over again" (Law Academic) and hear what can be done about it.

Human rights and social justice are tied together although there are important differences in terms of enforcement. The Law Academic defines human rights as "individual or collective rights that are capable of enforcement through judicial processes, either administrative or in courts." This means there is a level of *justicability*. In contrast, social justice is more difficult to realize because it is not justiciable and there are fewer enforcement mechanisms: "the right to housing is something very difficult to make justiciable, so you need to find other ways to realize the right to housing other than trying to get judges to force governments to provide it" (Law Academic). In the absence of legal mechanism, the Law Academic suggested that there might be more productive ways to address social justice. For example, related to a First Nations water project, she suggested that "the strategy that I think would work better there would be to get Canadians to care more and lobby their governments more. So it is very much a democratic approach that you need to take" (Law Academic). This approach could be enhanced through groups already organizing such as City Watch.

The right to the city has had impacts in various cities (see Section 2.2.2) through the drafting of Charter documents. These political processes often create legislation that

plays well to the public, but reflect aspirational goals while lacking enforcement mechanisms, targets or methods of accountability. If an enforceable Charter or legislative framework was developed, the Law Academic identified three aspects to consider: 1) defining the statement of collective rights; 2) balancing mechanisms for competing rights; and, 3) enforcement mechanisms with consequences and remedy.

Lawyers are required to engender respect for the administration of justice and rule of law and would not criticize the institution without a good reason and evidence of wrongdoing. Are planners responsible to engender respect for the administration of democracy and justice at the municipal level? And if institutions are failing to uphold those principles, whose responsibility is it to redefine the appropriate role of government?

The right to the city concept could be a useful point to start conversations on redistribution of resources. Its effectiveness would be determined by the ability to enforce the principles, which has been described as difficult to do in the legal system. Therefore, what strategies could be used to influence social justice? The Labour Organizer did not think it would benefit City Watch "to put out an entire statement around something like this [RTTC], I think you can do the loose cooperation and still maintain a good degree of success." Planner 3 provided an example of the Slow Food movement in Italy, where communities mobilized on an issue, and took a stand to change their relationship with food. He wondered if organizing efforts for social justice "need to be place-based rather than profession-based." The Elected Official suggested it was a good idea for Winnipeg to move in the direction of the RTTC principles but the city isn't ready for it yet. It would only be useful if work was done to ground the ideas and build support in the community.

Perhaps this is one role of City Watch and city planners, to prepare citizens to adopt a

social justice lens to municipal issues and in their everyday lives.

4.5 Beyond Individual Ethics: Role of the Planning Profession

This section documents interviewees' reflections about the roles of the planning

profession regarding the application of ethics, methods of enforcement, comparisons with

other disciplines, and how their professional organization might improve its advocacy

and public policy roles. In the last few years the CIP and its affiliates have been working

to increase the level of professionalization of planning in hopes of creating more

recognition and credibility. This has been initiated by revising training and education

standards, scope of exclusive practice and level of accountability through legislative

means.

Planner 4 described CIP's "Planning for the Future" (PFF) initiative as aiming to

increase respect for the professional, to clarify professional and citizen planners' roles,

and to regulate minimum ethical planning practices on a complaints basis. For him, PFF

"is very positive because there is a tension between who is the expert, the professional

planner and the citizen planner and I would say there is a role for both." Planner 5

provided similar observations:

> Given that CIP has gone down the road of different accreditation
> processes and higher membership standards and pulling the ethics piece
> into that. So it is the right timing for those kinds of discussions because
> the intent is to take the profession to that higher level and be more robust
> as to who gets in.

The interviews focused on whether professional ethics were relevant to issues of

social justice, and if so, how could they be applied. Interviewees had a common

understanding of minimum and broad standards as useful because "codes of conduct are pretty generic, because if you get too specific you start excluding things" (Planner 3). This leaves them open to interpretation when applying them to real world challenges and for individual planners to determine how they apply. Planner 2 felt that the questions raised by the code of conduct could be useful:

> What the professional code of conduct means, what do our ethics and values stand for, how does that get interpreted in a day to day basis, how does that affect you as a planner, how can you become stronger as a planner living in a way that adheres to these values and code of conduct? That kind of thing can certainly be beneficial. A lot of questions come out of young planners along this line.

However, those interviewed raised issues about enforcement of standards and noted that professional ethics alone do not ensure more equitable practices. Planners' professional ethics address responsibilities to public interests. It follows that since planners self-regulate their behaviours, they also have a responsibility to expose and hold to account the behaviour of others who obstruct public interest. However, the actions of others influence city planners' abilities to engage in value- and evidence-based processes and to implement strategies that serve the public interest. Planner 1 thought there is not enough accountability in the profession's ethics and that there might be ways to improve this by questioning professional registration processes or continued learning programs. Planner 3 thought that energy would be better used in on-going reflective and critical learning practices "rather than standards people don't know." Planner 1 felt she was in a similar position – she applies her personal and social work ethics (which are compatible with planning ethics), but she does not clearly "know what the planning code of ethics is." Partly due to the small size of MPPI, there have been few ethical complaints; Planner 4, for example, was aware of only a few questionable practices in which formal action

was not taken. Similarly the Social Work Academic noted that it is unusual to hear

complaints in his profession, and attributed this to power imbalances between social

workers and clients.

Planner 1 contrasted the limited ethical dialogue in planning with the extensive

ethical dialogue that was part of her social work education. Similar to planning, social

work professional organizations concentrate on professionalization and public image

(Social Work Academic). Also, its professional code of conduct focuses on the

relationship between the individual or client and the social worker, instead of the

struggles for broader issues of justice (Social Work Academic). In response to this

shortcoming, some professionals started a Social Work Action Network, to think about

the political and economic root causes that challenge social workers:

> In social work, we tend to almost exclusively focus on individual cases of
> ethics which talks about moral distress that talks about ethical dilemmas
> not at the individual level. The fact that social workers are now called
> upon to basically implement neoliberal policies, that is a real ethical
> dilemma (Social Work Academic).

Planning interviewees very clearly described MPPI's role as providing member

services, not advocacy or publicly critiquing specific planning projects or issues (Planner

5). Planner 4 noted:

> We don't take a stand on policy issues because we have a member who is
> deputy minister of intergovernmental affairs. We have people on all sides
> of issues so it isn't possible to take a political stand as a professional
> organization.

Some planners would like MPPI to support members who want to advocate for

positions, but it is unclear how this would work as it is yet untested (Planner 4). Two

planners interviewed thought it would be more appropriate for community-based groups

like Planners Network MB or Storefront MB to take on advocacy rather than the

professional organization. There was more support for advocacy from interviewees from related disciplines, such as the Retired Politics Academic: "it would be great if planners as a profession became an advocacy organization, sort of an organizational Jane Jacobs."

After further inquiry, planners interviewed identified a few planning processes and principles as potential places to find agreement for advocacy within MPPI. For example, they thought it could play a stronger role in educating citizens (Planner 4) and politicians (Planner 5) in civics and planning processes. Advocating for more transparent and accountable decision-making process "would certainly assist the role of planners in the work that they do and allows for or reduces the kinds of issues I had when working in the public sector" (Planner 2). Although some expressed an interest in expanding the role of MPPI, there was concern about the small membership size and therefore limited organizational capacity to make changes (Planner 5). Generally, Planner 5 felt, "we can be supportive of transit-oriented design, densification that is appropriate to the neighbourhood" as long as good planning principles including a consultation process are followed. The Retired Politics Academic thought that the planning profession could translate extensive planning literature into resources that inform the public on alternative policy directions. Further, the debate required within the profession for this translation to take place could build a foundation for agreement to advocate for issues deemed in the public interest (Retired Politics Academic). One example he suggested might explore what "constitutes good neighbourhoods and districts." Discussion about such positions

> could help to set a standard for planners working for the city and developers. It might empower a planner to tell a developer that what they are asking for is against our professional ethic but here is another way you could do it and still make money.

While there appears to be an understanding that more could be done by the profession to

address public interest there is less certainty on how to do this and through what channels.

Planners are not the only ones struggling with the role of advocacy for social justice. Planner 3 works in a local non-profit, non-partisan organization that is part of a coordinated national network. To encourage a higher standard of organizational ethics, it participated in Imagine Canada's (Imagine Canada, n.d.) accreditation process for non-profits. Planner 3 found it to be a useful exercise to further discussion about values, and for learning about participatory evaluation processes. The organization still struggles, though, with moving beyond individual ethics to address issues of collective policy: "I think we still have a lot of learning to do around policy and how we play a [non-partisan] role. It is in our strategic plan, we can help influence policy, we are still trying to figure that out" (Planner 3).

The Labour Organizer discussed how labour unions have a long history of extending their mandates for workplace and collective bargaining frameworks to include public interests and civil rights (Labour Organizer). This makes them a target for those who seek to limit their power to challenge policies and practices (Labour Organizer). The Charter of Rights and Freedoms and other legal frameworks, however, grant them organizing and political power. Planners cite the challenge of diverse membership as restricting their advocacy activities, yet unions are still able to support community endeavours and influence politics that follow their members' mandates.

4.6 Interview Outcomes

Many interconnected, interdisciplinary topics related to planning were explored in the interviews - they began to link ideas commonly addressed only within the isolation of disciplines and ideas often limited by professions' desires to preserve their expert status through status quo practices. Planning and political experiences in Winnipeg demonstrate some of the challenging circumstances in which professional ethics should be applied, and in which planners might advocate with communities for role of collective rights.

On-going disinvestment in local social programs and planning activities by governments, and the lack of genuine citizen participation, transparency and accountability in decision-making were common threads throughout the interviews. Participants may not have used the words, but many of the challenges described are symptoms of class struggle that exist at the systemic scales of capitalism, neoliberalism, and colonialism. Such policies offload government responsibility to community groups with limited resources, or to the private sector for profit. Offloading causes professionals and communities to face similar situations in the struggle for power. Limited political representation and opportunities for participation in civic processes frustrate citizens and can lead to apathy. Because planning and politics are closely linked, planners could play roles in reinvigorating democratic practices. This will require both physical and ideological space for critical debate about principles, and alternative approaches to planning. It will also need professional leadership, vision and coordinated community organizing.

Interviewees highlighted the challenging political contexts that influence the ability of community actors, including planners, to apply professional ethics and address

public interests. If professionals want to address equity issues, they will have to take on the existing power dynamics between planners and those they advise, as well as those between of social planning and the more conventional planning core. In addition, building coalitions and mobilizing communities to advocate for alternatives can provide coordinated action to challenge power and redistribute it to marginalized groups. To be successful individuals and groups will have to cross boundaries between professions, localities and issues to find allies.

Ethical judgements are complicated. But many interviewees described individual ethical dilemmas and strategies they used to adapt to challenging political situations, rather than their attempts to change the structures that limit their power and that of the public. It is understandable within the current power dynamics that the professional focus is on individual ethics, and relationships with projects, issues or clients rather than building democratic bridges between issues, professions and coalitions through long-term planning processes. City planners appear to be better at assisting other communities with planning issues rather than mobilizing their own profession or citizen planners in the public interest.

The planning profession has good intentions to address social justice; but the level of understanding, coordination, mobilization and influence for systemic change varies between practitioners. Attaining membership in the planning profession is a privilege and, therefore, requires continued learning about how the increased responsibility, values and ethics translate into practice. There is uncertainty on how to create non-partisan, public policy agendas not only in city planning but also in non-profit and community arenas. Education, dialogue and debate on the professional level are recommended by

interviewees to determine what this could look like. There are more questions than answers but openness by participants to explore them further. This includes identifying common ground on what are appropriate planning processes and public interest issues that could be advocated for by planners.

Although interviewees discussed some of challenges of political relationships and outcomes such as poverty and environmenal degredation, there was little discussion about the causes, such as class structure and compound growth. A broad spectrum of planning practice occurs with no agreement on minimum levels of social justice or how to translate it into practice. Professional ethics and the right to the city have different functions or frames, but are useful starting points for discussion, potential to bring diverse networks or professionals within planning together. Both are useless unless they are used as critical, reflective tools that change behaviours and processes not just more aspirations without enforcement.

The next chapter provides a synthesis of the literature review, and interview data that emerged from a fluid exploration process, and critical inquiry that followed emerging patterns related to ethics, democracy and social justice in politically charged planning environments.

CHAPTER 5: Synthesis: The Planning Revolution Will Not Be Televised

The purpose of this thesis was to investigate how planners apply professional ethics and address social justice in their work; also to determine what factors either limit or enable the realization of democratic values. But exposing the factors is only the first step. Inspired by the work of Henri Lefebvre and Peter Marcuse among others, who have influenced progressive planners, I seek to transform knowledge into action by exposing issues, proposing more socially just alternatives and politicizing planning processes with the hope of seeing them implemented. Creating alternatives requires social mobilization on many levels. It is not enough to change the planning professional, societal change is required to transform power relationships and the system itself. Perhaps most challenging is day to day patterns that prioritize family, work, and paying off consumer-based debt that often leave people too exhausted to participate in activism even if they are able to identify a need for it. Fighting the system can leave activists burned out, with few resources to make a considerable impact.

Although I am daunted by the uphill battle to protect and advocate for the public interest, I am not yet disillusioned. Radical planning has the potential to reshape the profession and its ability to contribute to re-politicizing society. Societal challenges require a commitment to mobilize for genuine equity, democracy, and environmental recovery. The production of ideas and alternatives occurs through everyday struggles as well as strategic processes for collective or group self-determination such as those City Watch is modelling. It is initiated from relationships between strangers, friends, colleagues, and those underrepresented in the mainstream. It takes place in communities and in the streets, as the whole city is a political forum in the struggle for social justice.

My research has focused on the planning profession to highlight a microcosm of wider societal issues. The research questions asked how planners understood and apply ethics and democratic principles, and how they address social justice in their work; what can be done to improve the implementation of those planning values in institutions and everyday actions; and whether a concept like the *right to the city* can be used to better understand, and address issues of social justice in Winnipeg.

The interviews provided perspectives on planning practice that highlighted the need to better understand the social fringes and marginalized populations. The relationship between planning and politics in Winnipeg shows how planners, citizen planners, and related professions are engaged in parallel struggles. The challenges of addressing ethics and issues of social justice are not isolated to the planning profession. Interviewees describe various approaches from other disciplines such as law and social work, as well as North American professional planning bodies from which that local affiliates, individuals and organizations can learn to uphold strive for higher ethical standards. Largely due to complex political and economic forces, there is a disconnect between planning's inherent professional ethic for public interest and just processes and outcomes. There is insufficient continuing education opportunities to address how best the public interest can be served, or how to deal with ethical dilemmas that occur. The literature review discussed how democratic planning processes and strategies that cluster under the banner of *right to the city* have the potential to increase understanding of these complex relationships. The research questions will be revisited at the end of this chapter as they guided the inquiry and align with the theme areas identified in Chapter 4 interview analysis.

Everyone interviewed generally agreed that exploring these ideas further, through educating the public, elected officials and city planners would benefit all planners. As with democracy, an informed citizenry— one that participates and is not just represented – can intentionally co-create the world it wishes to see. Developing an informed citizenry requires understanding and critical thinking about how meanings, and values society imparts, organizes and reproduces both physically or ideologically are experienced and legitimized.

5.1 Discussion

5.1.1 Planning and Political Culture in Winnipeg

Although the research questions highlighted information about planning culture in Winnipeg, the intrinsic relationship of planning with politics was a focus of discussion. The planning and political situation in Winnipeg clearly parallels global neoliberal trends, symptoms of which include disinvestment in government and services, the contracting out of planning services to the private sector, and lack of democratic accountability and transparency. The City is being run like a business for short-term gain. Sager (2011), Tait (2011), and Peck and Tickell (2002) describe these characteristics as the outcomes of market-based urban management. Interview participants identified lack of trust, vision, and accountability at the City of Winnipeg. Societal fragmentation is a common outcome of neoliberal policies as a lack of trust in government actions in civic life decreases jurisdictions' capacities to plan for the public interest, and that in turn leads to more mistrust (Tait, 2011, p.157). It is time to break down ideological and physical boundaries of geography, sectors, class, age and unlearn oppressive discourses and rebuild skills for

collective, political and social solidarity (Campbell, 2006, p.101). If governments are not fulfilling their roles in equitably prioritizing community needs and distributing resources, then it is the responsibility of the citizens who give it power to appropriate the government, to take it back, to reclaim it. Purcell identifies participation in decision-making and appropriation of urban space rights as key elements to claiming a right to the city (in Boer & de Vries, 2009, p.1322).

With the emergence of neoliberal policies around the world, some planning theorists identified an attack on public urban planning that has led to a prioritization of profits over goals of social equity (Sager, 2011, p.180). Planners would benefit from an awareness of these political trends in order to be critical of how their practices may reproduce inequality, and to be able to respond to the causes, not just the symptoms (Sager, 2011, p.149). Based on the interviews, planners were aware of larger political forces at play, but many appeared to accept them as a part of doing business and keeping their jobs even if the circumstances were not ideal. Most planners interviewed did not recognize a need to re-politicize and organize communities through larger scale social movements to change the restrictive neoliberal system. In contrast, most interviewees from other disciplines were more proactive in trying to influence structural issues through community organizing. The literature supports the reclaiming of political communities, and suggests that planners have responsibilities to assist citizens in civic and planning literacy with the intention of promoting and protecting the public interest. Sharing information, and teaching people about social issues and alternative options can begin to change perspectives and build grassroots social movements for action. Efforts will require challenging power relationships and embracing conflict as healthy parts of

democracy (Campbell, 2006; Healey, 2006; Mouffe in Purcell, 2008) and will need significant commitment from community actors and planners - commitment to reclaim reciprocal political rights and obligations to democracy, accountable institutions and to actively produce everyday lives in the city (Diers, 2004, p.11; Harvey, 2012, p.4, Sager, 2011, p.181). Twenty-seven years after it was written, Friedmann's (1987) recommendation to redistribute power back to civil society (p.13) is still relevant and the struggle continues. While there is much work to do to move in this direction, this research has exposed some of the planning and political challenges and their root causes in Winnipeg, and many inspiring citizens and planners who have already taken up the challenge and the potential is energizing.

5.1.2 Applying Professional Planning Ethics

The next step is to understand how planners can propose alternatives for their own profession to deal with the aforementioned challenges and work with people affected by them to develop alternatives and change power relationships. Can planners work as both advocates and bureaucrats as Davidoff envisioned in the 1960s? From the interviews it appears that these roles are still quite separate. Changing lingering philosophies of rational planning within the profession will be difficult because the language and expectations of objectivity and neutrality are still often equated to good planning processes. Locally, a conversation on how to build or support non-partisan public policy positions for social justice is rarely broached within the planning education or the professional body. A lack of integrity in the system makes it difficult for professional planners to do their jobs based on planning ethics and values.

Although ethics were perceived by interviewees as inherent to work of planners, there was a disconnection between individual interpretations about how professional ethics apply to the public interest and socially just outcomes. Comments reflected Campbell's (2006) argument that planners are concerned with remaining neutral in political and planning situations (p. 98) more so that taking up Marcuse's (2012) suggestion that they help determine the "appropriate role of government" (p.143) – the latter position would require challenging the status quo. To overcome the inequities exacerbated by neoliberal policies, the redistribution of resources would have to be proportionally distributed to those who feel the negative impact of discriminatory policies and practices. Transparency in decision-making is important, as intentions could easily be perceived as partisan even if they were intended to work in the public interest as suggested by the Professional Code of Ethics. Based on the planning profession's Code of Conduct, planners have very similar roles to public servants including acting with integrity in the public interest, with respect for others, and with skill and dedication (Manitoba Ombudsman, 2013, p.10); indeed many planners are public servants. Diers (2004) reminds us that public employees can often be allies even if trapped in broken institutional systems (p.27).

Typically the onus is on planners to convince their client or governments to act responsibly, rather than vice versa. However, planners interviewed from both the public and private sectors expressed some discomfort in playing more active and critical roles in going beyond facilitation. Those interviewed who were working with non-profits and professionals from other disciplines, identified the importance of playing political roles but there was some uncertainty about how to best emphasize planning values in a non-

partisan manner. They also felt there could be more open debate about the role of social

planning in the profession, the Professional Code of Conduct's commitment to social

justice, and strategies to help the profession live up to the Code's aspirations.

Planners talk about justice, but addressing the issues will require judgements

about the organization of society and action towards the redistribution of social benefits

(Marcuse, 2011), judgements that planners are not very equipped to make. In considering

both majority and minority beliefs in professional and public debate, a clear

understanding can be built on collective values and public interest (Tait, 2011, p.169). In

theory, the planning aspiration to find balance between diverse interests sounds

admirable, but stakeholders do not start on equal ground. In seeking justice, Marcuse

(2012) pinpoints the argument that "nondiscrimination is not an adequate definition of

justice for planners" (pg.149). This would suggest that the needs of marginalized people

be prioritized, that planners stop playing a neutral role and actively take a political stance

in fighting for rights *with* marginalized people. Marcuse (2012) suggests determining

whose rights get priority (hierarchy), what resources are important to be shared (primacy)

and the tradeoffs of doing so as compared to other criteria or rules (proportionality)

(p.150).

The interview results reflect Campbell's (2006, p.92) recommendation that to

become better able to be participate in and evaluate public interest decisions based on

multiple truths, planners need more information and debate on collective ethics, values,

rights and obligations. The interviews did not elaborate on how the planning profession

could support its members in being political in the public interest, or how it and its

members might hold those in power accountable. In the literature, Marcuse (2012) noted

that providing members advice on ethical dilemmas or financial support for whistle-blowers would be a place to begin (p.158).

Planner 1 described a new relationship for planners with ethics and leadership roles that parallels ideas explored in the literature; planners as activists (Campanella & Godschalk, 2012, p.233), radical planners (Friedmann, 2011, p.60), or social justice planners (Marcuse, 2011) and seeking third generation rights for common goods (Attoh, 2011, p.672). They have different frames but the purpose is to apply ideas of critical social planning in all planning activities.

5.1.3 Collective Political Agency

Developing collective political agency in communities has the potential to politicize and bring attention to inequities, organizational strategies and day-to-day action or inaction. In Manitoba, the planning profession is quite small, approximately 147 Manitoba planners (MPPI website, June 2013), which is why forming partnerships with other disciplines will be important to address root causes and power imbalances, in line with Healey's (2012, p.201) interdisciplinary "planning community of inquiry." Social planners tend to build support for their activism outside the profession because, conventionally, the role of planners has not been viewed as political, or being involved in community organizing. The expert status that comes with professional designation does not necessarily mean collective or professional agency for social change will increase or that ethical frameworks will be enhanced. Professionalism alone is not going to build the community power needed to tackle complex issues, but social movements have that potential.

Unfortunately, social movements are often disconnected from planning practice, and from conversations about conflict created by production and power in cities (Kennedy, 2007, p.2). Uitermark (2012) recommends that right to the city organizers should not just work to convince planners to adopt more progressive policies, but be working to "inspire urban movements" (p.200-1). Building long-term visions and alternatives for planning action will require a spectrum of approaches ranging from incremental to radical, and coordinated actors to see them through. Although in the experience of Boer and de Vries (2009), while *individual rights* were more often realized through reform, for collective rights radical politics had better results (p.1329). Autonomous community organizations and professions should seek common ground in order to build coordinated action with tangible practical steps. Or better yet, arm members of the public with information with which they can act. There are many parallels to be found in experiences of allies from related disciplines- examples of how to connect individual issues to larger oppressive forces.

City Watch seeks to build bridges with community groups and other individual members about municipal issues. This is demonstrated through its work on a Municipal Alternative Budget, its running of workshops to teach citizens how to access current municipal processes, and its mobilization of people to protect public goods from privatization. City Watch's role could include developing strategies to organize community members around equity issues, and to encourage democracy in various ways for example, by translating city processes into publicly understandable information and action. The responsibility of holding government to account falls to all citizens, but would benefit from coordination and support from groups like City Watch and

professional planning organizations. Groups like City Watch hold great community organizing potential, to connect planners within the system, activist and citizen planners outside of it, and progressive professionals from other disciplines. It is a link between theory and practice. In the Winnipeg context, history has shown that citizen groups like City Watch ebb and flow, which is why it and other similar intitatives should be more strongly supported so they can adapt and grow in diversity and influence.

The Social Work Academic and Campbell (2012) both suggest that marginalized populations and community-based advocates should get political and challenge their own marginalization and the "constraining power of governments and capital" (p.140). Marginalized voices at all levels – such as non-profits with limited resources, social planners within the professional bodies, and community members – should coordinate political, non-partisan efforts rather than acting individually or in competition with each other (DeFilippis et al.; Friedmann, 2011). Additionally, efforts should be developed to include organizations that, due to conditions of funding or other constraints, may not be able to directly critique institutions and their policies but still support the causes of social justice.

Planners can also utilize the political organizing experience of labour unions to coordinate community members who are unrepresented or underrepresented by typical identity groups or political processes. Harvey (2012) suggests that labour unions should connect more to municipal issues, points of production in workplaces, living spaces and cities (p.138-140) as well as across geography and sectors (p.134-5). Support should be thrown behind unions because when "union density decreases, income inequality tends to increase along similar lines" (Jackson, 2013, p.1). From another perspective, perhaps

planners can gain influence through the unionized environments in which they often work. If direct advocacy is discouraged in the public sector, for example, then strategic methods to raise political planning issues might come from the unions, while individuals avoid the risk associated with civil disobedience or whistle-blowing. The interviewees from non-planning disciplines saw more value and potential in connections with the labour movement than the city planners.

Outcomes of coalition building are uncertain and the results will be decades in the making, but over time community organizing has the potential to change power relationships within planning and politics, perhaps changing perceptions of communities and marginalized groups from being interests to consult, to being equal partners in planning processes. Good intentions and ethical frameworks are not enough to change oppressive practices within planning and political systems. Mobilizing collective will is the only way I see power shifting in the future.

5.1.4 Beyond Individual Ethics: Role of the Profession

In efforts to increase the planning professions credibility, the CIP and its provincial affiliates are implementing higher standards in some areas of practice through its PFF initiative and are seeking to reinforce these changes through legislation. The professionalization of city planning through the PFF process has created an opportunity to question and reflect on professional standards and to identify what rights, responsibilities, privilege and value a Registered Professional Planner designation affords (Wight, 2013, p.21). This may be positive if the standards are enforceable, and if continuing professional leaning programs occur, otherwise the new designation might

become exclusionary or afford little philosophical change. And it remains unclear what the profession considers good practice in terms of social justice. For example, Planner 5 viewed the certification process for higher membership standards as "more robust as to who gets in," whereas Planner 1 has experienced this as a narrowly defined exclusionary status unwelcoming to social planners. Expert status often contributes to class separation and exclusion (Campbell, 2005, p.218). It is a time for personal and professional self-reflection and learning, to expand relationships with similar professionals, build bridges and provide professional leadership. Along with professional titles, individuals and the profession must build public trust in planning processes, making consistent, transparent, public ethical judgements and building relationships. Ideally, when members of the public realize the value of planning, and have the capacity to do it for themselves through participatory structures, then the planning profession will not be needed (Baum in Campbell, 2005, p.518). This building of trust and improving democratic processes would speak louder than any piece of legislation staking claim to professional roles. The priority of the professional designation should not be about maintaining professional power.

Discussing social work, Weinberg (2009) argues that to increase the collective professional agency for societal change, professions must move away from traditional ethical problem solving on the individual level (p.144). There are strong parallels in planning. Common understanding and debate are needed within the profession and with those who work in planning activities about roles for social planning. Moral leadership, standards and professional support are needed so planners do not have to sacrifice their integrity or public interest convictions to work within political contexts. The planning

profession is one of the interconnected layers of community organizing essential to tackle dynamic political challenges of our time. This is a "call to arms," as Chatterton (2010) put it, for the profession to critically organize for what Freidmann (2008) called "a human-centred philosophy" (p.249) of the urban commons, to build bridges with other disciplines and groups, and to contribute in the struggle for social justice.

In this thesis, I proposed that the right to the city is a potential starting point for critical analysis of planning practices. Scholars propose it can be framed as a "generalized form of self-management" (Schmid, 2012, p.59), as an organizing tool to link social movements, and a way to understand complex problems (Boer & de Vries, 2009, p.1329). It is less important that the right to the city is the name used, or if it is aspirational or a legal charter. It *is* important that the principles, critical consciousness and coordinated actions are built around the concepts. Although some of the interviewees did not think Winnipeg was ready for these conversations yet, some good practices are already present in Winnipeg. City Watch is already practicing right to the city principles, demonstrated through interdisciplinary cooperation, and educating and organizing communities about social justice issues. These are key qualities in growing sustainable movements. There are lots of ideas on what should be implemented, but the struggle seems to be with how people make the changes. With a coalition, these ideas can be supported, and expanded upon in planning and political contexts, to increase accountability of all involved.

5.2 Reflections

The literature I reviewed and the professionals I interviewed called for more reflective practices to enable the planning profession to critically reflect on values and judgement

through public and professional debate in planning practice. Reflecting on this process has proven valuable in highlighting a gap in understanding, implementation and enforcement in the planning profession in Manitoba. Trying to apply all of the concepts in this thesis into my own planning practices or even this analysis is difficult due to interconnections, questioning motivations and making judgments as to what is important. I find myself moving back and forth between preferring radical planning methods, because they have great potential for change in the profession, and reform because it is safer to participate in mainstream practices. The challenge itself highlights the need for planners and citizens to try – and only through that struggle will we learn, find an appropriate path and create resilient communities.

Interviewees were challenged to expand their ethical thinking, but they also challenged my own. In one interview, I was challenged to explain how I framed the neoliberal dialogue around for-profit planning practice and ability to implement social justice. It became clear that my personal standards for judgement are quite high, sometimes unrealistic, and therefore, could be exclusionary. Everyone starts at a different level of understanding of what they have influence over, and do the best they can with available resources. I value the difficult and often unrecognized work of people who cultivate civic capacity, it is often a thankless job that takes place behind the scenes.

The interdisciplinary adventure expanded my thinking, showing more commonalities than differences. As the research demonstrates city planning is not the only profession or collective identity struggling with undemocratic processes. City planners cannot solve these societal issues in isolation. This follows my own journey as I search for my own identity and voice within the planning profession and for places to

apply my individual efforts for collective benefit. I decided to locate the research in

Winnipeg because I have grown up here, have experienced the beauty, challenges and

potential of the place and hope to invest my career here. Being critical of my own

profession and city is a small risk worth taking if there is potential for improvement. This

thesis has been a learning process– one in which to trust my instincts, build relationships,

to challenge the status quo and be challenged and to find confidence and support to

expand city planning roles that encourage democratic change through non-partisan,

political action.

A few limitations of the research process are explored in efforts to be transparent

so that others can learn from my process. The selection of social justice as a topic caused

endless interdisciplinary tangents to be researched. Although this was valuable for my

personal learning, I fear that there was more breadth than depth. This translated into

broad and challenging interview questions for critical reflection where more time or a

follow up interview would have been ideal to allow interviewees and interviewer to

process the questions.

The research subjects provided diverse interdisciplinary and planning sector

perspectives. By selecting one person from select professions outside of planning only

allowed a snapshot into future research directions rather than confirming wide-spread

experiences within the profession. Parallels between professions provide strong

grounding for conclusions because they share similar socio-economic and political

factors. During one of the interviews with non-planners, with the Law Academic for

example, I was out of my depth in regards to knowing what the right questions were to

get at the answers I sought. Even with preliminary research about the connections

between law and planning, I ended up with more questions and direction for future inquiry than in-depth dialogue on the interconnections. Also, within planning, the public, private and non-profit sector representation could have been more representative, although conveniently, many of the city planners had experience from multiple sectors. It should be noted that I did not seek to interview any current City of Winnipeg planning staff and public sector experience came from former employees of the City.

This research is a localized contribution to social justice in planning and although the political and economic trends influence us all in similar ways, the outcomes are different. It would be prudent to use this research as a starting point to compare outcomes with other case studies or professional organization's experiences to determine more generalizable results. The results are a valuable reminder to planners and citizens of the foundational concepts that underlie or should underlie professional actions, to build stronger relationships and resilient communities. I think that many of the lessons learned are transferrable to other disciplines due to the interdisciplinary nature of the research and the planning profession such as on-going reflective peer debate on social justice topics.

The following research questions grounded the inquiry in this thesis but were broad enough to enable preliminary literature and interview outcomes to lead the way.

1. How are ethics, democracy and social justice understood and translated into professional planning culture and practice?
2. How can professional planners, elected officials and citizen planners improve the implementation of equitable planning practices through democratic governance processes?
3. How could social justice standards or a framework be developed, coordinated, measured and enforced?
4. What lessons learned could be applied in the municipal and provincial planning and political context in Winnipeg, Manitoba to increase the voices and influence of marginalized ideas and groups?

There are no simple answers to the research questions. In order to answer the first research question, about how ideas manifest in a profession a better understanding of the planning and therefore political context of Winnipeg was critical. Translating planning values into practices and processes demonstrated the challenging factors individuals have to deal with, the inconsistency in doing so and limited pushing of boundaries against growing inequalities. Question 1 was answered in section 5.1.1 and 5.1.2. Question 2 was explored through the theoretical frame of right to the city used to critique ideas throughout this thesis as well as the collective political agency (section 5.1.3) potential at different scales and approaches to community organizing. Section 5.1.4 examines the political agency and role of professional planners in being more critical of professional standards and applying social justice in institutional structures. Research question 3 and 4, are explored in section 5.2 using the right to the city and other democratic literature to analyze key points that could be useful in building a planning framework for social justice in the future. It could be a starting point to determine what planning practices are applied in the Manitoba context to improve the influence of marginalized groups. There are many lessons to be learned as to what critical social planning practice could look like but it is unclear which will be given credibility within the profession. I have focused on city planners as the catalyst for change, because I am in the profession and it makes sense to try to change things in the circles in which I participate. If change can occur in the profession to make social planning less marginalized, then perhaps the profession and myself within it can be better allies working with marginalized people for social justice.

5.3 Recommendations and Conclusions

Based on the literature review and interview data, themes that emerged included: ethical leadership, education and vision for collective responsibility, critical inter-professional collaboration and coordination on systemic issues, standards for social justice and implementation and accountability. From these, I am making recommendations providing goals for integrating social planning and public interest influence into planning and politics:

1. Rebuild political connections at the individual, professional planner and democratic institution levels through critical consciousness, and conflict.

2. Provide planning education and civic literacy for elected officials and citizens.

3. Explore a new relationship and on-going professional planning debate on ethics, social planning and politics in the public interest.

4. Develop ally networks for social justice in planning to oppose neoliberal agendas in municipal planning and political activities.

5. Develop a social justice planning framework by identifying principles, content and benchmarks for social justice, democratic enforcement mechanisms and a strategy to work towards those goals.

I will briefly elaborate on recommendation five because the process of developing a social justice framework could integrate many of the other recommendations into the process. A framework based on the right to the city principles could encourage better understanding of city planning decision-making processes and judgements on a continuum of planning practices in often polarized spatial and political environments.

The purpose of a framework would be to critically evaluate the roles for planners in addressing social justice and assist in the development of a visions or strategies for further discussion and debate. Integration of various ethical frameworks is useful in creating clarity but it is uncertain if planners who support the individual frameworks would legitimize a synthesized approach (Kitchen, 2007, p.150-1).

Encouraging professional debate about and commitment to social justice would be an important step toward challenging positions of power. Rankin (2012) emphasizes that only a small portion of the planning profession currently analyze, predict and develop criteria to judge socio-political norms, advocate for change and question the process, relationships and outcomes (p.102). Developing a minimum standard, tools and process for self-evaluation and analysis of everyday planning decisions could increase transparency, accountability and political action of professional planners, politicians and citizens. Organizing critical reflection could draw on a combination of ideas outlined in this thesis. For example, applying Marcuse's (2009) critical process to reflect, theorize, expose, propose, disclose and politicize (p. 196) could begin to question personal assumptions and privilege, professional strategies and techniques for democratic decision-making and what are "reasonable limits" to infringe on the Charter of Rights and Freedoms for collective rights.

A framework could assist with evaluating societal assumptions and current practices in the local context, and help determine community needs and appropriate methods to redistribute resources. This strategic planning already occurs on various scales, but the framework could be a very intentional commitment to good practices, continued learning, adaptability, coalition building and action. Planners should follow

their own deliberative planning philosophies and improve the profession so that they may work better on deliberative democracy with communities.

The issues being raised in this thesis and the right to the city are complex, interconnected and present challenges in developing a usable, clear and relevant planning process in which to begin to address them in the future. A social justice framework would only be useful if people believe it has value or can hold each other accountable, so mobilization and action would be required for any kind of success to occur. Its role is a frame to question norms in planning practice and that alone can be a catalyst for something yet to be collectively envisioned.

It is easy to fall into patterns that maintain the status quo, but it is clear that more than incremental change is required to share power and try to offset environmental, political and cultural implosion. There is a sense of urgency. Planning is an art, science and social process that can influence and mobilize the collective will of citizens based on their rights and obligations to each other and the planet. The purpose of the research is to see how that influence is being used to implement professional planning values, ethics and determine whose responsibility it is to implement social justice. Depoliticisation, and power imbalances are institutionally embedded, and greatly divide and diminish citizens' abilities to collectively influence their environments. It follows that city planners also have a limited voice in sharing their professional advice and that of citizens in planning processes.

The right to the city provides a useful non-partisan frame, a critical tool and space for discussion on complex problems, and alternative policy approaches for mobilization. It is important that a framework is not just aspirational but seeks to change and enforce

behaviours and processes. In challenging the status quo, trust, credibility, and more consistent but flexible public processes can be built. Reinvesting in democracy requires being aware how oppression is reproduced, and role of the profession in it. Prioritizing processes, alternatives, and leadership qualities based on philosophy and redistribution of power to marginalized groups is the needed. Planners, community groups and citizens should set the example and create political pressure for a more democratic vision.

This thesis can act as a critical catalyst to highlight the need for civic alternatives to enhance democratic capacities and encourage diverse actors already working on social justice issues, like City Watch, to expose, propose, politicize and mobilize with a coordinated vision. Developing a right to the city or social justice framework for the Winnipeg context could reinvigorate critical consciousness and debate among professional and citizen planners to better translate social justice and professional ethics into practice. Lesson learned from this research require the development of implementation strategies and accountability mechanisms to increase professional planning leadership, education and vision on collective rights through interdisciplinary collaboration. A framework or professional agreement of social justice principles and translation alone will not solve the complex planning and societal challenges we face, rather Martin Luther King Jr. described what was required, "true integration will be achieved by true neighbors who are willingly obedient to unenforceable obligations" (King, 1986, p.124 in Thompson, 2012, p.755).

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APPENDIX A

Professional Planning Codes of Conduct- Canada, United States of America

Canadian Institute of Planners: Code of Professional Conduct
Retrieved March 8, 2013- www.mppi.mb.ca/conduct.asp

1.0 The Planner's Responsibility to the Public Interest
Members have a primary responsibility to define and serve the interests of the public. This requires the use of theories and techniques of planning that inform and structure debate, facilitate communication, and foster understanding. Accordingly, a CIP member shall:
1.1 practice in a manner that respects the needs, values and aspirations of the public and encourages discussion on these matters;
1.2 provide full, clear and accurate information on planning matters to decision-makers and members of the public, while recognizing the client's right to confidentiality and the importance of timely recommendations;
1.3 acknowledge the inter-related nature of planning decisions and their consequences for individuals, the environment, and the broader public interest; and
1.4 identify and promote opportunities for meaningful participation in the planning process to all interested parties.

2.0 The Planner's Responsibility to Clients and Employers
Members owe diligent, creative, independent, and competent performance of work in pursuit of the client's or employer's interest. Accordingly, a CIP member shall:
2.1 provide independent professional opinion to clients, employers, the public, and tribunals;
2.2 work with integrity and professionalism;
2.3 perform work only within the member's professional competence;
2.4 ensure that advertising or promotional activities fairly and accurately communicate the expertise and skills offered;
2.5 acknowledge the values held by the client or employer in work performed, unless such values conflict with other aspects of this Code;
2.6 respect the client's or employer's right to confidentiality of information gathered through a professional relationship, unless this right conflicts with other aspects of this Code;
2.7 inform the client or employer in the event of a conflict between the values or actions of the client or employer and the values or actions set in this Code;
2.8 ensure full disclosure to a client or employer of a possible conflict of interest arising from the member's private or professional activities;
2.9 inform all parties and give public disclosure, together with the member's professional recommendation, in circumstances where the public interest may be adversely affected;
2.10 reject, and not offer, any financial or other inducements that could influence or affect professional opportunities or planning advice; and

2.11 not sign or seal a final drawing, specification, plan, report or other document not actually prepared or checked by the member.

3.0 The Planner's Responsibility to the Profession
The vitality and credibility of the planning profession, and of the Institute, rely upon the quality of the members. To further the profession, members will be expected to attain and maintain a high standard of professional competence. Accordingly, a CIP member shall:
3.1 act in a fair, honest manner;
3.2 encourage healthy and constructive criticism about theory and practice of planning among colleagues and share the results of experience and research that contribute to the evolving body of planning knowledge;
3.3 maintain an appropriate awareness of contemporary planning philosophy, theory, and practice by seeking and receiving professional education throughout a planning career;
3.4 contribute to the professional education, mentoring, and development of planning students, provisional and Full members of the Institute, and other colleagues;
3.5 accurately represent his or her professional qualifications and affiliations and those of colleagues;
3.6 advertise professional planning services in a manner that enhances the credibility of the profession;
3.7 comply with any reasonable request of the Institute for information or for the co-operation of the member in pursuit of any Institute objective; and
3.8 implement and give full effect to the disposition of any discipline proceeding affecting the member.

American Institute of Certified Planners AICP Code of Ethics and Professional Conduct
Revised October 3, 2009
http://planning.org/ethics/ethicscode.htm

A: Principles to Which We Aspire

1. Our Overall Responsibility to the Public

Our primary obligation is to serve the public interest and we, therefore, owe our allegiance to a conscientiously attained concept of the public interest that is formulated through continuous and open debate. We shall achieve high standards of professional integrity, proficiency, and knowledge. To comply with our obligation to the public, we aspire to the following principles:

a) We shall always be conscious of the rights of others.
b) We shall have special concern for the long-range consequences of present actions.
c) We shall pay special attention to the interrelatedness of decisions.
d) We shall provide timely, adequate, clear, and accurate information on planning issues to all affected persons and to governmental decision makers.

e) We shall give people the opportunity to have a meaningful impact on the development of plans and programs that may affect them. Participation should be broad enough to include those who lack formal organization or influence.

f) We shall seek social justice by working to expand choice and opportunity for all persons, recognizing a special responsibility to plan for the needs of the disadvantaged and to promote racial and economic integration. We shall urge the alteration of policies, institutions, and decisions that oppose such needs.

g) We shall promote excellence of design and endeavor to conserve and preserve the integrity and heritage of the natural and built environment.

h) We shall deal fairly with all participants in the planning process. Those of us who are public officials or employees shall also deal even handedly with all planning process participants.

2. Our Responsibility to Our Clients and Employers

We owe diligent, creative, and competent performance of the work we do in pursuit of our client or employer's interest. Such performance, however, shall always be consistent with our faithful service to the public interest.

a) We shall exercise independent professional judgment on behalf of our clients and employers.

b) We shall accept the decisions of our client or employer concerning the objectives and nature of the professional services we perform unless the course of action is illegal or plainly inconsistent with our primary obligation to the public interest.

c) We shall avoid a conflict of interest or even the appearance of a conflict of interest in accepting assignments from clients or employers.

3. Our Responsibility to Our Profession and Colleagues

We shall contribute to the development of, and respect for, our profession by improving knowledge and techniques, making work relevant to solutions of community problems, and increasing public understanding of planning activities.

a) We shall protect and enhance the integrity of our profession.

b) We shall educate the public about planning issues and their relevance to our everyday lives.

c) We shall describe and comment on the work and views of other professionals in a fair and professional manner.

d) We shall share the results of experience and research that contribute to the body of planning knowledge.

e) We shall examine the applicability of planning theories, methods, research and practice and standards to the facts and analysis of each particular situation and shall not accept the applicability of a customary solution without first establishing its appropriateness to the situation.

f) We shall contribute time and resources to the professional development of students, interns, beginning professionals, and other colleagues.

g) We shall increase the opportunities for members of underrepresented groups to become professional planners and help them advance in the profession.
h) We shall continue to enhance our professional education and training.
i) We shall systematically and critically analyze ethical issues in the practice of planning.
j) We shall contribute time and effort to groups lacking in adequate planning resources and to voluntary professional activities.

APPENDIX B

Key Informant Semi-Structured Interview Guide and Consent Form

Interview Questions for Planning Professionals, and Inter-professional Case Study Participants (August 26, 2013)

Introductory Questions: What is your role within your profession (title, duties, professional planning practitioner)? How long have you been involved in this profession or initiative? Why do you do the work you do?

1. Please describe your profession or initiative in your own words. What were the main factors or context that led to the initiative? What goals and objectives guided the initiative? (e.g. scope, resources)

2. In your experience, how would you describe the relationship between professional planners, politicians and citizen planners (i.e. non-governmental or community based organizations, activists or volunteers who participate in planning activities)?
   a) What strategies have been used to gain support of planners, politicians, residents and others? Processes, framing issue (e.g. engagement, scale-local, systemic issues, the ask), collaboration (e.g. community based organizations, unions, social movements, other planners).
   b) Did bridging political and planning relationships contribute to more opportunities (e.g. access, dialogue, resources, systemic change) for participation in civic processes? How? Did anything surprise you?
   c) What advice would you give planners, and other stakeholders who seek to improve democratic planning processes and outcomes?

3. How do you evaluate the success (or lack thereof) of your profession or the initiative? (e.g. Measure process and outcome including: agenda framing, convening process-venues, scope of participation and joint decision-making authority, legitimacy, distributional outcomes, civic capacity, political will and policy performance. Met short or long term goals, relationships/networks, organizational capacity, leadership/ management, institutional changes, build reciprocity, consensus, build social, intellectual and political capital and empowerment).
   a) What was successful? What wasn't? Why? What did you learn?
   b) How do you know if this initiative has contributed to systemic change? Consider implications of scale, power, space and time.

4. Do you embrace an ethical framework? If so, how do you define your professional planning (or collective/societal) ethic or responsibility? (i.e. professional planning institutions broadly suggest that a professional ethic includes: integrity, competence, meaningful participation, and informed and objective advice, applied broadly to participation, public interest and the environment. Collective or societal ethics include distributive justice and equity, collective rights, ethics, democratic participation and transparency and accountability)

5. How have you translated your professional (or collective/societal) ethic into the planning profession initiatives you have worked on?
   a) Are you aware of any decision-making processes, evaluation guidelines or criteria to help determine what factors to consider in meeting diverse community needs?
   b) (Professional planners only) - Is the Professional Planning Code of Conduct accountable enough to societal ethics?

6. How do you define social justice in community planning activities you participate in? (e.g. a goal, critical questions of people in power, collective rights override individual rights, determine the appropriate role of government, advocate for social justice in public government action, organization and distribution of social benefits, open, uncoerced reasoning processes between free and equal people)

7. Do you think that some type of professional standard or criteria would be useful in setting social justice goals and evaluating projects? Why or why not?

8. How would a professional standard or criteria influence your ability to advocate for and implement social justice planning? (e.g. clarity of values and working relationships between professions, professional vision, potential for impact)
   a) What are the consequences of not having societal ethics guidelines? (e.g. business as usual, accountability, less social solidarity?) Challenges of having one? (e.g. responsibility, community organizing, conflict, accountability, enforcement, resources)

9. What should be included in a framework for other planners, politicians or citizen planners to better integrate societal ethics and justice into planning practices?
   a) Do you think the right to the city is a useful organizing concept for goals, dialogue, implementation, evaluation and accountability of professional or citizen planning ethics?

10. Are there any other related matters you would like to raise or recommend for this research?

Statement of Informed Consent

Research Project Title: Social Justice in City Planning: A 'Right to the City' Framework for Winnipeg
Principal Investigator contact information: Laura Rempel
Research Supervisor contact information: Dr. Richard Milgrom

This consent form, a copy of which will be left with you for your records and reference, is only part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information. If you wish to withdraw fully or specific comments from this interview process please contact Laura Rempel or Richard Milgrom at the above contact information prior to October 30, 2013.

1. Purpose of the Research: The research is being undertaken to satisfy the major degree project requirement of the Master of City Planning Degree at the University of Manitoba. The purpose of the project is to learn how to build democratic bridges, processes and structures between diverse interests in urban environments. This research will use the social justice frame of the 'right to the city' to examine relationships between city planning (i.e. mobilization of collective will), politics (i.e. the art of influencing people), and civics (i.e. rights and obligations of citizens). The experiences will be analysed to determine how city planners can better facilitate and integrate democracy, social justice and community organizing into governance processes within the current context of neoliberal policies and practices.

2. Procedures: You are being asked to participate in an interview related to integrating social justice and societal ethics into planning practice. The interviews are intended to clarify and illustrate the interconnected roles of city planners, civic officials and participating citizens or community based organizations. The interviews will take approximately forty-five minutes. Interviews will be digitally recorded if consent is given and notes will be taken. The project is expected to include a minimum of ten key informants who participate in planning activities in Winnipeg.

3. Recording Devices: With your permission, interviews will be digitally recorded to ensure an accurate record of responses. If you do not wish to be recorded, you can specify below by circling your answer, only these notes will be used. You will not be identified in the project documentation by name. All audio files and interview notes collected during the research process will be stored securely, and destroyed upon completion of the project.

4. Risk: Interviewees will be engaged via in-person meeting, telephone or email. Participants will be asked to choose the location of their interview, most likely their place of work, minimizing risk and ensuring privacy. Please see Section 5 on Confidentiality for more detail on the moderate chance of a confidentiality breach.

5. Confidentiality: Your privacy is important. You will not be identified in the thesis document by name. Participants will be asked questions in their area of expertise only, related to planning and social justice. You should be aware that the general role you played in the planning process will be identified. It may be possible for those with knowledge of the city and planning process to infer your identify. Given the small pool of relevant participants, there is a moderate chance that a participant might be identifiable by their choice of words as used in the thesis. However, no information of a personal nature will be collected from the participants and quotations will be coded. Participants will be designated a code number based on their role in the organization, such as Planner (public, private or non-profit), Elected Official or Citizen Planner 1, 2, 3. Participants will be allowed to withdraw from the interview at any time, if they believe there is a concern. Participants will have final approval of the use of their comments prior to the publication of the thesis and the ability to withdraw them. All raw information gathered (recordings and notes) will be destroyed at the conclusion of the final document, estimated December 2013.

6. Credit or Remuneration: Participants will all benefit, professionally, by reflecting and learning more about successful approaches to social justice planning and build connections to act on what was learned, as an outcome of this research. The addition of new information to their discipline could be considered a valuable contribution to existing knowledge.

7. Debriefing & Dissemination: Interviewees will be provided debriefing material after their interview. This will include a summary of key themes that the researcher has analyzed from open coding of the interviews. The interviewees will be asked comment on the interpretation of the researcher's analysis and have the option to clarify their meaning or withdraw comments. Participants will have final approval of comments prior to the publication of the thesis. All participants will be provided with a copy of the thesis, upon request, at the end of the project, in PDF format, by email attachment. Presentations or journal articles based on the results of this thesis may be completed.

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate as a subject. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. **You are free to withdraw from the study at any time, and/or refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence.** Your continued participation should be as informed as your initial consent, so you should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

The University of Manitoba Research Ethics Board(s) and a representative(s) of the University of Manitoba Research Quality Management / Assurance office may also require access to your research records for safety and quality assurance purposes.

This research has been approved by the Joint Faculty Research Ethics Board. If you

have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact any of the above-named persons or the Human Ethics Coordinator (HEC) at (204) 474-7122. A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.

Yes No I consent to a digital recording of the following interview.

Participant's Signature　　　　　　　**Date**

Researcher's Signature　　　　　　　**Date**

APPENDIX C

Right to the City Alliance Platform

Land for People vs. Land for Speculation
The right to land and housing that is free from market speculation and that serves the interests of community building, sustainable economies, and cultural and political space.

Land Ownership
The right to permanent ownership of urban territories for public use.

Economic Justice
The right of working class communities of color, women, queer and transgender people to an economy that serves their interests

Indigenous Justice
The right of First Nation indigenous people to their ancestral lands that have historical or spiritual significance, regardless of state borders and urban or rural settings.

Environmental Justice
The right to sustainable and healthy neighborhoods & workplaces, healing, quality health care, and reparations for the legacy of toxic abuses such as brown fields, cancer clusters, and superfund sites.

Freedom from Police & State Harassment
The right to safe neighborhoods and protection from police, INS/ICE, and vigilante repression, which has historically targeted communities of color, women, queer and transgender people.

Immigrant Justice
The right of equal access to housing, employment, and public services regardless of race,

ethnicity, and immigration status and without the threat of deportation by landlords, ICE, or employers.

Services and Community Institutions
The right of working class communities of color to transportation, infrastructure and services that reflect and support their cultural and social integrity.

Democracy and Participation
The right of community control and decision-making over the planning and governance of the cities where we live and work, with full transparency and accountability, including the right to public information without interrogation.

Reparations
The right of working class communities of color to economic reciprocity and restoration from all local, nation and transnational institutions that have exploited and/or displaced the local economy.

Internationalism
The right to support and build solidarity between cities across national boundaries, without state intervention.

Rural Justice
The right of rural people to economically healthy and stable communities that are protected from environmental degradation and economic pressures that force migration to urban areas.

Source: www.righttothecity.org/index.php/about