PLANNING FOR ETHNOCULTURAL DIFFERENCE:
ENGAGEMENT IN A CHANGING WINNIPEG

BY

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2 Abstract

In recent years, Winnipeg's ethnocultural profile has been diversifying due to historic levels of international immigration, especially from Asian, Middle Eastern and African places of origin. In spite of these changes, little is known about the ways in which the City's planning processes are addressing the needs of people living the experience of being new to the city, or how the needs and preferences of these emerging ethnic groups are affected by planning decisions. This research examines the City's response to ethnocultural difference by analyzing municipal planning policy, and by conducting focus groups with City of Winnipeg planners and with key informants from organizations that serve newcomers. This research explores what Winnipeg's Planning and Land Use Division, and organizations that serve newcomers, each hope to accomplish with respect to planning for ethnocultural difference, compiles their aims and methods with those suggested in the literature, and develops recommendations for change.

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5   Introduction

5.1   STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

In 1999, Wallace & Milroy proposed that immigration and increasing cultural diversity will pose a set of challenges to the planning profession in Canada. These challenges are now a reality, as needs and preferences in city environments become further defined along varied cultural lines (Sandercock 2000a; Sandercock 2000b; Rahder & Milgrom 2004; Wood and Landry 2008). The main purpose of this research is to understand what Winnipeg - one of the cities in Canada experiencing immigration on a relatively large scale (see Table 1) - has accomplished in terms of addressing these challenges through its municipal planning, and to identify areas of potential policy and practice change.

5.2   RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Over the last decade in particular, Winnipeg's ethnocultural makeup has been diversifying due to an historic influx of international newcomers to the province. International immigration to Manitoba has increased 235 per cent since 1998; while the national level has remained relatively stable (Carter, Morrish & Amoyaw 2008). While ethnic difference is nothing new to Winnipeg, recent

Table 1: Immigration in 2006, Top Seven City Regions (Census Metropolitan Areas)			
Toronto	5,113,149	99,263	1.94%
Vancouver	2,116,581	36,271	1.71%
Winnipeg	**694,668**	**7,698**	**1.11%**
Calgary	1,079,310	11,827	1.10%
Montréal	3,635,571	38,379	1.06%
Edmonton	1,034,945	6,437	0.62%
Ottawa - Gatineau	1,130,761	6,287	0.56%
Total		206,162	
Total Canada		251,649	

Source: Citizenship & Immigration Canada 2008; and Statistics Canada 2006b

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immigration trends (larger numbers and different source countries) are beginning to present levels and forms of ethnic diversity that Winnipeg has not seen in the past (Refer to Tables 1 and 2).

Table 2: Top Immigrant Source Countries*	
1966-1970	**2001-2006**
United Kingdom	Philippines
Italy	India
Portugal	China
Caribbean and Bermuda	Ukraine
Germany	Ethiopia
Poland	South Korea
Source: Statistics Canada 2001	Source: Statistics Canada 2006a

* Top immigrant source countries to Winnipeg, in descending order, 1966-1970 and 2001-2006. Major source countries are now more globally diverse than they were 40 years ago.

In spite of these changes, little has been documented about the ways in which the City of Winnipeg has been addressing the needs of people living the experience of being new to the city, and of being part of emerging ethnic groups with needs and preferences that are affected by, but not necessarily reflected in, planning decisions. This research explores the issue of planning for ethnocultural diversity through a literature review. It also examines the City's responses to ethnocultural diversity by analyzing municipal planning policy and by conducting focus groups with City of Winnipeg planners and key informants from organizations that serve newcomers. This research explores what Winnipeg's Planning and Land Use Division, and organizations that serve newcomers, hope to accomplish with respect to planning for ethnocultural difference, compiles these aims and methods with those suggested in the literature, and develops recommendations for changes to planning policy and practice based on the findings.

The major challenge related to urban ethnocultural changes like the ones Winnipeg is experiencing, according to Sandercock (2000a), is integrating cultural concerns at the local level. City planners are increasingly faced with the prospect of adapting or providing for housing, public and recreational spaces, commercial uses and places of worship - to name a few things - to address the needs of newcomers whose norms and preferences may be different from those accommodated by planning in the past (Sandercock 2000a).

In Manitoba, both the provincial and municipal levels of government have planning roles that have impacts on life experiences of newcomers at the macro level (policies and structures) and the micro level (the built environment). Their areas of focus, however, are somewhat different. The Province has placed more emphasis on immigrant recruitment, settlement services, labour market initiatives and multiculturalism policy (Province of Manitoba 2008b). The City, which derives its planning powers from the Province under the *City of Winnipeg Charter Act*, is responsible for the regulation and enforcement of housing standards, zoning, property taxes, land use and development, urban design and neighbourhood design. In other words, the City has a more direct role in affairs of the built environment which, as Sandercock (2005) notes, often has particular implications for those of different ethnic backgrounds. This study focuses on the role of the City, and planning issues the City oversees. It is impossible to separate substantive planning issues from the structures that govern them, so this study seeks to develop recommendations at both the practical and policy levels.

It is hoped that the results of this research will lead to a deeper conversation in Winnipeg about planning issues as they affect newcomers, and provide information that will encourage planners and newcomer groups to work collaboratively on planning policies and practical initiatives, to improve the experience of life in the city for those who are new and/or who live the experience of ethnocultural 'difference'.

Planning cities for ethnocultural change sits within a larger context of 'planning for difference'. This is a relatively new topic in the planning literature that proposes that immigrant issues be explored through the lens of difference (Sandercock 2000b). This is because addressing the needs of newcomers invariably raises issues tied to the 'politics of difference': the ways in which power, identity, and policy interplay, and affect the ability of different groups to live alongside one another (Sandercock 2000b).

Several planning theorists (Sandercock 2000a; Fainstein 2000; Young 1990) as well as critical anthropologists (Gupta and Ferguson 1997) see ethnocultural difference through this (political) lens. The present study views ethnocultural diversity in Winnipeg as a complex issue that invokes political questions, such as power relations and representation – the right to the city (Lefebvre 1996 [1968]); and identity - right to difference (Sandercock 2000a). These questions are examined in the literature review, and the study addresses some political questions in the focus groups. This study however does not attempt to provide a thorough examination of the politics of difference in planning.

Local knowledge plays a large part in this study because of the Winnipeg base of policy and of research participants. With some exceptions; notably Vancouver (Sandercock 2003b, 143), planning departments in Canadian cities are largely failing to keep pace with changing ethnocultural demographics and associated urban changes. Therefore, although the study is done in the Winnipeg context, results and implications may be useful for application beyond the borders of the city and the province.

Research Questions:

1. *How is the topic of planning for ethnocultural difference explored in recent literature?*
   A literature review on 'planning for difference' provides information on theoretical approaches.

2. *What are the City's aims, and recent actions, related to planning for ethnocultural diversity?*
   Aims and recent actions are developed from a review of major Winnipeg planning policy documents and from a focus group with planners.

3. *How could the City's planning approaches best address the needs of recent Asian, Middle Eastern, and African international newcomers?*
   Responses to this question are developed from the results of the focus groups, as well as the literature analysis.

4. *How can planning policies and practices be informed by the results of this study?*
   Responses to this question are developed from a synthesis of the literature, and a by written analysis of the results of the study.

5.3 RATIONALE FOR STUDY
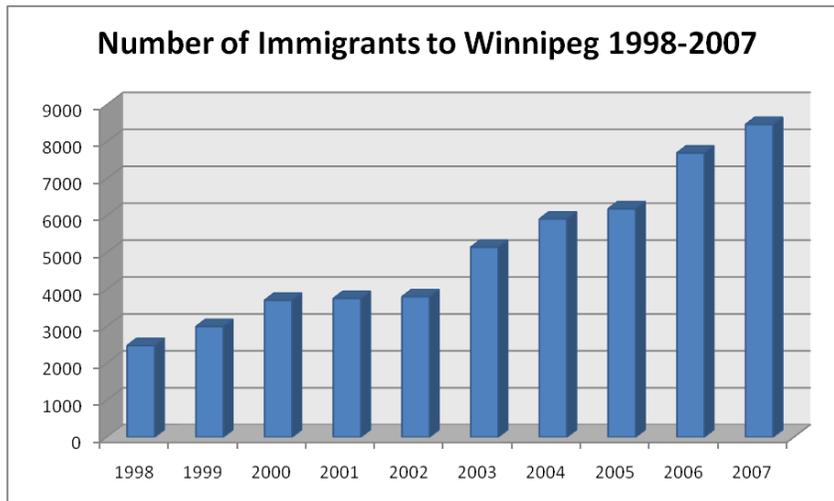
Number of Immigrants to Winnipeg 1998-2007

International newcomers make up the most significant portion of population growth in Winnipeg and Manitoba (Chief Administrative Officer Secretariat 2007), and now comprise 17.8% of Winnipeg's population (Statistics Canada 2007). In addition, immigrant source countries are changing (refer to Table 2), resulting in a different cultural landscape than the city has seen in the past.

These changes are generally attributed to Manitoba's immigration strategy, which includes the *Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program* (MPNP). This program, the first of its kind in Canada, has recently been adopted in different forms in other provincial jurisdictions.

The MPNP grew out of a desire for the Manitoba government to increase its level of involvement in settlement, spatial dispersion, language communities, levels and composition of immigrants, and other immigration-related issues. One of the main goals

of the MPNP was to "…provide Manitoba with the opportunity to influence its particular social, demographic, economic development and labour market priorities, including responses to skills shortages" (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2003).

The MPNP drives the majority of immigration to Manitoba – more than the family and refugee classes combined (Province of Manitoba, 2007). The program, which contains several streams to appeal to different classes of nominees, is composed of a set of policies and programs that simplify the process of immigrating to Manitoba for the purpose of working in selected skilled fields (Province of Manitoba 2008a). The resulting increased immigration has addressed a mostly stagnant population growth rate that occurred during the 1970s, 80s and 90s (Travel Manitoba 2008).

5.4   ASSUMPTIONS AND LIMITATIONS

This study rests on the assumption that improving life experience for newcomers to Winnipeg is important, as it is for all residents. This study also assumes that it is important to assess needs as they are defined at the community level; and this is why newcomer communities (key informants) were approached directly in focus groups. In these respects, this research takes a normative position through its support for diversity and social justice. This research also assumes that because ethnicity is closely tied to differences in cultural norms and preferences[1], it is important to examine newcomers'

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[1] There is much literature on ethnicity and the built environment, some of which is reviewed in *Section 6.3.3: Ethnoculture and the Built Environment.*

needs that are connected to their living experiences, including those related to the built environment.

The study focuses primarily on the needs of international newcomers from Asian, African, and Middle Eastern communities, to align with the most recent immigration trends in Winnipeg. In the last census period, the vast majority of international newcomers arrived from Asia, Africa, and the Middle East (Statistics Canada 2006a). Although newcomers arrive from many parts of the world, using these demographics provided a centre for the research, and allowed study participants to focus on the needs of particular groups.

It is impossible to capture information on the opinions or needs of all Asian, Middle Eastern and African international newcomers. A particularly large study would be required to generate results that could be considered generalizable to all such newcomers to Winnipeg. As noted in *Section 8: Research Methods*, however, this study presents information from participants who have interacted with many Asian, Middle Eastern, African international newcomers in the course of their work roles, and who are in a position to summarize views and opinions to a sufficient degree for the purposes of this study.

Although immigrants and refugees often have different urban experiences (Madariaga-Vignudo & Miladinovska-Blazevska 2005; Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation

2009), and are classed differently under Manitoba's immigration strategy, [2] this research explores the effect that newcomers (both immigrants and refugees) have on Winnipeg's ethnocultural diversity, and does not seek to distinguish among the needs of different classes of newcomers in such a way. Although economics has impacts on choice and satisfaction (Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation 2009), this research focuses more on the role of ethnoculture than socioeconomic factors. Within this lens, the researcher further acknowledges that it is difficult or impossible to describe ethnoculture fully for any group(s). This study sought to gain some knowledge about members of particular groups that are also part of larger groups (newcomers), acknowledging that none of these groups represent fully a 'culture', and that history, individual differences, and socio-political factors including power relations continually have impacts on what is 'seen' by researchers and others.

Finally, this researcher acknowledges the limitations posed by the fact that he does not share the life experience of being an international newcomer, nor of being part of a visible minority group, nor of being marginalized in social power. These realities present challenges for this research in that (1) experience can only be inferred as closely as possible; and (2) expectations of trust and honesty from study participants can be strived for but not guaranteed. As noted in *Section 8.2.2: Preparation and Logistics*, steps were taken to meet with all study participants individually in their regular work

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[2] Refugees are a separate category in Manitoba immigration policy. The other categories are economic class and family class.

environments before the focus groups, not only to develop an acceptable interview guide, but also to help establish familiarity and a level of trust.

While care should be taken to not overgeneralize these study results, as mentioned earlier in this section, some of the findings related to planning policy and practice may inform relevant literature and related discussions of planning for ethnocultural difference in cities.

5.5 HOW TO USE THIS DOCUMENT

This thesis begins with a review of literature on planning for difference, to ground the study in relevant planning concepts, and to inform an appropriate synthesis and discussion of findings. The literature review begins with definitions of some concepts (*Section 6.1: Defining Ethnicity, Culture and Ethnoculture*), a brief look at global mobility and ethnic change (*Section 6.2: Migration and Ethnic Change*), and a section on the relationship between planning and ethnocultural difference (*Section 6.3: Planning for Ethnocultural Difference*). Section 6.3 contains nine subsections, *including The Politics of Difference, Ethnocultural Difference in the City, Ethnoculture and the Built Environment, Imagined Places and Reconstructed Spaces, Authenticity of Place, Indifferent to Difference? The Lines of 'other', Planning for Fear and 'disorder', Democratic Process, and The Role of Planners.* The literature review section ends with a discussion.

Immediately following the literature review, a brief historical overview of Winnipeg immigration is provided along with a review of recent settlement patterns (*Section 7: International Newcomers: The Winnipeg Context*) These discussions help base the study

in the local context (provide some information on who is coming and where they are settling). Section 7 also includes an analysis of relevant Winnipeg planning policy documents (*Section 7.2.1: Plan Winnipeg 2020 Vision* and *Section 7.2.2: Centre Plan*).

The next section of the document reviews the research methods used in this study (*Section 8: Research Methods),* including the general research orientation (*Section 8.1: Interpretive Branch of Science*) and specifics about the methodology (*Section 8.2: Methodology*).

The next section of the document (*Section 9: Results*), reviews the results of both of the focus groups, beginning with the key informant group. Each section in *Results* concludes with a summary table. Following the results, a discussion is provided (*Section 10: Discussion*), which includes a note on limitations (*Section 10.1: Limitations of the Results*) and a discussion of the way some concepts intersect with this research (*Section 10.2: Dealing with 'Other', 'Difference', and 'Disorder'*). Implications of the findings are then discussed (*Section 10.7: Pulling it all Together: Implications for Policy and Practice*). Following this, there is a brief discussion of the politics of ethnocultural difference in the Winnipeg context (*Section 10.8: The Politics of Ethnocultural Difference – A Winnipeg Perspective*), a further discussion of the needs expressed by the groups studied (*Section 10.9: Crossing Paths: Newcomers' and Non-Newcomers' Needs*), recommendations for future research (*Section 10.10: Recommendations for Future Research*), and a look to the future (*Section 10.11: Where do we go from here?)* The document concludes with a

list of references (*Section 11: References*) and the interview guides used in the focus

groups (*Section 12: Appendix*).

6   Literature Review

6.1   DEFINING ETHNICITY, CULTURE AND ETHNOCULTURE

Ethnicity generally refers to characteristics shared among group members, including physical characteristics, religion, history, cultural traditions, and sometimes genetic inheritance (Paniagua & Taylor 2008; Cohen 2004). The meaning of the word *culture* varies much depending on context, but in the 'planning for difference' literature it generally refers to a collection of values, perceptions, customs, and cultural practices held by any group (Paniagua & Taylor 2008; Sandercock 2003b).

There is considerable overlap in definitions of ethnicity and culture. The main distinction is that ethnicity is generally understood to be related to one's racial affiliation or ancestry (Princeton University 2009; Banks 1996), whereas culture may not be. As Paniagua & Taylor (2008) point out, racial, ethnic, gender, age, socioeconomic and other groups may all hold particular cultures (as diverse and temporal as they may be in each case).

This study is primarily concerned with *ethnoculture*, which generally refers to a combination of culture and ethnicity (Paniagua & Taylor 2008). Because the literature review begins with an examination of culture as it pertains to ethnicity and ethnoculture, the word *culture* should be understood in the review as relating to ethnicity and ethnoculture.

6.2   MIGRATION AND ETHNIC CHANGE

Like Winnipeg, many large cities in Canada and elsewhere are experiencing rapid

ethnocultural diversification due to increased immigration. Leonie Sandercock (2000a)

who has studied ethnocultural difference extensively, provides us with a report on this

state of affairs, noting how migration is increasing globally:

> In the last years of the twentieth century, the globalization of the
> economy and the acceleration of urbanization processes increased the
> ethnic and cultural diversity of cities through national and international
> migration processes which led to the interpenetration of populations and
> dissimilar ways of life within the sphere of the world's main metropolitan
> areas. Our world is ethnically and culturally diverse, and cities
> concentrate and express that diversity. While this has always been the
> case, it is arguably more so now, at the dawn of the twenty-first century,
> than at any other point in human history (7).

It is indisputable now that the makeup of major cities around the world is changing,

most visibly in terms of ethnicity and culture. To understand what this means is difficult,

however, because concept of ethnicity is unstable. This fact is noted by Statistics

Canada, the agency responsible for collecting national and regional data on ethnicity:

> The reporting of ethnicity, and subsequent interpretation of the results,
> has become increasingly complex due to a number of factors, and poses
> challenges for historical data comparisons. The concept of ethnicity is
> fluid and is probably one of the more complex concepts measured in
> census. Respondents' understanding or views about their ethnicity,
> awareness of their family background, number of generations in Canada,
> the length of time since immigration, and the social context at the time of
> the census can all affect the reporting of ethnicity from one census to
> another. Increasing intermarriage or unions among various groups has
> led to an increase the reporting of multiple ancestries, which has added
> to the complexity of the ethnic data (Statistics Canada, 2008a, 7).

The above factors noted by Statistics Canada (2008a) inform the modern-day conception of ethnicity and present challenges to researchers. Gobster (2002), for example, conducted a study on ethnicity and urban park use, using three pre-set categories of ethnic groups. When participants were later asked to self-identify, the three categories expanded to twenty five; underscoring the variability of the term 'ethnicity'.

Ethnoculture is no less difficult a concept to study (and is perhaps more), as it involves the culture of the individual or group in addition to ethnic characteristics that may apply. This study does not attempt to develop a universal definition of *culture* or *ethnoculture*. It is important, however, to explore ways in which these concepts are understood in recent literature, to help us appreciate the complexity that these concepts bring to the study.

6.3   PLANNING FOR ETHNOCULTURAL DIFFERENCE

Sandercock (2003b) notes that culture "cannot be understood as static, eternally-given, essentialist" (4). Political economists, who include some planning theorists (like Susan Fainstein 1999, 2000), also conceptualize culture as an ever-changing concept mediated by a number of factors, rather than being directly tied to geography or race[3]. In the political economic view (of the Just City model), no culture is discrete: each connects to

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[3] Fainstein (1999) does not define "race", but the term generally refers to groups with shared heritable characteristics (see American Association of Physical Anthropologists 1996, listed in references).

and has impacts on others through the workings of a range of economic and social

processes (Fainstein 1999, 24).

While not identifying themselves as political economists, Gupta and Ferguson (1997) see

culture through a lens of "regional and global forms of connectedness" (2), and

deemphasize specialization of culture in place. These authors argue that the

culture/place relationship model is a weak one:

> The idea that a "culture" is naturally the property of a spatially localized
> people and that the way to study such a culture is to go "there" ("among
> the so-and-so")…dissolves into a series of challenging and important
> issues about the contested relations between difference, identity, and
> place (3).

The above conceptions render investigation of culture more difficult than it may have

been under previously accepted anthropological models, and they raise important

questions about research methods. Earlier anthropological models, which typically

envisaged a "mosaic of separate cultures" (Gupta and Ferguson 1997, 1), usually tied

culture and geography into a package, making culture easily investigable (though

perhaps not well-understood) through travel to particular world places.

Some authors accept the tenuous relationship between culture and place, but find it

unreasonable to suggest a total absence of association between the two. As Ng (1998)

notes, although environmental determinism has mostly been refuted, environmental

probabilism and *possibilism* both propose that topography, climate, and vegetation play

roles at least in setting out boundaries for cultural development (57). Rapoport (1982)

argues that the physical environment does not determine, but provides cues for,

people's behaviours. In terms of settlement adjustment, Ng (1998) gives a nod to possibilism in his review of literature: "Although the impact of the physical environment on successful settlement in a new society is likely to be smaller than that of social institutional factors such as the economy, the political structure, and religion, it plays a role in mediating behaviour that is crucial to successful settlement in a new society" (64).

Clifford (1988) argues that the very conception of a definable culture, irrespective of notions of place, is probably constructed. He rejects bona fide renderings of the concept: "My general aim is to displace any transcendent regime of authenticity, to argue that any authoritative [anthropological] collections…are historically contingent and subject to local reappropriation" (10). In ethnographic work, identity "must always be mixed, relational, and inventive" (10). Gupta and Ferguson's (1997) solution to this question is, for the time being, for "…anthropology's 'cultures' [to be] seen as less unitary and more fragmented…" (3).

Although the above examinations do not suggest that valuable information cannot be gained in cultural research, they reject traditional approaches and propose caution. Instead of making generalizations about a 'culture', a researcher might say that he or she has gained some knowledge about *some* people or a particular group (which does or does not represent fully - a 'culture') and their relationship to place, while acknowledging still that history, individual differences, and socio-political factors including power relations have impacts on what we see and how we are seen. Gupta

and Ferguson (1997) call for the additional recognition that research findings are subject to change temporally – because communities constantly undergo reconstruction and culture continually reproduces in relation to the built environment (35-36).

This study accepts that economic, social, political, and other factors shape experience for groups, whose identities and cultures are difficult to define to begin with, and whose makeup and needs change with time. This study aims to help Winnipeg's planning system learn more about being responsive to difference, and to tune-in to ethnocultural needs as they change in the city.

6.3.1   THE POLITICS OF DIFFERENCE

It would be inadequate to examine the subject of planning for ethnocultural diversity without looking at the politics of difference. Increasing transnational migration continues to lead to cultural alterations of urban environments, and compels researchers to examine politics and power as part of the quest to understand how urban experiences are affected by planning. Renewed attention to postcolonialism and public involvement in planning processes (Sandercock 2000b) has helped planners wake to these realities. Lefebvre (1996 [1968]), a theorist whose concept of the "right to the city" framed new discourses in planning literature, believed it was essential that participants in daily life articulate their ideas on the use and configuration of space (170). This belief in the contribution of the 'everyperson' in planning represented a major departure from the contemporary rational or comprehensive planning models,

which according to Camhis (1979), emphasized values imposed by professionals or the state (39).

Knowledge about diverse goals and preferences gained through participatory practice helps planners, but it is still a struggle for individuals and groups (especially those marginalized in social power) to achieve meaningful fulfillment of their needs in urban environments (Sandercock 2000a). Planners' abilities to help communities reach goals (if they are able to help convey them), depends on the local political system, its ideology, and its related priorities and resource allocations (Fainstein 1999).

Several theorists, both in and outside of planning disciplines, have examined ways in which structures and systems present barriers to renegotiations of space and resources in the urban environment (Fainstein 1999; Gupta & Ferguson 1997; Rahder & Milgrom 2004; Sandercock 2000a; 2000b). Planning and designing for groups with little social power may require participatory processes, but may also require measures to combat structures that tend to keep groups on the fringes (Fainstein 2000). The "right to difference" (Sandercock 2000a), while now better recognized in planning, remains primarily in the theoretical domain.

As noted in *Section 5.2: Research Questions*, the literature review does not offer a thorough examination of systemic barriers to participation, nor does it suggest a solution to the overall issue of planning for difference. Section 6.3 does, however, take a look at the ways in which the concepts of 'difference' or 'other' are understood within

works of research, through an ethnocultural lens, and the related implications for planning.

6.3.2 EXPLORING ETHNOCULTURAL DIFFERENCE IN THE CITY

With increasing ethnic diversity, urban residents are often confronted with the task of reassessing what 'we' means and who 'other' is. According to Young (1990a), the construction of the city is like a "being together of strangers" (237). Sandercock (2000a) notes that this is a major issue for planning: "The building of a peaceful co-existence based on respect for differences has been, and remains, among the most important challenges facing all urban societies" (7). Wood and Landry (2008) also note this social challenge. The authors propose that if cities are to be successful in the future, planners and policy makers need to usher in an era of greater intercultural exchange, through informed cultural literacy (improved understanding of culture) and increased cultural competence (cross-cultural policy and planning) (11).

These are socio-political challenges that Sandercock (2000a) asks planners to normalize. Cities, she says, are venues of discord by their very nature, especially now that global mobility is high. She proposes that cities "must...be seen as sites where aversions to strangers play themselves out, at the level of local politics, urban policy, and everyday life" (7). Sandercock (2000a; 2000b) notes that cities are spaces in which dislike and mistrust of 'other' occurs, and this must be acknowledged by planners. She (2003b) notes: "...in multicultural societies, composed of many different cultures each of which

has different values and practices, and not all of which are entirely comprehensible or acceptable to each other, conflicts are inevitable" (87).

If fear of 'other' is a normal urban experience, then perhaps fear is a right that should not be erased. But although city dwellers fear 'other', there is still the responsibility to live alongside 'others'. A central dilemma of planning then becomes negotiating the fine balance between fear and acceptance of difference in a shared urban environment (Sandercock 2003a, 321-322).

A theoretical focus on a shared, diverse urban environment orients planning discourse to the experience of living. As noted in *Section 6.3.1: The Politics of Difference*, this represents a paradigm shift from earlier decades when planning and related disciplines were handled by professionals and bureaucrats sheltered from regular city life (Lefebvre 1996 [1968]). Class struggle ushered in the beginning of a planning literature devoted to the cause of involving those who lived city life substantively - rubbing elbows with a diverse citizenry. Lefebvre calls for this body of knowledge to be cultivated: "Urban dwellers carry the urban with them, even if they do not bring planning with them" (158).

Although class was a point of departure for discussion of difference in much of Lefebvre's writing, immigration was tied in with Lefebvre's work on the right to the city by the late 1960s (Gilbert & Dikeç 2008). Together, socially marginalized people are included in the composition of "the urban", which – unlike a cohesive idea of the city - is still relevant, and begs further definition (Lefebvre 1996 [1968], 149). Because of this, Lefebvre argues that architects, planners and related professionals need to continually

negotiate their work with a social life through praxis. Of course the challenges of voice remain: "In this discourse, who still speaks and for whom?" (149).

Gilbert & Dikeç (2008) interpret Lefebvre's right to the city as a belief in the right to participation of each person, by virtue of being in society, regardless of notions of citizenship. One of Lefebvre's central questions, perhaps, is not 'what rights does the state give each person?', but 'does each person have the right to all aspects of urban life?' This positions the state as a responder to urban needs rather than the governor of them. Sandercock (2000a) notes that this scale of reorientation, while difficult to undertake, becomes more salient as large cities become settings of wide cultural difference. The provision of space for difference requires flexibility and some understanding of the aspirations and values of multiple publics. As Harvey (2003) notes: "The right to the city is not merely a right of access to what already exists, but a right to change it after our heart's desire" (939).

6.3.3   ETHNOCULTURE AND THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

A review of literature on ethnic preference and the built environment reveals an abundance of work on parks and open space (Virden & Walker 1999; Rishbeth 2001; Bass, Ewert & Chavez 1993; Gobster 2002; Payne, Mowen & Orsega-Smith 2002; Tinsley, Tinsley & Croskeys 2002; Mannell 2005; Walker, Deng & Dieser 2005). Without knowing why parks and open space is favoured in this literature over other substantive urban forms like housing and neighbourhood design, it could be that adjusting public spaces is more achievable because park planners often have the mandate to do so. Changes to

housing and neighbourhoods are more visible and likely more political – to both the public and government.

Literature on ethnic preference and the built environment has mainly been concerned with the needs of different cultural, ethnic and racial groups in an area. Baas, Ewert & Chavez (1993) find that 'Hispanics' are more likely than 'Caucasians' to value park amenities like picnic tables and toilets. Gobster (2002) and Payne, Mowen & Orsega-Smith (2002) each find that 'Blacks' prefer recreational park spaces over natural or conservation spaces. Gobster (2002) further finds that 'Latinos' and 'Asians' prefer scenery, open space, and natural features slightly more than 'Whites'. Tinsley, Tinsley & Croskeys (2002) find that 'African Americans' and 'Caucasians' use parks more frequently than 'Asians' and 'Latinos', but that 'Asians' and 'Latinos' use parks more often for the purpose of family outings. These researchers also find that exercise and self-enhancement are emphasized more by 'African Americans' and 'Caucasians' than by 'Asians' and 'Latinos' (2002). Virden & Walker (1999) find few significant differences in feelings ascribed to various elements in forests between groups of 'Blacks', 'Hispanics', and 'Whites'.

Walker, Deng & Dieser (2005) acknowledge that "every culture recognizes and legitimates some aspects of both independence and interdependence" (79), but through a review of literature, find that European North Americans are more likely to have independent self-construals (valuing uniqueness and inner attributes), while Non-European North Americans are likely to have interdependent self-construals (valuing

belonging and harmony). The authors find that relatedness (which they propose to include nurturance and role fulfillment) is a strong factor in leisure preferences for some non-European North Americans (89); and that for European North Americans, freedom, personal choice and to a lesser degree competence, are important. The authors propose that the field of leisure management should do more to address these differences by making park spaces work well for groups and group activities in addition to individual pursuits.

All of the above findings are meant to convey information for the purposes of park and open space planners and managers. Gobster (2002) concludes that instead of planning for the majority, park mangers should address diverse needs and allocate resources appropriately. Risbeth (2001) calls upon the landscape architecture field to respond to difference by "…developing its strong tradition of evolution and adaptation of cross-cultural influences as a means for a society to explore its cultural identity" (364).

It may be significant that some of the above authors (Walker, Deng & Dieser, for example) have moved into investigations of meanings attached to spaces. Mannell (2005) sees this potential shift as important in helping to determine sociological processes that are "culturally universal or culturally relative" (101). He concludes that "…researchers need to go beyond the appearance of cultural differences in leisure behaviour and vigorously examine the cultural factors that produce the differences" (104).

Although inquiring into particular ethnic preferences could represent a weakening of hegemonic planning and design practices, researchers who preoccupy themselves with this might be in for an endless challenge. Environments influence peoples' perceptions along with their characteristics (Ng 1998). Also, ethnic-related preferences change due to a number of social processes, one of which is intercultural exchange, which tends to lead to homogenization of recreation preferences among ethnic groups (Payne, Mowen & Orsega-Smith 2002).

A more useful approach might be to use difference (rather than particular ethnic profiles) as a point of departure in this kind of research and planning work. This could help get researchers out of survey mode, and could orient park planners toward ongoing community design work that captures wider (multi-demographic) neighbourhood aspirations, and addresses change. Creating space for difference can help ensure that needs - within and across cultures and ethnicities, and across time and through interaction - can be better addressed. This topic is discussed further in *Section 6.3.9: The Role of Planners*.

As previously noted, many of the above studies seek to assist park managers and planners do their jobs better. Although the results may demonstrate varied needs, the studies appear to have the underlying goal of maintaining the role of the professional in the determination of those needs. Payne, Mowen & Orsega-Smith (2002) conclude that "By understanding citizen diversity and the implications of this diversity for agency missions and policies, recreation and park professionals can continue to adapt their

roles to the changing needs of their communities" (196). The authors do not, however,

ask professionals to change their roles so much as their approaches within existing roles.

Their findings furnish professionals with new knowledge to inform their decisions.

Changed roles might entail shifts in power – through the use of transformative planning

or other methods (some of which are discussed in *Section 6.3.9: The Role of Planners*).

Some authors might not wish to question structures, but the failure to acknowledge or

discuss them can be problematic given that newcomers are often marginalized in social

power, and their spatial needs are negotiated in the context of a contested public realm.

6.3.4 IMAGINED PLACES AND RECONSTRUCTED SPACES

Gupta and Ferguson (1997) explore power relations and the struggle(s) for ethnocultural

identity. One of their proposals is that the psychological relationship between space and

identity can be especially strong among displaced migrants, some of whom experience

the tendency to want to 'hang on' to cultural norms or constructions when they lose

access to their homelands. According to the authors, as cultural identity becomes less

firmly attached to a remembered place, some people strive all the more to build it in the

places they currently find themselves:

> …the irony … is that as actual places and localities become ever more
> blurred and indeterminate, ideas of culturally and ethnically distinct places
> become perhaps even more salient… displaced peoples cluster around
> remembered or imagined homelands, places, or communities in a world that
> seems increasingly to deny such firm territorialized anchors in their actuality
> (39).

According to Gupta and Ferguson, homeland "remains one of the most powerful symbols for mobile and displaced peoples", many of whom "…use memory of place to construct their new lived world imaginatively" (39).

Gupta and Ferguson are speaking to diaspora and the reaction to being kept out of a 'homeland'. Sandercock (2003b) normalizes the experience of attachment to 'homeland' or 'remembered community', suggesting that this is a practical response to the migration experience. She notes, "Newcomers have a particularly strong need for community, for practical as well as emotional support" (136). This is to be expected in many types of migrant situations: "[Newcomers] must endure a painful process of acquiring a new spatial and social sense of belonging, a new sense of home" (136).

Sandercock (2003b) gives examples of adjustment actions playing out in new home environments. She notes that some immigrant communities formulate a renewed sense of place by enacting culturally-relevant rituals and manipulating the built environment. She gives an example of Italian newcomers to Australia, who have been found to use three strategies to create a renewed sense of home: *naming, rituals,* and *institutions*. *Naming* involves giving 'home'-inspired names to business and other signage. *Rituals* refer to public events that represent the culture of origin. *Institutions* refers to the establishment of services, associations, sports clubs, churches, and credit unions that demonstrate presence in the community.

Adaptation *of* new home environments intersects with adaptation *to* them, presenting a dual challenge for migrants. A new or unrecognized physical form or city layout, for

example, requires a newcomer to put on a new set of 'urban reading glasses'. Legibility -

the ease with which an observer can recognize and coherently organize a cityscape

(Lynch 1960, 2) - appears to be culturally-mediated, or at least demands a period of

adjustment for some (Ng 1998). As is well known, some cities have different urban

spatial systems attached to culture (for example the French radiating star, Roman grid,

and Japanese street corner naming). Growing up with a particular system requires a new

urban environment to be 'read' differently. Some research has found that unfamiliar

urban structures present particular adjustment challenges to travellers or migrants (Hall

1966).

6.3.5   AUTHENTICITY OF PLACE

Researchers have observed that changes some newcomers make to new urban

environments out of a need for 'home' or 'identity' can imprint qualities onto the built

landscape (Sandercock 2003b). These spatial reconstructions can be co-opted by

economic interests from the outside. Both government and the private sector have a

history of festooning the built environment with ethnic or cultural symbols in order to

develop economic benefits in the form of increased tourism and/or local investment.

Harvey (1989) notes that some cities are so involved in *producing* 'culture', that it is

hard to distinguish what is real from what is not. According to Harvey, Little Italys,

Chinatowns, and Turkish zones, for example, "draw a veil over the real geography" (87),

because they are to some degree fabricated, and thus limit the possibility of an

authentic urban cultural experience. Harvey (1989) proposes that cultural

aestheticization of public space is a typical instrument of capitalism, which often seeks

to pull meaning together from very little, in order to manufacture an opportunity for

profit-making through investment (87). Jane M. Jacobs (1998) further develops this

thought: "At the hand of the cultural logic of capitalism, racial and ethnic difference and

the associated processes of racialization are reduced to festivals, costume dramas, and

sanitized and exoticised ethnic enclaves" (256).

Alan Jacobs and Donald Appleyard (1987) examine the trend of converting public spaces

into revenue-generating tourist draws. They note examples in which the private sector

has engaged in this for financial gain, sometimes going as far as to re-appropriate space

by rendering it attractive only to tourists. Even worse, they note; historic and natural

spaces for the general public that do not turn a (tourism-related) profit are often

neglected (102). Rahder and Milgrom (2004) point to a related problem in cities that are

entering the game of global destination-making: "While the global economy is

addressed [through high-profile design projects], the increasingly diverse population…is

seen as little more than a marketing advantage used to attract tourists and attention to

development proposals" (34).

When city dwellers see design projects that feature representations of culture, they

should be compelled to question the rationale behind them. Questions such as "who is

doing it" and "for whose benefit" should be automatic, so people can begin to gauge

whether the project is reflective of something real in their community, or whether it is

in fact a revenue-generating program, or an attempt to intoxicate the neighbourhood with a dose of (constructed) cultural vitality.

Hayden (1995) argues that urban design projects need to be inclusive and representative of real cultures and groups in cities. She proposes that gathering and preserving the histories and memories of multiple publics (including marginalized groups) is fundamental to supporting authentic encounters in the public realm for all dwellers. Hayden challenges planners to consider the importance of urban histories. But rather than articulating histories that are typically promoted by mainstream historians, educational institutions, and politicians, Hayden calls for a focus on histories that are often left out of mainstream discourse. These histories are usually those of underrepresented groups such as women, ethnic and social minorities, and low income groups. She argues that it is critical that these stories be told, because cities are full of them.

The value of gathering, embracing and preserving histories and memories of multiple publics is fundamental to supporting meaning in the urban environment. Hayden argues that if planners can work together with community members using a focus on memories, those kinds of meaningful encounters can be achieved.

6.3.6   INDIFFERENT TO DIFFERENCE? THE LINES OF 'OTHER'

Young (1990a) believes city dwellers should embrace non-conforming 'others' in urban environments. Some writers prefer to focus away from the distinctness implied by this

concept and instead look at cultural hybridization. Finding it naïve to presume

unassimilated otherness can be maintained in a mixed society; as Young herself (1990a)

has admitted, Allen, Massey & Pryke (1999) ask whether the ideal of a politics of

difference is as utopian as the ideal of 'community'. These authors prefer to engage

Stuart Hall's (1990) concept of *translation*. According to the authors, translation sees the

mixing of cultures in urban space as a presentation of individual and collective identities,

but identities that also absorb those of others, leading to the emergence of some

traditional and some altered characteristics in an ongoing process of negotiation (Allen,

Massey & Pryke 1999).

Allen, Massey & Pryke (1999) find Hall's concept "more optimistic" (131) than Young's

idea of "unassimilated otherness" (1990b, 301), because translation allows city dwellers

to embrace the "excitement" (Allen, Massey & Pryke, 131) that cultural mobility can

bring to societies. The authors focus on the positives of this type of mixing: "…it is

possible that we might all change for the better, influenced by increasing urban

diversity" (131). Their proposal is nothing new, but their look at cultural exchange rather

than distinction has been receiving more attention in literature (see Wood and Landry

2008, for example).

Other theorists propose that the concept of difference may draw lines that, if not

imaginary, at least may be too rigid. Parekh (2000) posits that cultures need one

another to preserve the health of their ideologies: "[a cultural group] needs others to

understand itself better, expand its intellectual and moral horizon, stretch its

imagination and guard it against the obvious temptation to absolutize itself" (336-7).

Rushdie (1992) makes a similar point through his call for the celebration of "hybridity, impurity, intermingling, [and] transformation that comes of new and unexpected combinations of human beings, cultures, ideas, politics, movies, songs" (394). Benhabib (1995) proposes that we not only need different others, but that in these differences there is a shared affinity that should be normalized: "Where 'we' are today globally is a situation in which every 'we' discovers that it is in part a 'they': that the lines between 'us' and 'them' are continuously redefined through the global realities of immigration, travel, communication, the world economy, and ecological disasters" (244).

Sandercock (2000b) also suggests that there is an affinity between 'us' in all our diversity, but she draws attention to the fear that exists within this affinity. In an engaging passage, Sandercock proposes that what people fear in others arouses something that is a part of themselves: "the stranger is…within ourselves" (22). Here, the implication is that we fear others because the 'other' reveals parts of ourselves we have dared not explore; parts with which we have not yet achieved comfort. The suggestion here is that fear of 'other' (although perhaps not an adaptive experience) is deeply rooted, is common, and may be normal. It suggests that this is an individual process not to be controlled by planners.

Gupta and Ferguson (1997) propose that there may in fact be no such thing as 'other':

> What is needed, more than a ready ear and a deft editorial hand to
> capture and orchestrate the voices of 'others'… is a willingness to
> interrogate, politically and historically, the apparent 'given' of a world in
> the first place divided into 'ourselves' and 'others' (45).

Racism and power relations undoubtedly contribute the basis from which 'other' is constructed in Canadian public spaces. Conceptualizing other as 'us' or as 'self', however, is also problematic, in that it denies the reality of racism faced disproportionately by some groups and individuals. 'Other' as 'us' may, however, go some way in softening the mental construct of 'other', which may be what Gupta and Ferguson (1997) propose, and which could in turn reduce racism. The authors suggest that researchers remove culture from lines of inquiry and, acknowledging difference still, seek to understand the construction of those differences in public space (45). Rahder and Milgrom (2004) concur: "Only by making space for our differences will we be in a position to know precisely how we differ and why, and what our collective possibilities for the future are, as a result" (43). Since urban centres are increasingly sites of difference, this approach could prove useful in the examination of difference while we rest aside our assumptions about what constitutes it.

6.3.7   PLANNING FOR FEAR AND 'DISORDER'

> While some local residents may find…multiculturalism exhilarating, others see a new world *disorder* and feel threatened. When residents with different histories, cultures, and needs appear in "our" cities, their presence disrupts the taken-for-granted categories of social life and urban space (Sandercock 2000a, 8).

The above-noted fear of 'other' is little acknowledged but often felt. Planners are not exempt from this fear by any means. Fear of 'other' can prevent planners from finding new ways to work, either because of the requirement of changed conceptions, or of changing a system that has also tended to fear 'other' (Sandercock 2000b). If planners

recognize that they - as much as other publics - experience fear regularly through their contact with others, they can perhaps reorient their aim from creating order, to providing space for 'disorder'[4] or difference (Sandercock 2000b, Rahder & Milgrom 2004).

Like Sandercock (2000b), Allen, Massey & Pryke (1999) reject the notion that difference should be strictly problematized, and ask readers to consider that difference is both a feared and a wonderful feature of urban life: "Urban spaces are constituted by a series of tensions…and the opportunity to celebrate…diverse experiences, peoples, values, and ways of life" (133).

In any case, instead of viewing the city as "a territory to be bounded, mapped, occupied and exploited" (Sandercock 2000b, 22), it can be viewed as an arena in which less order (or at least less Western colonialist conception of order) is permitted to flourish, while contest and conflict are managed creatively. Indeed, planning may need to consider a reorientation toward the concept of difference as an ever-evolving reality: "difference would need to be taken as the point of departure, seeing the city as already socially constructed by existing diversity and as likely to be always in a state of continuous reconstruction as new forms of difference become visible and make claims on space" (Sandercock 2000a, 14).

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[4] *Disorder* in the context of this literature is understood by this author to be similar to the term, *difference*, where difference challenges assumed societal or community norms.

Fear and 'disorder' are addressed in relation to urban space (Sandercock 2000b, Rahder and Milgrom 2004, Gordon 2007), but fear and 'disorder' also exist within planning processes, including in participatory work, where multiple views and demands intersect. Some theorists have challenged planners to deal with their fears of conflict in planning processes by welcoming it (Rahder and Milgrom 2004, 43). Healey (1997) proposes planners deal with conflictual situations through "respectful discussion within and between discursive communities" (247); while Fainstein (1999) argues that this approach is bound to fail in societies that are seriously divided (5), because those in power are not likely to come to the table. Indeed, respectful discussion has been advocated for in the China/Tibet situation and has failed to produce results because of an imbalance in power. But within the context of a planning role in democratic society, changes at the neighbourhood scale are likely to be possible in some cases under Healey's model.

Some practicing planners have advocated for a commitment to planning for 'disorder'; essentially asking governments and city dwellers to accept their fears but to not let it affect what others can do. An example here comes from Vancouver, which it must be noted enjoys a planning system rooted in a relatively cohesive society under a democratic system, so the 'disorder' being talked about is fairly minor. Michael Gordon (2007), a planner for the City of Vancouver, has focused much of his attention in the last few years to the subject of planning for 'disorder'. To Gordon, behaviours that are feared by some administrators and members of the public are actually assets for

community life. Gordon's examples include behaviours like skateboarding and public graffiti.

Gordon's interest can be seen to be part of an overall commitment to allowing for the expression of difference (both on an aesthetic and a social level), and creating places that demand interchange but not agreement. On a social level, this links to Young's (1990a) ideal of asymmetrical reciprocity; a normative proposition that sees city dwellers as having the capacity to carve-out relationships with 'different others' without expecting to agree or understand one another, thus preserving difference.

When planning for 'disorder' in the ways just described, the question of limits comes up right away: how much and what kind? Young (1990a; 1990b) has wrestled with this question and has developed a method for dealing with limits, which will be discussed in *Section 6.3.9 (E): Social Justice and Just City.*

6.3.8 QUESTIONING DEMOCRATIC PROCESS

According to Sandercock (2000b), difference has "arrived on the agenda of the planning and design professions" (15). Planning literature has taken up the challenge of looking at difference, which emerged from feminist, postcolonial, poststructuralist, queer, and other theories (Sandercock 2000a, 7) and - outside of planning - from critical anthropology (Gupta and Ferguson 1997; Clifford 1988). Attention to difference in age, gender, class, dis/ability, ethnicity, sexual orientation, culture, and religion have now all been addressed to one degree or another in planning (Sandercock 2000b, 15).

The problem is that the planning system still fails to adequately respond (Sandercock 2000b, 15). In terms of ethnocultural difference, planning has in many cases contributed to the racialization of social processes (Sandercock 2000b) and spatial relations (Caitlin 1993), by adhering to cultural hegemony (whether explicitly or tacitly). Other times, participatory planning has been used as a political tool by communities and has produced similar outcomes through nimbyism (Sandercock 2000b, 14).

Some theorists have examined systemic barriers to the expression of difference (Sandercock 2000a; 2000b, Fainstein 2000, Healey 1997 and Young 1990a). While Fainstein primarily examines theory, Sandercock uses empirical research and experience to entertain practical solutions. In her identification of systemic barriers to planning for difference (based on Australian research), Sandercock (2000b) first identifies the issue of institutionalized racism: "the values and norms of the dominant culture are usually embedded in legislative frameworks of planning including bylaws and regulations" (15). Here, Sandercock asks readers to recognize the fact that good intentions on the part of planners are not enough, because planners are often either powerless to confront the system which was developed by a culturally dominant Euro-centric system, or are unwilling to do so.

Sandercock presents an example of the American courts issuing a planning decision for a land use dispute between a Navajo tribe and the US Forest Service (the Service wanted to build a highway through a piece of contested land). The Navajo tribe had argued that the site held religious significance to them and should not be slated for development.

The judgment went in favour of the Forest Service on the grounds that evidence of religious use was not apparent, and there was no visible display of ritual on the site. The decision, argues Sandercock (2000b, 15), contains assumptions about what constitutes religious significance. It also raises the normative question of whether a legislative framework representing a dominant culture should determine what religious meaning is composed of for a socially marginalized one.

A second barrier to the 'right to difference' according to Sandercock (2000b) is the set of attitudes and behaviours possessed by planners themselves. She notes that ethnocentrism is often at work for planners: "Problems can arise from…deep-seated beliefs in the superiority of one's own culture, or the belief that all newcomers should adapt to the mores of the 'host' culture" (16).

Sandercock – who references Burayidi (2000) for some of the roots of her findings – also highlights communicative problems that arise during planning practice. These include cultural differences impacting social learning in planning process, the limits of what people of minority cultures are willing to share with planners, the different conflict management techniques of individual planners, and culturally variable decision making methods and ways of knowing (Sandercock 2000b, 16).

Fainstein (2000) also addresses the sometimes unconscious tendency to read culture through one's own eyes. While planners might think they can plan for difference, there can be a tendency to encourage a spatial formula that reflects the dominant worldview. Ensuring walkability, efficient use of land and enhanced interaction opportunities,

argues Fainstein, are good aims, but carry assumptions about the culture of the people

using the space (2000). And as Rahder and Milgrom (2004) point out, sometimes

planners' beliefs in a better urbanism of yesteryear can lead them to gloss over the

mixture of needs in front of them: "...in diverse neighbourhoods assumptions about

common values must be questioned. Planners should be asking how cultural diversity

can generate new urban forms, rather than attempting to capture an imaginary past"

(37).

A third issue identified by Sandercock (2000b) is the tendency of community members

to use planning systems to support their xenophobia. This can frequently take shape in

disputes over the spatial placement of culturally, ethnically, or religiously significant

sites or structures, like mosques (2000b). Sandercock (2000b) suggests that nimbyism,

rather than the planning system, is primarily at fault for the rejection of some of these

projects, or to their frequent redirection to urban peripheries (19-21). In some cases

nimbyism is indeed likely a cause of inequitable planning decisions, although to say the

system (as the holder of power) is not implicated would be a mistake, since, as

Sandercock (2000b) herself notes, planners who are aware of nimbyism mostly fail to

address it (19). This is not to suggest that nimbyism is an easy problem to manage, but is

to say that planners who fail to tackle it contribute to its recurrence.

The fourth and final problem Sandercock (2000b) outlines with respect to planning for

difference is the circumstance in which planners personally disagree with cultural

practices – for example the perceived mistreatment of women. The Western value of

equality can be a barrier to understanding or accepting cultural difference in these cases. The planner can experience moral conflict when confronted with the task of negotiating a decision (such as the segregation of women, or their lack of freedom of movement or access to education) that is at odds with a much-cherished value of the planner.

Sandercock (2008a) notes that it is going to take some time for the right to difference to permeate planning work, even in societies that have embraced multiculturalism: "Even the handful of officially multicultural societies do not as yet seem to have thought through at the local level the urban policy, planning and design ramifications of this new world spatial/cultural order" (8). This might be because, as Sandercock states in other writing, 'belonging' in multicultural societies is still conceptualized as an issue of race, religion, or ethnicity, rather than as a failure of systemic power relations (2004, 5).

Fainstein (2000) appears to concur, but asks how planning process can redistribute power even once planners are onboard with the task. She critiques the often-cited solution of democratic participation, calling it overemphasized and ineffective against money and larger power structures. "Democratic pluralism, with its emphasis on group process and compromise, offers little likelihood of escape from dominance by those groups with greatest access to organizational and financial resources" (469).

For the most part, Fainstein (2000) does not believe democratic process (defined as majority rule) properly responds to the needs of minorities: "Democratic rule can deprive minorities of their livelihood, freedom, or self-expression" (469). In some of her

writing, Sandercock (2000b) appears to be onside with that concern: "Planning's legal

framework in the West has been embedded in a particular conception of democracy as

majority rule, and a corresponding belief that the right to difference disappears once

the majority has spoken" (15). This is a problem for planning process, an arena in which

minorities are not guaranteed equal rights as they are in government charters and bills

of rights (Fainstein 2000, 469). The result of this inequality can be a homogenization of

the outward signs of cultural identity in the environment.

Patsy Healey (1997), a proponent of communicative action[5], believes that mutual

engagement in democratic process holds promise. Healey finds it unlikely that a good

city for all can be achieved; and instead favours guided, situation-based solution-finding

exercises (Fainstein 1999). According to Healey (1997), "'Right' and 'good' actions are

those that can be agreed on, in particular times and places, across diverse differences in

material conditions and wants, moral perspectives, and expressive cultures and

inclinations" (243).

Healey (1997) believes that good process will by its virtue formulate good ends, and that

it is impossible (and therefore unnecessary) to determine broadly accepted normative

goals. Fainstein (2000) appears not to favour process if it is absent of goals (imposed by

the state) and measured outcomes. According to Fainstein (2000), a just city is one that

includes a program for the more equitable distribution of power, resources and benefits

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[5] According to Judith Innes (1995), communicative action is a type of planning process in which the
planner acts as a negotiator and intermediary among stakeholders.

within society, and this program should guide social change. She supports participation under the just city umbrella: "Participation in public decision making is part of the ideal of the just city, both because it is a worthy goal in itself and because benevolent authoritarianism is unlikely" (469). Healey calls for solutions to be found on a case-by-case basis, and Fainstein concedes: "…democracy presents a set of thorny problems that have never been theoretically resolved and can only be addressed within specific situations" (469).

Fainstein does not think democratic participation can work without serious questions being asked – such as who benefits and who dominates – questions she presents as features of the just city model (468). Although Fainstein believes that the state should provide the context for a just city, she proposes that in most jurisdictions, governments cannot be assumed to be trustworthy. This conflict appears to be left unresolved in her writing. She however uses this assertion to critique communicative action, a theory that assigns planners the job of negotiating diverse interests around the planning table. Planners should not necessarily be trusted with this, says Fainstein, because the system they work for (usually government) cannot be assumed to be neutral (468). The market will not do the trick either, notes Fainstein, because it fosters homogeneity (465). Therefore, planners working in a capitalist society need to temper the market's tendency to segregate (465), but they cannot be assumed to be creating a just society in the absence of guiding principles. If governments are untrustworthy, Fainstein's call for planning goals imposed by the state is problematized.

With respect to planning for diversity, even well-intentioned planners who involve the public can end up creating very un-diverse neighbourhoods and urban projects, notes Boddy (1992), because only minimal diversity, sometimes on an aesthetic level only, is achieved: "Contemporary developers have found it eminently easy to furnish such obvious symbols of urbanism, while at the same time eliminating…racial, ethnic, and class diversity (126n)". Fainstein (1999) posits that democracy and the market are processes that should be active under just city principles; a set of goals that she says should ground all types of planning work:

> Urban planning, in this context [the goals of city-making], refers to the conscious formulation of goals and means for metropolitan development, regardless of whether these determinations are conducted by people officially designated as planners or not. It begins with the premise that a city should be purposefully shaped rather than the unmediated outcome of the market and of interactions within civil society—in other words that planning is a necessary condition for attaining urban values (2).

A further plea for the just city is made by Fainstein through her illustration of the failures of both planning and the market, even when they work together: "The New Urbanists seek to create housing integration but, in their reliance on private developers, are unable to do so on a sufficient scale or across a broad enough range of housing prices to have a significant effect" (Fainstein 2000, 465).

Even though New Urbanism alone cannot achieve the social goals of diversity and inclusion, Fainstein (2000) gives it a nod for reigniting interest in utopianism, something communicative action in her estimation has failed to do (2000, 465).

6.3.9   THE ROLE OF PLANNERS

Not only is public space contested, but as planning theory responds to difference,

contested too is the role planners and designers play. Wright (1989) believes that design

can be more helpful to communities if there is a commitment to shared learning (219).

She does not think that is happening: "We [citizens] have...largely become passive

consumers in a designed society, rather than active producers of our own

constructions" (216). Rahder and Milgrom (2004) also note the need for planners to re-

examine their role with communities, especially in the face of increasing diversity, but

they suggest that the substance of such a shift is still in its infancy: "...while the

profession acknowledges that the increasing diversity of human populations is a

challenge for urban planning, it has yet to come to terms with what this means in terms

of attitudes, values, knowledge, and the skills needed by planners" (33).

Wright (1989) proposes that the views of politicians, professionals and the public should

be included in design practice, but that hierarchy should be dismantled and participants

should factor equally as "co learners" (219). This is reminiscent of communicative

action, which places the planner, according to Fainstein (2000), in the following role:

> ...the planner's primary function is to listen to people's stories and assist in
> forging a consensus among differing viewpoints. Rather than providing
> technocratic leadership, the planner is an experiential learner, at most
> providing information to participants but primarily being sensitive to points
> of convergence. Leadership consists not in bringing stakeholders around to a
> particular planning content but in getting people to agree and in ensuring
> that whatever the position of participants within the social economic
> hierarchy, no group's interest will dominate (454).

Fainstein (2000) surmises that the communicative action model asks planners to act as

conciliators and not push agendas. Wright (1989) supports the idea that designers act as

facilitators of "joint inquiry" processes (228). In her review of deliberative process,

Sandercock (2000b) also emphasizes facilitation and downplays planners' knowledge:

> …the success of this kind of planning work depends very much on the skills
> and wisdom of the practitioners involved. At the very least, it involves
> training in negotiation and mediation, facilitation and consensus-building,
> organizing and working with groups of different sizes and different kinds of
> internal conflict. It involves some understanding of individual, group, and
> community psychology, as well as group and community dynamics; and
> some experience doing research in and about communities, with community
> members (27).

Wright (1989) proposes that in horizontal learning, the "Expertise [of the designer] is

not ignored, but it is only brought to bear at points in the process where the participants

themselves ask for theory to help them understand and learn from the action in which

they are engaged" (228). One would hope that the well-intentioned push for

horizontality does not create an atmosphere in which planners or designers act with

such trepidation as to keep their knowledge hidden. This may happen, however, in cases

where practitioners are especially concerned with having an even playing field.

If planners practice the sharing of knowledge only on demand as Wright suggests, other

planning difficulties could arise. For example, community members might in some cases

benefit from seeing a view from outside of their neighbourhood, but may fail to

recognize such a view and may therefore fail to ask for help articulating it. As Fainstein

(2000) notes, community members may know little of how to apply utopian values such

as environmental sustainability, or may fail to visualize macro concerns (the city scale) along with the micro concerns of themselves, their families, and their neighbourhoods.

A.   The Tool of Activism

Normative grounding in 'planning for difference' does not automatically translate into effective tools in the political exercise that is planning (Fainstein 2000). Participatory planning can fail because power remains in the hands of political structures (Ibid, 457). Since planning for difference can be driven by community activism (Sandercock 2003b), a response might be to use more activism. It has been stated to this researcher more than once by a senior city planner[6] that in Winnipeg, most planning policy change flows from activism and lobbying, because politics prevents planners from making headway in the context of work roles. Active transportation has been referenced by that planner as an example: active transportation plans in Winnipeg had been supported for years by planners but nothing was accomplished until citizen groups organized and demanded change.

Fainstein (2000) argues that changes spurred by the work of social movements stem from the power they harness. Fainstein supports the work of such groups, but downplays the role that stakeholder consultation has had in their successes: "Ideas can give rise to social movements that in turn change consciousness, ultimately resulting in the adoption of new public policy, but this is more than a matter of negotiation and

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[6] J. East, personal communication, November 2007.

consensus building among stakeholders" (458). She notes that the environmental

movement, for example, did not become a major social force until there was leadership

and the mobilization of power (458).

B.   The Courts

Mediation does not always work in participatory planning, especially in circumstances in

which power among parties is unbalanced (Forester 2000, 167; Fainstein 1999, 5).

Forester argues that the state or the courts are sometimes the best venues for

resolution of matters in which minority rights are threatened.

Court processes can lead to transformation, if enough pressure exists and if the

government is open enough. The government of New Zealand recently announced that,

due to pressure from activists, policy decisions must all be assessed in terms of how well

they address the needs of minorities: "All legislation proposals must now be

accompanied by a Policy Impact Statement exploring the impact on different population

groups" (Haas 2008). Here, it appears that activism (using the courts as a tool) was

effective at producing policy change.

C.   Communicative Rationality

According to Bridge (2005), communicative rationality is a method of participatory

planning in which purposive communication (mutual learning among parties) - is

prioritized (130). Before making decisions, participants must defend their statements or

opinions on the planning content, and in this way are compelled to analyze a number of

ramifications for their arguments and those of others. This approach is designed to

avoid situations in which any statement is given automatic credence. Rather, support

can be given if all parties agree after in-depth discussion (2005). According to Bridge

(2005), communicative rationality is designed to assist people to see others' lived

viewpoints:

> Planning based on communicative rationality seeks to understand the life
> world context of individuals and groups. It sees planning as a dialogue to try
> to understand life world meanings such that any planning intervention is
> more sensitive to context, and to the way others see their world (131).

And, according to Bridge (2005), the theory keeps power relations more level:

> Planning is like a conversation rather than an intervention. It is a conversation
> in which the planners must also defend their validity claims – in terms of their
> objective, expert knowledge – but also their own social norms (in fact social
> norms and the norms of their profession) as well as their subjective views of
> the situation. This means a lessening of expert control in that expert and lay
> knowledge (of both planner and community) are brought closer together
> (131-132).

One of the criticisms of the communicative rationality model is its reliance on

consensus, which some theorists (like Fainstein 2000 and Sandercock 2000b) see as

difficult or impossible to achieve. Also, the inherently confrontational nature of many

planning situations means that people have difficulty being rational (Bridge 2005, 132).

Further, even though attempts are made to smooth power imbalances, the rationality

of action can still be undermined (Bridge 2005, 132). But no participatory process is

perfect, and this method might be better than unstructured methods that are uncritical

of power relations.

If agreement cannot be reached, Sandercock (2000b) proposes the use of dialogic or therapeutic work before negotiating the planning issue. This work can be effective in negotiating "across the gulf of cultural difference" (26). Here, seriously divided camps begin their storytelling separately, then are persuaded to gather together to hear each others' points of view. The aim is to engage parties in a combined planning process once conditions are favourable. Sandercock poses this as "perhaps the best model in situations in which face-to-face meetings are unthinkable…" (26).

Sandercock posits that for dialogic work to be effective, serious disagreement must be accepted, and unvarnished stories put on the table to be heard. This differs from communicative action, which is hesitant to allow disorder to creep into process for fear it might sink the boat (Sandercock 2000b). In communicative action, people may be encouraged to keep things civil, a request that leads to stultification or dilution of messages. Fear of conflict is something planners need to get over (Rahder and Milgrom 2004, 42). Conflict is a normal and necessary part of grieving, healing, and change (Sandercock 2000b, 27).

D. Transformative Planning

According to Marie Kennedy (2009), transformative planning proposes empowerment of marginalized groups, who usually receive insufficient resource allocations. Policies support community-based initiatives, and empower local groups to assert themselves (2009). Policy change driven by organized grassroots is a feature of recent 'equitable revitalization' initiatives in the United States, such as the National Community

Revitalization Alliance (Sustainable Community Development Group, Inc. 2007).

Kennedy notes that transformative planning gets specific with this, with such measures as supporting group confidence, increasing awareness of micro and macro issues, and encouraging shared support (2009). The challenge, according to Kennedy, "is to build on the positive and find creative ways to overcome the negative...to constantly expand...trust in each other...and through this their *control* over that situation" (n.p.).

Transformative planning takes some cues from communicative rationality, in that it asks planners to be facilitators but also to bring a critical ear, and ask participants to carefully elaborate their assertions to enable debate before the decision making phase begins.

According to Kennedy (2009), the strong focus on elaboration in transformative planning recognizes that just like planners, community participants need to be critical of their assumptions and biases, which may at times reflect insulated realities, or which may be unaccommodating to difference. Communities are supported to develop the power they need to spur desired change, but room is made for the discussion of difference. The planner has the opportunity to direct the group's focus to marginalized views around the table, even if that view is not popularly represented. This addresses a concern raised by Sandercock (2000b), in which democratic participation is seen to quash difference through its support for majority rule (15). The transformative approach appears to seek a balance between empowerment and critical thinking. According to Kennedy (2009), a successful transformative planner not only supports participants'

knowledge, but also "...challenges people on exclusionary, narrow-minded thinking and...let[s] themselves be challenged".

This kind of work requires a lot of time to be spent with groups, which is something that is recommended in the literature, especially in cross-cultural work (Baum 2000). Whether or not large time allotments are realistic or not, especially in under-resourced planning departments, is another question.

E.   Social Justice and Just City

Communicative rationality is mostly about process, and transformative planning combines process with power redistribution. Neither model proposes a role for the state in generating desired outcomes - perhaps as a normative reaction to injustices that were seen to be produced in earlier rational comprehensive planning models. Fainstein (2000) agrees with the communicative position that diverse views should be included, but insists that there be goals to be reached in the process: "...the appropriate criterion for evaluating a group's claims should not be procedural rules alone; evaluation must comprise an analysis of whether realization of the group's goals is possible and, if so, whether such realization leaves intact the principle of social justice" (469).

Fainstein (2000) claims that process is not enough to ensure social justice in the face of fundamentalism and that the state may therefore have to set objectives. Young proposes that representative democracy may be capable of handling the issue of fundamentalism through the use of ground rules, and it would appear that these ground rules do not require state-set outcomes. In her 1990a work, Young developed some

'rules of engagement' for urban decision-making processes, which could be applied to participatory planning. She proposes that participants in such processes should ensure that they:

> a) do not harm others, b) do not inhibit the ability of individuals to develop and exercise their capacities within the limits of mutual respect and co-operation, and c) do not determine the conditions under which other agents are compelled to act (251).

These proposals could be accommodated in both communicative action and transformative planning, but Young's work comes equipped with the rules rather than seeing them devised on a case by case basis through group negotiation. Either way, the goal appears to be the same – leave intact basic values of social justice.

Young's proposal – especially the pieces on harm, mutual respect and co-operation - demands a level of openness on the part of participants that precludes them from advancing narrow and/or prejudiced views in these decision-making processes. Here we see that Young tacitly rejects fundamentalism; because narrow social values degrade the process.

As noted, Fainstein believes in pre-set utopian goals. Young to a lesser extent does too – as evidenced by her call for steering groups toward tolerance and by extension promoting justice. Sandercock (2004) leans closer to Young; with her support for tolerance but rejection of formalized pre-set goals. This commitment can be seen in her work on interculturalism, a philosophical and political concept meant to replace multiculturalism. In intercultural societies, she argues, setting normative goals from the outside will ultimately stunt societal growth:

> From an intercultural perspective, the good society does not commit itself to a particular vision of the good life and then ask how much diversity it can tolerate within the limits set by this vision. To do so would be to foreclose future societal development. Rather, an intercultural perspective advocates accepting the reality and desirability of cultural diversity and then structuring political life accordingly (Sandercock 2004, 7).

Sandercock's work also overlaps with transformative principles, because she supports goals driven at the community level and the corresponding likelihood that power relations might be altered. Fainstein's just city keeps power relations intact and allows space for difference within structural limits. However, in the absence of ground rules like those proposed by Young, both communicative action and transformative planning leave little assurance of the protection of difference and individual rights.

Young's (1990a) representative democracy straddles the boundary between current structures and transformation. Ultimate power remains in the hands of decision-makers, who are "obliged to show that their deliberations have taken group perspectives into consideration" (184). Her ideas on ensuring social justice – which she defines as social equality – however, call for group organization and "collective empowerment" (184), conditions that can lead to resource redistribution. Groups also have the right to veto policies that affect them directly (184). Young's conclusion is to reorient policy development toward "attending to group-specific needs and providing for group representation" (191). An example of this kind of policy orientation can be found in New Zealand, which as mentioned in *Section 6.3.9: The Role of Planners*, has developed national policy that requires ethnic perspectives to be considered, and groups to be consulted, when preparing policy.

In spite of the different views on creating a good city (communicative rationality, transformative planning, or just city), Young (1990a), Sandercock (2004) and Fainstein (1999) all seem to agree on the need for moderate beliefs on the part of those involved in processes. To get cities to the point that Amsterdam is; which according to Fainstein (1999), "presents a rough image of a desirable urban model" (25), tolerance is necessary, and therefore a "dampening of sentiments based on group identity" (25) must occur. Sandercock (2004) too claims there needs to be "...an insistence, a vigorous struggle against the idea that one's own group identity has a claim to intrinsic truth" (6). And as previously noted, Young calls for the exclusion of fundamentalist assertions in planning processes.

Fainstein's (1999) call to reduce "sentiments based on group identity" (25) begs clarification. One does not want people to lose appreciation for their group's 'identity', as identity brings much meaning to the experience of living in diverse settings (Sandercock 2003b, 136). Fundamentalism; the belief in cultural or religious purity (Sandercock 2004, 9) may be the phenomenon Fainstein is rejecting, since fundamentalism regularly crosses the line between tolerance and exclusion.

Fainstein appears to argue that in a diverse, tolerant society (such as Amsterdam in her estimation), the need for groups to politically assert identity is lessened, because life is good enough - or at least as good as it is for other groups. Most citizens, of course, have to practice tolerance to make it possible for other citizens or groups to have rich cultural experiences in the urban environment (Sandercock 2004).

In addition to dampened group sentiments, Fainstein (1999) claims there also needs to be the development of policies and institutions that have "broad appeal" (25) – a feat that is difficult or impossible, but that rejects hegemony.

6.4 LITERATURE REVIEW - CONCLUSION & DISCUSSION

This section includes a summary of the above literature and also thoughts that were inspired by the review.

The demographic makeup of our cities is changing, most visibly in terms of ethnicity and culture. This fact presents planners with new challenges – and possibilities – with respect to the integration of changing ethnocultural needs into all aspects of planning. Ethnocultural diversity not only affects urban space at the micro level but also the macro level, by raising questions about planning structures and resource allocations. The tendency of much literature on ethnicity and the built environment to shy away from the politics of difference is therefore problematic. New home communities in cities like Winnipeg become spaces in which the newcomer often hopes to create supports for their identity, but structural barriers – of which planners are both aware and unaware - persist. Generally, Canadian planning systems fail to respond adequately to diversity, and have in some cases contributed to the racialization of social processes and spatial relations. The relationship between politics and place remains a dynamic one for migrants and others.

Some authors propose that there is a tendency in all people to fear those who exhibit 'difference' because their differences reveal parts of ourselves we are not comfortable with. Other authors say there is no such thing as 'other'; or that it would be useful to de-racialize planning by approaching the work without such a concept in mind. Fear of 'other' is felt by planners as much as anyone, and challenges their capacities to confront difference openly. Community groups can also voice their fears of 'other', exert power, and affect others' urban experiences. In some cases, community engagements are ripe ground for this.

To influence policy related to planning for difference, activism is an effective tool sometimes; but can be counterproductive at other times, because critics can affront their targets (who usually hold more power), and in doing so, reduce the activist group's influence. The contrasting approach of working alongside those with decision-making power requires that the system has some receptivity to change. Some critical planners find this a disagreeable approach and so do their work from the outside. In cases where the system is deemed corrupt, this can be one of the few options.

Consensus, one of the central tenets of communicative rationality, can sometimes be achieved, but not always in seriously contested situations. The courts can be effective at providing direction on matters in which minority rights are threatened. Governments respond to these requirements, but also to activism (although this is delicate - above), and sometimes initiate their own change processes through research.

In terms of planning practice, Sandercock (2000b) proposes dialogic approaches for seriously divided groups unbalanced in power. Open, honest storytelling is the start of this process, which aims to bring the camps together afterward to hear each others' viewpoints. This model addresses the dilution of messages that can occur in process that seek compromise early on. Some authors believe conflict is a necessary part of genuine negotiation.

Transformative planning aims to redistribute resources and improve the lot of marginalized groups through empowerment. Similar to communicative rationality, transformative planning actively encourages awareness of other viewpoints. Young's (1990a) representative democracy supports diverse participation, and requires openness on the part of participants. Young underlines the fact that narrow thinking makes it difficult to respect the diversity that is needed for equitable processes. She and some other authors reviewed (Sandercock 2004; Fainstein 1999) make the point - in some way or other - that fundamentalism needs to be curbed for that reason, and for the attainment of a 'good' or 'just' society.

A useful proposal from some of these theorists is that participants should be knowledgeable about alternatives before making decisions, especially when the situations of others are at stake (which is almost always). If something has wide implications, for example, sharing of knowledge by professionals (or others) may sometimes be justified when not asked for. Although political decisions sometimes miss the mark, Fainstein (2000) argues that they are not necessarily morally inferior to

discussions within civil society (469). Power perhaps needs to fluctuate during the process; so that if practitioners find it appropriate to share a significant amount of knowledge in some processes, community members may need to share a significant amount in others. If Wright's (1999) proposal of horizontality (noted in *Section 6.3.9: The Role of Planners*) means a flexible conversation, it seems justified; but if it leads to stultification of knowledge-sharing in its ideological quest, it presents some difficulty.

Although there are shortcomings to each of the reviewed approaches to planning for difference, they are well-developed and all have strengths. It is necessary to tailor the approach to the situation, given the numerous differences between groups. This literature review has shown that in planning processes, it may be useful to use ground rules, encourage deliberation, build capacity, look at the big picture along with the details, and be inclusive of minority viewpoints. The literature supports the inclusion of minority groups in policies by involving the groups in policy development.

The distillations below (Table 3) are part of an attempt to direct the focus from theory to potential applications for planners and policy makers. As previously mentioned, recommendations in this study do not attempt to solve the overall problem of planning for difference, but to provide an informed basis for change. Because the focus is on planning, I leave aside areas that fall to outside its usual realm (like community activism and the courts). It should be said that the guidelines below assume a role for the state and for planners, because communities generally cannot reach objectives without resources, and because planning participants may need help seeing concerns and

possibilities within and outside the group (see Fainstein in *Section 6.3.8: Questioning*

Democratic Process and Marie Kennedy in *Section 6.3.9 [D]: Transformative Planning*)

for more on this.

Table 3: Planning for Difference – Common Themes/Recommendations

Recommendations – Planning Practice	Description	Found in
Use Ground Rules	Insist on respect, avoidance of harm, openness	Representative Democracy/Iris Young
Encourage deliberation	Foster debate and analysis of views*, including effects on other stakeholders	Communicative Rationality, Transformative Planning
Build community capacity	Assist groups to empower themselves and bring about resource redistribution	Transformative Planning
Analyze macro concerns	Intervene to help participants see other scales of concern	Just City, Utopianism
Foster inclusion of meagrely represented stakeholders	Direct focus to minority views around the table	Communicative Rationality, Transformative Planning

*The planner challenges others as well as his/her self on ethnocentrism and narrow thinking.

Recommendations – Planning Policy	Description	Found in
Widen planning policy focus	Lay broad policy foundation that encapsulates diverse interests	Just City
Include groups in policy development	Demonstrate inclusion of groups' views in relevant policy development	Representative Democracy/Iris Young

Now that I have reviewed ways in which planners can address difference, I will review

Winnipeg immigration trends and assess the degree to which *Plan Winnipeg* (City of

Winnipeg 2000) and *CentrePlan* (City of Winnipeg 1994) currently address ethnocultural

difference.

7 International Newcomers: The Winnipeg Context

The place called Winnipeg has been home to Aboriginal communities for 6,000-8,000 years. Downtown – particularly at the junction of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers - attracted fur traders from the 1730s (Artibise 1975). Winnipeg's central geographic location within North America as well as its two large rivers helped secure the city as a hub of an intercontinental trading network. When the Canadian Pacific Railway was completed in 1885, Winnipeg was thrust into a period of strong economic growth and immigration (Artibise 1975).

Winnipeg evolved from a fairly ethnically homogeneous (mostly British) settlement to a larger, more diverse city during the first years of the 20th century (Artibise 2008). Population and economic growth from 1900 to 1913 was particularly strong, making Winnipeg the third-largest city in Canada by 1919. Racial tensions were a daily part of life, with regular conflicts between pioneer groups and newcomers (Artibise 2008). Many Eastern European newcomers experienced residential segregation and job discrimination, and their properties were often the targets of vandals (Artibise 2008; Gray 1970). Winnipeg during this time was a place of deep prejudice and discrimination. Tensions eased over time as natural population increases replaced immigration as the primary source of population growth. A Ukrainian mayor was elected in 1956, and several non-Anglo-Saxons became members of city council around that time.

There was a tide of immigration to the city in the 1960s and 70s, but numbers were smaller than in previous decades. The immigration did, however, present another

emergent set of ethnocultural differences, notably through significant immigration from the Philippines.

In 1972, a number of neighbouring municipalities were joined together to form what is now known as Winnipeg. This legislation, known as 'Unicity', brought the large number of Francophones from St. Boniface into the population of Winnipeg (Artibise 2008). While Winnipeg's population has never decreased year-over-year since then, it has grown very slowly.

In 2006, the top five immigrant groups in Winnipeg were Filipinos, East Indians, Chinese, Ukrainians and Ethiopians (Statistics Canada 2006c). The Provincial government supports immigration through policy, focusing attention on attracting newcomers and helping them adjust through employment, cultural and language programs (Province of Manitoba 2008a).

7.1   RECENT WINNIPEG NEWCOMER SPATIAL SETTLEMENT

Following the slow growth of the last decades of the 20th century, Winnipeg has begun to see some change. In the census period 2001-2006, the rate of immigration to the city was more than double that of the previous two census periods combined (1991-1995

and 1996-2000)[7]. And in 2007, Manitoba experienced one of the largest per capita year-over-year immigration rates in Canada.[8]

The inner city is the primary residential destination for Winnipeg newcomers (see Figure 2 for the boundaries of the inner city). Nearly 4% of the population of the inner city is composed of international newcomers, a figure that is almost double that of any other part of Winnipeg (Carter, Polevychok & Sargent, 2003). A 2008 report confirms that the majority of refugees arriving in Winnipeg live within the boundaries of the inner city (Carter, Polevychok, Friesen & Osborne, 2008). Refugees tend to remain in the inner city while immigrants (particularly Provincial Nominees) tend to disperse to other areas when financial resources allow (Carter 2009). But for the first few years at least, the inner city is home to a majority of newcomers (immigrants and refugees). For these reasons, the following planning policy reviews will not just focus on the city as a whole but also on the inner city (both *Plan Winnipeg 2020 Vision* and *CentrePlan* will be covered). Although *CentrePlan* is for downtown - which has smaller boundaries than the inner city - the downtown includes some of the highest areas of concentration for international newcomers (see Figure 2), and is thus a relevant document to examine for the purposes of this study.

Figure 2 shows the spatial distribution of recent immigrants[9] to Winnipeg (2001-2006), by census tract, as a percentage of total city population. The vast majority of recent

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[7] See Statistics Canada (2008b) for more information (listed in references).
[8] According to the CBC, Manitoba gained 10,800 newcomers between July 1, 2006 and June 30, 2007 — giving it the highest annual immigration rate among all provinces. See CBC News (2007) for more information (listed in references).

newcomers live in the inner city neighbourhoods of Central Park, Centennial, and to a

lesser extent Spence, Daniel MacIntyre, and Logan. Other areas with large, but less

significant concentrations of newcomers include the inner ring and suburban

neighbourhoods of Mandalay West, The Maples, Inkster Gardens, Weston, Broadway &

Assiniboine, River & Osborne, Lavallee & Worthington, Agassiz & Montcalm Heights, and

Fort Richmond & University.
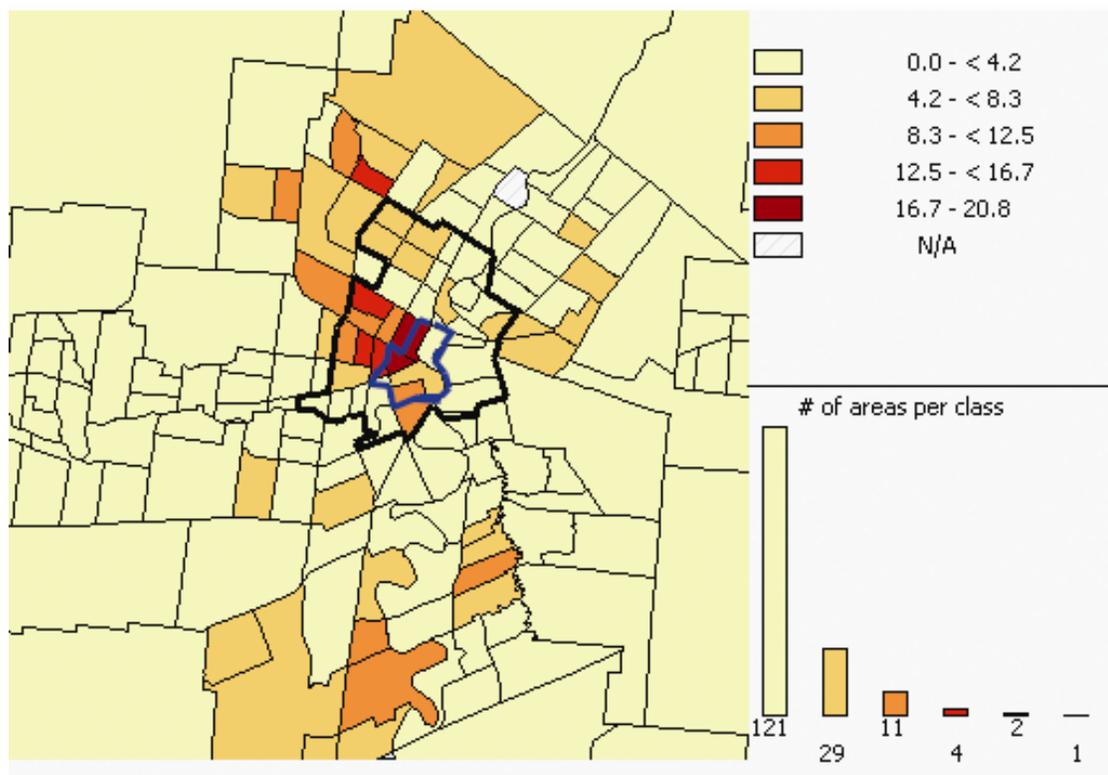
Figure 2: Total recent immigrants by selected places of birth – 20% sample data as a % of total population. Winnipeg (168 census tracts). Source: Statistics Canada, 2006d. The boundaries of the inner city (Carter 2009) are shown in black; the boundaries of downtown (City of Winnipeg 1994) in blue.

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[9] "Recent immigrant" is defined by Statistics Canada as a landed immigrant who came to Canada up to five years prior to a given census year. Source: Statistics Canada 2006e.

The following section reviews two main plans that have been developed to guide

Winnipeg's future: *Plan Winnipeg 2020 Vision* (here on to be referred to as *Plan

Winnipeg*) and *CentrePlan*. These policy scans were done using a word search tool and a

manual review, and are supplemented with content expressed by City of Winnipeg

planners during the focus group.

7.2 NEWCOMERS AND WINNIPEG PLANNING POLICY
7.2.1 PLAN WINNIPEG

Municipalities are responsible for regulation and enforcement of housing standards,

zoning, property taxes, land use and development, urban design and neighbourhood

design. *Plan Winnipeg* spells out a vision for how these issues are to be addressed in the

city. This review assesses the ways in which ethnocultural diversity is addressed in

relation to these planning issues as well as generally.

Plan Winnipeg is the City's development plan, which the City is mandated by the

Province to create and maintain under the *City of Winnipeg Charter Act.* It is important

for readers to note that the City is currently embarking on a major revision of *Plan

Winnipeg*, and the upcoming version (*OurWinnipeg*) may very well address these issues

differently. Part of this study (the focus group with planners) provides some thought as

to what these changes might be (see *Section 9: Results*).

Plan Winnipeg is composed of a set of policies that are intended to guide the physical,

social, economic and environmental development of Winnipeg into the future (City of

Winnipeg 2000). All the City's budgets, public works, and programs must conform to

Plan Winnipeg (City of Winnipeg 2000). Sections 1A-02, 1B-01, 1C-01, and 1C-02 of the

Plan include policy guidelines related to social issues downtown. These include:

- Supporting neighbourhood development programs that promote neighbourhood stability,
- Coordinating community-based recreation, leadership, life-skills, and employment programs,
- Engaging residents, businesses, organizations, and schools in neighbourhood improvement strategies,
- Developing multi-level government programs that support community based revitalization strategies; and
- Seeking private investment to support infill housing and local service amenities (12-17).

With respect to providing safe and affordable housing, guidelines include:

- Working with housing, financial, non-profit, and governmental stakeholders to develop long-term funding strategies,
- Promoting home ownership for low income residents,
- Providing information, inspecting properties, and enforcing rules to related to maintaining safe housing ,
- Partnering with not-for-profit community housing groups in the acquisition and redevelopment of vacated houses,
- Promoting timely demolition when rehabilitation is not feasible; and
- Promoting innovative public financing methods such as Tax Increment Financing to spur affordable infill development and improve older housing stock (17).

All of the above issues - neighbourhood stability, recreation, leadership, life-skills,

employment, infill housing, local service amenities, and safe/affordable housing – have

impacts on newcomers as they do all city residents. Some newcomers may be

particularly affected by these, since the experience of newly arriving to the city brings

with it a number of challenges related to housing, income, and employment (Carter,

Polevychok, Friesen & Osborne, 2008). It is encouraging to see a policy commitment to

these needs, although they afford little attention to newcomers in specific terms.

As a general principle, the Plan supports the dignity and respect of all Winnipeggers; and supports social equity, tolerance, diversity, and universal access (City of Winnipeg 2000, 10). The Plan defines a new Winnipegger as "a person arriving in the city as an immigrant from another country or other parts of this country" (21). Section 2A-04 of the Plan addresses the needs of new Winnipeggers by committing to assist organizations that provide newcomer services, and/or by delivering direct services to these communities if appropriate. In Section 2A-05 of the Plan, the City pledges to address social concerns by increasing literacy through program partnerships and through public library services; and by fostering multi-level government initiatives that work to reduce child poverty. The Plan also commits to eliminating all forms of discrimination, although the details of that effort are not clarified.

Section 2A-01 of the Plan supports citizen input into policy formulation, political decision-making, and program development processes through meaningful public consultation (City of Winnipeg 2000). Consultation is an especially important area for newcomers, who sometimes have specific needs (See *Section 10: Discussion*, for more information on this).

Section 2A-02 iii of the Plan calls for services that "recognize and, to the greatest extent possible, accommodate the unique needs of the city's various cultural groups" (City of Winnipeg 2000, 20). Section 2A-02iv of the Plan proposes that French language services be provided, especially in areas where the French speaking population is most concentrated (City of Winnipeg 2000).

One of the major sections of the document refers to promoting vitality and culture (City of Winnipeg 2000, Section 5D). This section underscores the importance of 'culture' to the City, which in the Plan mainly refers to active living, leisure, public attractions, arts and entertainment (See Sections 5D-01 through 5D-04). This definition of culture is limited by a lack of attention to ethnic groups and ethnoculture, but on the other hand the commitments in those sections are important, because arts and cultural activities are significant components of cultural identity (Delgado & Barton 1998). Section 5D-04 of the Plan, which speaks most directly to arts and culture, recommends that the City highlight the richness of the arts and entertainment sectors by delivering and/or supporting related programs and their facilities, coordinating related policy and planning, providing cultural grants, and enhancing intergovernmental funding for arts, entertainment and cultural activities (City of Winnipeg 2000).

Overall, there is little specific mention of newcomers in *Plan Winnipeg*. Specific provisions include supporting relevant NGOs and other service providers, working to eliminate discrimination, increasing literacy, and developing initiatives to reduce child poverty (together with other levels of government). The mention of reducing discrimination, while admirable, does not provide a framework to guide action.

In the wording of Plan 2020, terms such as "encouraging", "supporting" and "promoting" are frequently used. This language, together with the lack of targets and timelines, makes it difficult to measure outcomes. This is typical of vision plans and is not unique to Winnipeg's. However, there remain opportunities to strengthen

documents like this to help ensure policies are applied as consistently as possible. For the City of Winnipeg, this is one of the goals of the new revised Plan[10].

7.2.2   CENTREPLAN

Plan Winnipeg provides the policy basis for *CentrePlan*, which as its name suggests, applies to downtown. Like Winnipeg, many cities in North American have struggled in recent decades with inner city decline (Faulk 2006), and many have developed similar strategies to address the issue. These strategies include increasing pedestrianism, building indoor shopping centres, preserving historic buildings, developing waterfronts, office development, special activity generators and transportation enhancements (Faulk 2006). These strategies have the potential to increase private sector investment, tourism and daytime activity in and around downtown areas, but are generally not geared toward the needs of existing downtown residents (Faulk 2006).

In Winnipeg, there has been some new investment in downtown development in the last few years. Projects like the Manitoba Hydro office tower, the Canadian Museum for Human Rights and the expansion of the Red River College and University of Winnipeg campuses have all received significant public investment. Although these 'mega projects' continue to be a central (and perhaps most visible) component of Winnipeg's downtown revitalization strategy, revitalization planning in Winnipeg has other

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[10] M. Richards, personal communication, February 2009.

components. The Winnipeg approach has been a mixture of mega projects and neighbourhood based revitalization initiatives. Over the last 30 years in particular, all three levels of government have worked to understand and address inner city revitalization in Winnipeg. There are a number of programs funded by the province (such as *Neighbourhoods Alive!*); and the municipal, provincial and federal governments participate in tripartite funding agreements (such as the Winnipeg Partnership Agreement) which have typically had a focus on revitalization.

Winnipeg has also developed community-based cultural initiatives such as inner city public art mural programs. These initiatives generally involve young artists, students, community and other groups, and receive funding from the City of Winnipeg through *Take Pride Winnipeg!* Some murals reflect Winnipeg's ethnocultural communities (The Murals of Winnipeg 2009).

CentrePlan is the main document intended to guide revitalization initiatives in Winnipeg's downtown. The document was adopted by City Council in 1994, and the accompanying Development Framework was reviewed by City Council in September 1999. *CentrePlan* was a City-led effort with input from stakeholders. It was not intended to be a municipal plan, but a partnership between all three levels of government, inner city organizations, non-profits, interest groups, and residents (City of Winnipeg 1994, 5).

CentrePlan acknowledges the city's recent immigration increases and changing source countries (City of Winnipeg 1994, 21), and the fact that the downtown is increasingly the place many immigrants call home (City of Winnipeg 1994, 3). The Plan envisions an

inclusive downtown community: "Efforts [of downtown Winnipeg revitalization]

should…support the realities of the downtown population - its mix of household types

and income and social groups, and its racial and ethnic diversity" (City of Winnipeg

1994, 13). The Plan acknowledges that "These and other characteristics have

implications for the kinds of infrastructure, services and programs that must be put in

place" (City of Winnipeg 1994, 13). The Plan commits to addressing "the specific needs

of new immigrants living in the Downtown" (21).

Other supports for newcomers are embedded in various sections of the document.

There is a commitment to providing access to education and employment opportunities

(17), and to attracting downtown residents diverse in age, immigrant status, and ability

(18). The Plan details some challenges faced by inner city youth, and makes note of

"unmet basic needs" that can lead to high risk activities and alienation of some

downtown youth (22).

One of the most helpful recommendations to come out of *CentrePlan* is the

commitment to community participation. Because the makeup of communities in the

inner city will always change, the best policy could very well be one in which community

members are regularly included in planning processes (See *Section 9: Results*, for more

information on this). By encouraging diverse participation, strategies for specific groups

can still be developed, but planners concurrently gain an assessment of what is new and

upcoming for *all* groups, which is essential in changing neighbourhoods. The Plan calls

for the participation of citizens, including those typically excluded, "...in decisions which

affect their communities, workplaces, local services, and daily lives" (20). The following

is the Plan's basis for that approach:

> Community participation in making decisions about issues affecting people's
> lives is fundamental to creating both a healthy and vibrant downtown, as
> well as creating healthy, empowered people. The process to involve people
> in making decisions about downtown issues must include not only those
> groups of people that have traditionally been involved, but also other groups
> that have been ignored or unable for one reason or another to participate.
> Providing people with the information and opportunity required for their
> active participation is essential (20).

To do the above, the City needs to be creative in its outreach strategies to ensure

people are getting the invitations they need to be involved (See *Section 9: Results* for

more information on including diverse views in plan-making).

CentrePlan Action Plan (City of Winnipeg 1995) is an implementation strategy that

accompanies *CentrePlan*. The Action Plan commits to a number of approaches to

address issues outlined in the Vision. Highlights that are most relevant to newcomers

include allocating resources to neighbourhood planning initiatives, safety programs, the

creation of downtown neighbourhood resource centres, a downtown housing strategy,

and arts, education and training programs.

CentrePlan Development Framework (City of Winnipeg 1999) addresses physical

development and design in the downtown area, and navigates away from social issues

including the needs of newcomers. One of its main recommendations is to select

neighbourhoods most in need of revitalization, and strengthen distinct character areas

(7). To do this, the Framework recommends shaping downtown neighbourhoods around

"the many needs of a diverse population" (7). The Framework does not go further on this; perhaps because of its development focus. But when paired with *CentrePlan*'s call for community participation, it is clear enough that community engagement is part of the equation for supporting distinct neighbourhoods downtown.

To sum up, one of the best recommendations in *CentrePlan* is the commitment to community engagement. *CentrePlan Action Plan* commits to a number of approaches to address the issues outlined in the Vision. Although it is not clear to what degree the Vision and Action Plans guide planning activities in Winnipeg, it does appear that some of the recommendations have been implemented since then. These include work on a downtown housing plan, the development of downtown urban design guidelines, increased neighbourhood planning, providing downtown 'ambassadors', and encouraging mixed use development through zoning by-law changes. Like *Plan Winnipeg*, the *CentrePlan* documents are getting dated, and it is possible that they might be reviewed in the coming years.

7.3   SUMMING UP: NEWCOMERS IN WINNIPEG PLANNING POLICY

Both *CentrePlan* and *Plan Winnipeg* outline Winnipeg's changing ethnocultural makeup and acknowledge the importance of addressing newcomer needs. Both documents, however, come up short on details - saying good things, but committing to little. In *CentrePlan*, the interaction between newcomers and downtown quality of life is reviewed, and the document makes the case for inclusion and community involvement in downtown planning, but avoids discussions of implementation. *Plan Winnipeg* says

less still about newcomers and their needs; but like *CentrePlan*, a number of policies

(such as assisting newcomer services, literacy, poverty, discrimination) are supported in

the documents that - if applied - could at least indirectly influence the lives of

newcomers in some positive ways.

The assessment of newcomer needs in both documents, particularly in *Plan Winnipeg*, is

undeveloped. In the case of *Plan Winnipeg*, the ethnocultural focus is on French

communities, presenting a further barrier to understanding Winnipeg's ethnic

communities, which have been diversifying for many years.

8   Research Methods

8.1   INTERPRETIVE BRANCH OF SCIENCE

Instead of seeing knowledge as a readily available series of facts, interpretive science generally views knowledge as hidden and complex (Neuman 1997, 68). Because of this, the interpretive researcher embarks on the task of attempting to understand and describe social realities that exist beneath the surface of things (Neuman 1997, 68). Although surveys could be used in interpretive research, richer materials – such as conversations, texts, or pictures – are generally of greater interest to the interpretive researcher, who appreciates the multifaceted social world of people with whom he or she is engaging (Neuman 1997).

Rather than inquiring into what people do, interpretive research often seeks to understand underlying processes and actions. The approach is sensitive to cultural difference, in that it rejects the notion that symbols and actions can be objectively measured; since different groups have different meaning systems (Neuman 1997, 69).

An interpretive approach was taken with this research because it is apparent to the researcher that needs in the urban environment are tied to social processes. It would be difficult to describe the environmental needs of African, Asian, and Middle Eastern newcomers without developing some understanding of factors in their lives that may be at the root of those needs. An interpretive approach was also selected to help to provide a more detailed picture to readers (and to the planners who were engaged in a focus group) than would be available using description alone.

8.2   METHODOLOGY

8.2.1   SAMPLING

Nine key informants from Winnipeg organizations that serve international newcomers took part in a focus group. Ten were invited but three could not attend, then two graciously agreed to take part thanks to the quick recruitment efforts of one of the scheduled participants. Three current City of Winnipeg planners were engaged in a separate, later focus group.

Purposive sampling was used for both focus groups. Purposive sampling is a deliberate process of selecting respondents based on their ability to provide needed information (Padgett 2008, 53). For the key informant group, participants represented the following organizations: The International Centre, African Communities of Manitoba Inc. (ACOMI), Welcome Place, Immigrant and Refugee Community Organization of Manitoba (IRCOM), and the Community Economic Development Association. For the planners' group, City employees were chosen to based on their knowledge of City of Winnipeg planning policy and practices. A staff member of the City helped recruit planners who had some level of understanding of immigration, diversity and general planning policies.

8.2.2   PREPARATION AND LOGISTICS

Before the key informant focus group, meetings were held with all participants who were willing; to familiarize them with the researcher and the intent of the research, and to help establish the interview guide. Input in the interview guide was sought to help ensure questions were sensitive to the multicultural context of the research and focus

group, and to establish a level of comfort and trust with the researcher, who was not a newcomer nor a visible minority himself. Participants provided feedback on the phrasing of questions and ideas for other questions. Alterations to the interview guide were made based on this. The researcher was encouraged by the interest exhibited by some participants during these discussions and took this to mean that the subject matter - including the focus on the built environment - was relevant to them. There were no pre-meetings with planners, since issues of cross-cultural relevance and understanding were not evident to the same degree.

The key informant focus group was held on May 7, 2009, in a classroom at the International Centre of Winnipeg. The planners' focus group was held June 29, 2009, in a meeting room in the offices of the City of Winnipeg Planning, Property and Development Department, Planning and Land Use Division.

In between the two focus groups, the key informant data was analyzed to develop themes that could be shared with planners in the second focus group. This was done to enable the researcher to provide the planners with some information that could help them develop ideas on ways to address needs identified by focus group participants. This information was provided about five days in advance of June 29, 2009, to provide planners a chance to review and prepare.

8.2.3   FOCUS GROUPS

Focus groups are a form of focused interviews (Zeisel 2006). Focused interviews are one of the preferred tools a researcher uses "…to find out what people think, feel, do, know,

believe, and expect" (Zeisel 2006, 227). Generally, focused interviews provide richer

information than surveys. This is because the researcher attends to the content, and has

the opportunity to adjust the interaction to respond to emerging knowledge that may

shed important light on what is being studied. Strict adherence to a list of pre-set

questions might prevent participants from elaborating on processes most important to

them, or could prevent them from raising particular issues spontaneously. For these

reasons, interview questions in this study were semi-structured to act as a guide but to

avoid rigidity.

Focus groups are used in social sciences to bring together people who share a common

situation (Stewart, Shamdasani, & Rook 2007, 10). Focus groups are useful in situations

in which little is known about the subject under study (Stewart, Shamdasani, & Rook

2007, 41) and/or when the researcher is seeking a range of experiences about a topic

(Zeisel 2006, 243). In this study, these factors can be seen to be true for both the

planners' group and the key informant group. Focus groups were chosen for both.

People in groups behave differently than they do individually (Stewart, Shamdasani, &

Rook 2007, 20). Personal characteristics and group dynamics contribute to this, and can

cause some members to communicate differently than they would on their own.

Communication can be enhanced in focus groups, however, by keeping a degree of

homogeneity among members, for example along lines of gender, age, ethnicity, and

socioeconomic status. However, if the phenomenon being studied is not particularly

gender-related, mixed-gender groups may not pose a problem; and the same goes for

ethnicity (Morgan 1988). These are probabilities, and one can never tell how personal characteristics will influence a group session. While it is possible to control for some of these characteristics (Stewart, Shamdasani, & Rook 2007), it is not fruitful to reduce all differences because that can lead to a flat discussion (Morgan, 1988). In this study, age and socioeconomic status were somewhat levelled through similarities in employment type and incomes.

8.2.4 CHECKING OF RESULTS

After the completion of each focus group, participants were offered the opportunity to review key results. For the key informant focus group, this was done before the planner focus group was held, to ensure accuracy of results before they were portrayed to planners. The purpose of this was to ensure that interpretive findings were a fair enough reflection of what was intended by participants. Key themes were distributed by email; and one participant took up the additional offer of an in-person meeting to view detailed results. The researcher accommodated a change suggested by this participant; which was to include the data on urban way finding. Initially this data was factored out since the use of landmarks for way finding can generally be done in Winnipeg as in any other place, but the participant felt it was interesting and important to include for reasons of cultural understanding.

The same approach of checking results was used with the planners. All were given key themes of the results; all consented to the interpretations without a follow-up meeting.

8.2.5   ANALYSIS

A.   Reading the Data

An interpretive analysis was used to generate themes that appeared across participants in each group. Rather than literally describing what is heard, interpretive research involves a "detailed study of the text, contemplating its many messages and seeking the connections among its parts" (Neuman 1997, 68). Mason (2000) argues that it may be impossible to read or interpret literally, because words are already based on interpretations (149). Literal readings may be even less useful for focus group analysis, because group dynamics impact the data content.

A data analysis technique common to grounded theory was used in this research. Grounded theory attempts to create knowledge from the story told in the data, rather reading it using preconceived categories (Charmaz, 2006, 46). According to Charmaz (2006), one of the major functions of grounded theory analysis is to develop "generalizeable theoretical statements that transcend specific times and places" (46). Charmaz clarifies the way in which coding in grounded theory (without preconceived categories) can generate new, sometimes unexpected knowledge:

> We *create* our codes by defining what we see in the data. Codes emerge as you scrutinize your data and define meanings within it. Through this active coding, you interact with your data again and again and ask many different questions of them. As a result, coding may take you into unforeseen areas and new research questions (46).

In this research, the researcher approached with broad categories led by the research questions. These basic questions framed both the interview guide and the

categorization of data in the analysis (major categories only), and constituted a macro-level organization of the findings. But within this framework, the researcher remained open to threads that appeared through analytic interpretation.

B. Coding

Coding is a specific process used to read and define qualitative data (Charmaz, 2006, 43). Coding involves naming segments of data with a label that both categorizes and summarizes them (Charmaz, 2006, 43). Through this naming process, coding allows the researcher to move beyond concrete statements and make analytic interpretations (Charmaz, 2006, 43). In grounded theory, coding breaks the data down and names categories concisely to support the researcher's development of an interpretive or theoretical framework (Charmaz, 2006, 45). According to Charmaz (2006),

> Grounded theory coding generates the bones of your analysis. Theoretical integration will assemble these bones into a working skeleton. Thus, coding is more than a beginning; it shapes an analytic frame from which you build the analysis (45).

Open coding is the first step in the grounded theory coding process (Charmaz 2006; Strauss & Corbin 1998; Neuman 2000). A first pass is made through the data, and descriptive phrases for evident actions or processes are developed. Different authors propose different names and arrangements for other parts of the grounded theory coding process. Some (Strauss & Corbin 1998; Neuman 2000) encourage open coding followed by *axial* and then *selective* coding. Axial coding works by judging which of the open codes are most important; based on frequency, interconnections with similar codes and emphasis, then combining them into a smaller number of categories.

Selective coding is looking carefully at the axial codes, refining and elaborating them, and developing meaning from them based on more of the content of people's responses. The selective codes or meaning units can end up being different than the open or axial codes, if the researcher justifies how they are put together.

Other authors (Charmaz 2006), promote open coding followed by *focused* coding. According to Charmaz (2006), focused coding is "using the most significant and/or frequent earlier codes to sift through large amounts of data" (2006, 57). To do this, the researcher decides which initial codes are most important to complete the analysis most incisively (2006, 57). This depends on the wishes of the researcher, but may take into account things like frequency and interconnections. Charmaz (2006) describes focused coding as "more directed, selective, and conceptual" than open coding (50). As the researcher actively engages with the data, new threads – some of which he or she had not thought of before - become apparent (Charmaz 2006, 59).

According to Charmaz (2006, 60), axial coding is Strauss & Corbin's (1998) strategy for bringing data back to a coherent whole again after it has been fragmented through open coding. Charmaz (2006) believes the researcher can complete his or her coding at the focused level then move on to summarization: "Whether and to what extent [axial coding] offers a more effective technique than careful comparisons remains debatable" (63). Creswell (1998) and Strauss & Corbin (1998) promote the incorporation of axial codes while others (like Charmaz) leave this up to the researcher. All of these authors

agree, however, on a transition from open coding to codes that synthesize and summarize.

In this research, open and focused codings were done with the assumption that it would be possible to move from there to a summarization phase. However, after focused coding was complete it became apparent that there was more analysis to be done. Not only were there a large number of focused codes, but the codes needed to be reassembled into larger themes that worked with others in the same section and in some cases in other sections of transcript, where codes of similar meaning could be found. This was a form of cross-sectional indexing (Mason 2000), but a flexible one in which some codes held meaning for more than one phenomena, and in which changes were made to codes where necessary. Also, the interpretive nature of the analysis provided the opportunity to not just look at the text but to think about dynamics and emotions that appeared in the focus groups and allow these to inform the researcher's decisions on codes and meanings across sections. This approach is supported by Mason (2000): "[generating indexing categories] means making sure you are familiar with your data – read them, look at them, study them, listen to them, think about them and the process of their production" (159).

A reflexive reading was not done as the researcher preferred instead to make reference to general ways in which the analysis was informed by his own background and assumptions (See *Section 10.1: Limitations of the Results*) and by the types of questions asked (See *Section 10.11: Where Do We Go from Here?*).

Line by line coding was the technical approach used with the data in this research.

According to Charmaz (2006), moving line by line allows the researcher move quickly

through the data, and helps the researcher remain open to its many nuances (50).

9 Results

Most results presented below refer to the focus group rather than individual participants. In cases where individual views are presented, these individuals are named as "a participant" or "one participant" rather than being assigned particular identifiers. Data related to newcomers is often portrayed as such for simplicity, but it should be remembered that key informants, not newcomers themselves, provided the data for newcomers. Sections 9.1 through 9.5 review results from the key informant focus group; sections 9.6 through 9.10 review results from the planner focus group.

9.1 DAILY NEEDS & EXPERIENCES

9.1.1 FEELING ALIENATED FROM EXISTING RECREATIONAL AMENITIES

Participants highlighted the feeling that public spaces in Winnipeg are not made with newcomers and their children in mind. People were generally not finding appropriate spaces to participate in sports and activities they were accustomed to, such as soccer. Even the much-lauded Forks, according to one respondent, does not provide much of what newcomer children need for recreation:

> The Forks - the Canadian born children can see themselves there and can use the skateboard park. So they are more comfortable there. However, for kids who arrive from maybe Sudan or Vietnam, last week – they can't find himself or herself there, because he use or she used play soccer and there is no soccer there. He used to or she used to run, and there's no place to run. No structures for running there.

There was a problem with some parks and outdoor spaces having a negative effect on children's development. The message seemed to be that it was easier for children to get

into trouble in public parks than it was to have fun. A solution proposed for this was rather simple: provide more opportunities for playing soccer. Soccer came up a number of times throughout the focus group. Not only was this sport seen to provide a strong sense of cultural familiarity for some, but one participant stated that soccer is so central to some community members, that in its absence, children get into trouble with gangs. It was said that without appropriate, convenient places to play soccer near the home, some children and youth have nothing positive to do.

There was general agreement that soccer infrastructure needed to be available year-round, and that access needed to be free to meet the economic needs of community members. This is summed up particularly well by one participant's comment:

> Most of the immigrant kids like to play soccer. From November to April, there's nowhere they can play soccer in the inner city, and kids cannot kick soccer balls in the gym, no way. Only kids from affluent neighbourhoods and whose parents can afford indoor soccer pitches in the suburbs.

9.1.2   EXPERIENCING STRESS DUE TO APARTMENT LIVING

It appeared that apartments were a common housing type for newcomers, and concerns about this form of housing were emphasized a number of times. The theme of stress was chosen by the researcher to illustrate what was being heard about the array of negative interactions with apartments. Stress was being described on an individual, family and community level in relation to apartments.

High-rise apartments in particular were causing individuals anxiety. Due to a lack of

previous experience with high-rises, some newcomers feared them and/or their

elevators, and older newcomers who feared elevators had difficulty climbing the stairs,

creating a double-bind for them.

Families were struggling in cramped apartments, and felt stuck because they could not

afford larger accommodations. Families were being physically separated because of the

lack of affordable, adequately-sized accommodations to suit the family. The following

excerpt illustrates the dual problem of family fragmentation and affordability:

> ...the space within these living accommodations [apartments] is not
> adequate for newcomers coming from Asia, Africa, or Middle East, it's so
> limited. Most of them are like 2 bedrooms, 3 bedrooms, whereas they are
> coming from a larger family. What they call here family is like a nuclear
> family, they are more of an extended family - so it's difficult to keep the
> family together. The family has to be broken because of the space available.
> Because they have 6 people in one family you can't all go into a 2 bedroom.
> So they have to rent 2 or 3 bedrooms which brings hardship mostly on them.

Many newcomers were members of large families, and some wanted their extended

families to stay together as much as possible. Frustration was expressed about the lack

of affordable, suitable of apartment units to help newcomers meet those objectives;

and how in spite of this, small apartments were one of the only models of housing

readily accessible. Rent-to-own housing was brought up as a model to help meet the

needs of some newcomers who cannot afford to buy up front, but who want to work

towards owning their own homes:

> ...where we started [organizing in Central Park] we were totally on the idea
> of building affordable houses rent to own for refugees. When I toyed with
> that idea, I had a meeting; there were over 100 people that came to that

who were interested. Because some people before they had their own houses, before coming to Canada, so they have that idea of owning their own homes.

Housing was viewed as more than a place to eat, sleep and relax; it was also viewed as a source of daily social and cultural connections. References were made to the need for communal meeting spaces in multifamily housing, yard spaces to greet neighbours, and home garden space. People were describing the value of shared spaces in which to have interactions with neighbours. This was attached to cultural norms for some:

> ...they have to put courtyards, communal gathering places; those things have to be factored in 'cause that's what they're used to. If you go to a village you know in West Africa, East Africa, Northern Africa, the person gets up in the morning, they don't take an elevator up and down anywhere, they get up, they come out their door in their yard, they greet the next door neighbour, they say, you know - there's an expression, like come out of your home or something like that right, but from your front door, you're on land. You know, it's very communal. So whether it's townhouses, everyone has their own...little courtyard, that little central - and then of course an 8x8 plot for personal gardening space.

So not only did people want garden space, there was also the feeling of being cut-off (an interpretation by the researcher here) from the familiar and cherished sense of camaraderie afforded by neighbour-oriented housing.

9.1.3   NEEDING OPPORTUNITY FOR GARDENING AND SPORTS YEAR-ROUND

Many newcomers were settling downtown, and were being presented with lack of recreational space there. Digging a little deeper into this, it became apparent that types of sport and adapting to the winter months were connected to these statements. Participants described the need for indoor soccer space year-round, and noted the challenge of playing sports during the winter. But in summer, amenities too were

lacking. Participants described the small size and number of playgrounds, and safety

issues attached to children having to play in the streets.

Gardening came up during the discussion about housing (see previous section), but

gardening was also described as being important in its own right, whether or not it was

connected to the home. Newcomers found the lack of yard space as being at odds with

their need to garden, which was seen to have a large number of benefits to their lives.

Newcomers wanted to support their families with their own food, wanted to grow food

on or near the house, wanted to grown traditional food, and wanted save on their

grocery bills. One participant said that [in the inner city] there were more growers than

there were spaces to garden. Participants expressed frustration with the amount of red

tape involved with accessing vacant City-owned lots for gardens. Participants described

a disconnect between the availability of, and access to, these City lots.

9.1.4   STRUGGLING TO LIVE CONVENIENTLY IN THE SUBURBS

Although initially the conversation was focused on life in the inner city, it drifted to the

suburbs. As we know, the majority of newcomers currently settle in the inner city, but

some make their way to more suburban locations, too (see *Section 7.1: Recent Winnipeg*

Newcomer Spatial Settlement). Feelings of isolation were reported to be associated with

living in the suburbs without a car, especially for women, who were said to be spending

a lot of time inside their suburban homes because of difficulties in getting around.

Participants were describing the inadequacy of suburban transit services and the

difficulty for newcomers to save to buy a car while working low-wage jobs.

The suburbs came up as an issue for those living in the inner city too, at least with

respect to amenities. Newcomers in the inner city were having difficulty getting to far-

away supermarkets, and were unable to afford to live in the areas that had these.

The following is an illustration of how the inaccessibility of large supermarkets presents

economic challenges:

> [The suburbs are] mainly...designed for people who have cars to drive to
> Wal-Mart or Superstore, or bigger things like that and newcomers really
> have problems... and they, often with the small money they get they spend a
> lot of money on accessing, going to Superstore in St. Vital or St. James, or
> over here in Kenaston. They are very far away.

Participants talked about needing city-wide access to ethnic supermarkets, because the

main one was downtown.

9.1.5 FEELING A SENSE OF CULTURAL CONTENTMENT BY SHOPPING IN LOCAL MARKETS

Newcomers felt a sense of freedom and community by shopping in open markets.

Participants talked about the potential of finding 'the community' at the market, and of

finding the market itself to be a community.

The open-air market was cited as something special that people wanted to experience

more of, however people also expressed the desire for a year-round market in Winnipeg

(which would likely not be open-air). Participants pointed out precedents for year-round

markets in Canadian cities.

There was the overall sense that markets in Winnipeg – open-air or year-round or both,

were necessary and possible, in order to achieve an essential form of cultural

gratification for newcomers. The market was a place

> where people who grow things in their back yard can bring them to sell.
> People who have small things like items at home can bring them. And the
> whole community is there. They have days where people come together. It's
> a community and it responds to the community.

Malls and supermarkets were brought up as a form of shopping that aroused

contrasting feelings to those described in markets. Newcomers had difficulties adjusting

to malls and supermarkets as shopping typologies. Part of this adjustment was

embedded in the necessity of negotiating transportation methods that were required to

access these often distant, outlying places.

Newcomers missed the social interaction of markets, and disliked the commercial, non-

social approach of supermarkets. Some whose English was not good were struggling to

be understood in supermarkets, and were sometimes being treated rudely there. This

feeling was similar in malls, where newcomers were not only treated rudely at times,

but were also feeling confused and were seeing the mall as a place of confinement:

> You go to a mall every aisle you speak English, you say hello to someone
> they just brush you, you asking for information, someone will just pass you,
> you know - say 'can't you read?' And it's not even on the map - I read the
> map I'm confused, what floor, what floor, so when you think of the mall it's
> like a prison.

There was also mention of elders[11] being fearful, and feeling both closed-in and isolated

in malls:

> The elders have to go to the mall, they are afraid, they are so cloistered, the
> language, everything. To move around is so impossible for them, so that's
> why they are so isolated. They would rather stay home [than] go find things
> for them in the mall.

9.1.6   NEEDING MORE CROSS-CULTURAL INTERACTION

Some newcomers were having trouble finding enough members of their own

ethnocultural group to socialize with, and there was the suggestion that a multicultural

community centre would be useful to address multiple cultural needs in the inner city.

There was a proposal that this type of community centre could foster cross-cultural

interactions. On a more substantive level, newcomers were looking for a place to

express themselves through painting, sports, and other talents, in a facility that

provided low income access.

The use of coffee shops to fill the social needs of elders was cited as evidence of the lack

of accessible, appropriate spaces for cultural interaction. Using coffee shops for this

purpose was also sometimes a source of humiliation:

> ...because we do not have these [social] spaces, most of the time, especially
> in the winter, you'll see like elders gathering at the Tim Horton's and sitting
> down there, just to have the time to discuss things and to have the
> communal...space to be able to talk to each other. Tim Horton's for example
> has a 20 minute rule you can only sit for 20 minutes and then you're kicked
> out, and then you'll see elders being kicked out.

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[11] The word "elders" was used by focus group participants, and was understood by this researcher as
referring to older adults.

9.1.7 PREFERRING LANDMARKS FOR URBAN WAY FINDING

Many newcomers preferred landmarks to street signs as a way of finding key places in the city. Some participants told stories of the elaborate use of landmarks in their previous communities, and made the point that the use of landmarks was a preferred way to get around the city for some, and was much easier for those newcomers who did not yet have a workable command of English (and could not read street signs). Some newcomers often looked for landmarks, and used them out of familiar custom. Using street names and house numbers to give or receive directions was noted as a foreign concept to some.

9.2 HOW PLANNERS CAN ADDRESS NEEDS

9.2.1 REQUIRING COMMUNITY-ORIENTED PLANNING APPROACHES

Newcomers required planning leadership committed to community-level practice. One participant believed that a property developer was leading the planning department, and expressed scepticism that a situation like that could address the need for widespread community consultation in planning decisions.

Participants were also expressing the need for consultation with newcomers on a full range of housing features. This appeared to be especially true for areas that were home to large numbers of newcomers, such as Central Park. Newcomers were not often being consulted on prices, locations, or designs of proposed new housing developments.

The need for an easier process for creating community garden plots was cited. And, there were hopes that planners would support an inner-city, multicultural recreation centre. Participants were expressing the need for greater cultural and immigrant understanding permeating service delivery.

9.3   THE EXPERIENCE OF BEING INVOLVED IN PLANNING
9.3.1   WANTING TO BE CONSULTED

Newcomers had a desire to be involved in planning, and wanted to take part in developing solutions to issues in their communities. It was expressed that newcomers had a lot of knowledge and skill to share with planners, but were not being provided opportunities to do so:

> People love to be consulted a lot, and they need, you know we have hierarchical society, we have elders who have a lot of experience running government world, city world, and these kinds of things, who are really professional people, who are just sitting idle; and if their views were just taken, it will change a lot of things.

People wanted to be consulted most definitely when planning initiatives were taking place in their neighbourhoods, but preferably on an ongoing basis. Participants expressed need for, hope for, and appreciation for, consultation with newcomers. There was a sense of frustration with planning, in that community members felt they had ideas to make positive changes in their communities but also felt impotent to do so.

Part of this feeling was driven by a recent experience in which newcomer communities were asked to participate, but the outcome was disappointing. A housing project was to be developed in the inner city and many people came to talk about their housing

preferences, but the resulting plan was so far removed from the desired plan that community members felt cheated. Newcomers felt that good housing ideas they communicated in consultation were being overtaken by powerful agencies, which removed community voices from the plan. As a result, the consultation was not considered to be meaningful: "It seems like the community is being used as a rubber stamp."

On the upside, although it was noted to be an exception, newcomers felt pleased with the Central Park consultation, because they had the chance to be involved: "For the Central Park, we were involved in planning and they actually will really talk about what we want this...Central Park to look like..."

Still on the subject of being involved in planning, some newcomers were having difficulty participating in consultations for a number of reasons. Other than the recent Central Park project[12], newcomers had experienced few invitations to be involved in planning work. And then there was the fact that language barriers prevented some from participating, or made it difficult. People were feeling alienated from both planning jargon and from newspaper "zoning notices", intended to inform community members about planning issues:

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[12] It should be noted that the original plans for Central Park did not include community consultation. After some advocacy, consultation was added, and an inner city consultant conducted the work. The plan after that consultation (the final plan) included many of the elements that were sought by residents.

...if the city wants to do anything, if the city wants to do anything, in this neighbourhood or something, except for Central Park, they just put zoning notice, anyone with objection can register objection. No one reads the papers.

9.4   ADDRESSING NEIGHBOURHOOD DIVERSITY

9.4.1   EXPRESSING NEED FOR DIVERSE VIEWS IN PLAN-MAKING

Because people of many backgrounds live alongside each other in many areas of the

city, the researcher felt it would be useful to ask how cultural diversity can be addressed

in neighbourhood planning. It was established by participants that diverse views should

be considered a necessary part of good plan-making. It was proposed that planners

should be closer to communities, and that they need to include many groups.

Participants described the need to be reached in regular, neighbourhood-based places,

and that invitations needed to be in multiple languages:

> ...get into the schools, put up notices in the public libraries, put them up in more than one language, more than English, more than French, but get someone who speaks Amharic, or Tigrinya or Arabic, get these and get them up in different languages so people can see it.

It was also suggested that for diverse cultural groups, a good practice would be to offer

the choice for participants to convey information using visual aids rather than in spoken

or written word. The techniques of "visioning" and "drawing" were cited as potentially

useful practices to elicit rich information:

> ...how [do] they want the city to look like in 10 years time, or 5 years, that's their dream. And how do people using these services that the city planners are giving, what's their dream about this. So when you do that, people - immigrants - who cannot read and write, they have the access to draw like this; they have the ability to draw, in the city planning they will draw. It is

visual; they will have the ability to see it, and by dreaming they... are also giving their own inputs into city planning.

9.5   THE EXPERIENCE OF PUBLIC CULTURAL EXPRESSION

Newcomers felt hampered by administrative requirements when holding community functions. They had difficulty negotiating unfamiliar red tape, rules and inspections. There was also the experience of feeling timid at these functions, especially at outdoor ones, because of the presence of police. This caused an uneasy feeling:

> So sometimes you see the police hovering around a party that's being done by Africans, and they [participants] become timid, they become afraid. Who are they going to harass? So you don't feel free in these public places, because ... <another participant interrupts> As soon as they see three or more blacks gathered, this is cause to call security.

The experience of feeling judged linked to another in which people expressed that they were often misunderstood because of an animated communication style: "...some communities, culturally, when they discuss an issue, and people are sitting in the mall and they are loud and lively - thirty of them, the police approach in case they are fighting."

At functions, newcomers wanted the freedom to dance and play music outdoors, and felt resentful at not being free in a public place. There was also the desire to have greater opportunity to paint in outdoor community spaces:

> And another thing may be to have like a big wall painting; if we can have structures where people can come and draw, or paint, in the public space, and engrave them... so they can exteriorize what they feel through painting and stuff. Because we have many, many talents. People who used to paint like overseas, when they arrive here they don't know where to go to continue with that, so that might be an opportunity for them.

Table 4: Newcomers' Needs and Experiences Related to the Built Environment

Needs and Experiences (Main Findings)	Description
Feeling alienated from recreational amenities	- Not finding appropriate spaces to participate in preferred sports and activities - Needing year-round soccer infrastructure
Experiencing stress due to apartment living	- Feeling uncomfortable in high-rises and elevators (especially elders) - Families struggling in cramped apartments - Families being physically separated because of lack of affordable, adequately-sized accommodations - Needing communal meeting spaces and yard spaces to greet neighbours
Struggling to live conveniently in the suburbs	- Feeling isolated living in suburbs without a car (especially women) - Finding suburban transit to be inadequate - Inner city residents having difficulty accessing distant supermarkets - Being unable to afford accommodation in areas that contain large supermarkets
Feeling a sense of cultural contentment by shopping in local markets	- Finding sense of freedom and community in markets - Needing year-round market - Feeling fearful , closed-in, isolated in malls (especially elders)
Feeling restricted at own public functions	- Being hampered by regulatory requirements when holding community functions - Being misunderstood because of communication style
Preferring landmarks for urban way finding	Favouring landmarks to street signs as a way of locating key places

The above results reveal that there are a number of life experiences important to some newcomers that are currently hindered by lack of choice, housing costs, and substantive elements of form and design in the city.

9.6 CITY'S AIMS AND ACTIONS RELATED TO PLANNING FOR ETHNOCULTURAL DIVERSITY

While discussing the City's aims and recent[13] actions in the focus group, planners began by exploring a number of challenges that they believed to be tied to addressing newcomer needs in planning. This was seen to be an important piece of the data and is included immediately below. Following this, the results on aims and recent actions are presented.

9.6.1 HIGHLIGHTING ECONOMIC, CULTURAL, AND POLITICAL CHALLENGES ASSOCIATED WITH ADDRESSING NEWCOMER NEEDS

Planners explored challenges associated with providing planning support for conditions related to newcomers' quality of life. These pieces of data were compiled into a theme covering economic, social, and political challenges.

Economic constraints were seen by planners to be an obstacle to the achievement of desired quality of life for some newcomers, at least for the first several years after arrival. A specific struggle noted was the lack of credential recognition, and the associated burden of having to return to school after holding a professional career elsewhere.

Housing was also seen as a major impediment to successful economic integration. Planners identified a need for more affordable housing; making special note of the need

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[13] The term, "recent" was not defined in the focus group. Planners' responses may have varied depending on their understandings of that term.

to have such options available to newcomers immediately upon their arrival. This need

was believed to cross socioeconomic lines for newcomers:

> The first example is of the people who...move to Winnipeg or [an]other city.
> When they arrive, they don't have any resources; they don't have money. So
> they need affordable housing. Another category is the professional people
> who have a good background, who left their job and came here. Before they
> find work, they take sometimes 2-3 years. Some of them, they go back to
> school, to try to get some skills to find the best job, and statistical data
> shows that it's going to take 10 years before you reach the level of a native
> Canadian official. You take 10 years. So if people need affordable housing,
> they need to have it in the first year. Affordable housing is important for all
> immigrants: professionals who have good skills, they need to have
> affordable house.

Another economic burden facing newcomers was related to the need to travel in a car in

order to buy groceries. Planners agreed there was a need for more neighbourhood-

based grocers in the city to address this issue.

Cultural adjustment was seen to vary according to one's own culture. Planners believed

that some newcomer communities find it easier to adjust culturally than others,

depending on the level of 'similarity' between their previous cultural affiliation and

those of their new communities.

Planners also identified the limitations posed by their own cultures of affiliation, and the

influence of their cultural assumptions on what appears to them to be newcomers'

needs.

Politically, barriers to addressing newcomers' needs - especially housing - were said to

exist. First, planners believed that newcomers' needs do not currently resonate with

politicians. Planners noted, as an example, that funding for affordable housing for newcomers has not yet been sorted out satisfactorily among levels of government. Planners also emphasized that addressing the politics of the issue will not by itself solve the complex housing issue; because the power of nymbyism or community resistance often poses an additional barrier to the implementation of affordable housing.

9.6.2 POSSESSING MIXED VIEWS ON ETHNIC RESIDENTIAL CONCENTRATIONS

As part of the discussion of the City's aims, planners articulated their views on ethnic residential concentrations. Different and somewhat competing views were presented here. One view presented concerns about these concentrations, believing that they tend to prevent immigrants from mixing with Canadian-born people. This planner supported policies of socially-mixed housing, and touted dispersed affordable housing as a policy tool to help address concentrations. The planner also voiced an expectation that newcomers be open to new ideas and values, and that some cultural practices work better in countries of origin than they do in Winnipeg neighbourhoods; like playing music loudly in parks. In general, the belief here was that newcomers should adjust their social activities to 'fit' their neighbourhood of residence within Winnipeg. The planner noted the complex challenge of supporting ethnocultural identity while discouraging ethnic residential concentrations.

Another view that came into the discussion proposed that some people of similar ethnic backgrounds prefer to live in close proximity with one another, and that this may be a positive thing. Here, ethnic concentrations were seen to be something that should not

cause concern because they may support cultural identity, may support urban cultural

development, and may enrich urban community fabric.

9.7 AIMS

9.7.1 INCORPORATING NEWCOMERS' NEEDS INTO CITY'S DEVELOPMENT PLAN

Planners talked about the current review process for the City's development plan, *Plan

Winnipeg* (its successor to be called *OurWinnipeg*), and the work being done to

incorporate the needs of newcomer into the new version of the Plan. Planners stated

that the needs of newcomer groups were a priority in the plan, which may include

population forecasting as well as methods to address newcomers' housing needs in

particular. Planners articulated the importance of newcomers and their desires in both

in this upcoming plan, and in recent housing strategies commissioned by the City.

9.7.2 SUPPORTING MULTI-LEVEL GOVERNMENT PARTNERSHIPS

Planners believed that developers may currently address some newcomer housing

needs. Planners expressed a belief that newcomers may be as interested in single family

or row housing in the suburbs as they are in housing options in the inner city. This point

was not expanded upon but it was noted that some of this information comes from

recent market assessments which report that newcomers form a large part of new

homebuyer markets in suburban areas. Planners also noted, however, that there may

be a delay between many newcomers' arrival and their ability to afford single family

homes, or the "Western dream", as it was called.

Planners noted limitations to the City's ability to address newcomer housing, noted the City's lack of control over immigrant settlement, and underlined the relative irrelevance of the role of district planners with respect to most substantive newcomer issues. Planners stressed the complexity of affordable housing provision, and noted the City's minor role in funding when compared with other levels of government. Planners underlined the challenge of locating multiple family housing in neighbourhoods due to community opposition. Planners identified community biases against affordable housing too, and stressed the difficulty of contemplating easy solutions to affordable housing questions.

Still, planners offered some potential avenues of exploration to address newcomer housing needs. Planners emphasized the need for an integrated tripartite immigrant housing and employment strategy. Planners believed that provincial enforcement of affordable housing would lift some burden off the City of Winnipeg and its Councillors, who were reported to often feel pressure from constituents to reject affordable or multiple family housing applications. Planners strongly believed that the ward electoral system of the City was a barrier to changes such as the expansion of affordable housing.

9.8   RECENT ACTIONS
9.8.1   FACILITATING LAND ACQUISITION

Planners discussed a process the City of Winnipeg recently used to donate surplus City-owned land to an inner city newcomer service agency. Planners described the process as providing parcels of land for a dollar to non-profits, subject to conditions such as a

constructing a new building. Planners emphasized the benefit that Welcome Place (a Winnipeg newcomer service-provider that recently received free land) provides to newcomer communities, and noted that the surplus land program is used by other non-profit groups as well:

> ...Welcome Place is providing a huge benefit to the community, and they have a limited budget, and they could benefit from receiving the land for a dollar. And it's not atypical. There are lots of non-profit groups that receive land. Habitat for Humanity gets land from the City, Akinew Housing – there's a bunch of social organizations or non-profits that get free land from the City.

9.8.2 USING CONSULTATION IN AN INNER CITY PARK REDEVELOPMENT PROJECT

Planners described the City's redevelopment of Central Park (which is located in an area that is home to many international newcomers), and were supportive of the City's decision to make this investment. Planners asserted the importance of quality amenities and spaces to newcomers. Planners did not know a lot about how the Central Park redevelopment process unfolded, but said that consultants were hired to work specifically with newcomer communities to determine their preferences for the park.

Table 5: City's Aims and Recent Actions Related to Planning for Ethnocultural Diversity

Aims	Description
Incorporate newcomers' needs into City's development plan	▪ Conduct engagements with newcomer communities as part of *OurWinnipeg** ▪ View/consider the results of the present study* ▪ Consider development community's housing market projections

Table 5 (continued): City's Aims and Recent Actions Related to Planning for Ethnocultural Diversity

Aims	Description
Generate multi-level government approaches to address newcomer housing and employment needs	▪ Consider affordable housing requirements for all city neighbourhoods, if driven by Province ▪ Encourage tripartite government housing and employment strategy incorporating newcomer needs ▪ Encourage governments to work toward improving foreign credential recognition

Recent Planning Actions (completed)	Description
Facilitating land acquisition	Donation of surplus City-owned land to inner-city newcomer service agency
Using consultation in an inner city park redevelopment project	Hiring of community-based consultants to engage newcomer communities' preferences for Central Park

*M. Richards, personal communication, February 2009.

The above table shows that planners intend to include newcomers' needs in new development plan policies, believe that all levels of government needed to be involved in newcomer issues, and that the City has done some work assisting newcomer communities meet neighbourhood-based goals, but that work has been limited.

9.9   WAYS THE CITY CAN ADDRESS NEEDS

9.9.1   DEVELOPING NEW REGULATORY PLANNING TOOLS

Planners were unanimous on the importance of affordable housing to newcomers.

Dispersed affordable housing options were judged to have the potential to provide newcomers greater choice than they currently have.

Planners proposed that new regulatory tools could be developed to increase affordable

housing in the city. Specifically, planners were supporting the approach of maintaining

mixed-income neighbourhoods through regulation. They explored the use of secondary

plans to address affordable housing requirements for each neighbourhood:

> ...you [could] require each community to do a plan - a secondary plan - for
> how you are going to accommodate affordable housing in your community,
> and if each community is required to do it, it's sort of the fairness principle;
> you're not treated differently or made to do anything differently than any
> other community in the city.

Planners also proposed affordable housing requirements as a part of every new

development:

> You could also require affordable housing as a component of every
> development project, which is something they do in Vancouver. I think 20%
> is the requirement in Vancouver; so every new project that's done over a
> certain size, 20% of the units have to be affordable. So that helps ensure
> that you are getting affordable housing in each of the neighbourhoods as
> well.

9.9.2   PLANNING STRATEGICALLY

Planners wondered if inner-city soccer players (many of whom were assumed to be

newcomers) can access peripherally located soccer infrastructure. Planners proposed

that these decisions are best made planfully:

> It's the whole issue of access; and do the people in the inner city really have
> access to these places that are way out on the periphery. And when we're
> making choices about funding recreation, should they be location-specific so
> they can be accessed by the largest number of users?

9.9.3 CHANGING THE WARD ELECTORAL SYSTEM

Planners believed that City Councillors talk the talk but don't walk the walk when it comes to affordable housing. One of the main obstacles to the development of new affordable housing in Winnipeg, according to planners, is the ward system; which was reported to be influencing spatial planning issues in Winnipeg:

> ...individual Councillors are looking to get re-elected, and they are looking at their own parochial interests of their local ward. They are not looking at the larger interest of the city. Whereas they may agree, 'ya we need more affordable housing, that's a great idea', when you ask them to find a location for it in their own ward, it's like, 'well, not in my ward; you go put it in his ward'.

9.9.4 INCREASING LAND OFFERINGS AND OTHER INCENTIVES

Planners believed that there is a surplus of underutilized downtown land in Winnipeg, and believed this surplus land could be redeveloped for uses like recreational spaces that might benefit newcomers. Planners also highlighted the likely social benefits to newcomers posed by community markets. Planners proposed possible benefits if the City of Winnipeg were to offer major tax incentives, or free land, for a downtown grocery store. Planners proposed that a full-service downtown grocer would benefit newcomers living in the downtown and the inner ring; and that small convenience stores, which can be currently found in these areas, charge high prices and offer unhealthy choices.

9.10 WORKING WITH DIVERSITY IN NEIGHBOURHOODS
9.10.1 SUPPORTING GREATER ETHNOCULTURAL DIVERSITY IN CITY'S PLANNING DEPARTMENT

Planners stressed the difficulty of cross-cultural understanding, and expressed the challenge of attempting to put oneself in others' shoes. Planners noted the difficulty in understanding ethnocultural differences in general. Planners questioned the unspoken assumption that planners should understand other cultural perspectives, and identified cultural difference as a greater barrier to this understanding than is place of origin.

Planners also drew attention to the similarity of backgrounds of City of Winnipeg planners: "...there isn't a lot of diversity. With [ ] as an exception, I think it's probably all Caucasian people who have a similar background." One of the ways planners proposed to address this challenge was to increase the ethnocultural diversity of planners working in the Division.

9.10.2 SUGGESTING WIDER CONSULTATION

For similar reasons to those above, planners suggested that wider consultation would help resolve the challenge of cross-cultural understanding. Planners identified the need for consultation with cultural groups to increase understanding.

9.10.3 CALLING FOR FEWER ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT NEEDS

Planners noted the "Western" approach of Winnipeg planners, and emphasized the different ways of thinking that people of different cultures can have. Planners called for a dropping of planning assumptions in practice: "The first step is to make a major change in mindset; to break down those biases or those preconceived notions of what we think should work."

9.10.4 SUPPORTING A COMMUNITY-BASED DEVELOPMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE

Planners drew attention to the idea of a community-based development application review committee, such as those used in some other jurisdictions (Minneapolis was cited as an example). Planners described how, in this process, community groups can review and make recommendations on applications, and in doing so may be able to identify issues not apparent to planners or councillors. Planners described the potential to have diverse cultural representation on these committees - depending on the neighbourhood makeup - and were noting that such committees can offer new perspectives and new types of expertise in development review. Planners said that they believed that the Minneapolis City Council set the program up, but were unsure of the political underpinnings of the move. Planners described mixed views Minneapolis Councillors had about the program, including some resentment about the need to share authority.

9.10.5 PROVIDING IMPROVED COMMUNITY OUTREACH

Planners stated that newcomer involvement in planning processes could help provide some solutions to community-based issues, and identified the need to do concerted outreach to newcomer communities. The challenges in doing so, however, were well-articulated. Planners expressed doubt as to whether African newcomers to Winnipeg were being accessed in the outreach programs of *OurWinnipeg*. Part of the reason for this was proposed to be related to these newcomers feeling impotent to make community change, and being skeptical about municipal governance. Planners believed

that some newcomers are not accustomed to government-led community consultation, and planners identified the additional socio-political challenge of combining some ethnocultural groups in engagements. Planners drew attention to problems with cultural compatibility that can influence process dynamics: "some of these rifts...go very deep".

10 Discussion

10.1 LIMITATIONS OF THE RESULTS

Although care was taken to ensure coding stayed close to the data, and results were reviewed with participants, the analysis is still comprised of readings of the researcher and thus represents an interaction between what is and what appears to be. In this study, language and communication differences between the researcher and participants, particularly in the key informant group, made it especially important to listen and re-listen to recordings during both transcription and analysis, to help ensure as much interpretive accuracy as possible. But as stated in *Section 5.4: Assumptions and Limitations*, these results should not be generalized too much, or taken to represent the needs of all newcomers to Winnipeg or elsewhere.

Although the vast majority of participants in the key informant focus group were immigrants, and primarily from African or Middle Eastern countries, some were newcomers and some were not; and there were ethnic, cultural, socioeconomic and other differences between them. Although key informants were asked to illustrate needs expressed by newcomers they have worked with, their responses may in part reflect personal realities and experiences. Differences in communication styles, levels of communication, and group dynamics also inevitably had impacts on the data for both focus groups. It is also important to recognize functional limitations of the planner focus group, which was relatively small in size and may or may not reflect the views of the City of Winnipeg Planning and Land Use Division as a whole.

10.2   DEALING WITH 'OTHER' AND 'DIFFERENCE'

Societies likely need to soften the construct of 'other', but difference is tricky. As authors in the preceding literature review suggest (Allen, Massey and Pryke 1999), difference may be feared, but may also be a wonderful feature of urban life. Difference teaches us important lessons and can awaken us to new understandings, if we allow it to do so.

As also noted the literature review, ethnocultural difference is fluid and can decrease in intensity over time (Gupta and Ferguson 1997), particularly in diverse urban settings. From this researcher's point of view, the important question is not whether there is such a thing as 'difference' or 'other', since these concepts hold meaning to people in societies as we know them today. A more useful question is how do planners accommodate difference cities, which have contested social norms.

Temporal changes to social norms and ethnocultural constructs can be addressed by creating space for difference. This approach calls on planners (and developers) to support or provide new, adaptable forms. Adaptable forms are likely to benefit newcomers and non-newcomers alike, since they provide alternate lifestyle opportunities and/or increased choice for all city dwellers. Some recent housing examples can serve as models in this, such as a new housing complex in Winnipeg's

inner city that incorporates different sized units to accommodate large or small families.[14]

10.3 EXPLORING THE FINDINGS

This research used experiences of daily life as its foundation and sought to locate extensions of these within the built environment. The results reveal that there are a number of life choices important to some newcomers that are currently hindered; either by lack of options, or by substantive elements of form and design in the city. These needs and their interactions were summarized in *Table 4: Newcomers' Needs and Experiences Related to the Built Environment.*

Before going further into the discussion, it may be useful to review the original research goals. These were to uncover: (1) how the topic of planning for ethnocultural difference is explored in recent literature, (2) what the City's aims, and recent actions are, related to planning for ethnocultural diversity, (3) how the City's planning approaches can best address the needs of Asian, Middle Eastern and African international newcomers; and (4) how planning policy and practice can be informed by the results of this study. The first question has been addressed and was summarized in *Table 3* (in *Section 6.4: Literature Review – Conclusion and Discussion*). The second question was addressed in *Sections 9.7 and 9.8*, and was summarized in *Table 5: City's Aims and Recent Actions Related to Planning for Ethnocultural Diversity*. *Section 10.5* will address the third

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[14] According to the Province of Manitoba (2009), this housing facility (currently being built) will be run by Manitoba Interfaith Immigration Council and will incorporate a flexible design that allows for different sized suites.

question by exploring the way the results of the focus groups and the literature review

intersect. The fourth question will be addressed in *Section 10.7: Pulling it All Together -*

Implications for Policy and Practice.

Before proceeding with the remaining analyses, below is a brief highlight of some other

key findings that emerged from the results.

10.3.1 ADDRESSING NEWCOMER NEEDS POSES A SERIES OF COMPLEX CHALLENGES

Political support for changes that could improve daily experiences of newcomers

appears to be low, at least among municipal decision makers. According to planners,

City councillors voice support for new types of development but often reject them when

proposals enter their wards. This may reflect a lack of support, or a submission to

constituents' real or perceived lack of support, or both.

Dealing with cultural diversity in planning practice is also difficult since planners (like

most people) are challenged to understand other ethnocultural perspectives, to say

nothing of the ways these perspectives may interact with the built environment. In

Winnipeg, it does not appear that municipal planners use this as an excuse to 'wash

their hands' of the job of exploring these concerns, however; since they seemed

interested in the challenges and offered some potential solutions. These are

summarized, together with those suggested by key informants, in *Table 6: Proposed*

Methods to Address Newcomer Needs and Experiences (from Key Informants and

Planners).

Finally, this study found that nimbyism is a real threat to planning change in Winnipeg. The literature also finds that these resistant forces are particularly strong when groups calling for change are feared, little understood, or part of a cultural minority.

10.3.2 THE LIMITS OF SOCIAL ACCOMMODATION ARE CONTESTED

It was anticipated that barriers to addressing newcomer needs would surface in the research, but it was somewhat surprising to find more fundamental questions (such as proposed limits to accommodation and integration) to be part of the discussion. These questions were however noted by just one planner, who suggested too that in general, cultural identity was in need of policy support.

That planner supported social mixing through dispersed housing, and suggested that problems could arise if ethnic groups concentrate spatially too much. It is not known whether the planner's concerns about residential concentrations are justified in the Winnipeg context, or even the degree to which local settlement patterns are the result of wilful choices. These questions are beyond the scope of this research.

10.3.3 CITY OF WINNIPEG PLANNERS GENERALLY WISH TO ADDRESS ETHNOCULTURAL DIFFERENCE

The degree to which views are shared among planners is unclear, but overall, results of this study suggest that City of Winnipeg planners support planning for ethnocultural difference and want to see urban experiences for newcomers improve (see *Sections 9.7* and *9.9* for more information on this). A main problem was that planners do not feel

they can address many needs on their own, without political support and the help of other levels of government.

Current Winnipeg planning policy supports ethnocultural diversity, but the policies are thin and not followed much. The City's intention is to address newcomers' needs more fully in the next rendition of the development plan, but we do not know for sure if that will happen, or how closely policy will be followed if it does.

10.4 CITY AND NEWCOMER COMMUNITIES

The results are listed in tables already referred to, but it may be helpful to review some of the larger ones here, to help organize thoughts and frame ideas for future research.

Although there were a number of findings about the City's aims and actions, the main finding is that planning aims are not universally agreed-upon and that recent planning actions meant to assist newcomer communities are few; but that planners are generally supportive and wish to move forward in addressing groups' needs.

The desire to incorporate newcomers' needs into the upcoming revised city development plan signifies some commitment to establishing ethnocultural diversity as an area of formal planning concern. If the revision of the plan fulfils this aim, and if policies become substantive, it would be a first for Winnipeg in this area.

Developing multi-level government approaches to address housing and employment needs was a goal that planners had, but it was unclear how planners wanted to see this

happen. Were they suggesting that they would make appeals to City Council or administrators, to foster discussions with the Province? We do not know much about this.

Planners cited two recent examples of the City helping to address newcomer needs through the built environment. One - facilitating access to free land for construction projects - is a worthwhile, proactive policy tool. The other action - hiring a community-based consultant to get at residents' wishes for the Central Park redesign - was one that was not driven by the City, but by community-based advocates. These two examples were the ones that planners were able to come up with in the context of the group discussion, and may not be the only ones the City has engaged in recently. In the case of Central Park, the City's attempt to address newcomer needs was responsive rather than proactive.

The key informant group revealed a number of needs tied to planning. The feeling of alienation from current recreational amenities was a major finding, and soccer was said to be an important component of healthy child development for some newcomers and a way to help keep teens out of trouble. Both of these findings connect to another that was noted by planners and key informants alike: that there needs to be more community consultation in planning processes, and cultural competencies among planners.

Inadequacies of housing (affordability) was another major concern of key informants, as was the lack of both large supermarkets and open markets in the inner city. The open

market issue is being tackled currently and has received some support from planners and other City staff. Housing and supermarkets both require involvement from the private sector and connect (like those above) with other findings; in this case, with regulations around affordable housing, and with incentives to encourage expansion of amenities in certain areas.

This research found that newcomers' collective quest for culturally-appropriate housing is a powerful one. Discussion around this issue evoked impassioned illustrations of the interrelationship between housing typology and life satisfaction. As with shopping choices, both the public and private sectors will need to be involved in addressing increased housing choice. It is apparent that choice will be a cornerstone of housing policy in the next 25 years (as part of *OurWinnipeg*[15]). It will remain to be seen how choice will be defined; whether choice will be delivered at the scale of each neighbourhood; and how much consultation will be used in delivering culturally-appropriate choice. Winnipeg planners, developers and government housing providers would likely be best served by a clear policy framework, possibly with built-in incentives, to ensure greater choice is realized.

It was noted that findings from the key informant focus group were shared with planners in their focus group to help generate discussion of ways to address needs. This technique was not unhelpful, but it generated a high- level rather than a detailed discussion of needs and experiences. Planners refrained from reviewing needs

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[15] M. Richard, personal communication, August 2009.

individually and instead put more emphasis on needs as a group. In their respective

ways, both key informants and planners shared ideas on methods to address

newcomers' needs, and these are compiled together in *Table 6*, below.

Table 6: Proposed Methods to Address Newcomer Needs and Experiences (from Key Informants and Planners)

Recommendation – **Planning Practice**	Description	Noted By
Increase effectiveness of community outreach methods	▪ Develop multilingual community planning invitations ▪ Address current barriers to involvement through education, building trust	Key Informants Planners
Increase effectiveness of planning engagements	▪ Increase multilingual capabilities ▪ Simplify 'planning lingo' ▪ Incorporate visual aids/descriptive tools	Key Informants Key Informants Key Informants
Use fewer assumptions about needs	▪ Reduce preconceived notions re: community needs	Planners
Plan Strategically	▪ Factor demographics into spatial planning decisions re: recreation amenities	Planners

Recommendation – **Planning Policy**	Description	Noted By
Prioritize community – oriented planning approaches	▪ Focus on needs at community level ▪ Consult communities on housing preferences ▪ Develop a simpler process for accessing community garden plots ▪ Support an inner-city, multicultural recreation centre ▪ Improve cross-cultural literacy among planners and service providers	Key Informants Key Informants Key Informants Key Informants Key Informants, Planners

Table 6 (continued): Proposed Methods to Address Newcomer Needs and Experiences (from Key Informants and Planners)

Recommendation – Planning Policy	Description	Noted By
Use more community consultation	▪ Involve community groups in developing solutions to community-based issues	Key Informants, Planners
Develop new regulatory planning tools	▪ Include affordable housing strategies in all neighbourhood secondary plans ▪ Consider affordable housing requirements for new subdivisions	Planners Planners
Increase land offerings and other incentives	▪ Redevelop surplus land for uses such as recreational spaces ▪ Offer major tax incentives or free land to a large downtown grocer	Planners Planners
Support greater ethnocultural diversity in City's planning department	▪ Hire more visible minorities	Planners
Explore community-based development review committees	▪ Explore idea of community-based development application review committees	Planners

10.5 ON THE GROUND AND IN THE LITERATURE: HOW IS WINNIPEG DOING?

First, it must be said that current major planning policies (*Plan Winnipeg* and *Centre Plan*) fall short of what the literature, City of Winnipeg planners, and key informants say is needed to address ethnocultural difference. Policies are currently changing and Winnipeggers will see what happens with these in the next six months or so.

Although questions like 'how far should we go?' are still unresolved among Winnipeg planners, this research suggests planners are ready to move forward regardless of the

debate. This intent is demonstrated by new commitments proposed for Our Winnipeg, and also by the concrete ideas that planners proposed.

The literature was strong on practical considerations for planning in diverse communities (see *Table 3: Planning for Difference – Common Themes/ Recommendations*); but was less explicit about policy ideas, which conversely was an area that received a lot of attention in the focus groups.

In terms of practical ideas, the literature suggests that planning in diverse communities requires a series of technical methods to ensure needs of minorities are not sidestepped through either the pursuit of decision making based on majority rule, or through ethnocentrism. Ground rules, deliberation on views, building community capacities, and remembering the bigger picture (outside the neighbourhood) are planning approaches that receive attention in the literature.

Planners and key informants generated ideas like increasing the effectiveness of community outreach, increasing effectiveness of planning engagements (like increasing multilingual capabilities, simplifying 'planning lingo', and incorporating visual aids/descriptive tools), reducing preconceived notions and planning strategically with spatial considerations in mind.

Both the literature and the focus group data offered practical insights, in spite of the literature being mainly theory-based. These perspectives have been combined and placed in *Table 7: Pulling it All Together: Implications for Policy and Practice.*

In terms of policy recommendations, which are also shown in Table 7, the literature proposes laying broad policy foundations and including groups in policy development. The focus groups did not capture the former proposal, but landed on the second, and offered ideas on a number of other policy directions. These included: prioritizing community-oriented planning approaches, using more community consultation to address neighbourhood needs and issues, developing new regulatory planning tools to address housing, increasing land offerings and other incentives, supporting greater ethnocultural diversity in the planning department, and considering community-based development application reviews. This last one can be noted for its prompting of power shifts in planning – something that some theorists (Marie Kennedy 2008, Fainstein 2000) claim are often necessary to bring about resource redistributions. Interestingly, existing policy (*Plan Winnipeg*) also supports the direction of resources to neighbourhood-based planning initiatives.

10.6 SUMMARY: HOW IS WINNIPEG DOING?

A number of practical ideas were offered up both in the literature and in focus groups; and planners and key informants were both more explicit than the literature was with respect to policy change. It should be noted, however, that the literature reached into the question of structural change, while focus group participants did not; and some authors questioned the state as the provider of planning services, something neither focus group addressed. This was no doubt a function of the questions posed in the focus

groups, which were rooted in concern with planning in something similar to its current structure and form.

This research suggests that (a) Winnipeg planning policy is in need of greater cultural and ethnocultural responsiveness (b) the City of Winnipeg is poised to make attempts to deliver on this to some degree through planning, (c) planners and those who work with newcomers have a number of ideas for changes to existing policies and practices in planning and outside of planning, and (d) planners are ready to move forward regardless of lingering normative uncertainties.

This research also suggests that the development of new policies and regulatory tools, as well as diverse social inclusion in planning structures, planning delivery, and community planning processes, can help the City of Winnipeg become more responsive to ethnocultural change, and to cultural difference in the city generally.

10.7 PULLING IT ALL TOGETHER: IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY AND PRACTICE

This section illustrates ways in which the City could further develop its planning policies that relate to ethnocultural diversity based on the combined sources of knowledge offered in the literature and the focus groups. The recommendations are general here, as they have all been outlined in greater detail in previous sections.

The results suggest that policies could be changed in some specific ways, and that practices could (1) evolve with respect to both outreach to newcomer groups, and to communities in general; and (2) could enlarge the scope of needs met, through specific

changes to planning processes. The results point to the need for difference to be more

fully expressed and responded to in planning processes.

Table 7: Implications for Policy and Practice: Recommendations

Recommendations – Planning Practice	Noted By
Increase effectiveness of community outreach methods	Key Informants, Planners
Increase cross-cultural capacities within planning engagements	Key Informants
Use fewer assumptions about needs	Planners
Plan strategically with spatial and demographic issues	Planners
Use ground rules in planning processes to ensure minority views are captured	Representative Democracy/Iris Young
Encourage deliberation of views in planning processes	Communicative Rationality, Transformative Planning
Help build community capacity	Transformative Planning
Analyze macro concerns in planning processes	Just City, Utopianism
Foster inclusion of meagrely represented stakeholders in planning processes	Communicative Rationality, Transformative Planning

Recommendations – Planning Policy	Noted By
Prioritize community –oriented planning approaches	Key Informants, Planners
Use more community consultation	Key Informants, Planners
Develop new regulatory planning tools	Planners
Increase land offerings and other incentives	Planners

Table 7 (continued): Implications for Policy and Practice: Recommendations

Recommendations – **Planning Policy**	**Noted By**
Support greater ethnocultural diversity in City's planning department	Planners
Consider community-based development review committees	Planners
Widen planning policy focus	Just City

10.8 POLITICS OF ETHNOCULTURAL DIFFERENCE – A WINNIPEG PERSPECTIVE

As noted in *Section 5.2: Research Questions*, the politics of difference was not meant to be a major focus of this research, but a topic of some limited exploration in the literature review and the key informant focus group. The subject was raised in the key informant focus group through the posing of certain questions, and the data analysis provided some further insight. This section outlines the pieces that emerged from the focus group. The data provided some sense of the interactions between place, identity, and socio-political forces that are experienced by the groups studied.

As noted in *Section 9.5: The Experience of Public Cultural Expression,* two main barriers to cultural expression were noted by key informants: that of being hampered by regulatory requirements when holding outdoor community functions, and that of being misunderstood. These both relate to situations in which the police, security personnel or city officials act in ways that produce a sense of fear or discomfort. These situations are not related much to the role of planners, but they are experiences that key

informants were passionate about and were judged to be important to include. Food-related licenses are pretty hard to argue against since they exist to address health and safety concerns, but the perceived over-presence of police and security personnel could symbolize misconceptions, or uncertainty, or unfamiliarity, with newcomer communities. Whatever the root of this, the issue could potentially be addressed through dialogue between newcomer representatives and the police and or applicable groups, to air concerns and increase cultural understanding.

Another finding related to the politics of difference is the lack of consensus on the limits of social accommodation. As previously discussed, the limits of difference are a question for some Winnipeg planners, but not in a way that prevents them from wanting to go forward and address needs; and, some planners appeared to be supportive of power shifts (for example by proposing a community-based development review committee), and/or wanted to see policies more responsive to newcomer needs (for example through the revision of the City's development plan). The question of limits, however, still lingers and remains unresolved among planners, as it no doubt does in the minds of many Canadians, both native-born and newcomer.

Finally, the issue of ward Councillors responding inadequately to the need for local affordable housing is another that intersects with issues of power and voice. Those with the most influence (those with money, ties, or experience) may convince their ward Councillors to align with interests that do not address the socioeconomic needs of

others. This is a structural issue; as the system itself (ward-based representation) was noted by planners to be a major contributor to this problem.

10.9 CROSSING PATHS: NEWCOMERS' AND NON-NEWCOMERS' NEEDS

It has been interesting to examine the needs of particular groups while being aware that many of those needs may not be unique to those groups. There may be findings in the study that intersect with those of native-born Winnipeggers or Canadians; and although it is presumptuous to make claims about this without further research, there are some possible crossovers that are worth exploring because they have received support in other city discussions and forums (see www.speakupwinnipeg.com, for example). These connections are also worth exploring because planners and decision-makers may be interested in these questions for resource allocation discussions.

Further research could inquire into whether the following areas are ones that Winnipeggers outside the groups studied are in favour of, and/or in need of: year round soccer infrastructure, communal meeting spaces and garden spaces in/around housing, a major grocery store in the inner city, open air and year-round market infrastructure, and landmarks.

The finding on landmarks might provide some context for discussion here on shared needs. We know that landmarks are useful to some newcomers in their daily quest to read the city and its places. Is this the case for other Winnipeggers (non-newcomers)? One can say, "Meet me at my apartment on Osborne Street across from the laundromat" or "near the clock tower", but how easy is it to say meet me at my house in

Linden Woods, near "x"? Is it easy for everyone to get by on street names and house numbers alone? How important is neighbourhood character? For atmosphere, character is certainly important, but is it also important for ease and legibility? The incorporation of character and landmarks leaves space for difference in that it accommodates multiple preferences.

This point on landmarks serves as an example of questions that could be pulled from various findings in this research and used to learn more about the city and its dwellers.

10.10   RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This study has shed light on *experiences* that planners may know little about, of *people* that planners say they know little about in the context of their work. But these people are part of a group – international newcomers - who represent the city's largest source of population growth, and who for that reason alone, require more understanding.

This study raises some questions it cannot answer. One of these questions is how the collective 'we' (the community called Winnipeg) deals with planners who want to address newcomers' needs but who come up against developers who may not. Will developers want to build specialized housing to improve life experiences for particular groups if the projects are few in number, are novel in design, and are lower in profit margins?

Some researchers[16] believe that in Winnipeg, international newcomers interact with the housing market in two main ways, depending on socioeconomics. There is one group that is unable to afford market-rate housing for their first 5-10 years, and who will need subsidized housing in that time; and another group that will be able to afford housing on arrival, but who may (as the present research has also shown) have particular preferences that differ somewhat from usual housing typologies employed in the city. Definitions of 'affordable' have not been universally agreed-upon in research in Winnipeg and Manitoba as yet. But for the group who can afford choice, additional questions arise; such as how developers will respond to a small demographic need. Also, how much will it cost developers to move outside their conventional housing typologies and respond to needs such as four-bedroom townhouses with communal spaces and gardens, set in walkable neighbourhoods? And, is it a small demographic need or is it not? Immigration numbers tell a story. It remains unclear how much these numbers translate in to particular housing market drivers.

Finally, what types of tenure will work for both newcomers and developers? Although rent-to-own was cited by key informants as a preferred option, others say this model is often unworkable for developers, because it requires incremental payment increases, which for some never becomes possible[17]. Are options like co-ops or cohousing worthy of exploration as models that could address needs on both supply and demand sides?

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[16] T. Carter, personal communication, August 24, 2009.
[17] T. Carter, personal communication, August 24, 2009.

10.11   WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

It is hoped that this study can contribute to contemporary work on articulating theories of planning for difference; especially the body of literature that assumes a role for the state in the delivery of planning services. This research avoids making judgements on the most effective theory of planning for difference. The support for current structures comes from a concern for lives as they are now (note the point by Sandercock [2000b, 17] that structural changes can take a generation).

This research also suggests that planning in its current form may hold potential for changes that could in turn address needs of international newcomers to Winnipeg (and others), at least for now. Change, however, will be slow under current systems too, and will see resistance - like nimbyism and buy-in from the development community. Activism and the courts are considered by this researcher as components (tools) of planning for difference, and as so, should be harnessed when necessary to speed up the change process under current systems. Although focus group participants did not raise structural changes as planning issues, it is not assumed that they are unconcerned with this, since they were not asked directly.

This research has found that there are real opportunities for collaboration between planners and the groups studied (as shown in the openness of planners, and the 'ideas-at-the-ready' of key informants and other community members). Not only were ideas for housing, infrastructure and spatial needs well articulated, but in terms of other neighbourhood and social issues, a call back to the following finding provides some

useful guidance: "...we have elders who have a lot of experience running government world, city world, and these kinds of things, who are really professional people, who are just sitting idle; and if their views were just taken, it will change a lot of things".

A major take-away of this research, then, is the need to open doors between the groups studied, and to start on this now, before immigration levels overcome the ability of the City and other stakeholders to address difference in a creative, healthy way.

An executive summary of this research was presented to both groups of participants after the thesis was complete, to help ensure that the results can be built upon by planners and by community members. Again, working together rather than separately may provide the best result, as this research has shown that although full structural support for ethnocultural difference is not present in the city, enough systemic openness exists to get started.

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12 Appendix: Interview Guides

12.1 KEY INFORMANT FOCUS GROUP

Introductions: Marli and I
Thanks for coming
Bathrooms/food
Consent Forms

We are here to explore how the city's planning methods can best address the needs of recent international newcomers. There has been some research on what the province can do to provide services to newcomers, but not much research on what the city's planning department can do to ensure the city and neighbourhoods are built to address the needs of Winnipeg's increasingly culturally diverse communities.

We will be focusing on the needs of newcomers from Asian, African, and Middle Eastern countries, to reflect recent immigration trends in Winnipeg. But I won't state that in every question, so please keep those groups of people in mind in your responses.

This will last about an hour. I will ask a series of questions, but these are just a guide and you can elaborate as much as you like. If I notice we need some time to get to the next question, I might move us along.

[From Research Question 3: How could the City's planning approaches best address the needs of recent (Asian, Middle Eastern, African) international newcomers?]

1. Think back to the last couple of years of your work with newcomers. Have any of them talked about how they find the city to be liveable, and what have they said?

   What are some of their beliefs and opinions on the design of housing, parks and neighbourhoods, shopping, and ways of getting around the city? How do these currently address their needs?

2. How can city planners address some the needs and issues you have talked about?

3. Are Asian, Middle Eastern and African international newcomers you work involved with city planning, or other city design activities? What does this look like? What could this look like? What do these newcomers need from the City planning department to know that their views and needs are being addressed?

4. There are lots of people of different backgrounds that live alongside each other in each area of the city. How can planners work best with culturally diverse groups in neighbourhoods?

5. What is it like for Asian, Middle Eastern and African international newcomers that you work with to express themselves culturally in outdoor community places? How could this be made easier and how could planners help?

12.2 PLANNER FOCUS GROUP

Introductions: Marli and I
Thanks for coming
Food
Consent Forms

We are here to explore how the city's planning methods can best address the needs of recent international newcomers. There has been some research on what the province can do to enhance services to newcomers, but not much research on what the city's planning department can do to help ensure the city and its neighbourhoods are built to address the needs of Winnipeg's increasingly culturally diverse communities.

We will be focusing on the needs of newcomers from Asian, African, and Middle Eastern countries, to reflect recent immigration trends in Winnipeg.

This will last about an hour. I will ask a series of questions, but these are just a guide and you can elaborate as much as you like. If I notice we need some time to get to the next question, I might move us along.

(From Research Question 2: What are the City's aims, and recent actions, related to planning for ethnocultural diversity?)

1. In your view, what are the City's aims related to planning to address increasing ethnocultural diversity? How will *OurWinnipeg* address these needs? What is the political will like?

2. Is there any planning that has been done in the city recently that has impacted the lives of Asian, Middle Eastern and African international newcomers? Tell me about this. Were newcomers involved and if so, how? Why do you think it happened the way it did and what were the strengths and weaknesses?

(From Research Question 3: How could the City's planning approaches best address the needs of recent (Asian, Middle Eastern, African) international newcomers?)

3. Asian, Middle Eastern and African international newcomers have shared some information about their needs related to the design of housing, the design of parks and neighbourhoods, shopping, and ways of getting around the city. (These are __). How can we strengthen the planning response to these? (Policy & Practice)

4. How can planners work best with culturally diverse groups in neighbourhoods? Are there things that may work that in your view the City has not tried?