

Anarchism and Planning

by

Christopher J. Sholberg

A Thesis

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

Master of City Planning

**Department of City Planning
University of Manitoba
Winnipeg, Manitoba**

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ISBN 0-315-76923-8

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Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the members of my thesis committee - Professor Kent Gerecke (CP), Professor Mario Carvalho (CP), and Professor Rob Shaver (Philosophy) for their unflagging commitment and interest.

I would also like to thank my associates at the Department of City Planning, my friends and family, and extend a special thanks to Helen Scholberg.

Abstract

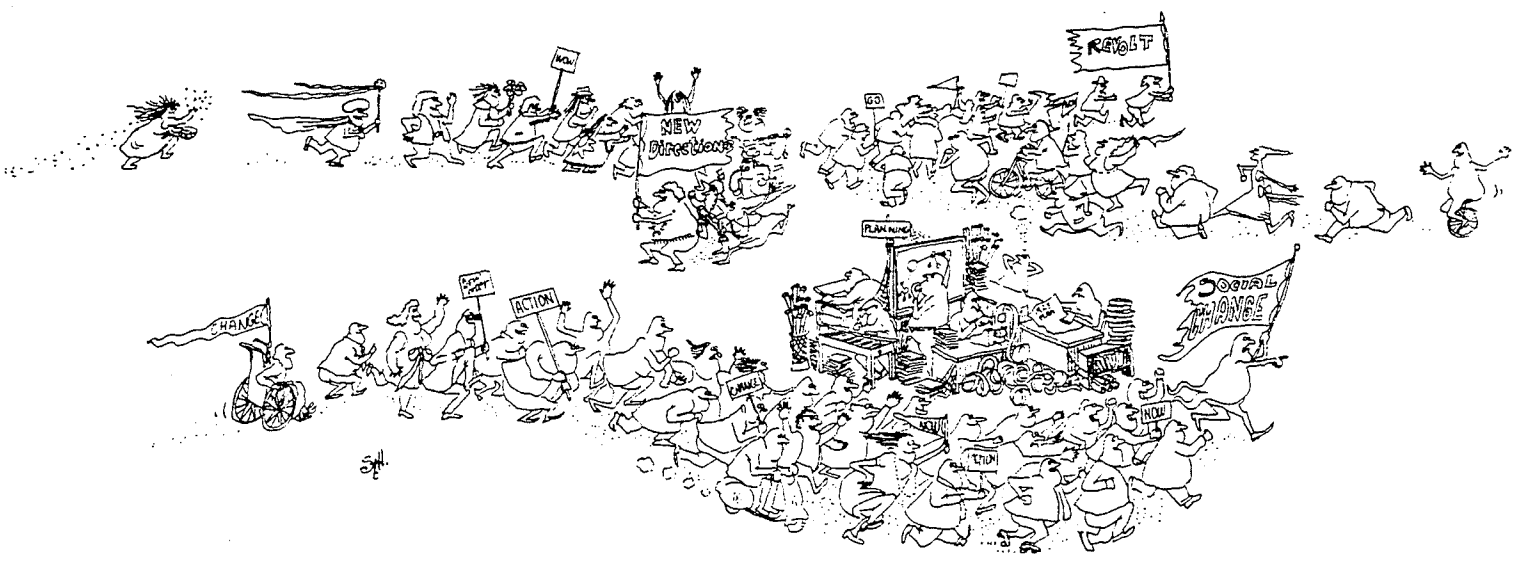
A careful examination of planning literature, especially the chronicles of Ebenezer Howard, Patrick Geddes, and Lewis Mumford, not to mention the work of a number of contemporary theorists, reveal a wealth of information tying anarchist philosophy to planning theory and practice. I have attempted to illustrate this connection by developing a set of criteria based on anarchism. In turn, these criteria 1) the sovereignty of the individual, 2) the sanctity of community, 3) aversion to authority and rigid organization, 4) self-reliance, 5) participation and direct action, 6) decentralization of means, 7) cooperation and free association, and 8) spontaneous order, act as a method of inquiry around which I have tested radical philosophies for their anarchistic content. Through such a mechanism I have attempted to trace planning to its anarchist roots.

I conclude that anarchism has played a significant role in the formation of planning philosophy, and furthermore, that anarchy continues to impact on the social, economic, and political interrelationships of the built environment; generating alternatives to the formal, comprehensive techniques traditionally practiced by planners. In turn, this foundation is underscored by the emergence of radical urban movements, namely, social ecology, populism, green movement, community-economic-development, bio-regionalism, and urban anarchism.

Alike in Europe and in America the problems of the city have come to the front, and are increasingly calling for interpretation and for treatment. Politicians of all parties have to confess their traditional party methods inadequate to cope with them. Their teachers hitherto the national and general historians, the economist of this school or that - have long been working on very different lines; and though new students of civics are appearing in many cities, no distinct consensus has yet been reached among them, even as to methods of inquiry, still less as to results. Yet that in our cities - here, there, perhaps everywhere - a new stirring of action, a new arousal of thought has begun, none will deny; nor that these are alike fraught with new policies and ambitions, fresh out-looks and influences; with which the politician and the thinker have anew to reckon.

Patrick Geddes
*Cities in Evolution*¹

¹Patrick Geddes. *Cities in Evolution: An Introduction to the Town Planning Movement and to the Study of Civics*. (Ernest Benn Limited, London, 1968), p. 2.



(Figure 1) Source: *Stop Me Before I Plan Again*, Richard Hedman, (ASPO Press: Chicago), 1977

Preface

It is well to speak of grass-roots democracy, decentralization of power and of economy, and of public participation. Yet, what do such "radical" concepts entail? Can they be implemented under our present political system? If so, why has this not happened? Why do many people still feel alienated by the political process? Why are they dissatisfied with municipal, provincial, and federal policy which, after all, officially represents their interests?

I feel that they are dissatisfied, by and large, because the present system of local, regional and national government is not attuned, nor has the capacity, to listen and act upon local initiative. The "system," first of all, is too heavily tied down by bureaucracy, the control of money interests and the cumbersomeness of a centralized system implementing centralized decisions at a localized level. Such conditions are unacceptable (not to mention unworkable) and indeed, contradict the ideals of democracy in terms of individuals deciding their own destinies, controlling their own environments, and living their own lives. Is there a solution? We know the dilemma - the system will bend to accommodate cries for self-determination, freedom and "empowerment," but in the final analysis it cannot yield.

What must be found, (and what I believe is evolving), is a new political/social system that will allow, even encourage, the aforementioned conditions to occur. Within this new "system" (a word which I use loosely) planning will come to reflect the desires of those it must serve. What is this system, you may ask? I am reluctant to say, however, I do believe that it will have a highly "anarchistic" flavour. Indeed, it is my contention that any societal framework allowed to evolve freely will, by definition, be anarchistic.

I am not an idealist, nor do I pretend to suggest that anarchism is a "panacea," or a "cureall" for the problems which presently afflict society. Nor am I attempting to radicalize our perception of the planning profession. However, the role played by anarchism, both now and in the past, is well worth serious consideration and should by no means be relegated to the back pages of planning theory, decried as a political phenomenon or an outlandish and unworkable credo.

Because the mutual compatibility of anarchism and planning has not been explored in any great detail, (although anarchism and many of the current forces infiltrating planning theory and being discussed by planners are remarkably similar); a detailed discussion of anarchist philosophy, its impact on the profession, and its intimate relation to a number of contemporary liberatory urban movements would prove beneficial.

Furthermore, my intention is to study the planning profession's evolving public role, and specifically, its growing acceptance of fundamental democratic processes, including public participation and direct action, as well as such modern concepts as community development, social ecology and other libertarian doctrine. My thesis will attempt to illustrate that planning shows signs of a shift from an elitist, centralized, hierarchical, pseudo-representative profession to a pluralistic, political and participatory one; based on the tenets of direct democracy, decentralization of resources and power, local empowerment, and a number of other social and political beliefs, again, best categorized under the rubric of anarchism.

I propose to show that the principles expounded for centuries by anarchists, are, in effect, the basic tenets underlying modern libertarian thought, including many modern radical urban experiments, alternative planning theories, and criticisms of planning technique.

Part I: Understanding Anarchism

Chapter I: The Libertarian Ethos

An examination of libertarianism will reveal a history of revolt - of "testing the line." In other words, a history of testing the permeability of social and political norms, testing their equability, their sensitivity to the political and cultural milieu - of finding out exactly how far an entity like government, or the state, will allow the individual to go within the societal context. The libertarian, usually from a sense of moral obligation, finds that it is his or her prerogative to "test the line" in order to reveal to what measure, and how restrictive, or "coercive" society can be.

If need be, the anarchist would sacrifice himself for just such an end. This is not an idle observation! Many anarchists have suffered persecution (lengthy jail sentences, even death) for upholding what they believe was the "truth," although the authoritarian representatives of society viewed their actions as the most heinous of crimes. In retrospect, we find that many suffered because they exhibited an extreme sense of conviction - a sensitivity that led them to commit what were considered crimes in the context in which they were committed, but were more often than not, motivated by an overriding sense of self-sacrifice and/or empathy for the "community of the oppressed."

This is not to say that anarchism and martyrdom (or even violence for that matter) are conterminous. No, most anarchists would agree that destruction, pain and suffering, whether inflicted upon others or oneself, is never the means to a particularly constructive end. More effective are the techniques that lie at the root of the anarchist ethos - those that are held sacred by pacifist, non-conformist, and individuals willing to solve societal problems through cooperation, mutual aid, and consensus, rather than violence and derision.

I would continue with this argument, but I think that much of what motivates anarchism as a social force will be revealed in the following pages. For now, it is my hope that the

importance of this often misunderstood and maligned philosophy will become evident as we continue and that the truly positive influence that it can exert on planning will become more apparent.

I

In the course of writing this thesis, I have been accused by fellow planning students of being a political idealist. Of course, this has usually taken the form of good natured ribbing. On one particular occasion, however, one colleague was prompted to inquire of me whether or not (all joking aside) I was really an anarchist. Not knowing how to reply I chose not to. The encounter, however, left me with the inescapable realization that perhaps I did not know whether or not I was personally committed to the concept, or more alarmingly, whether or not I even knew what anarchism was. This might explain my reluctance to openly proclaim anarchism as a personal ethos, and more importantly, my inability to define or otherwise give the concept suitable theoretical form, other than in a purely academic sense.

For me, anarchism is one thing to a practitioner, and quite another to a theoretician. Having lived a relatively sedate life, the author was hard put to make any practical claim to the practice itself. Thus, how could I truly identify, let alone define anarchism?

It was easy enough to fall back on the interpretations offered by the well known anarchists (i. e. Kropotkin, Bakunin, Proudhon), men (and women) who were both theoreticians and practitioners of anarchy. However, even a cursory examination of their interpretations of anarchism reveal an enigmatic variety of definitions (not a few convoluted). As well, it is apparent that their personal lifestyles and cultural environments have gone a long way toward shaping their definitions, which more likely than not, were dependent on their own personalities for expression.

This form of reasoning led me to the following conclusion. If I truly wanted to communicate my thoughts on anarchism to the reader, I would first of all need to find a definition for anarchism within my own experience. This, needless to say, was difficult to do, especially when one realizes that many forms of repression endemic to early industrial society are not as visible now. This is not to say that authority (i. e. the state) is not as prevalent, or as heavy handed as it once was, but rather, that those who wield authority do so with greater alacrity and their methods have become more sophisticated and therefore less obvious. Herein lies the danger, and the dilemma! In the past, those who disagreed with a government or the economic or social status quo were likely as not to be thrown into prison or bashed in the head when they spoke out. Because the methods of retaliation were cruder, they were easier to identify and organize against. Today, however, the same actions that would have brought about mass indignation if brought to popular attention slip by with little or no mention, and more often than not meet with acquiesce, apathy, and even indifference, on the part of the general public.

This argument could be expanded, but I believe that it would be more advantageous, given the constraint of time and space, to continue by presenting my own definition of anarchism. This will be followed by a short historical survey, or what I call the anarchist "precedent," afterwhich I will provide a short literary review. Finally, I will end with a brief statement on methodology.

I would like to begin on a personal note. For me, anarchism is a form of societal spontaneity. That is to say, I view anarchism as a particular frame of mind, as a way of thinking, that is organizationally non-linear and non-systematic. In the realm of knowledge, anarchism represents the ability to remove oneself from a given paradigm, mindset or

environment in order to acknowledge or experience other ideas, thoughts, or realities. It is the ability to question as well as accept or reject a given condition. In the political realm, anarchism is the ability to exercise free-will when and where one's conviction demand; especially when a response or action other than the norm is required. It is the ability to revolt when revolt is required and to cooperate when cooperation seems best. In the social realm, anarchism relies on both the sovereignty of the individual and the sanctity of the community; indeed, it is found in the term "to do as one pleases" as well as the term "to respect the rights of others." As a force for social mobilization, anarchism can be constructive as well as destructive, egalitarian as well as prejudicial, and peaceful as well as violent. At root, anarchism is a term of loose connotation. To define it is therefore difficult, maybe even impossible - perhaps even unnecessary.

While a definition is elusive (and often biased), the value of the term/movement/ethos is nevertheless considerable. It is after all, the need to resist unwanted authority and to establish, at least in their own minds, a sense of freedom, that prompts most libertarians (including revolutionists) to validate their ideals.

II

With this thought in mind I feel compelled to provide some form of explanation for the phenomenon that is anarchism. The best way to do this is to provide a brief overview. In this way, I can familiarize the reader with the principle actors and ideas that have done so much to establish the concept.

While an historical overview is appropriate as a framework for reference, the question that immediately arises is where to begin - do we concentrate on the precedent set by modern anarchism or do we cast our investigation further afield, perhaps to the tribal roots of primitive society.

For the sake of this argument, I will defer to both Peter Kropotkin (1842 - 1921) and Bertrand Russell (1872 - 1970). Each concludes that anarchy was practiced by primitive man as a form of social organization. As Russell states in *Authority and the Individual* (1949): ". . . so far as authority was concerned, the tribe seems to have lived in a state we should now describe as anarchy."¹ Within the primitive tribe and the early clan are found the basis of all subsequent anarchist tendency, and in fact, the "golden ideal" to which many anarchists refer for inspiration - deservedly or not.

In primitive society many theorists and philosophers have also discerned the origin of government. According to Russell, "when a unit became too large for all its members to know each other, there would come to be a need of some mechanism for arriving at collective decisions, and this mechanism would inevitably develop by stages into something that a modern man could recognize as government."² So the "utility" of decision making, democratic or otherwise - influenced by scale - would appear to have been the first inspiration for government, or at least "proto-government." It would appear that as long as communities could arrive at decisions directly, with input from the entire community, the need for government was minimal. Subsequently, as long as the community remained small enough for individuals to participate directly in communal decision-making they could function without formal government. This ended when the community grew too large; around the time that certain social impulses, validated by the community, no longer influenced individual will.³

Kropotkin held a similar view of the origin of human community and of its tendency toward anarchism, especially in the form of small, participative, cooperative groupings; groupings which he called tribes, clans, and later, village communities.⁴ As he states in

¹Bertrand Russell. *Authority and the Individual* (George Allen and Unwin Limited: London, 1949), p. 28.

²*Ibid.*

³Russell, p. 27.

⁴Kenneth Rexroth points out that primitive man was a hunter and gatherer. In order to make



(Figure 2) Peter Kropotkin⁵

Mutual Aid (1902): "As far as we can go back in the palaeo-ethnology of mankind, we find men living in societies - in tribes similar to those of the highest mammals; and an extremely slow and long evolution was required to bring these societies to the gentile, or clan organization"⁶

In response to the agricultural revolution and to the massive human migratory movements that occurred thousands of years ago, the first true human settlement evolved - the village

the best of such a time consuming activity, individuals naturally reverted to communal living. As he explains: "This much is self-evident. People who hunt and gather cannot be anything but communist. Even in the most favorable environments the land can only support a very small number of people in any one group who live only by taking what nature is able to offer." Kenneth Rexroth. *Communalism: From Its Origins to the Twentieth Century*. (The Seabury Press: New York, 1974), p. 1.

⁵George Woodcock and Ivan Avakumovic. *Peter Kropotkin: From Prince to Rebel*. (Black Rose Books: Montreal, 1990), Frontispiece.

⁶Peter Kropotkin. *Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution*. (Extending Horizons Books: Boston, Massachusetts, 1914), p. 79.

community. The village community was a defensive mechanism for ensuring unity in a time of disunity; to prevent communal disintegration at the hands of invading, migratory peoples.⁷ It later became a permanent social, cultural, and economic construct. Where once the tribe and then the clan had been the source of cooperation and anarchistic association, the village community (*societas*) now served this purpose. As Kropotkin explains: "The village community was not only a union for guaranteeing to each one his fair share in the common land, but also a union for common culture, for mutual support in all possible forms, for protection from violence, and for further development of knowledge, national bonds, and moral conceptions; every change in the judicial, military, educational, or economical matters had to be decided at the folknotes of the village; the tribe, or the confederation It was the *universitas*, the *mir* - a world in itself."⁸

The concept of community equality and cooperation was further refined in what Kropotkin calls the "barbarian village community" which encompassed a greater link between the individual, and such principles as common territorial possession, common defence under the supervision of the folknote and any "federation of villages" to which it might belong. From the barbarian village community evolved the city, which represented: ". . . a double network of territorial units, connected with guilds - these latter arising out of the common prosecutions of a given art or craft, or for mutual support and defence."⁹

If anarchism is characteristic of primitive society, the embodiment of primitive communal organization, it is logical to expect its appearance throughout history. However, we usually think of anarchism as a modern movement - as the instigator of chaotic rebellion and

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 120.

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 126.

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 294.

revolution. This is a fallacy; the truth is that the anarchist precedent is both continuous and longstanding. According to Gerald Runkle, the anarchist precedent is "pervasive." Examples can be found in many different eras - in seventeenth century England, in the persona of Gerrard Winstanely (1609 - 1660)¹⁰ and the "Diggers;" in the millenianism of the sixteenth century German Anabaptists, the Waldenes, the Albigenes, the Hussites, and the early quakers: "Some Anarchists claim that the real founder of anarchism was Jesus and that the first anarchist community was the company of apostles."¹¹ Earlier examples can be traced to "Adam and Eve, prehistoric cave dwellers and Zeno (335 B. C. - 263 B. C.), the Greek Stoic philosopher."¹² (It should be cautioned, however, that not every rebellion against authority is based in anarchism; distinctions must still be made between those movements that attempted to restructure a social/economic/political system and those which were simply a reaction to oppression or subjugation).

Due to constraints of time and space, I will not pursue a detailed examination of these "precedents" other than to note their prevalence. Instead, I will now focus briefly on the persons, events, and ideas that have shaped modern anarchism.

¹⁰See *The Law of Freedom in a Platform* (1652).

¹¹Gerald Runkle. *Anarchism: Old and New*. (Delacorte Press: New York, 1972), p. 13.

¹²As Marie Fleming explains: "By the turn of the century the view was firmly established that anarchism - understood as the yearning to break with governmental authority and to destroy the state - had a long heritage with precedents reaching back to ancient Greece." Marie Fleming. *The Anarchist Way to Socialism: Elisee Reclus and Nineteenth Century European Anarchism*. (CroomHelm: London, 1979), p. 18.

Indeed, it has been argued that Zeno's anarchism stems from the dialectic between self-preservation and sociability. As Kropotkin explains in an essay entitled "Anarchism:" "He (Zeno) repudiated the omnipotence of the State, its intervention and regimentation and proclaimed the sovereignty of the moral law of the individual - remarking already that, while the necessary instinct of self-preservation lead man to egotism, nature has supplied a corrective to it by providing man with another instinct - that of 'sociability.'" Dimitrios I. Roussopoulos. *The Anarchist Papers 3*. (Black Rose Books: Montreal, 1990), pp. 88 - 89.

This in turn brings us to what I call the anarchist "apogee," a period in which anarchism reached both a point of theoretical and practical maturity, and gained a serious popular following.

The popularity of anarchist philosophy, as well as action, peaked around the turn of the century. In this period we witness the progression of anarchy from intellectual theory to direct action (often of nihilistic proportion). Assassinations of authoritarian figureheads (wielding power that was usually symbolic), took on frightening regularity, and struck at the heart of dictatorships, monarchies, and liberal democracies throughout the world. (Indeed, this was the height of "Propaganda by the deed"). Anarchist theory, once traceable to a few, individual theorists like William Godwin (1756 - 1836), Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1809 - 1865), Josiah Warren (1798 - 1874) and Max Stirner (1806 - 1856), blossomed with amazing rapidity. Scores of individuals on both sides of the Atlantic wrote about and discussed the concept of anarchy, tried to explain its advantage, and attempted to formulate courses of action which could be taken toward its end. In Russia, individuals like Peter Kropotkin and Michael Bakunin (1814 - 1876) attempted through word and deed to negate the Tsarist tradition of authoritarianism and oppression. In North America, immigrants like Johann Most, Alexander Berkman (1870 - 1936), Rudolf Rocker and Emma Goldman (1869 - 1940), as well as native American anarchists like William B. Greene (1819 - 1878), Benjamin R. Tucker (1854 - 1939), Lysander Spooner (1808 - 1887) and Voltairine de Cleyre (1866 - 1912), expanded criticism of centralized authority to the New World. Events like the Paris Commune (1871) and the trial of the Haymarket Martyrs (1888) only served to publicize the injustice of the state and to push anarchism beyond mere intellectual flippancy. Action, often misdirected, became the order of the day as militant anarchy, enjoyed for a brief time, a period of ascendancy which struck fear and paranoia into those who found comfort in the status-quo. While the police organizations which proliferated at this time, in England as well as Russia, were infiltrating and destroying the organizational vestiges of intellectual anarchism as early as 1890, the end of the

anarchy as a popular movement came decades later, during a period when the philosophy experienced its only concrete manifestations in modern Europe; during the Russian Revolution, and finally, during the Spanish Civil War.

It was during the Russian Revolution that a peculiarly militant form of anarchism arose on the Ukrainian steppes under the leadership of a peasant radical named Nestor Makhno. In the space of a few years he managed to transform an unruly group of local peasants, bandits, thieves and other "declassé" individuals, into a formidable fighting force. Under the black flag, this force briefly controlled large parts of the southern Ukraine and seriously threatened the military predominance of both General Denikin's White Army and the Bolshevik Red Army. That Makhno's force ultimately perished at the hands of the Bolsheviks is a tragic study in "realpolitik" which will not be elaborated upon here. Needless to say, the communists served out the same "reward" to participants in a similar uprising on the Black Sea (Baku), and in the port city of Kronstandt.¹³

¹³Vestiges of anarchism or pseudo-anarchism continued to manifest themselves in Soviet Russia as late as 1931. This was most evident in civic planning. Interestingly, and perhaps not surprisingly, anarchist development models and ideas were seriously considered by Moscow's Communal Economic Administration. "Biogeometrics" and "the manufacture of one-person, portable dwellings to house the 'liberated members of former families'" are cases in point.

These innovations occurred in spite of, rather than as a result of official efforts to ". . . exploit town planning as 'the mightiest factor for organizing the psyche of the masses,' . . ." In fact, before they were suppressed in 1931, numerous ideas for utopian town planning had been put forward, ranging from strictly planned organizational schemes to the reconstruction of Moscow itself. (Sheila Fitzpatrick [editor]. *Cultural Revolution in Russia: 1928 - 1931*. [Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1984], pp. 208 - 209 Fitzpatrick). The crux of this new planning movement, however, lay in the viewpoints propounded by its two strongest factions - the "urbanists" and the "disurbanists." The conflict between these two factions parallel the theoretical conflict between Marxist/Leninism and Anarchism, as well as between pro-industrialists and anti-industrialists. The differences were as follows; 1) because the urbanists were Marxists, they sought utopia in the limitation of large cities, the destruction of private property, the reintegration of town and country (primarily through technology), and collectivization of population; 2) while the disurbanists also sought to limit urbanization, they were much more concerned with the fate of the individual in a collectivized society. They did not want to see individual identity sacrificed to the expediency of state development. The

Two decades later a similar, and more conclusive, scenario was acted out in Spain. The combatants were once again forces of revolution and reaction. On the one hand, there were the socialists, represented by the Confederation Nacional de Trabajadores (C.N.T.) and its anarchist political organ the Federacion Anarquista Iberica (F.A.I.), the Union General de Trabajadores (U.G.T.) and its Marxist political organ the Partido Socialista Unificado de Catalunya (P.S.U.C.), and finally the P.O.U.M. a "Trotskyist" organization or dissident communist party that had arisen in response to "Stalinism."¹⁴ On the other - the fascists.

The strongest of the three socialist organizations was the Marxist based, Soviet supported, P.S.U.C.

Of most concern to this study, however, is the C.N.T.-F.A.I. - the primary antagonist of the P.S.U.C. Of all the political bodies active in the civil war, this block of trade unions was the one that most closely subscribed to the principles of anarchism. George Orwell's (1903 - 1950) observations on this organization are summed up in the following passage from *Homage to Catalonia* (1938), written after Orwell had served as a volunteer in a P.O.U.M. battalion. As he explains: ". . . the C.N.T.-F.A.I. stood for: 1) direct control over industry by the workers engaged in each industry, e. g. transport, the textile factories, etc.; 2) government by local committees and resistance to all forms of centralized authoritarianism; 3) uncompro-

"disurbanists" developed an alternative to centralized industrialization. They called it the "linear city," a decentralized spatial model constructed along transportation lines linking the entire country in a balanced, interdependent network.

According to an article by Frederick Starr entitled "Visionary Town Planning During the Cultural Revolution:" ". . . both 'urbanists and 'disurbanists' were part of a single movement, the principle thrust of which was to liquidate once and for all large cities in Russia. They differed on whether to consider agglomeration as bad in any form, and on the extent to which individuation should be encouraged within the collectivized setting. But in their hostility to the metropolis and in their belief that cities could be replaced at once with highly decentralized forms of settlement, the visionary planners share a common outlook and one that constituted a prominent ideological current within the Cultural Revolution." *Ibid.*, p. 217.

¹⁴George Orwell. *Homage to Catalonia*. (The Beacon Press: Boston, 1957), p. 60.



William Godwin¹⁵



Michael Bakunin¹⁶

(Figure 3)



Pierre-Joseph Proudhon¹⁷

¹⁵David Fleisher. *William Godwin: A Study in Liberalism*. (Greenwood Press, Publishers: Westport, Connecticut, 1973), Frontispiece.

¹⁶Philip W. Goetz (editor-in-chief). *The New Encyclopedia Britannica: Micropaedia*. (Encyclopedia Britannica, Incorporated: London, 1985, Vol. 1), p. 817.

¹⁷*Ibid.* Vol. 9, p. 744.

missing hostility to the bourgeoisie and the Church"18

The P.S.U.C., on the other hand, were much more concerned with winning the war, even if this meant an end to the revolution itself. Indeed, adherents of the P. S. U. C. were willing to accept the instigation of a strongly centralized government or parliamentary democracy instead of government founded on direct worker control if this would ensure victory over the fascists. According to Orwell, the P.S.U.C. line went something like this:

At present nothing matters except winning the war; without victory in the war all else is meaningless. Therefore this is not the moment to talk of pressing forward with the revolution: We can't afford to alienate the peasants by forcing collectivization upon them, and we can't afford to frighten away the middle class who were fighting on our side. Above all for the sake of efficiency we must do away with revolutionary chaos. We must have strong central government in place of local committees, and we must have a properly trained and fully militarized army under a unified command. Clinging on to fragments of worker's control and parroting revolutionary phrases is worse than useless; it is not merely obstructive, but even counter-revolutionary, because it leads to divisions which can be used against us by the Fascists. At this state we are not fighting for parliamentary democracy. Whoever tries to turn the civil war into a social revolution is playing into the hands of the Fascists and is in effect, if not in intention, a traitor.¹⁹

Thus, the forces broke down into two camps. In one camp were the revolutionary anarchists and Trotskyists, and in the other ". . . the right-wing Socialists, Liberals and Communists, standing for centralized government and a militarized army."²⁰

In the final analysis, it was the antagonism between these two factions - those who wished to take the revolution in Spain to its logical conclusion and those who felt that continued revolution would only jeopardize socialist aspirations in Spain that forfeited the struggle to the fascists. Thus, the growing tension between the pro-revolutionary or anarchist faction and the

¹⁸Orwell, p. 61.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 59.

²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 62.

counter-revolutionary or Marxist faction was a key determinant of the war. A determinant which ultimately led to disaster. As Orwell observed while on leave in Barcelona during the interfactional street fighting that took place there in the first weeks of May, 1937: ". . . there was an unmistakable and horrible feeling of political rivalry and hatred. People of all shades of opinion were saying forebodingly: 'There's going to be trouble before long.' The danger was quite simple and intelligible. It was the antagonism between those who wished the revolution to go forward and those who wished to check or prevent it - ultimately, between Anarchists and Communists."²¹

It is a tragic truth that in both Spain and Soviet Russia, revolutionary fervor was stamped out in a surprisingly brutal manner. Both situations demonstrated, in the words of Alexander Berkman, the ultimate ". . . incompatibility between the dictatorship of the Communist Party and the Revolution." In effect, each movement was crushed by a counter-revolutionary force of Communist manufacture.²²

After the debacle of Spain, anarchism as a formal ideology sank to insignificance. A few individuals and small visionary groups remained devoted to the philosophy, but by and large, the popular conception of anarchy and its legitimacy as a social mobilizer was lost. Yet, while the movement as such was derailed, it was never eradicated. The foundation of freedom which it espoused simply awaited a new generation, a new set of circumstances to reinvigorate it; to bring the principles which it upheld back into popular currency.

True to its dynamic nature and what I believe are anarchism's inherently humanistic characteristics, the philosophy experienced a rebirth or "catharsis" in the mid to late 1960's in both Europe and North America. The amazing rapidity of its resurrection would appear to point to the vital resiliency of which the philosophy was endowed - the prime motivator being

²¹*Ibid.*, pp. 117 - 118.

²²Daniel and Gabriel Cohn-Bendit. *Obsolete Communism: The Left-Wing Alternative*. Translated by Arnold Pomerans. (McGraw-Hill Book Company: New York, 1968), p. 239.

"freedom." With some speculation, we might suggest that this resurrection was due in part to the growing aversion that people felt toward the two predominant socio-political antagonists of the Cold War; that is liberal capitalism and state socialism. What anarchism represented was a "third way" - an alternative to the highly defined, state oriented, paternalistic system developed by both liberal capitalism and state socialism which led to a pervasive feeling of indifference or loss of control over the guiding influence of government. In effect, the state had become a fixed entity prioritizing its own needs before those whom it governed. As Clark explains:

The prevailing world systems, in this view, no longer offer us a hopeful prospect of resolving the vast social and ecological crisis which now confront humanity. In fact, it is becoming increasingly clear that these systems, with their deep commitment to such values as industrialism, high technology, centralism, urbanization, and the state, have been instrumental in creating the social atomization and ecological imbalance which are at the core of these crises. For this reason, what is necessary is an alternative vision of society, the future, and indeed reality itself: a vision which departs from the traditional ideologies on all these fundamental questions. This vision, I will argue, is anarchism.²³

Anarchism presented an alternative to the "prevailing world system." One which was imaginative, liberatory and unconstrained by the ideological baggage and economic inequity so typical of the liberal-capitalistic and state-socialist paradigms. In effect, anarchism became a liberatory beacon in a dark sea of political stagnation and ecological deprivation.

III

In the course of this brief, historical survey, I have necessarily eluded to a number of theorists and their work. The importance of this work deserves a much greater review than can

²³John Clark. *The Anarchist Moment: Reflections on Culture, Nature and Power*. (Black Rose Books: Montreal, 1984), pp. 141 - 142.

be provided here, or for that matter, in Appendix 1. This is also the unfortunate result of organizational and spatial constraint. I can only restate at this point the importance of this work, both in terms of its historical and theoretical significance. The very least I can do at this point is recognize the more prominent examples and provide the reader with some sense of the books, papers, and articles to which I defer. The following passages represent a short overview of the important literary sources which have helped to shape my arguments and which I have relied upon during the research phase of this project. It is hoped that acknowledgement of these intellectual fountainheads will help to orient the reader and clarify the theoretical environment out of which the study has ultimately emerged.

I began the search for information with one key objective in mind - to prove in some form or another that anarchism has had a meaningful, recurring impact on the planning profession, and that this impact was as vital during the formalization of planning in the early part of this century as it is today. Toward this end, I have attempted to demonstrate that certain key "founding" personalities within what is now called town/city/urban planning were aware, or were at least sympathetic, to the anarchistic principles then circulating among the advocates of civic reform, of which planning is but one legacy.

In this regard, I believe that I have been successful, especially in making the connection between the anarchist ethos and the underlying philosophies of both Patrick Geddes and Ebenezer Howard - individuals whose contribution to planning, while generally overlooked, constitutes the profession's strongest "philosophical" strain.

The best sources dealing with this "connection" can be found in Clyde Weaver's *Regional Development and the Local Community*, John Friedmann's *PLanning in the Public Domain*, *Retracking America*, and Peter Hall's *Cities of Tomorrow*. Similar parallels can be found in Paul Goodman's *People or Personnel*, *Like a Conquered Province*, *Drawing the Line*, Paul and Percival Goodman's *Communitas*, Murray Bookchin's *Post-Scarcity Anarchism*, *The Modern Crisis*, *The Rise of Urbanization and the Decline of Citizenship*, and Richard

Sennett's *The Uses of Disorder*.

More specific to the topic of anarchism, however, are the treatise of the "classical" anarchists. Among these are Peter Kropotkin's *Mutual Aid, Conquest of Bread, Fields, Factories and Workshop*, Pierre Proudhon's *What is Property?*, Josiah Warren's *True Civilization and Equitable Commerce*, Max Stirner's *The Ego and His Own*, William Godwin's *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice*, and compilations of Michael Bakunin's essays by Sam Dolgoff (*Bakunin on Anarchism*) and G. P. Maximoff (*The Political Philosophy of Bakunin*), as well as lesser known works by Rudolf Rocker (*Anarcho-Syndicalism*), Emma Goldman (*Living My Life*), Herbert Read (*Anarchy and Order*), and Bertrand Russell (*Authority and the Individual*).

Modern synopsis of the life and work of the classical anarchists and appraisals of these ideas can be found in a number of biographies including William Bailies' *Josiah Warren: The First American Anarchist*, George Woodcock's and Ivan Avakumovic's, *Peter Kropotkin: The Anarchist Prince*, John Clark's *The Philosophical Anarchism of William Godwin*, and Marie Fleming's *The Anarchist Way to Socialism*.

Enlightened contemporary discourses on anarchism can be found in George Woodcock's *The Anarchist Reader*, *Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements*, John Clark's *The Anarchist Moment*, David Apter/James Joll's *Anarchism Today*, James Forman's *Anarchism*, Frank Harrison's *The Modern State*, David Osterfeld's *Freedom, Society and the State*, Gerald Runkle's *Anarchism: Old and New*, and Colin Ward's *Anarchy in Action*.

In addition, a number of articles helped to formulate the ideas presented here, they include Murray Bookchin's "Thesis on Libertarian Municipalism," Gar Alperovitz's "Towards a Decentralist Commonwealth," Kent Gerecke's "Patrick Geddes: A Message For Today!," Tom Gunton's "The Role of the Professional Planner," Mike McConkey's "Let's Separate Together," and Paul Davidoff's "Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning."

Having given a brief historical survey and a short literature review, I would like to end this section with some observations concerning my method of inquiry.

v

This thesis is an attempt to resolve one question, and one question only, is it possible to draw a theoretical connection between anarchy and urban planning? To undertake this sort of analysis, however, requires a suitably "radical" methodology, one which recognizes both the principles underlying anarchy, and in turn, can successfully apply these principles to planning theory. I have therefore pursued the following method of inquiry. To begin with, I have reduced anarchism to what I feel are its essential tenets or criteria: 1] the sovereignty of the individual, 2] the sanctity of community, 3] aversion to authority and rigid organization, 4] self-reliance, 5] participation and direct action, 6] decentralization of means (localism), 7] cooperation and free association (mutual aid), and 8] spontaneous order. For the most part, these criteria represent a collective summation of principles which have recurred most often in the course of my research - particularly in the writings of historical and contemporary libertarian theorists.

These criteria are used as a method of analysis in two major ways. The first is as a method for illustrating the preponderance of libertarian thought in the writings of Patrick Geddes, Ebenezer Howard and Lewis Mumford (Chapter 3). The second is as a method for illustrating the deep seeded anarchistic qualities of a number of modern libertarian movements including social ecology, populism, the green movement, community economic development, bio-regionalism, and urban anarchism (Chapter 4). The importance of this analysis is underscored by the impact which these movements are presently exerting on planning.

For the most part, the analysis has proven favorable. That is to say, the criteria when

compared to both the personal philosophies of the early planning innovators, and to a number of modern movements, have revealed strong connections. These will be identified more fully in the course of the study and summarized in the concluding analysis.

It is my hypothesis that anarchism and planning are interconnected. Despite the general reluctance toward acknowledgement of this association, a study of the connection would prove exceedingly useful. Especially in light of planning's general failure to accommodate the growing dissatisfaction, disappointment, and distance that has arisen between the planner and the public domain in the last few decades. This thesis will therefore concentrate on identifying the theoretical connection between planning and anarchism. To do this sort of analysis (however brief) an overview of anarchist theory is in order, not to mention some sort of identification of the primary principles and actors involved in both the evolution of planning and of anarchy.

Organizationally, I have divided the thesis into three parts.

Part I concentrates on a philosophical discussion of the anarchist ethos as well as the primary principles or criteria which I felt could be applied to any movement or ideas that might be considered libertarian. Thus, in chapter one we find a short discussion on the appearance of anarchism through history (the "anarchist precedent") as well as a few words on some of its manifestations - particularly those which has arisen in Spain and the Soviet Union. In this way I provide a brief historical survey of anarchism. It is hoped that such a survey will build a foundation for the study.

The second chapter is devoted to the construction of an "anarchist criterion." Each of the criteria represents a principle or a belief propounded by adherents of anarchism. Through the criteria, I attempt to create a general understanding of anarchist philosophy and more specifically, construct a framework from which comparison can be made in later chapters, especially in the section on contemporary movements. As already stated, the criterion are the "methodological" heart of the thesis. It is my hoped that these criterion will help to develop, or

at least identify, anarchistic movements. For example, how is a movement or an idea anarchistic? Are there any tell-tale signs which would point toward such an identification? With the criterion in mind, I believe that such an identification is possible. Indeed, I have identified the criterion in order to demonstrate the common elements which lay at the root of both anarchism and planning, not to mention the modern political, economic, and ecological movements impacting on planning and acting as a nexus between anarchism and planning. In effect, the criterion are an organizational framework around which the thesis revolves.

Part II, Chapter 3 focuses on the evolution of organic planning, it also focuses on some of the key individuals who have contributed to the study of the city; most importantly, Geddes, Howard, and Mumford. This chapter also traces the direct connection between the intellectual development of modern anarchism and modern planning. The contemporary state of planning is eluded to briefly, with special emphasis placed on the alternative planning movements that have occurred recently, particularly those which have sought to redefine the role of urban planner.

Finally, Part III presents a representative selection of modern libertarian movements (intellectual, political, economic) and an attempt to demonstrate that these movements are capable of acting on planning in such a way as to underline the relevancy of anarchism as a force for social mobilization. By doing this it is hoped that some sort of theoretical connection will be made and key influences identified. Because these movements necessarily impact upon the urban milieu (indeed, most are concerned with transforming it), I argue that they represent a catalyst toward social change.

Along the way, this thesis will ask a number of questions. For example what is anarchism? Are their definable elements at the root of such a philosophy? Secondly, how did planning evolve - what was the basis of planning theory and what motivated the early attempts at social reform? And finally, how do modern libertarian movements impact upon the planning realm? Do the lessons and theories expounded in an earlier era necessarily lead to conclusions

which are applicable to contemporary planning? It is my intention to explore these questions with as much insight as is possible, realizing, nevertheless, that a thorough exploration of any one area is beyond the scope of this study. Thus, I recognize the limits of the thesis in regard to a detailed historical exploration of anarchy, or the more deep-seeded theoretical enigma which such a philosophy raises in regard to human behaviour and the study of government. I will also limit my discussion of planning evolution to a few, principle actors involved in its formulation, and to a rather brief acknowledgement of the modern advocates of this tradition. Finally, the discussion on contemporary libertarian movements is limited to a handful of examples in order to provide room for some sort of comprehensive discussion on the movements themselves and their common characteristics.

Finally, it is not my intention to provide a conclusive, or for that matter "definitive," discussion of the relationship of planning and anarchy, rather, I wish simply to note the possible existence of this relationship and if at all possible illustrate the more obvious points of overlap.

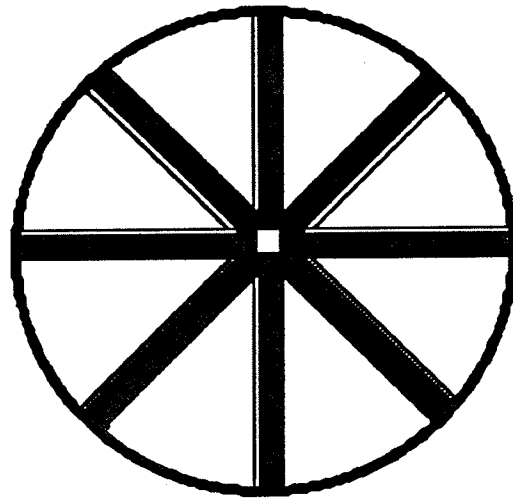
Having said this, I cannot help but recall the following passage from Mill's, *On Liberty*; a passage in which he makes a very astute observation concerning the universality of truth: "The real advantage which truth has consists in this, that when an opinion is true, it may be extinguished twice, or many times, but in the course of ages there will generally be found persons to rediscover it, until some one of its reappearances falls on a time when from favorable circumstances it escapes persecution until it has made such head as to withstand all subsequent attempts to suppress it."²⁴ I would argue that this observation holds true of anarchy as well. Like truth, anarchy has had many adherents, and it has been challenged on more than a few occasions by forces opposed to its liberatory creed. Yet it has always been rediscovered. It has always surmounted serious setbacks which would have eliminated a

²⁴John Stuart Mill. *On Liberty*. Edited by Gertrud Himmelfarb. (Penguin Books: London, 1988), p. 90.

philosophy with less resilience, with less dynamism, and with less foundation in "truth." One might suspect that someday it will achieve a force of legitimacy which its antagonists will be incapable of undermining. I hope that an examination of the relationship between planning and anarchism will contribute to this legitimacy.

Chapter II: The Anarchist Criterion

Toward a Definition of Anarchy:

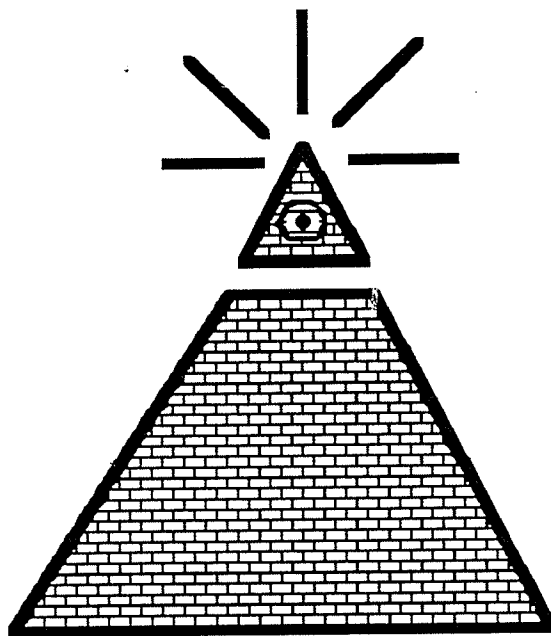


(Figure 4) The Chaos Wheel¹

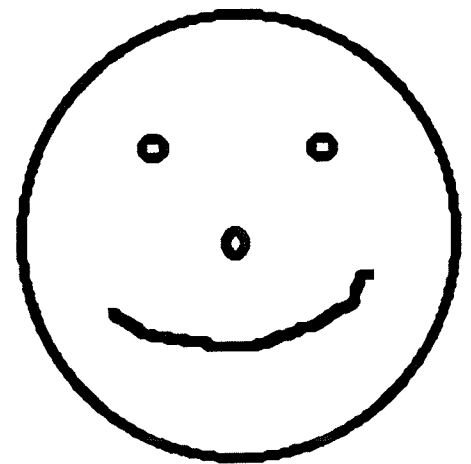
At first, one might wonder what such an enigmatic symbol has to do with a discussion on anarchism? After all, symbols are visual generalizations of ideas and values; as such they can be misleading. In this case, however, such a symbol helps one to visualize the concept of anarchy, especially regarding the value of ideas. By this I mean the concept of "unity-in-diversity" - a phrase which I feel "personifies" the anarchist perspective on society. In a general sense, then, this symbol, (arrows radiating from a central hub, circumscribed by an unbroken circle), represents the richness of ideas and values, as well as the continuity, cooperation, and dynamism, so typical of the anarchist ethos.

¹Derived from Michael Moorcock's, *Elric of Melnibone*.

Symbolic definitions are informative, but what do they tell us beyond generalization - not much! That is why, in addition to symbolic interpretation, there are other ways of defining anarchism. Take for example, the metaphorical interpretation offered by George Woodcock in *The Anarchist Reader*: "The difference between a governmental society and an anarchist society is . . . the difference between a structure and an organism; one is built and the other grows according to natural laws. Metaphorically, one can compare the pyramid of government with the sphere of society, which is held together by an 'equilibrium of stresses.'"



Government



Society

Thus we see that, metaphorically, anarchism is an organic social form; one that is unfettered by the artificiality of man-made law. In effect, anarchism is not a artificial construct, like society it is an equilibrium of stresses, and like society there is no set plan, no hierarchy, save only that imposed by the forces of "natural law." As Michael Bakunin states in

"Federalism, Socialism, Anti-Theologism:"

Society is the natural mode of existence of the human collectivity, independent of any contract. It governs itself through the customs or the traditional habits, but never by laws. It progresses slowly, under the impulsion it receives from individual initiative and not through the thinking or the will of the law-giver. There are a good many laws which govern it without its being aware of them, but these are natural laws, inherent in the body social, just as physical laws are inherent in material bodies. Most of these laws remain unknown to this day; nevertheless, they have governed human society ever since its birth, independent of the thinking and the will of the men composing the society.²

Perhaps our diagram is not as outlandish as would seem! Certainly the diagrammatical analogy loses some of its mystery in this light.

Many scholars have attempted to define anarchism by identifying the term itself; in effect they have based their definition on the words etymological roots. Collectively, they ask - what is the word's historical evolution; can this lead us any nearer to a conclusive definition? I have found that most sources are quick to isolate the word "anarchy," and to place it in an etymological context. Woodcock, for example: "A double Greek root is involved: the word *archon*, meaning a ruler, and the prefix *an*, indicating without; hence anarchy means the state of being without a ruler."³ Thus it would appear that the literal meaning of anarchy is "without ruler;" furthermore, the term is of relatively modern vintage - it was first used during the French Revolution by the Girondists to condemn radical revolutionaries who were pushing for greater political reform and an increased devaluation of authority.⁴ (Later, it would

²Sam Dolgoff (editor). *Bakunin on Anarchism*. (Black Rose Books: Montreal, 1980), p. 129.

³George Woodcock (editor). *The Anarchist Reader*. (Fontana Press: London, 1986), p. 11.

⁴According to Kropotkin, these revolutionaries ". . . did not consider that the task of the

become a stock label for anyone who disagreed with the policies of the revolutionary directorate).

Thus we see that anarchism is a term of complex lineage. It implies a ruler-less society. It also refers to an organic societal form. Yet, many individuals who subscribe to the philosophy are not content with a simple definition. The concept creates more questions than it answers, including a need to know how to attain such an end; to know that it is possible. This has been the goal of many anarchists; the search for a means to an end - a way of explaining man's relation to society and how to change it for the better. As Woodcock explains: "Anarchism is a doctrine which poses a criticism of existing society; a view of a desirable future society; and a means of passing from one to the other. Mere unthinking revolt does not make an anarchist, nor does a philosophical or religious rejection of earthly power . . . Anarchism, historically speaking, is concerned mainly with man and his relation to society."⁵

Toward a Philosophy:

Philosophical musings aside, what exactly is anarchy; is it a single principle or a body of principles; how does it function; what is the anarchist perspective of society, besides a desire to see society change? Change to what? How can we create an anarchistic society if we do not understand the basic principles upon which anarchism rests?

In order to fulfill this goal a number of basic suppositions have to be met, or at least

revolution was accomplished with the overthrow of Louis XVI and insisted upon a series of economic measure being taken (the abolition of feudal rights without redemption, the return to the village communities of the communal lands enclosed since 1669, the limitation of landed gentry to 120 acres, progressive income tax, the national organization of exchanges on a just value basis . . . and so on." Dimitrios I. Roussopoulos (editor). *The Anarchist Papers 3*. (Black Rose Books: Montreal, 1990), pp. 90 - 91.

⁵George Woodcock. *Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements*. (Meridian Books: Cleveland and New York, 1962), p. 9.

identified. For example, what are the forces which propel anarchy or anarchic behavior? What do anarchists want? What would their vision of society look like? Are there basic conditions which must be met before such a society could exist?

In this chapter I will endeavor to capture the "essence" of anarchism by building a framework, or "criterion."

The identification and evaluation of the basic forces underlying anarchism and the organizational forms that might be pursued in this regard would serve to advance our understanding of anarchy, and hopefully, provide a framework to which planning evolution might be linked and against which modern movements influencing planning theory and the profession, at large, might be analyzed. Hopefully, by the end of this section, anarchism as a philosophy - as a perspective on society - will be more firmly established.

Also, it will be shown that as a body of principles anarchism far exceeds its popular "stereotype" as a destructive, mindless revolutionary credo.

I will begin with a brief outline of the basic tenets of anarchism which I feel define its spirit - not all of which, I may add, are compatible or mutually exclusive. Briefly, these are 1) the sovereignty of the individual; 2) the sanctity of community; 3) aversion to authority and rigid organization; 4) self-reliance; 5) participation and direct action; 6) decentralization of means; 7) cooperation and free-association; and 8) spontaneous order.⁶ I would like to note, however, that while these eight tenets are meant to be comprehensive, they are also reflections of my interpretation of what constitutes anarchy. Given this cautionary observation, it should be realized that other elements may factor into such a criteria, (for example - ecology) but for whatever reason, are not included here. I would simply suggest that these criteria be taken as

⁶These are derived from a number of sources, the most important are the "classical" anarchist treatises (i. e. *Mutual Aid* [Kropotkin], *What is Property?* [Proudhon], *The Ego and His Own* [Stirner], and *Equitable Commerce* [Warren] among others); as well as equally important studies by contemporary theorists like George Woodcock, Murray Bookchin, John Clark, Paul Goodman, and Colin Ward.

The Criterion

- 1] Sovereignty of the Individual
- 2] Sanctity of Community
- 3] Aversion to Authority and Rigid Organization
- 4] Self-Reliance
- 5] Participation and Direct Action
- 6] Decentralization of Means (Localism)
- 7] Cooperation and Free Association (Mutual Aid)
- 8] Spontaneous Order

representative examples of the "tendency" toward anarchism, and that they in no way are construed as the final word on what is an exceedingly complex ethos. For my purpose, the criteria represent a *working* framework. Having said this, I will continue with a brief exploration of the philosophical and literary underpinnings that support, identify and flesh out each of the tenets.

1) The Sovereignty of the Individual:

The Individual should be the ALL, and the Nation should be a multitude of sovereign *Individuals*, or be nothing.⁷

Josiah Warren
Equitable Commerce

Perhaps the strongest tenet of anarchism, and necessarily so, is the concept of individual sovereignty. Whether an individualist or a communalist, the anarchist is above all a humanist; this implies that the individual is the center of all purpose. It is the individual who must decide his own direction in life, who must make the decisions which will bring him the most personal happiness. Obviously, there are different interpretations of what individuality implies. As noted in the typology in Appendix 1, the strongest argument for individuality derives from the anarcho-individualist philosophies of Max Stirner, Josiah Warren, and to some extent, Pierre Proudhon.⁸ As a cursory examination of the typology will reveal, all three theorists maintain the inviolability of the individual. Max Stirner took this concept to its most extreme, by stating

⁷Josiah Warren. *Equitable Commerce: A New Development of Principles*. (Burt Franklin, New York, 1852), p. 28.

⁸Indeed, Warren personified the self-sufficient man - he was a veritable "jack-of-all trades" (ie. musician, printer, inventor, theorist, etc.).

that the individual was the "be all and end all" of existence. In effect, man was best served when he maintained the supremacy of the "own," a theoretical construct that lay at the root of Stirner's personal doctrine of "egoism." To a lesser extent both Josiah Warren and Pierre Proudhon maintained the importance of individual freedom. In both cases, this was embodied in the concept of "non-invasiveness," and in the case of Proudhon, the advocacy of "voluntary association." Both precepts were considered attempts to maintain individuality in the face of collective organization. Of the two theorists, Warren was perhaps the most outspoken advocate. As he declares in *Equitable Commerce* (1852): "After many years of patient watchfulness of the world's movements and of laborious experiments, we see in this individuality the germ of a future so magnificent, so bright and dazzling, that the eye can scarcely look upon it."⁹ This was the hope of an individual committed to the "excellence of man!" For Warren, people reached their highest potential when masters of their own destiny, when allowed to live their lives without the "medelsome" influence of external regulation.

However, this did not mean that the individual was a creature of chaos; or that individual freedom extended to the point where it interfered with the lives of others. Not surprisingly, non-invasiveness was a key principle of individualist philosophy. As John Stuart Mill states, "Everyone should be a law unto himself, but always exercising his liberty with due regard to the equal rights of others."¹⁰

We are told that to ensure freedom, society must be reconditioned to accommodate the proliferation of individuality, indeed, to encourage it. This can only be achieved when man rises above the systems that he creates. For Warren, this implied the disintegration or radical alteration¹¹ of existing institutions and of the animus for their control. Furthermore, this

⁹Josiah Warren. *Equitable Commerce: A New Development of Principles*. (Burt Franklin, New York, 1852), p. 19.

¹⁰William Bailies. *Josiah Warren: The First American Anarchist*. (Arno Press: New York, 1972), p. 99.

¹¹Is individuality immutable? Such a belief has significant impact on an organizational construct like the "institution:" For example, as Warren explains, "We see then, as it is both

implied the radical alteration or disintegration of the State. To Anarchists, the State can be viewed as a collection of interconnecting institutions working toward a common mandate, set by, or at least influenced by elites. As such, the State is in and of itself an institution. As Warren concludes:

The state, the society, the institutions, the body politic, the nation, the system, or customs we live in, must not be permitted to become primary, but must be secondary! Neither man, nor man-made laws or systems, must rise above man; but laws, rules, and institutions, must be subject to man's purposes! Human institutions must not rise above humanity! Men must not be distorted to fit institutions, but institutions must be made to fit man!¹²

In effect, institutions, if they exist at all, must be subservient to the "multitude of sovereign individuals." This means, of course, that the state must be subservient to the people, not the other way around.

For those who would argue that sovereignty of the individual is ultimately destructive, even chaotic, and that it leads to indifference and strife, Warren offers this response: "Having the Liberty to differ does not make us differ, but, on the contrary, it is a common ground upon which we can meet, a particular in which the feelings of all coincide, and is the first step in social harmony."¹³ This is an enigmatic rejoinder, but it is not without validity. In truth, it is the only manner in which true, democratic consensus can be reached (if that is possible). True,

inexpedient and impossible to overcome this individuality, we must **conform our institutions TO IT!** Man-made laws thus become suggestive - not tyrannical masters, but useful co-operators. Institutions will be 'made for man, not man for institutions!' Their introduction will be peaceful, and their progress proportioned to the benefits they confer!" (Warren/*Equitable Commerce*, p. 19). While Warren does not reject the institution *in toto*, he does suggest that because institutional size and jurisdiction is proportional to the benefits it confers and the freedom it allows the individual, (smaller institutions are not as powerful and do not regulate as effectively), institutions should be tempered by the will of the "collective individual."

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 33.

¹³*Ibid.*, p. 26.

without the liberty to differ there would be no argument, but the lack of diversity would necessarily be reflected in the weakness of the solution. Diversity implies individuality; thus, diversity of opinion is highly individualistic.¹⁴

¹⁴This argument is underscored by Warren's criticism of the popular vote. For Warren, the popular vote was a political device which was based on majority consensus (often uninformed), and as such, was disturbing to the individualist. The problem is summarized as follows:

Many influences may decide a vote contrary to the feelings and views of the voters; and, more than this, perhaps no two in twenty will understand and appreciate a measure, or foresee its consequences alike, even while they are voting for it. There may be ten thousand hidden, unconscious diversities among the voters which cannot be made manifest till the measure comes to be put in practice; when, perhaps, nine out of ten voters will be more or less disappointed because the result does not coincide with their particular, **individual** expectations. (*Ibid.*, pp. 24- 25).

Consequently, Warren felt that an alternative form of political expression would necessitate the creation of a new "mode" of societal organization, one which negated the need for popular participation on a large scale, and that did not require the co-optation of the individual ". . . in anything wherein his **own inclinations do not concur or harmonize with the object in view.**" (*Ibid.*, p. 24).

Peter Kropotkin extended this criticism to parliamentarianism. It would appear that for most anarchists, representative democracy has little to do with democracy, and is simply an effective way to concentrate power in the hands of elites, well intentioned or otherwise. As he states in *The Conquest of Bread* (1906):

. . . the faults of parliamentarianism, and the inherent vices of the representative principle, are self-evident, . . . It is not difficult, indeed, to see the absurdity of naming a few men (or women) and saying to them, "Make laws regulating all our spheres of activity, although not one of you knows anything about them!" Peter Kropotkin. *The Conquest of Bread*. (Chapman and Hall, Limited: London, Kraus Reprint Company, New York, [1906], 1970), p. 44.



(Figure 7) Josiah Warren¹⁵

Individual sovereignty of a non-invasive character was the first principle of Warren's philosophy; the second was his desire to reform the system of economic exchange, most notably capitalism. What Warren most desired was to secure the products of labor for the individual who produced them. This could only be done, if "commodities and services were exchanged equally on a labor for labor basis."¹⁶ He called this the "cost principle." It directly contradicted the "value principle" which was used to set prices according to the value of a product, in other words, to ". . . what the market would bear."

The cost principle, however, was just that; selling a product at the cost which was necessary to produce it - no more, no less. There was no need to adapt supply to demand, no need for "cannibalism," or profit skimming.¹⁷ According to Warren: "If cost is made the limit of price, everyone becomes interested in reducing COST, by bringing in all the economies, all the facilities to their aid. But, on the contrary, if cost does not govern the price, but everything is priced at what it will bring, there are no such co-operative interests."¹⁸ This

¹⁵Bailies, Frontispiece.

¹⁶Gordon Tullock (editor). *Further Exploration in the Theory of Anarchy: A Public Choice Monograph*. (University Publications: Blackburg, Virginia, 1974), p. 5.

¹⁷Warren/*Equitable Commerce*, p. 65.

is a strong argument, not only for economic equity, but also for the reduction of waste and the promotion of efficient industry. Apparently, if one accepts Warren's argument, then one accepts the supposition that unlimited profit breeds unlimited greed, and consequently, unlimited waste (human or otherwise). In truth, however, one must deal with the logical counter-argument; only the potential for profit will maximize the efficient use of resources (the existence of the chronically unemployed in liberal-capitalist economies reduces the credibility of this argument somewhat).

2) The Sanctity of Community:

The Anarchist is not an individualist in the extreme sense of the word. He believes passionately in individual freedom, but he also recognizes that such freedom can only be safeguarded by a willingness to co-operate, by the reality of community . . .¹⁹

George Woodcock
Anarchism

While community, as such, does not enter the dialogue of individualism, it is nevertheless, among anarcho-communists, a strong organizational characteristic with implications in every sphere of social interaction, including economic cooperation and political equity.

For many anarcho-communists, the community offers an environment suitable for realizing the traditional characteristics of democracy, including political participation (see Bookchin) in a direct, rather than representative manner. The community allows for personal interaction and thereby a healthy (sometimes unhealthy) appreciation of one's neighbors, not to mention a sense of belonging. The community, at least in the traditional sense, allows for the basic needs of all its members to be met, as well as a sense of security and of unity. Although, some argue

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 76.

¹⁹Woodcock/*Anarchism*, p. 15.

that the community can be as hierarchical, as dictatorial as any state, especially when the relationships are so intimate and difficult to escape short of leaving the community altogether.

A lot of these ideas are incorporated or derived from the philosophies of Peter Kropotkin and to a lesser extent Michael Bakunin. As the typology illustrates, the communal nature of mankind is very much emphasized by anarcho-communists as the most important form of natural organization. In fact, Kropotkin as well as more contemporary theorists (ie. Russell) go to great length to demonstrate this importance by emphasizing the lessons that can be drawn from the study of history (for example, *Mutual Aid*). According to Kropotkin, such an analysis necessarily reveals the true tendency of human interaction - the tendency to mutual aid. It is his contention that the prevalence of mutual struggle recorded throughout the rise of the modern state and the maturation of industrialism is in reality the record of an aberration, an artificial distortion of communal man. The stridently competitive philosophies that have emerged from this metamorphosis, including the notion of competitive struggle, the neo-Darwinian notion of "survival of the fittest," and the Hobbsian notion of "war of all against all," are simply reflections of this aberration. For further elaboration on this point please see the typology, especially sections 2.0 - 2.4

It is also true that when we examine the concept of community we are also examining the concept of collective economy, politics, and culture. Interestingly, such an observation leads us to the importance of "libertarian municipalism" as a democratic construct - a construct opposing the centralizing tendencies of the modern nation-state. This duality is discussed by Murray Bookchin in a number of his works and will be examined in greater detail in Part III.

3) Aversion to Authority and Rigid Organization:

After the Chalice of so-called absolute monarchy had been drained down to the dregs, in the eighteenth century people became aware that their drink did not taste human - too clearly aware not to begin to crave a different cup. Since their fathers were 'human beings' after all, they at least desired to be regarded as such.²⁰

Max Stirner

The Ego and His Own

That anarchism rejects authority and the systems which propagate authority is not surprising. That anarchism suspects rigid organization - its tendency toward hierarchy, as well as maintenance of the status-quo - is also obvious. But while anarchists are naturally wary of rigid organization and authority, they by no means reject organized collaboration - this is especially true of anarcho-communists. As Woodcock explains: "By no means do all anarchists reject organization, but none seeks to give it an artificial continuity; the fluid survival of the libertarian attitude itself is what is important," and ". . . the basic ideas of anarchism, with their stress on freedom and spontaneity, preclude the possibility of rigid organization, and particularly of anything in the nature of a party constructed for the purpose of seizing and holding power."²¹

At the root of this rejection, of course, lies an emphasis on the individual; upon his or her right to contravene principles and beliefs established by forces outside his or her sphere of influence. This, of course, applies to anarchism as well.

For instance, there is no "one" way to achieve an anarchist society. To construct a model or to produce a framework or strategy toward such an end would be hypocritical to say the least. As one source contests: "Anarchists typically do not specify the future form of anarchist

²⁰Max Stirner. *The Ego and His Own: The Case of the Individual Against Authority*. (Dover Publications, Incorporated: New York, 1973), p. 98.

²¹Woodcock/*Anarchism*, p. 18.

society or structure of anarchists social organization. Contrary to the seeming spirit of their doctrines they do not deny that there will be social organization - they insist that it will be something approaching a system of voluntary cooperation for mutual benefit . . . but they do not insist that the future organization will have to be determined by the people of the anarchical society, the very people who will have to live by it."²² (Noted exceptions can be found in the work of utopian visionaries like William Morris [*News From Nowhere*, 1890], Paul and Percival Goodman [*Communitas*, 1960], and Ernest Callenbach [*Ecotopia*, 1975]).

While utopian models of future societies prove helpful as a means of visualizing anarchist-like communities; the anarchist would be the first to point out that just because a model "looks sound," does not mean that it must be copied. This would be too predetermined - too systematic, too unanarchistic. As Friedrich Neitsche (1844 - 1900) once wrote, "I mistrust all systemizers and avoid them. The will to a system is a lack of integrity."²³

Anarchism can be viewed as a "remedy" or "reaction," to authority. For example, it has been suggested that anarchism is a "tendency" or phenomenon that manifests itself in direct proportion to the amount of authority or organization imposed on the individual by society.

²²Tullock, p. 36. Bakunin emphasized this point. In an age of systemizers, "authorities," and doctrines around which adherents slavishly rallied, he stressed the importance of the people themselves - of their tendency to natural, "instinctual" organization - in the construction of a new society. As he states in "Statism and Anarchy:"

" . . . we neither intend nor desire to thrust upon our own or any other people any scheme or social organization taken from books or concocted by ourselves. We are convinced that the masses of the people carry in themselves in their instincts (more or less developed by history), in their daily necessities, and in their conscious or unconscious aspirations, all the elements of the future social organization. We seek this ideal in the people themselves. Every state power, every government, by its very nature places itself outside and over the people and inevitably subordinates them to an organization and to aims which are foreign to and opposed to the real needs and aspirations of the people." (Dolhoff, pp. 327 - 328).

²³Friedrich Neitsche. *Twilight of the Idols and the Anti-Christ*. Translated by R. J. Hollingdale. (Penguin Books: London, 1968), p. 25.

This is an opinion offered by William Bailies. As he explains:

. . . Anarchism, in a word, is primarily a tendency - moral, social, and intellectual. As a tendency it questions the supremacy of the State, the infallibility of statute laws, and the divine right of all Authority, spiritual or temporal. It is, in truth, a product of Authority, the progeny of the State, a direct consequence of the inadequacy of law and government to fulfill their assumed functions. In short, the Anarchist tendency is a necessity of progress, a protest against usurpation, privilege, and injustice.²⁴

We might also view anarchism as a reaction to authority, especially authority imposed by the State. This is the traditional perception of anarchism, the *raison d'etre* for its existence as a social movement, if you will.

Bailies' argument is further refined by Gordon Tullock who suggests that anarchism is a psychological phenomenon that manifests itself in the ". . . frustration arising from a sensed loss of autonomy, a sensed inability to influence the conditions affecting one's welfare." Like Bailies, he views anarchism as a reaction to the evolution of authority in the form of the state, especially during the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries. Interestingly, Tullock also suggests that anarchism is ". . . a response to the increased and urbanized population and the accompanying pressure of urban social controls."²⁵ He is referring in part to what has been perceived as the inherent antagonism between anarchy and urbanism. In other words, is authority better affected in an urban setting? cursory observation would suggest that it is, due to the concentration of population, the prevalence of institutions and the economic dependence that are found in an urban settlement. However, it should be remembered that the urban setting has also been a prime breeding ground for egalitarian social experiments. Urbanism as a vehicle for authority should therefore be viewed with skepticism.

Before I leave this section, I would like to say a few words about how anarchists perceive

²⁴Bailies, pp. XII - XIII.

²⁵Tullock, p. 38.

organization. Organization, as such, does not worry the anarchist. It is when this organization becomes "staid," when it becomes an entity in and of itself, that the anarchist becomes concerned. As Rudolf Rocker observed in *Anarcho-Syndicalism* (1938): "Organization is, after all, only a means to an end. When it becomes an end in itself it kills the spirit and the vital initiative of its members and sets up the domination by mediocrity which is characteristic of all bureaucracies."²⁶ Organization, especially when it derives from a natural association of individuals is perfectly acceptable to the anarchist. If it serves an immediate purpose and can be accessed or dismantled at need is all the better. When the organization becomes fixed however, when it exists to serve needs beyond the immediate purpose, when it cannot be easily restructured or destroyed, is when the organization is no longer a product of the individual will and no longer serves that will effectively.²⁷ Such an organization breeds anomie, and anomie atomizes the community and sedates the individual. In many regards, the modern state is an example of this form of organization.

²⁶Rudolf Rocker. *Anarcho-Syndicalism*. (Martin Secker and Warburg, Limited: London, 1938), p. 93.

²⁷Emma Goldman offers a unique defence of organization when she credits it, not with the decay of individuality, but with its enhancement in the form of "personality." She suggests that the processes of an organization serve to provide an individual with a higher level of personal development, thus making him or her a more rounded person. As she explains in her autobiography, *Living My Life*:

There is a mistaken notion in some quarters . . . that organization does not foster individual freedom; that, on the contrary, it means the decay of individuality. In reality, however, the true function of organization is to aid the development and growth of personality. Just as animal cells, by mutual co-operation express their latent powers in the formation of the complete organism, so does the individuality by co-operative effort with other individualities attain its highest form of development. An organization, in the true sense, cannot result from the combination of mere nonentities. It must be composed of self-conscious, intelligent individualities. Indeed, the total of the possibilities and activities of an organization is represented in the expression of individual energies. Emma Goldman. *Living My Life: Volume I*. (Dover Publications, Incorporated: New York, 1970), pp. 402 - 403.

4) Self-Reliance:

We anarchists do not want to emancipate the people: we want the people to emancipate themselves.²⁸

Errico Malatesta (1876)

Because anarchism relies on the basic ability of either the individual or the community to survive, it of necessity advocates self-reliance. For the individual and for the community, self-reliance ensures the ability to act with utmost freedom and to cast away the fetters of dependence that so readily constrain modern society. In effect, self-reliance allows strength of conviction; it allows for determination rather than pre-determination. This is especially true of the individual's relationship to the state, particularly the dependence which has evolved between the two, leading to a lessening of communal affiliation and to a growing sense of "alienation." As Woodcock points out:

What the anarchists are really trying to find is a way out of the alienation that in the contemporary world, in spite of - or perhaps rather because of - its vast organizational ramifications, leads to man being isolated among the masses of his fellows. What has happened is a kind of polarization, in which the State has taken over from the individual the communal responsibilities that once gave his personal life the extended dimension of fellowship, both in the local setting and in the world in general; in most modern societies responsibility is in urgent danger of being strangled by paternalistic authority.²⁹

Although it is hard to identify this alienation - to find exact causes and to trace their effects - I think many people in the developed world, especially the West, would agree that something tangible is missing in the technocratic, industrialized environment in which we live; there is no

²⁸Paul Berman (editor). *Quotations from the Anarchists*. (Praeger Publishers: New York, 1972), p. 118.

²⁹Woodcock/*Anarchism*, p. 20.

link between cause and effect. This might in part explain the tendency to narcissism that Christopher Lasch has identified.³⁰ It might also explain the breakdown of horizontal/vertical familial associations. Yes, technology has allowed greater affluence and freedom from mechanical tasks, yet it has also enslaved the individual to a predetermined, underlying order, which we ignore at our own peril. One example (at least in North America) is the absolute dependency of urbanites on a vast, complex food distribution system. It is hard to imagine how such a system functions as smoothly as it does, but it is quite easy to imagine the disastrous implications of its breakdown.

5) Participation and Direct Action:

For it is true that the use of the ballot in the hands of a majority is just as much an exercise of physical force as is the use of machine guns in the hands of an army or of a bomb in the hands of a revolutionist.³¹

Clarence Lee Swartz
What is Mutualism?

Of course, the ability to resist authority, to assert individual sovereignty (including self-reliance) necessarily stems from direct involvement in one's own concerns.³² This means,

³⁰Christopher Lasch's argument, however, reveals a trace of optimism. It is his belief that this tendency to narcissism, while it has produced indifference and promoted self-satisfaction, has also brought a deep suspicion of government and corporate bureaucracy. The result has been a movement toward "modest experiments in cooperation designed to defend [people's] rights against the corporations and the state. The 'flight from politics,' as it appears to the managerial and political elite, may signify the citizen's growing unwillingness to take part in the political system as a consumer of prefabricated spectacles. It may signify, in other words, not a retreat from politics at all but the beginnings of a general political revolt." Christopher Lasch. *The Culture of Narcissism: American Life in an Age of Diminishing Expectations*. (W. W. Norton and Company Incorporated: New York, 1979), p. 21.

³¹Clarence Lee Swartz. *What is Mutualism?* (Vanguard Press: New York, 1927), p. 153.

³²As I write this a battle is being waged in the Canadian Senate Chamber - a battle to ratify a

among other things that participation, and more importantly, direct action are prerequisite activities of any anarchist. In effect, apathy and indifference do not reflect well upon a philosophy that extols the virtue of association and self-interest. As Woodcock suggests:

The anarchist preference is for an arrangement by which people decide directly on what affects them immediately, and, where issues affect large areas, appoint assemblies of delegates rather than representatives, chosen for short periods and subject to recall. They favour devices that can give rapid expression to public opinion, like the referendum, but they also seek to ensure that every minority is as far as possible self-governing, and above all the will of the majority does not become a tyranny over dissidents. The anarchist view of social organization is, indeed, summed up in the phrase direct action, but so is their view of the means of changing society.³³

We see that some of the basic tenets of anarchism, and particularly of its social organization are the will to direct action, to direct involvement, to direct responsibility, to direct accountability, and generally, to immediacy in every form. Representation as such, while touted for centuries by liberal democrats as the solution to tyranny, as the guarantor of freedom and equality, would appear to be no better than the "absolute" monarchies and aristocracies that it replaced. Max Stirner, the ultimate individualist, understood this. As he states: "The monarch in the person of the 'royal master' had been a paltry monarch compared with this new

new, comprehensive tax law; the so-called Goods and Service Tax. On my lap is a small slip of paper representing the interests of one faction of this battle - the "Don't Tax Reading Coalition." On the slip of paper is a boldly outlined statement: "If it weren't so devastating, the irony would be laughable." Meaning of course, the irony of conflicting policies, one to promote literacy and another to increase the cost of written literature sold in Canada. The contradiction is amusing, and pitiful. But what is even more disturbing is the utter ineffectiveness which this slip of paper, which I am asked to mail to Ottawa, will have on the political battle presently being waged, and apparently about to end in victory for the pro-GST alignment. In effect, the issue here is not the final outcome of this one parliamentary struggle or of any other, but the fact that popular petitioning in this country, or even popular opinion has little or no impact on the policies adopted by our "government."

³³Woodcock/*Anarchism*, pp. 26 - 27.

monarch, the sovereign nation."³⁴

Paul Goodman also understood the value of direct action when he makes the acutely accurate statement in "Reflection on the Anarchist Principle" that anarchists ". . . want to increase intrinsic functioning (face-to-face contact) and diminish extrinsic power."³⁵ In fact, Goodman tied this desire into the capacity for individuals to be philosophical - "to raise the question of the end in view rather than merely trying to get out of a box." Only in this way will planning avoid the "familiar proliferation of means, of feats of engineering and architecture, that is more attributable to an overplanned system than to an approach which is inclusive and offers an avenue for directly linking the ends and the means of a planning problem, and by doing so reducing the problem to a human scale all can understand and act upon."³⁶

6) Decentralization of Means (Localism):

The political and economic organization of social life must not, as at present, be directed from the summit to the base - the center to the circumference - imposing unity through forced centralization.³⁷

Michael Bakunin

"Revolutionary Catechism"

Interchangeable with self-reliance is the term "decentralization." The term itself, however, is often invoked without a true understanding of its meaning, or at least, a great deal of misconception. As Gar Alperovitz informs us, we must be careful to distinguish between "decentralization" and its mistaken counterpart, "deconcentration."³⁸ The distinction is

³⁴Stirner, p. 102.

³⁵Taylor Stoehr (editor). *Drawing the Line: The Political Essays of Paul Goodman*. (Free Life Editions: New York, N. Y., 1977), p. 176.

³⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 222 - 223.

³⁷Sam Dolgoff (editor). *Bakunin on Anarchy*. (Alfred A. Knopf: New York, 1972), p. 77.

crucial, primarily because decentralization by definition implies the sharing of power, the dispersal of decision-making to more direct, grass-roots sources. The concept of deconcentration, however, is more conservative in that it simply readjusts the center of decision making to a subordinate branch, as in corporate deconcentration; the decisions, in effect, still flow through a strongly hierarchical decision making structure. In the end, the objective of deconcentration is to ensure greater efficiency by streamlining the organizational process.³⁹ As Roger Kasperson and Myrna Breitbart state in their book entitled, *Participation, Decentralisation, and Advocacy Planning*:

Decentralisation involves the transfer of powers from an central government to specialized territorial or functional units. This process entails a substantial areal delegation of decision-making and discretionary powers. American social scientists describe this change by such terms as 'territorial decentralization,' 'political decentralization,' or 'devolution.' *Deconcentration*, by contrast, entails the dispersal of facilities or functions from the central government to subunits in an effort to improve the effectiveness and/or efficiency of substantial decision-making or discretionary powers . . . the relationships within the organization remain strongly hierarchical. The concern is really to devise a more complex distribution of workload and flow of services. Ultimately, deconcentration extends the center to the periphery. It is a form of penetration.⁴⁰

This distinction is best categorized by Henry Schmadt. According to Schmadt there are five models of decentralization/deconcentration. The first is the "exchange model" in which interaction is the key motive, especially communicative interaction leading to information sharing; "little city hall" programs, or the dispersal of civic information offices throughout the

³⁸Gar Alperovitz. "Towards a Decentralist Commonwealth." *Our Generation*. Volume 8, Number 1, Spring, 1973).

³⁹Another source, describes this duality as "administrative" and "political" decentralization respectively. B.C. Hans Spiegel (editor). *Decentralization: Citizen Participation in Urban Development - Volume III*. (Learning Resources Corporation: Fairfax, Virginia, 1974), p. 5.

⁴⁰Roger E. Kasperson and Myrna Breitbart. *Participation, Decentralization, and Advocacy Planning*. (Association of American Geographers: Washington, D. C., 1974), p. 28.

community, would appear to be examples of this model. The second is the "bureaucratic model," which is basically a governmental restructuring of authority akin to deconcentration - authority is delegated to subordinate units, but "responsibility remains hierarchically structure(d)." Typical examples, Schmadt informs us, are police or health districts. The third is known as the "modified bureaucratic model," it represents a middle ground between the more deconcentrationist leanings of the bureaucratic model and the more decentralist leanings of the developmental model. It is basically an arrangement which shares responsibility between the bureaucracy and the district citizenry. The fourth is called the "developmental model," and is more decentralist than the preceding three. For example, it "recognizes the devolution of service delivery functions together with physical and civic development responsibilities." Neighbourhood corporations are typical manifestations of this model.

Finally, there is a fifth form - the "governmental model." This model attempts to fulfill the objectives of a true, decentralist strategy, and is the most likely manifestation of the anarchist ideal. As such, the model distributes "the allocation of various legal powers and substantial political authority to newly created political subunits." These subunits would, as far as anarchists are concerned, be either municipal or regional governments. Planners like Geddes, Mumford or Howard would emphasize region, whereas anarchists like Bookchin and Goodman would place more emphasis on the municipality.

While it is useful to identify the different forms of decentralization and pseudo-decentralization, it is more important to understand, at least periferally, the objective of decentralization. By doing this we achieve a greater understanding of why such a movement can be considered anarchistic.

One of the goals of decentralization is to reorient government bureaucracy, and indeed, to eliminate bureaucracy altogether by replacing the "professional bureaucrat" with non-professional, locally controlled alternatives. By doing this, we are told, "decentralization

allows the tailoring of services to clearer and less conflicting demands" and the consumer's role in providing public services is expanded.

The "second goal of decentralization is to enlarge citizen participation." Ideally, this would negate the participatory disadvantages of a centralized system. The "scope and complexity of issues confronting the citizen" would be reduced to only those which directly impact upon him. Theoretically, the opportunity for more rational and knowledgeable decision making would be assured by an increased familiarity with the subject matter. Thus, individual involvement would become more relevant and less symbolic. The concept of direct action through local participation is also important. After all, one cannot be expected to vote intelligently on issues that are unfamiliar; but if the decisions were based upon local issues, with a local focus, the chances that more realistic and more representative decisions could be arrived at improve considerably. The "value" of participation is also heightened at the local level.⁴¹

The third and final goal is to achieve political mobilization. In other words, decentralization counters the traditional power structure by dispersing centrally controlled power systems. In effect, systems are broken down and thereby negated. This is very much a libertarian strategy and is propounded in many anarchist philosophies. For example, the very anti-authoritarian, anti-statist orientation of these philosophies will lead to a power-sharing strategy - most often this takes the form of decentralization, and especially, the creation of what is called "free federation from the simple to the compound, *in lieu* of the present hierarchy from the center to the periphery."⁴² Federation of what, however? According to Kasperson and Brietbart

⁴¹Paul Goodman ties participation to "citizenship." Without participation, and therefore citizenship, the urban individual will experience the "rootlessness and helplessness" characteristic of **anomie**. As he states ". . . participation is empty unless it involves the possibility of initiating and deciding" (Stoehr, p. 188).

As Jane Jacobs explains: "It is futile to expect that citizens will act with responsibility, verve and experience on big, city-wide issues when self-government has been rendered all but impossible on localized issues, which are often of the most direct importance to people. Jane Jacobs. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. (Vintage Books: New York, 1961), p. 423.

⁴²Roger N. Baldwin (editor). *Kropotkin's Revolutionary Pamphlets: A Collection of Writings*

territorial power bases or regions. For Gar Alperovitz, decentralization would best be served by the creation of a regional pluralist commonwealth: "The themes of the proposed alternative thus are indicated by the concepts of cooperative community and the Commonwealth of Regions. The program might best be termed a 'Pluralist Commonwealth' - 'Pluralist' to emphasize decentralization and diversity; 'Commonwealth' to focus on the principle that wealth should cooperatively benefit all."⁴³

Alperovitz has found a number of distinct advantages in a system built on ". . . an organic diversified vision, predicated upon the federation of localized, cooperative, small-scale communities, making decisions on a local level to suit their own economic and political needs, yet linked to a larger network of communities in order to 'generate broader economic criteria' and coordinated political demands."⁴⁴ These are the ability to experiment with innovative strategies for education, employment, and business; indeed any number of schemes which are presently tied down by bureaucratic, or regulatory restraint. In other words, the local community would be allowed to implement locally developed ". . . social decisions based upon independent control of some community economic resources."⁴⁵ Other considerations are the capability to coordinate and reorganize the use of technology, and the social organization of schools, work, and even living arrangements.⁴⁶ However, I find this aspect of Alperovitz' vision overly "planned" and I would question the temptation to pursue an approach that seeks to control community life in some predetermined way, noting that even a small community can

by Peter Kropotkin. (Benjamin Blom: New York, 1968), p. 298.

⁴³Gar Alperovitz. "Towards a Decentralist Commonwealth. (*Our Generation*. Volume 8, Number 1, Spring, 1973), p. 49.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, p. 48.

⁴⁵Of course, the flip side of this argument reveals the inherent disadvantages of a localized power base. For example, the civil rights abuses that took place throughout the southern United States may never have been curtailed had not the federal government stepped in to force compliance with federally enacted civil rights legislation.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*

exert authority over the individual and thereby become "authoritarian."

While I do not wish to dwell over long on Alperovitz' decentralist commonwealth, because it is well argued I would like to make a few more observations.

One the most interesting is his rejection of "absolute" decentralization. Alperovitz believes that while certain functions, such as political decision-making must remain decentralized, other arrangements, such as "some forms of heavy industry, energy production, (and) transportation" should be confederated into larger regional or even national organizations.⁴⁷

The justification for this argument is economically motivated (i. e. to ensure that the municipalities in or around which industry is situated do not resort to "community capitalism);" in other words, they must **not** be tempted to prey on each other in an exploitative, capitalist manner.⁴⁸ As Alperovitz explains:

The need for a larger scale framework becomes obvious when problems of market behavior are considered more closely. What if every community actually owned and controlled substantial industry. Even if each used a share of surpluses for social purposes as democratically decided, even if each began to evolve the idea of planned economic and social development, even if people began to develop social experiences and a new ethic of cooperation - there would still be competition in the larger unit of the region or nation. Community industry would vie with community industry, neighborhood versus neighborhood, country versus country, city versus city. If communities were simply to float in a rough sea of an unrestricted market, the model would likely end in 'community capitalism,' trade wars, expansionism, and the self-aggrandizing exploitation of one community by another. As in modern capitalism, there also would likely be both unemployment and inflation, ruthless competition and oligopoly, etc.⁴⁹

⁴⁷*Ibid.*

⁴⁸In this regard, Alperovitz echoes Bakunin. More explicitly, each explores the idea of maintaining "intermediary" bodies between municipalities. For Bakunin, the concern is not so much economic as political. As he states in section IX of the "Revolutionary Catechism:" "Without such an autonomous intermediate body, the commune [in the strict sense of the term would be too isolated and too weak to be able to resist the despotic centralistic pressure of the State" (Dolgoff, pp. 82 - 83).

⁴⁹Alperovitz, p. 50.

Alperovitz's solution? Not surprisingly, he would create a structure to stabilize the economic relations of the individual communities by controlling the form and content of their economic interaction. As he explains, such a structure ". . . would have to control substantially much wholesale marketing, longer term capital financing, and taxation." The problem here, is that such a structure does not appear to differ much from present State controlled regulatory systems. So what is the difference? Alperovitz attempts to rationalize his argument by demonstrating the role that can be played by different multi-level associations:

The metropolitan area as a unit, for example, might control certain heavy industries or specialized public services such as intra-urban transportation. Some state units might control power development and building on the state park tradition, could also be appropriately manage expanding recreational industries like skiing. A grouping of regions like New England and Appalachia might control electrical power production and distribution; the Pacific Coast and the Mountain States might unite for a variety of functions, particularly for rational ecological planning and watershed control.

The primary objective of these associations is to ensure "sufficient independence of decision and power" but not to the point where regional disparities and competition ensue. The main goal, according to Alperovitz, (I am assuming he is sincere), is "to leave as many functions as possible to localities, elevating only what is absolutely essential to the higher unit."⁵⁰

⁵⁰Alperovitz, p. 51. Decentralization is not beyond criticism! One argument against such a strategy is offered by Theodore Lowi in *The Politics of Disorder* (1971). According to Lowi, decentralization can lead to the predominance of the minority. That is to say, "decentralization tends to plug government into the interest group system." (Theodore J. Lowi. *The Politics of Disorder*. [Basic Books, Incorporated: New York, N. Y., 1971], p. 65). In part, I recognize this concern and would recommend caution on the part of social planners, activists, and the media, who assume that only disenfranchised interest groups, be they aboriginal people, women, or the chronically poor, need benefit from "community participation" or "self-empowerment." In effect, breaking into the formal political process is the prime interest of these groups. I would argue that targeting of interest groups for special treatment is counterproductive and indeed, cuts at the very heart of broad political change.

7) Cooperation and Free Association (Mutual Aid):

... a free society, regaining possession of the common inheritance, must seek, in free groups and free federations of groups, a new organization, in harmony with the economic phase of history.⁵¹

Peter Kropotkin

The Conquest of Bread

For Kropotkin, cooperation and mutual aid are tantamount to anarchy. Indeed, for him "chaos was order." These characteristics, present since the origin of man, have maintained a certain perpetuity ever since, especially in the early communal societies and their more modern counterparts - the free cities, the agricultural communes, and the guild associations of the medieval era. In fact, for Kropotkin, Communism, in its broadest sense, is Anarchism. The two concepts are interchangeable, but only if one accurately understands Kropotkin's definition of Communism. As he states: ". . . ours is neither the Communism of Fourier and the Phalansteriens, nor of the German State Socialists (Marxists). It is Anarchist Communism, Communism without government - the Communism of the Free. It is the synthesis of the two ideals pursued by humanity throughout the ages - Economic and Political liberty."⁵² And at another point: "Anarchy leads to Communism, and Communism to anarchy, both alike being

Why? Because it means playing the "game," including political favoritism, compromise, and elitism. The final objective is to indoctrinate disenfranchised groups into the system as is. Specific objectives might be achieved, the group might attain a few specific ends, but the system as such (liberal capitalist, state socialist, etc.) remains. The interest groups remain interest groups, there is no movement toward the creation of a unified, interdependent whole dedicated to a shared vision of the future. Rather, collective energy devolves into a selfish series of value-specific and group-specific interests. Indeed, this criticism has been levelled at advocacy planning, and may, in part, account for its failure.

⁵¹Peter Kropotkin. *The Conquest of Bread*. (Chapman and Hall, Limited: London, Kraus Reprint Company, New York [1906], 1970), pp. 45 - 46.

⁵²*Ibid.*, pp. 38 - 39.

expressions of the predominant tendency in modern societies, the pursuit of equality."⁵³ This is Kropotkin's perception of communism, an organizational form predicated on the twin foundations of mutual association and mutual aid, achieved not by forced collectivization or coercion but by free individuals voluntarily agreeing to aid each other in the production of goods and their subsequent consumption. Thus, physical manifestations of mutual aid, such as cooperatives, necessarily compliment this philosophy. Mutualists appear to share this perspective. Swartz is quick to note that cooperatives are given "a high place in the esteem of Mutualists, who maintain that the world's best work is done in the absence of compulsion, and in spite of, rather than with the aid of, the arbitrary power of organized authority."⁵⁴

8) Spontaneous Order:

No theory, no ready-made system, no book that has ever been written will ever save the world. I cleave to no system, I am a true seeker.⁵⁵

Michael Bakunin

Because voluntary association and free agreement between individuals is such an integral component of anarchistic social organization, save perhaps those of the individualist tradition, it is not unwarranted to suggest that spontaneous order, or at least the capability to organize spontaneously, must of necessity exist. The importance of this tenet is found in its end result - a more representative, and therefore, effective organization; one that meets collective demands more readily and that is far more durable, as well as flexible, than an artificially superimposed structure. As Colin Ward points out: "An important component of the anarchist approach to organization is what we might call the theory of spontaneous order: the theory that, given a

⁵³*Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁵⁴Swartz, p. 195.

⁵²Berman, p. 34.

common need, a collection of people will, by trial and error, by improvisation and experiment, evolve order out of the situation - this order being more durable and more closely related to their needs than any kind of externally imposed authority could provide."⁵⁶ Importantly, spontaneous order does not necessarily equal chaos, indeed, it simply implies a "natural," self initiated order derived from local participation.

Not surprisingly, this perspective condemns attempts to find a "correct way" or model for anarchism. Indeed, such a quest contradicts the very essence of anarchism. Thus anarchists:

. . . condemn detailed depictions of the anarchist society of the future as a heresy, since the world of anarchy following upon the imminent revolution, the abolition of government, the destruction of capitalism, and the outlawing of property in the bourgeois sense of private monopolistic ownership of property would be a spontaneous creation of the free, untrammelled spirit of the men of that fortunate time, not fettered to any previously formulated plans or dogmas. A utopian blueprint of anarchy would be self-contradictory, internally inconsistent, and anathema to anarchists . . .⁵⁷

It is also important to note that spontaneous organization is perpetual, the main criteria being the avoidance of stagnation - of "crystallization." As Kropotkin states:

The Anarchists conceive a society in which all the mutual relations of its members are regulated . . . by mutual agreements between the members of that society and by a sum of social customs and habits not petrified by law, routine, or superstition, but continually developing and continually readjusted, in accordance with the ever-growing requirements of a free life

No ruling authorities, then. No government of man by man; no crystallization and immobility, but a continual evolution - such as we see in nature. Free play for the individual, for the full development of his individual gifts - for his individualization.⁵⁸

⁵⁶Colin Ward. *Anarchy in Action*. (George Allen and Unwin Limited: London, 1973), p. 28.

⁵⁷Frank E. and Fritzie P. Manuel. *Utopian Thought in the Western World*. (The Belknap Press: Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1979), p. 737.

⁵⁸Berman, p. 166.

We may therefore accept Kropotkin's view that social organization should continuously evolve and change, as nature does, to suit new circumstances and to allow these circumstances to occur. Only in this way is the individual allowed to achieve the full extent of his own personal development - which ultimately, translates into personal freedom. Interestingly, Kropotkin sees science as a catalyst toward this end. This perspective is one of the primary themes in another of his works, *Fields, Factories and Workshops* (1899): It would also appear to be shared by other anarchists; for example, Errico Malatesta has stated ". . . we want bread, freedom, love and science - for everybody,"⁵⁹ not to mention a number of early planners including Patrick Geddes and Ebenezer Howard. According to Baldwin, anarchists have always been acutely aware of the dangers of stagnation, they feel that ". . . harmony would . . . result from an ever-changing adjustment and readjustment of equilibrium between the multitudes of forces and influences, and this adjustment would be the easier to obtain as none of the forces would enjoy a special protection from the state."⁶⁰

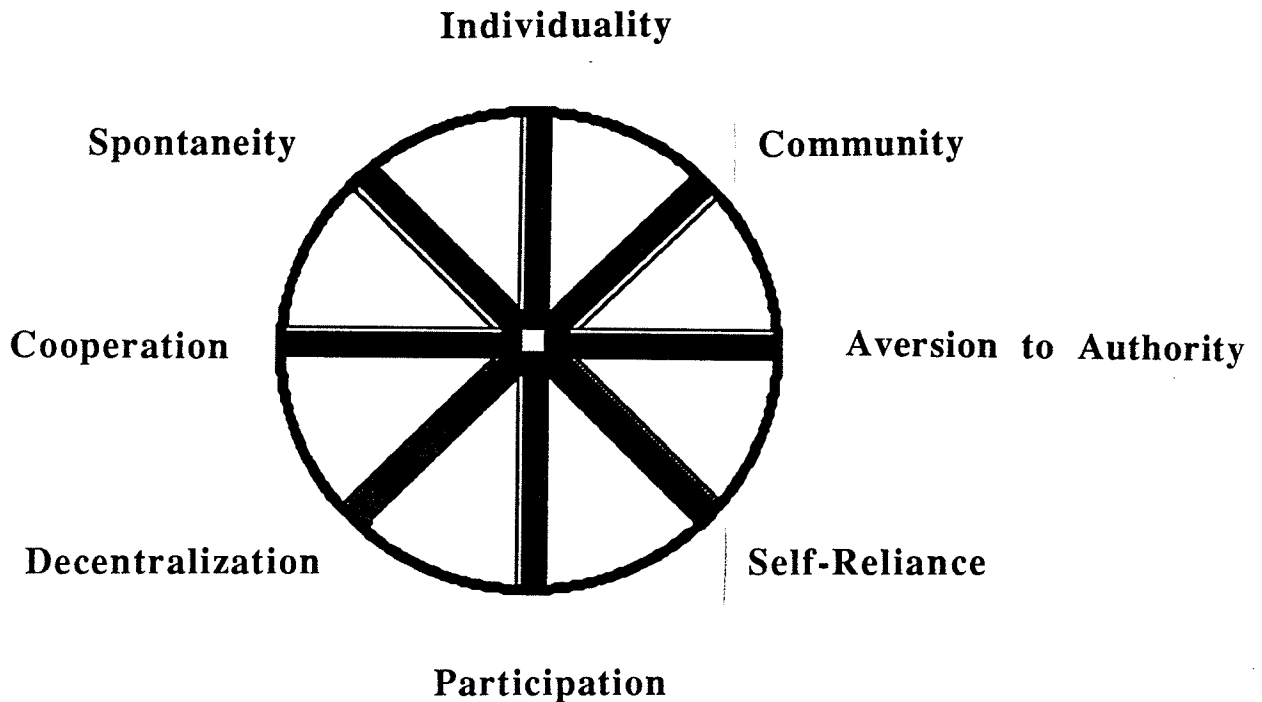
While spontaneity assumes a position of prominence in the anarchist pantheon, its alter ego, dogma, especially ideological dogma, is characterized as an archenemy. The words of Malatesta once again ring true: "We follow ideas, not men, and rebel at this habit of embodying a principle in a man."⁶¹ A more succinct condemnation is provided by Saul Alinsky, the radical community activist: ". . . I detest and fear dogma. I know that all revolutions must have ideologies to spur them on. That in the heart of conflict these ideologies tend to be smelted into rigid dogmas claiming exclusive possession of the truth, and the keys to paradise, is tragic. Dogma is the enemy of human freedom. Dogma must be watched for and apprehended at every turn and twist" ⁶²

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁶⁰Baldwin, p. 284.,

⁶¹Berman, p. 140.

⁶²Saul D. Alinsky. *Rules For Radicals: A Practical Primer For Realistic Radicals*. (Random



Conclusion:

I would like to conclude, as I began, with the image of the "chaos wheel." Coincidentally, we see that the eight tenets discussed within this chapter correspond to the eight radial lines of the wheel. This is a coincidence, but since it "works," I have combined the two concepts. Again, my intention is to symbolically demonstrate that these tenets are a means of addressing the human environment from a liberatory perspective. In other words, a logical means of breaking down the concept of anarchy into a series of understandable elements. To tell the truth, the exact tenets or the number of radial protrusions is quite inconsequential, the important point to remember is that the image is "multivariate," "non-linear" and "non-programmatic;" the overall effect must symbolize the dynamic quality of anarchism as an intellectual and theoretical ethos. I believe that this image does so. The impact that such a body of tenets, such a conceptual diagram has had and continues to have on a traditionally "linear" profession like planning remains to be seen. This will be the objective of chapters 3 and 4.

House: New York, 1971), p. 4.

**Part II:
Anarchism and Planning**

Chapter III: Planning Evolution

The strongest force to act upon planning theory, and indeed, on the planning profession since its formal inception, has been Utilitarianism, and more specifically, "Wirthianism."¹ Building on the supposition that heterogeneity is a danger to consensus building, especially among ethnically diverse subcultures, Lewis Wirth (1897 - 1952) supported the need for centralized planning to assure equity and harmony among urban masses: "Without organization supported by consensus, political systems can neither absorb demands nor fulfill basic human needs." This is a powerful statement, one based on the belief that fairness, equity, equality and harmony can only be assured by a non-biased, planning authority that makes decisions according to the perceived needs of majority opinion: "In order to enable the 'community-as-a-whole' to act as a unit . . . there must be increased reliance upon rational-comprehensive urban planning."² Localism is taboo in the Wirthian ethos; objective science, on the other hand, the salvation of "civilized" man.

Although Wirth's ideas cast a long shadow across the social planning realm, in theory and in practice his ideas, and the ideas of other urban sociologists, were far from the "end all or be all" of urban analysis. In fact, if we look beyond the Wirthian facade, (and this is not difficult to do), we encounter another school of thought; one which rejects out of hand the most deep-seeded "Wirthian" suppositions.

¹Michael P. Smith. *The City and Social Theory*. (St. Martin's Press: New York, 1979), p. 5. Louis Wirth was an urban sociologist as well as a colleague of Robert Park and Ernest Burgess. All three taught at the University of Chicago in the first of half of this century - together, their ideas constitute what is known as the "Chicago School" of urban sociology.

²*Ibid.*, p. 27.

This school is personified by a number of civic scholars, among them Patrick Geddes and Lewis Mumford. These men developed a planning philosophy which transcended the profession's purely mechanistic limitations, and which rejected an exclusively paternalistic, or for that matter, utilitarian approach to human organization. Indeed, it was their conviction that people are capable of coexisting in a highly natural, albeit organized environment; consequently, we understand their support for what Lewis Mumford called "organic planning."

This is even more evident when one realizes that such a philosophy correlates with other theories of social interaction; in particular, many of the basic concepts that have accumulated under the rubric of radical socialism, utopianism and anarchism. I mean, of course, those concepts that are best served when the social and organizational criteria set by anarchism are met; these being the conditions (community, individuality, anti-authority, participation, mutual aid, decentralization, self-reliance and spontaneous order) set out in the preceding chapter.

Before I digress, however, I must address the subject at hand; that is, the evolution of planning from an anarchistic perspective. I believe that the following examination will help to illustrate this argument.

I

It is my intent to begin this exploration by "following in the footsteps" of Lewis Mumford; that is to say, I will utilize his interpretation of planning evolution as a guiding framework.

I will undertake a brief analysis of the planning styles identified by Mumford in *The Encyclopedia of Planning*, and proceed with some interpretations that I feel can be made based upon these observations, particularly as to where planning has evolved, both formally and informally, and how greatly its two predominant streams - the organic and the authoritarian, based in a "dual heritage" of theory and practice - have diverged. Afterward, I will begin to

focus my examination on the "organic" stream. It is here that I hope to expose "organic planning's" underlying philosophy, its adherents, and finally, to demonstrate that the stream - comprised of the romantic, utopian and organic styles - shares a strong affinity with anarchist principle. It is my fervent hope that this exercise will build a foundation on which a broader analysis of planning, and indeed, its association with anarchist philosophy can rest.

Many would agree that only a man like Lewis Mumford, with a unique talent for stepping back and viewing human activity as a continuous whole, could produce a typological breakdown of planning evolution that successfully captured its historical essence.

For Mumford, there are two traditional, conflicting planning forms. On the one hand, there is ". . . the abstract, geometric type, predetermined by public authority and capable of execution within a limited time . . .," and on the other, the organic type ". . . representing a purposeful organization of functions and spatial structures over a considerable portion of time and requiring prolonged cooperation of institutions and groups."³ It is the latter which is the concern of this study, for as Mumford explains, organic planning has never been accepted, or even acknowledged by established theorists. For a man devoted to broad-minded interpretation, this rejection represented a lesson in complicity; one that demonstrated that many "planners" misunderstood the complex social nature of the city and were unwilling to consider the possibility of alternative planning method.⁴

From the two planning forms, Mumford identifies six distinct styles or eras; these are the "authoritarian," the "utilitarian," the "romantic," the "utopian," the "technocratic," and the "organic" styles. I wish to summarize each in order to demonstrate their influence on modern

³Arnold Whittick (editor-in-chief). *Encyclopedia of Urban Planning*. (McGraw-Hill, Incorporated: 1974), p. 985.

⁴*Ibid.*

planning, and to understand, at a later point, the competing perceptions they represent. (And I do mean competing, for as we will see, the different styles are in a struggle for theoretical and practical dominance - if you will, a dialectic of theory and practice).

MUMFORD'S PLANNING TYPOLOGY		YEAR			
		1600	1700	1800	1900
PATTERN	AUTHORITARIAN	[Solid black bar]			
	UTILITARIAN		[Solid black bar]		
	ROMANTIC			[Solid black bar]	
	UTOPIAN			[Solid black bar]	
	TECHNOCRATIC				[Solid black bar]
	ORGANIC				[Solid black bar]

(Figure 8) Mumford's Planning Typology

Mumford calls the first style "authoritarian." This is a logical label given the style's origin in an "age of absolutism" characterized by centralized governmental systems devoted to monarchy and church. Indeed, the 17th and 18th centuries were a time of gestation, both for the evolving "nation-state" and centralized authority. The style, as such, represents the extreme personification of "geometric" planning. Its ultimate purpose was the aggrandizement of the

ruler and his capacity to rule. The result - where once there was an independent medieval city, spontaneous, random, yet with great natural order; a new, "baroque" city - subservient to rationalism; to mathematics; to proportion, the angle and to the line was transposed. Dependence on geometry and artificiality of form, however, bred a fundamental flaw. As Mumford explains "the fault of the authoritarian plan lay not necessarily in its geometry, but in the false assumption of centralized power which ignored the important 'village' functions of neighbourhood, market, and workshop." Indeed, these elements - the neighbourhood, market and workshop - typified the social interdependence of the medieval city, indeed, they *were* the means of social interdependence.⁵

Utilitarian planning evolved from authoritarian planning. It is here that Mumford identifies the most outrageous "debasement" of the natural order of the city - a debasement that was made in the name of efficiency at a time when the lust for industry and wealth reigned supreme. As Mumford explains: "The result of utilitarian planning, even in cities that were once more adequately designed, has been to produce muddled, inefficient urban conglomerations, congested, unsanitary, destitute of public open space, and so lacking in domestic amenities that this condition has brought about an increasing exodus to the suburbs."⁶ It can be imagined how readily the prospects of production and economic wealth fueled the material desires of the industrialist; and of how the philosophy of utilitarianism, taunting the belief in "the greatest good for the greatest number," was used to justify the correctness of production for the sake of the general welfare; especially the concentrated and inadequate housing of labourers needed to propel the wheels of industry.⁷

After years of authoritarian planning and of authoritarian political systems, an intellectual and artistic movement - the romantic, surfaced in regions where authoritarian and utilitarian planning tendencies had become most clearly entrenched (ie. England). According to

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 986.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 989.

⁷*Ibid.*

Mumford: "At the moment utilitarian practice became supreme, a revolt against its underlying philosophy took shape in the romantic movement. Negatively, this revolt rejected a conception of life that made human development subservient to either political absolutism or mechanical invention. Positively, romanticism attempted to restore essential human values excluded from the industrial and bureaucratic complex."⁸ In essence, romanticism fostered a planning perspective that acknowledged the importance of a healthy living environment for all, including air, light, open space, and access to nature. Adherents began to question the legacy of preceding development patterns, of uninhibited industrial expansion, and the crowded, unsanitary condition in which this practice had left the worker. It is in the romantic era (mid-1800's) that we witness reform movements motivated by a desire to improve the living environment of the urban masses and to reintegrate the man-made and natural realms. Such a context, helped to define the work of Patrick Geddes, Ebenezer Howard, and foreshadowed the Garden City and New Town movements.

Utopian planning followed the dictates of romantic planning, and in many ways was much more advanced. Suffice to say, many of the attributes found in the romantic perspective were refined in this form, and carried to an even more radical extreme. Mumford points out that its greatest manifestation can be found in the work of planners like Howard, and in the philosophies of social visionaries, many of whom were anarchists. Peter Kropotkin - his influence on and acquaintanceship with individuals like Howard, Geddes and their supporters is perhaps the most outstanding example. If any proof is necessary, we need simply look to Mumford who notes the profound influence that Kropotkin's book, *Fields, Factories and Workshops*, had on Howard's own urban philosophy; and indeed, many parallels can be drawn between the ideas of the anarchists at this time, and the ideas current in early planning theory and practice.⁹

⁸*Ibid.*

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 991.

According to Mumford, technocratic planning is a manifestation of liberal-capitalism, and as such a reaction to the radical assumptions of the romantic and utopian eras. Characterized by bureaucratization, planning on an inhuman scale, and belief in the supremacy of systemization and mechanization, technocratic planning is suitably characteristic of our age, or at least the predominant perception of our age. According to Mumford, the ideal of technocratic planning is to make ". . . every urban activity a function of the machine."¹⁰

The final categorization in Mumford's typology is the "organic" style. It represents the outcome of the reactionary/revolutionary struggle between the authoritarian and organic streams. At the core of this style we find many of the principles cherished by Mumford, many of the principles he would like to see those sincerely interested in the fate of the city adopt. To Mumford, organic planning is a timeless construct, it has no historical context - that is to say, the philosophy that it supports is motivated by a universal desire that has surfaced and resurfaced countless times throughout history, much the way social movements and radical theories legitimizing social revolution have.

To Mumford, the soul of organic planning emanates ". . . from a better sociological understanding of the nature of the city, as not only a 'work of art' or an 'act of the prince' but as the focal point in the development and expression of a many sided culture whose natural setting and whose *fields, factories, and workshops* (italics my own) make essential contributions to its higher life. Unlike the other modes of planning described, organic plans cannot be reduced to any single type or confined to any single historical moment."¹¹ In this context, "organic" implies spontaneous organization, controlled growth, and ecological balance: "Not only must organic planning seek a structural answer to every function of the city, but it must express as fully as possible both in the surface plan and the design of the buildings, the needs and the ideal purposes of the community conserving past forms that are still

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 993.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 994.

serviceable while preparing to accommodate future needs."¹²

To sum up, Mumford identifies six distinct planning styles which have influenced, for better or worse, the evolution of urban planning since the 16th century. The first is authoritarian, with its basis in geometry and in subservience to a ruling elite. The second is utilitarian, which represented, more or less, an extension of the authoritarian phase couched in the semi-democratic presupposition of utilitarianism - especially in the concept of "elite control of the greater whole." The third is romantic, which translated the growing radicalism of the time into a theory for urbanism based on the reintegration of man and nature. The fourth is utopian, which furthered the movement toward radicalism and specifically toward the philosophies shared by many of the social movements of the mid to late 19th century. The fifth is technocratic, based on the supremacy of mechanization and the panacea of technology. This is questioned by the sixth and final style, organic; in which planning is perceived as more than a function of man, it is an embodiment of his ideals.

This typology can be better understood if one examines the underlying tendencies - the balance of forces - which lie at the base of the two formations. For example, one sees in the authoritarian, utilitarian and technocratic forms a "definitive" stream representing the dominant or conventional perceptions of planning that hold true to this day. On the other hand, we see in the romantic, utopian, organic stream an interpretation that comes from an entirely different philosophical angle. One stream represents social order in the most rigid sense, concentration of resources, and centralization of power. The other, social mobilization, disintegration, reaction to centralization of power and authority, and idealism. The two do not mesh; their relationship is one of struggle - one to dominate, the other to enlighten. The outcome of this

¹²*Ibid.*

struggle has yet to be determined; it remains a vortex of ideas enervated by the struggle between the profession's two extreme representatives - structural and organic planning.

II

In order to better understand the struggle between structural and organic planning, I would like to discuss in greater detail what I believe are the basic philosophies underlying the organic paradigm. Because these philosophies have been shaped by a number of dynamic personalities, I will of necessity refer to individual theorists; these include Patrick Geddes, Ebenezer Howard and Lewis Mumford. But first, a little background on the "organic" paradigm is in order.

The Organic Paradigm:

The only source I have come across which openly draws a connection between anarchism and planning is Clyde Weaver's *Regional Development and the Local Community: Planning, Politics and Social Context*.¹³

¹³This linkage is corroborated by Peter Hall. Hall is particularly sensitive to the visionary tendency amongst early planners and their proclivity toward the development of new urban patterns and in some cases, the transformation of society itself. As he states:

The really striking point is that many, though by no means all of the early visions of the planning movement stemmed from the anarchist movement, which flourished in the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first years of the twentieth. That is true of Howard, of Geddes and of the Regional Planning Association of America, as well as of many derivatives on the mainland of Europe The vision of these anarchist pioneers was not merely of an alternative built form, but of an alternative society, neither capitalistic nor bureaucratic-socialist: a society based on voluntary co-operation among men and women, working and living in small self-governing commonwealths." Peter Hall. *Cities of Tomorrow: An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design in the Twentieth Century*. (Basic Blackwell, Limited: Oxford, England, 1988), p. 3.

Interestingly, Weaver traces the evolution of regional planning to its foundation in the socialist/utopian ideas of Charles Fourier and Robert Owen. In fact, Weaver considers these two men the "innovators," as well as the "precursors" of regional planning, primarily because they were concerned with the derogatory effects of urban industrialization and how these effects might be negated by new organizational theories as practiced in intentional communities. In other words, they "both espoused the idea of starting over again, to escape the prevailing modes of life in the sordid industrial cities."¹⁴

More important than Weaver's historical summation of regional planning, however, are his comments on "standard" planning history. The following passage clarifies this point:

All planning histories pay homage to Ebenezer Howard, and most tend to mention the utopian socialists, but, perhaps not surprisingly, the direct links between 'planning' and 'anarchism' have gone unexplored. This is particularly unfortunate, because anarchist concepts of 'decentralization of the social economy and regional federalism' prove to have been among the most important influences on early regional planning thought. The connections are clear and easily documented.¹⁵

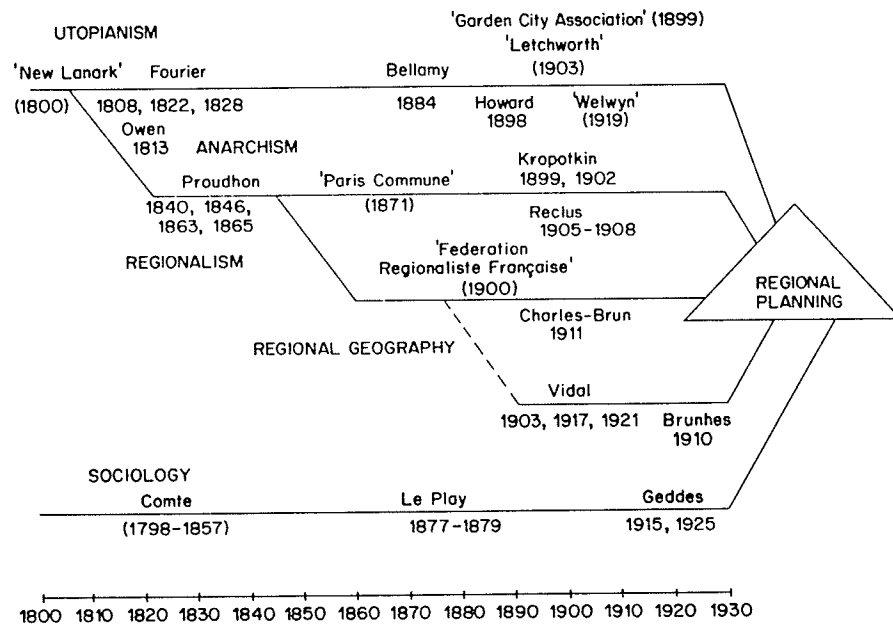
This suggests that the association between anarchism and planning (especially during the formative years) is not unfounded nor coincidental. It is only because there are so few studies on the relationship and the connection is so little known or discussed.

¹⁴Clyde Weaver. *Regional Development and the Local Community: Planning, Politics, and Social Context*. (John Wiley and Sons: Chichester, England, 1984), p. 33. The physical legacy of their ideas spans a century-and-a-half and can still be found in the many intentional communities and libertarian organizations that dot North America. See for example, the **Institute For Liberty and Community** (Concord, Vermont, 05824), the **Federation of Egalitarian Communities** (Box FB4, Tecumseh, MO, 65760), and the **League for Ecological Democracy** (P. O. Box 1858, San Pedro, CA, 90733).

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 40.

Weaver's Tree:

What I have found particularly useful in understanding the relationship between modern anarchism and early planning is the following diagram, or "tree," constructed by Weaver. Through this "tree" Weaver traces the intellectual foundations of planning, and more specifically, regional planning. I would like to discuss the tree in greater detail as it is both informative and significant.



(Figure 9) Weaver's Tree¹⁶

Weaver places the origin of regional planning in the utopianistic, visionary ideas of two 19th century socialists: Charles Fourier and Robert Owen.¹⁷ Of special significance are the

¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 32.

experimental communities which these two men envisioned, and in some cases brought to fruition - Owen's New Lanark is a case in point.¹⁸

Also important, I might add, is a conspicuous division which occurs in the utopianistic stream in the first quarter of the 19th century; that is, between the traditional anarchists, personified by Joseph Proudhon (the first professed anarchist), Peter Kropotkin and Elisee Reclus, and the stream personified by Edward Bellamy, and more recently, Ebenezer Howard. Although each tradition comes from a similar theoretical source (socialism), the difference between the two should be noted. Anarchism, as prescribed by both Kropotkin and Reclus is a highly social doctrine, concerned with fundamental issues like freedom and equality. In this regard, it is far more critical of political and economic questions than is, for instance, the tradition personified by Howard, who, we are told, sought to maintain an apolitical orientation by limiting his concern to the physical manifestation of inequity. (The reason is unspecified). As Weaver explains:

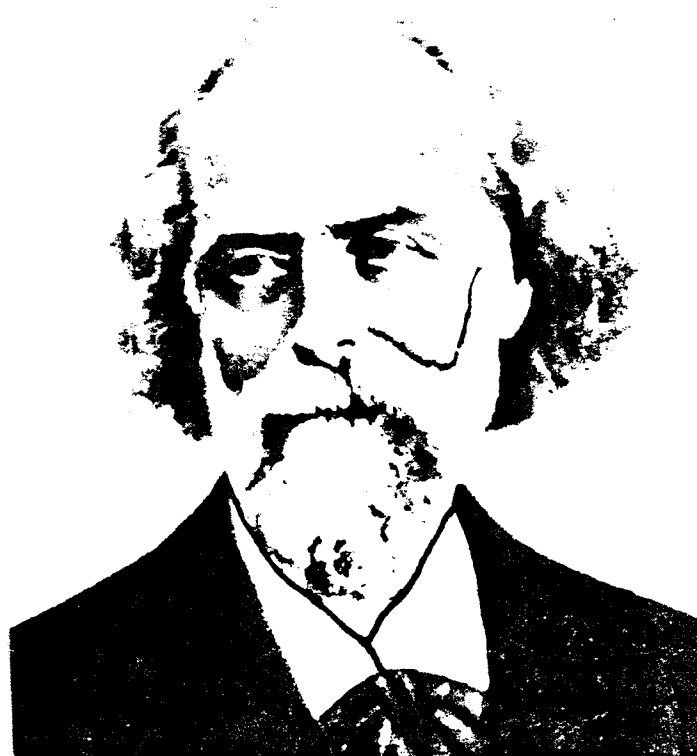
The link between Howard's work and the ideas of the utopian and anarchists is unclear. As yet no one has attempted to fully analyze his relationship with planning contemporary Patrick Geddes.¹⁹ Howard himself attributed his inspiration to Edward

¹⁷It should be understood that Owen's utopian interests did not stem exclusively from a philanthropic spirit, but rather, from a determination to combine the interests of both labor and capital in order to keep "workers happy and content, and increase productivity." It was his belief that "workers and capitalists alike would benefit" from such an arrangement. John Friedmann. *Planning in the Public Domain: From Knowledge to Action*. (Princeton University Press: Princeton, New Jersey, 1987), p. 230.

¹⁸Fourier and Owen are considered founders of the modern utopian tradition; a tradition that was to find an energetic following throughout Europe and especially the United States in the early to mid 1800's, and could still be said to influence modern experiments in communalism. As John Friedmann explains: "It was their visionary imagination that gave rise to the building of 'intentional communities,' which followed blueprints for perfection. The communitarian movement they inspired flourished especially in America - a country which, it might be argued, was part utopian phantasy itself - in the three decades between 1830 and 1860." (*Ibid.*, p. 229).

¹⁹The two men first met at a meeting of the English Sociological Society in the summer of 1904 when Howard "led a discussion of a paper by Geddes entitled 'Civics.'" Each found a common

Bellamy's utopian vision of Boston in *Looking Backwards* (1884), which Howard read during his sojourn in the United States. In turn, like Fourier, Proudhon, and Geddes, Bellamy had been heavily influenced by Auguste Comte. However, while in his own work, *Garden Cities of Tomorrow*, (1898, 1902) Howard mentions both Owen and Fourier and cites anarchists Kropotkin and Leo Tolstoy, he never explicitly develops any of their ideas and labouriously denies any 'socialist intentions.'²⁰



(Figure 10) Elisee Reclus²¹

philosophical perspective in the ideas of the other and before long they were corresponding regularly. The acquaintanceship lasted nearly 10 years. Robert Beevers. *The Garden City Utopia: A Critical Biography of Ebenezer Howard*. (St. Martin's Press, New York, N. Y., 1988), p. 98.

²⁰Weaver, pp. 34 - 35. Howard considered himself a "radical liberal" rather than a socialist. He did not understand the reasoning behind the socialist's insistence on appropriation of production, nor the socialist's insistence that society was disharmonious because it was divided into economic classes. (*Ibid.*, p. 136).

²¹George Woodcock and Ivan Avakumovic. *Peter Kropotkin: From Prince to Rebel*. (Black Rose Books: Montreal, 1990), p. 208.

Weaver is also critical of the "social" content of Howard's legacy - the Garden City. For Weaver, the concept overlooked some of the fundamental political, economic and organizational problems addressed by earlier social theorists, particularly the anarchists. As Weaver states: ". . . except on the question of land rents, a studied effort was made to avoid 'any' tampering with basic economic relations."²² According to Weaver, the Garden City was first and foremost a "pleasant physical environment."

Criticism aside, a personality of special significance to this argument is the anarchist geographer Elisee Reclus (1830 - 1905). It believe that Reclus is the fundamental link between the philosophies of planning and the philosophies of anarchy at the turn of the century. There is considerable evidence pointing to this conclusion. First of all, Weaver notes that Reclus was a close associate of both Peter Kropotkin and Patrick Geddes.²³ These associations were of a personal and professional nature. (The camaraderie of fellow scientists in what was after all the great age of science, should not be underestimated). Secondly, as a Fourierist and later a Proudhonist, Reclus was thoroughly dedicated to propagation of the principles of socialism as expounded by many of his associates. Finally, Reclus was a colleague of Geddes. Reclus' radical associations (including those with Bakunin, Kropotkin and Geddes) are summarized in the following passage:

Elisee Reclus met the renegade Proudhonist Michael Bakunin in the socialist circles of Paris during the 1860's. At the time Reclus was a 'Phalansterian,' following the ideas of Charles Fourier. The immediate impact of Bakunin's anarchism on Reclus is not clear, but after Reclus' aborted participation in the Paris Commune of 1871 he became known widely as an anarchist propagandist. Living in Switzerland in the late 1870's he was a contributor to Peter Kropotkin's radical journal, *Le Revolte*. In his later years Reclus became a sometimes colleague of Patrick Geddes, visiting him in Edinburgh [like Kropotkin], teaching a geography course with him during the Edinburgh Summer meeting of 1895, and falling back on Geddes' aid in attempts to find funding for the Paris world's fair of 1898. Geddes is known to have

²²Beevers, p. 38.

²³*Ibid.*, p. 34.

recommended Reclus' work warmly to the attention of his own disciple Lewis Mumford.²⁴

The associations are clear and incontestable. What importance this played in the evolution of subsequent planning theory is, of course, debatable. But, it is difficult to believe that in a period of such ideological ferment, ideas did not jump back and forth between the early planners and their anarchist counterparts, especially through the medium of Reclus.²⁵

There is one other significant ideological branch that occurs in the anarchist stream at this time. According to Weaver, this was caused by the divergence of the *Federation Regionalist Francaise* (FRF), and more importantly, the ideas of Charles Brun (founder of the FRF) and Paul Vidal de la Blache (1845 - 1918) around 1900, from those of the more politicized stream represented by the Russian emigres and the French Socialists. The ideas of Brun and Vidal ultimately emerged as the study of Regionalism and Regional Geography.²⁶

²⁴Lewis Mumford. *The City in History: Its Origin, Its Transformation and Its Prospects*. (Harcourt Brace Jovanovich: New York, 1961), p. 43.

²⁵Interestingly, Kenneth Rexroth credits Kropotkin and Reclus with the foundation of the science of ecology. This is due, for the most part, to their emphasis on "man as a member of an organic community, a biota, in creative, non-exploitative relationship with his fellows and his environment." Kenneth Rexroth. *Communalism: From Its Origins to the Twentieth Century*. (The Seabury Press: New York, 1974), p. XIII.

²⁶Weaver summarizes the tree as follows:

The precursors of regional planning worked and wrote over a period of approximately one hundred years, from the early part of the nineteenth century to the first decades of the twentieth century. Nearly all of them found conditions of life in burgeoning industrial cities deplorable, and most proposed schemes by which they might be ameliorated Fourier, Owen, and Howard set out proposals for escaping the dehumanizing environment of the cities through the founding of new industrial communities. Proudhon, Reclus, and Kropotkin argued for dismantling the capitalist economy altogether and doing away with the authoritarian central State. They proposed instead a self-managing social economy with decision-making power devolved to the local and regional levels. French regional activists and geographers carried on the Proudhonist tradition, shorn of its radical political content, making the region a primary focus for cooperation, education, and academic research. The regional sociology of

While Weaver's tree clearly traces the association of these diverse fields to their terminus in what is now called regional planning, it is also important to recognize the underlying theme of this association; why do they converge in regional planning, what has brought these philosophical arrangements together? It would appear, from Weaver's conclusions, that there are a number of crucial, underlying themes leading to the evolution of regional planning as we know it today. Briefly, they are:

- 1) a rejection of the industrial city; the crowded, unsanitary, impoverished condition of which we can assume Kropotkin, Geddes and Howard were only too aware;
- 2) a desire for economic and political decentralization; and
- 3) a desire to revitalize the rural environment and to restore some of the dynamic qualities siphoned off by urban concentration.²⁷

How did the regionalists propose to address these themes. As Weaver explains, they had three objectives, 1) "mixing rural and urban occupations;" 2) "combining manual and intellectual labour;" and 3) reintegrating industry and the natural environment. In effect, they wanted to reintegrate the rural and urban environment by first re-establishing those traditional, "benign" relationships (i. e. local production, craftsmanship, and agrarianism) so characteristic

Le Play and Geddes aimed at improving the life of the industrial working class through obtaining detailed knowledge of conditions in different urban regions and using this information as the basis for fundamental self-improvement. (Weaver, p. 51).

²⁷It is Weaver's belief that regional planning was, above all, a response to urbanization. In fact, he is convinced that urbanization was the overriding concern of regional planners - to "stop the flood of 'metropolitanization' and begin a reconstruction of regional life" was tantamount. For the regionalist, the only means of "stoppage" was to draw on the ideas of radical social philosophies, particularly anarchism. Not surprisingly, the essential precepts of this philosophy were: 1) decentralization of industry; 2) creation of "self-sufficient regional communities" through the use of appropriate technology; and 3) the creation of a new, less exploitative "balance between town and country." (*Ibid.*, p. 2).

of the rural past.²⁸ Not surprisingly, these themes and the proposed solutions were part and parcel of the critical solutions proposed by both the radical socialists and the planning "reformers." This is not a coincidence. Both derived from the same theoretical and philosophical background and both necessarily sought solutions in the same methods.

III

Social Mobilization:

A certain amount of parity can be discerned between Weaver's observations on the interrelatedness of planning and anarchism, and the viewpoints presented by John Friedmann, particularly in *Planning in the Public Domain*. Like Weaver, Friedmann finds common ground for both planning and anarchism in the sociological and political philosophies of the early 19th century, particularly those of Henri de Saint-Simon (1760 - 1825) (See *Nouveau Christianism* [1825]) and Auguste Comte (1798 - 1857) (See *Positive Philosophy*, Vol. I - VI, 1830 - 1842). It is here, Friedmann tells us, that the concept of "science working in the service of humanity first took shape."²⁹ Friedmann also points out the eclectic nature of planning theory and the wide divergence of interests it draws upon. (For an overview of the various interpretations of planning evolution see Appendix 4).

According to Friedmann, planning is ". . . bounded by political philosophy; epistemology; macro-sociology; neo-classical and institutional economics; public administration; organization development; political sociology; and anarchist, Marxist and utopian literature."³⁰ Out of this mixed bag of knowledge emerged what Friedmann calls "the planning tradition of social

²⁸*Ibid.*, p. 51.

²⁹Friedmann/*Planning in the Public Domain*, p. 21.

³⁰*Ibid.*, p. 40.

mobilization" encompassing "the three great oppositional movements of utopianism, social anarchism, and historical materialism"31

Like Weaver, Friedmann places the origin of "Social Mobilization" in Europe around the beginning of the 19th century. According to Friedmann, social mobilization was a response to the derogatory effects of the industrial revolution: "Its perspective was that of the victim, the underclass of society; its starting point was a critique of industrialism; and its purpose was the political practice of human liberation."³²

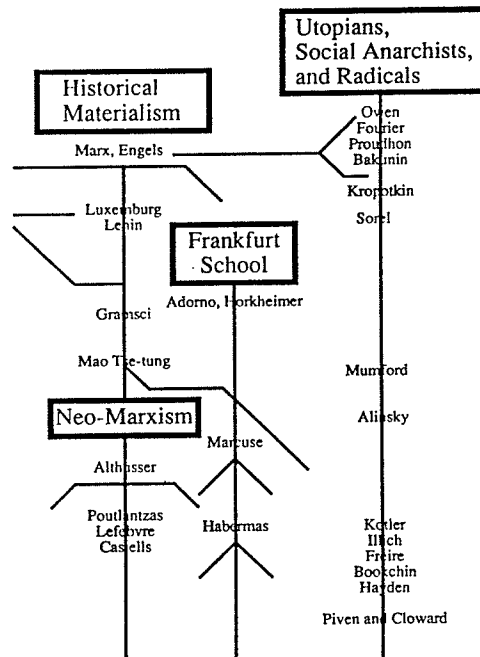
From social mobilization are drawn Socialism's basic criticism of industrial society. The first is the utopianist's formulation of secular and religious communities based on equality and autonomy,³³ a "money-free" economy, the importance "of a balance between industrial and agricultural pursuits," and the importance of freedom of expression. The second is Social Anarchism's development of reciprocal exchange, federalism of community and work, regionalism, and most profoundly, rejection of the oppressive trappings of the state in favor of voluntary association, spontaneous order, mutualism, and cooperation. The third is Historical Materialism with recognition of class disparity and struggle, the connection between economic power and political power, the idea of historical determination, and the ". . . importance of class consciousness in the revolutionary practice of the masses"34

³¹*Ibid.*, p. 225.

³²*Ibid.*

³³There is a long tradition linking utopianism to the city. For example, novels and treatises describing utopian societies or imaginary systems of government are not uncommon. Most tend to place their ideal systems of visionary societies in a urban or semi-urban setting. If social anarchism is at all utopian, then perhaps it shares a strong link with urbanism, and thus is integral to planning itself, or at least its visionary aspect. Some examples would include Thomas More's *Utopia*, Tommaso Campanella's *City of the Sun*, Francis Bacon's *New Atlantis*, Plato's *Republic*, not to mention the dystopias of Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World* and George Orwell's *1984*.

³⁴Friedmann/*Planning in the Public Domain*, pp. 227 - 228.



(Figure 11) Radical Intellectual Influences on American Planning Theory³⁵

Friedmann outlines the impact of the three traditions on planning. As he explains: "Utopianism has been particularly influential in the field of city planning, where there exists a long tradition of ideal cities and social utopias." Likewise, Social Anarchism is credited with the more libertarian developments of both city and regional planning. Friedmann, like Weaver, is acutely aware of the influence that Kropotkin's *Fields, Factories, and Workshops of Tomorrow* had on both the garden city movement and the general movement toward "metropolitan deconcentration." Social anarchism would also appear to have influenced the . . . tradition within regional planning that looks upon regions as physico-cultural entities (a la

³⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 56 - 57.

Proudhon and Reclus)."

Unlike the first two traditions, however, Historical Materialism has had a less favorable impact on planning. Its main flaw appears to be its influence on the physical manifestation of planning, particularly in the form of planned economies and "unwieldy bureaucratic apparatus."³⁶

While Friedmann favors the transformation of planning toward a more "libertarian" format, (particularly through small group interaction), he does not overlook the difficulties that plague such a transformation.³⁷

Friedmann notes with some trepidation that the "real difficulties with the anarchist model of organization" are:

- 1) other than the syndicalist movements of the past, anarchism has been very ineffective in transforming the work place, "critical questions of industrial and economic state policy thus remain outside its scope" and
- 2) the inherent weakness of anarchist networks to "build up the oppositional movement from local neighborhood to nation" in the face of "the state and capital."³⁸

I would like to continue with a more detailed analysis of the ideas and roles played by what I consider the principle planning actors at the philosophical root of planning and anarchism. In this way I hope to demonstrate the role these individuals played as synthesizers of both the anarchist and early planning ethos. I will concentrate on three individuals in particular - Ebenezer Howard, Patrick Geddes, and Lewis Mumford.

³⁶*Ibid.*, p. 299.

³⁷As Friedmann states: "What needs to be stressed in the present context is the importance of linking these groups to each other in informal networks and political coalitions At issue is the creation of an alternative social order, which necessarily involves a restructuring of basic relations of power. This requires political action and a concerting of wills across a wide spectrum of alternative actions." *Ibid.*, p. 400.

³⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 281 - 282.

IV

Ebenezer Howard (1850 - 1928):

Aware of the shortcomings of industrial society, and especially of its debilitating effects on cities and their inhabitants, Ebenezer Howard felt that a solution could be found (as did the regionalists and anarchists) in the reintegration of the urban and rural environment, and in the decentralization of industry. Much of this, Mumford informs us, was derived from the ideas of Kropotkin, including the role of technology in modern society and its potential to "de-massify" industrial society through deconcentration.³⁹ This belief can be traced to the advances then being made in the wide spread use of electricity, communication and agriculture; advances which Kropotkin felt were conducive to forming the foundation of a de-urbanized society. The argument runs something like this - because industry is no longer dependent on

³⁹It was Howard's belief that Kropotkin, as well as other utopian visionaries like Thomas More, William Morris, and John Ruskin ". . . failed only 'as by a hair's breath' themselves to give expression to the Garden City idea." (Beevers, p. 17).

This is not to say that Howard was therefore a utopian socialist, or even an anarchist for that matter. However, he was sympathetic to many socialist aspirations, even to the point of declaring that communism was an excellent principle and that "all of us are Communist in some degree, even those who would shudder at being told so." Ebenezer Howard. *Garden Cities of To-Morrow*. Edited by F. J. Osborne. (Faber and Faber Limited: London, 1902), p. 113.

On the other hand, he was also a confirmed "individualist." It was his conviction that only through "isolated" effort that "new combinations" can be worked out and that society is able to develop and advance in any meaningful way. Howard felt that the two optimal conditions of human society, individualism and communism could be reconciled, and what is more, combined to allow the most equitable and efficient arrangement of human and material resources. In this way, "society will prove the most healthy and vigorous where the freest and fullest opportunities are afforded alike for individual and for combined effort." (*Ibid*, p. 114).

Interestingly, this is also the viewpoint held by many anarchists, particularly those who believed in the doctrine of "mutualism" as expounded by Proudhon, and to a lesser extent, the individualism of Josiah Warren.

proximity for effective resource extraction and concentration of labor for effective production, there is no need to prolong the derogatory symptoms of centralized industry. Indeed, it was Kropotkin's belief that efficiency would actually increase when the nodes of production were decentralized, thereby allowing the growth of small scale, cost-effective services. As Mumford argues:

Industry . . . was no longer tied to the coal mine, even when coal remained a source of power; nor was economy to be equated with big units of production. Kropotkin foresaw what many big corporations were to discover only during the Second World War; namely, that even when the total assemblage was a big one, the farming out of special industrial operations in 'bits and pieces' actually often made the reputed economies of concentrated large scale organization, the industrial tendency that justified other forms of metropolitan bigness, dubious. The finer the technology, the greater the need for the human initiative and skill conserved in the small workshop. Effective transportation and fine organization were often superior to mere physical massing . . .
40

The outcome of this perception, and as it turned out, the solution offered by Howard in *Garden Cities of To-morrow* (1898), was the Garden City.⁴¹ Through this spatial construct, Howard envisioned a new city form which would resurrect the notion of "community" as well as improve the living environment through the reintegration of town and country. In effect, the

⁴⁰Mumford/*The City in History*, p. 514.

⁴¹Such an integration is cause for concern even today. According to Murray Bookchin, urbanization is a dilemma which threatens to negate both the value of city life based in civic relationships "with its human propinquity, distinctive neighborhoods and humanly scaled politics," and "country life with its closeness to nature, its high sense of mutual aid, and its strong family relationships . . ." What will be left is a smothering "anonymity, homogenization, and institutional gigantism." As Bookchin explains, "I cannot emphasize too strongly that even if we think in the old terms of city versus country and the unique political contrasts, such a time-honored imagery . . . has largely become obsolete. Urbanization threatens to replace both contestants in this seemingly historic antagonism. It threatens to absorb them into a faceless urban world in which the words "city and country" will essentially become social, cultural and political archaisms." Murray Bookchin. *The Rise of Urbanization and the Decline of Citizenship*. (Sierra Club Books, San Francisco, 1987).

Garden City would act as a fulcrum point on which the depleted biological traits and living conditions of the city would be balanced with the equally depleted "economic and social facilities" of the countryside. The unifying element (catalyst), interestingly enough, was to be technology, and more broadly speaking - science.⁴²



(Figure 12) Ebenezer Howard⁴³

As Mumford explains, Howard ". . . believed that the time had come to establish a new pattern of city development: one that would use modern technical facilities to break down the

⁴²For Howard, decentralization meant "total" decentralization, not only of residence, but of human organization as well. His vision rejected the physical notion of mere suburban deconcentration in favor of a more comprehensive and radical, decentralist approach. (Mumford. *The City in History*, p. 515).

⁴³Beavers, p. 15.

widening gap between the countryside, with its depleted economic and social facilities, and the city, with its equally depleted biological and natural advantages: he proposed to overcome both the prevalent apoplexy at the urban center, and the paralysis at the extremities, by promoting a new pattern of city growth."⁴⁴

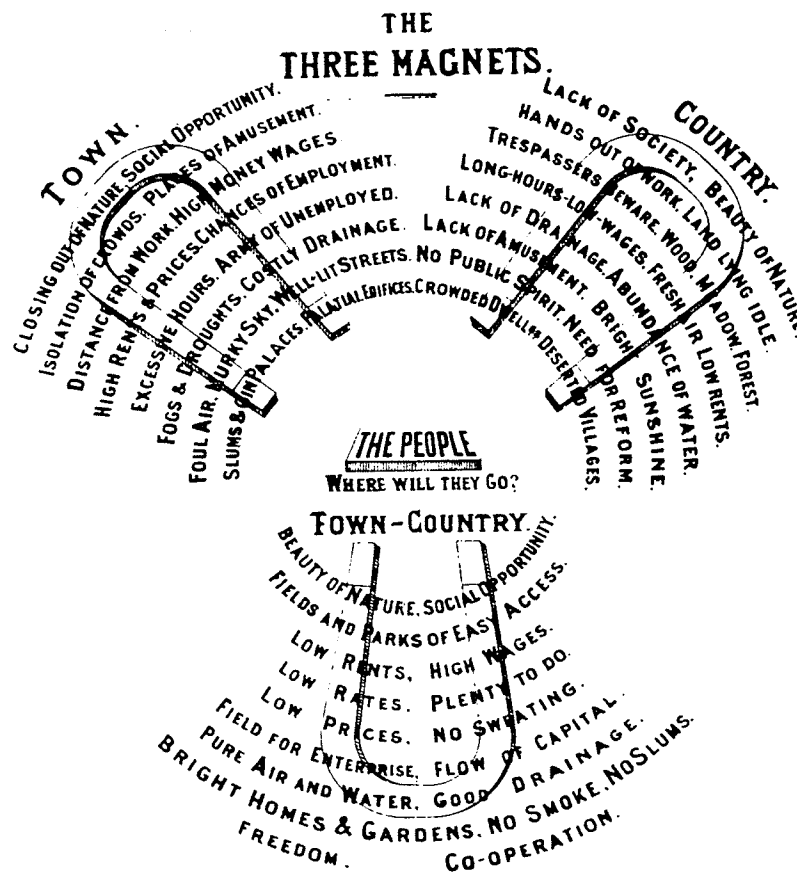
The Garden City concept sought to increase the opportunity for social interaction as well as housing and employment. It was Howard's hope that the new pattern would not only reduce the density of the modern urban metropolis, but would reduce the proximity of the working and living environments, indeed, that it would combine them. It was implied that the reintroduction of nature into the urban milieu would humanize the city and reduce ". . . the social and psychological cost of city living."⁴⁵ The purpose was to provide an organic alternative "to the overgrowth, congestion and suburban sprawl of cities by creating new

⁴⁴*Ibid.* The analogy which Howard used was that of the three "magnets." The first represented the attraction of the country, the second the attraction of the town and the third, the attraction of a Garden City. In and of themselves, the town and country magnets offered certain advantages as well as certain disadvantages. Only the Garden City offered the advantages of both, with few, if any of their disadvantages. As Howard explains:

There are in reality not only, as is so constantly assumed, two alternatives - town life and country life - but a third alternative, in which all the advantages of the most energetic and active town life, with all the beauty and delight of the country, may be secured in perfect combination; and the certainty of being able to live this life will be the magnet which will produce the effort for which we are all striving - the spontaneous movement of the people from our crowded cities to the bosom of our kindly mother earth, at once the source of life, of happiness, of wealth, and of power. The town and the country may, therefore, be regarded as two magnets, each striving to draw the people to itself - a rivalry which a new form of life, partaking of the nature of both comes to take part in. This may be illustrated by a diagram of The Three Magnets, in which the chief advantages of the Town and of the Country, are set forth with their corresponding drawbacks, while the advantages of the Town-Country are seen to be free from the disadvantages of either. (Howard, pp. 45 - 47).

⁴⁵Royce Hanson (Background Paper). *New Towns: Laboratories For Democracy*. Report of the Twentieth Century Fund Task Force on Governance of New Towns. (The Twentieth Century Fund: New York, 1971), p. 4.

moderate size towns in which people can have good homes in healthy, and pleasant surroundings near their places of work with urban services and cultural facilities and access to the open countryside." Guidance was to be maintained by a "quasi-public agency" responsible



(Figure 13) The Three Magnets⁴⁶

for developing the city intelligently through regulation of land use, controlled growth and the creation and maintenance of public green space.⁴⁷

⁴⁶Beevers, p. 60.

⁴⁷Whittick, p. 731. As Gerald Hodge explains: "... the Garden City concept aimed at affecting the physical form of communities in two ways: first it would disperse the population and industry of a

It should be pointed out that the garden city concept did not "develop out of thin air." Indeed, it was inspired by a number of contemporary social philosophies. For example, the social critique of industrial society offered by anarcho-communism, as well as the more visionary musings of utopians like Sir Thomas More (1477 - 1535). There is also something to be said for the communal experiments of Charles Fourier (1772 - 1837) and Robert Owen (1771 - 1858) as well as the writings of Mill (i. e. *Political Economy*), John Ruskin (1819 - 1900) and Edward Bellamy. Direct influences are derived from the population theories of Edward Gibbons Wakefield and Alfred Marshall (1842 - 1924), the land-ownership proposals of Thomas Spence,⁴⁸ Herbert Spencer (1820 - 1903), and the rural town concept propounded by James Silk Buckingham (1786 - 1855).⁴⁹

Contemporary influences (indeed, many collaborators) are found among a number of Howard's colleagues, including Raymond Unwin (1863 - 1940) - designer of the Letchworth Garden City, and Thomas Adams (1871 - 1940) a planner who actively supported the Garden City movement, the concept of "associated individualism" or "self-help on a natural basis," and who advocated the political involvement of planners in municipal affairs.⁵⁰

Sympathetic to the movement were Frederick L. Ackerman (1879 - 1950), Ernest May (1886 - 1970),⁵¹ and Albert Mayer. In fact, Albert Mayer developed the idea of "community

large city into smaller concentrations, and second, it would create more amenable community living environments in the new setting than those of the city." Gerald Hodge. *Planning Canadian Communities: An Introduction to the Principles, Practice and Participants*. (Methuen: Toronto, 1986), p. 56.

⁴⁸According to Beevers, by adopting such a land reform system, Howard had effectively woven ". . . a thread into a strand of ideas which, had he tried to trace it, would have led him back to the Levellers and to Gerrard Winstanley." (*Ibid.*, pp. 22 - 23).

⁴⁹Howard, p. 119.

⁵⁰Adams felt that planners should organize ". . . community groups to support reforms, give numerous public speeches and actively lobby politicians for necessary change." In effect, act as community advocates. (Whittick, p. 689).

⁵¹*Ibid.* Simpson refers to Adams as a "late Victorian liberal, or disciple of J. S. Mill's mildly

development" and echoed the decentralist tendencies of the Garden City advocates with slogans like "decentralization of excellence." Finally, New Towners like Frederic James Osborne (England) and Clarence S. Stein (U. S. A.) supported the movement in principle.

Despite the pivotal work of these individuals, the Garden City and New Town Movements were slow in gaining acceptance; in fact, they only gained official acceptance in the 1940's when the British Parliament passed the *New Towns Act*.⁵² Wide spread acceptance in the United States came in the early 1960's after recognition in Title IV of the *Federal Housing Act*, and later, in Title VII of the *Housing and Urban Development Act* (1970).⁵³ Thus, the earliest proto-types of the Garden City and New Town Movements - Letchworth (1903), Welwyn (1919), Radburn, and a handful of others sprinkled throughout Europe, North America, and Australia - are still the most relevant examples.⁵⁴

Patrick Geddes (1854 - 1932):

Recognizing the importance of Patrick Geddes and his ideas is crucial to understanding the linkage between anarchism and planning: perhaps even more so than understanding the role played by Ebenezer Howard. In Geddes we find the philosophical integration of a number of

regulatory utilitarianism." Consequently, he "had a somewhat naive faith in the disinterestedness and omniscience of the professional planner and the total applicability of scientific method to planning." Michael Simpson. *Thomas Adams and the Modern Planning Movement: Britain, Canada and the United States, 1900 - 1940*. (Mansell Publishing Limited: London, England, 1985), p. 193.

⁵²Hanson/*New Towns*, p. 30.

⁵³*Ibid.*, p. 32.

⁵⁴(Whittick, p. 731). It should be pointed out that although the ideas of Howard were, no doubt, meant to promote egalitarian social reform, the implementation of New Town and Garden city planning has been far more autocratic than its founder would have envisioned; that is, small groups of professionals increasingly monopolized the design and maintenance aspects of later projects. As Royce Hanson maintains in *New Towns: Laboratories for Democracy*: "Even the state and local jurisdictions embracing the new towns have participated very little in design beyond exercising their legal powers to approve proposals by developers." [Hanson/*New Towns*, p. 54].

different bodies of knowledge and a voice for their implementation at the planning level.

A biologist by profession, Geddes understood the study of natural order as tantamount to understanding the social and physical function of the city. This is apparent in how he relates city inhabitants to their place of residence and to their place of work, what the French professor of metallurgy - Frederic Le Play - called "place, work and folk."⁵⁵

Geddes' biological background placed him in a unique position from which to understand ". . . the immense biological and social complexity of the city as it developed both in space and time."

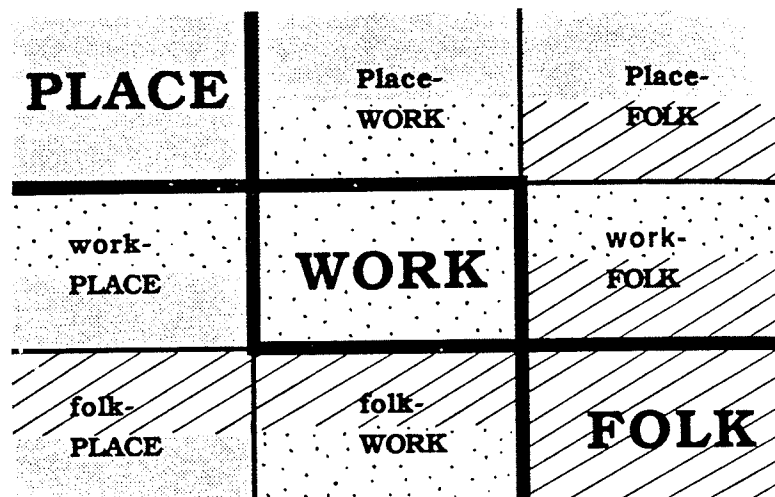
The result was a peculiarly "organistic" approach to planning, which was critical of both



(Figure 14) Patrick Geddes⁵⁶

⁵⁵Kent Gerecke. "Patrick Geddes: A Message For Today!" (*City Magazine*, Volume 10, Number 3, Winter, 1988), p. 27. Le Play ". . . applied the methods of scientific field research to society itself, and was one of the most prolific gatherers of facts in the early development of sociology . . . he was one of the first people to emphasize the gap between technical and moral progress." (Paddy Kitchen. *A Most Unsettling Person: The Life and Ideas of Patrick Geddes, Founding Father of City Planning and Environmentalism*. (E. P. Dutton and Company, Incorporated: London, 1975), p. 57.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*



(Figure 15) Place, Work, Folk⁵⁷

the "authoritarian formalism" and technocratic tendency endemic of the more rigidly defined background of his architectural and engineering colleagues. Indeed, the organic planning style idealized by Mumford is derived, for the most part, from Geddesian philosophy. We must therefore recognize Geddes' fundamental role as "the exponent of organic planning, through which all the functions and purposes of the city may be cumulatively realized in appropriate structures conceived, reviewed, or when necessary replaced and creatively enlarged through the city's continued self-metamorphosis."⁵⁸

It was this perspective that led to Geddes' distinctively optimistic outlook on life, including his belief in the value of Sympathy, Synthesis, and Synergy: "Sympathy for the people and environments affected by any social remedy; synthesis of all the factors relevant to the case;

⁵⁷Helen Meller. *Patrick Geddes: Social Evolutionist and City Planner*. (Routledge: London and New York, 1990), p. 46.

⁵⁸Whittick, p. 443.

and synergy - the combined co-operative action of everyone involved in order to achieve the best result."⁵⁹ The organic perspective would also appear to have been instrumental in the formulation of Geddes' personal motto - "by living we learn" (*vivendo discimus*). This attitude no doubt played a large part in the origin and evolution of his most notable and acclaimed educational "tool" - the Outlook Tower: ". . . a museum . . . in which he tried to precis his synoptic view of the universe in order to educate people towards sharing his vision."⁶⁰

For Geddes, the best means of ensuring an equitable integration of place, work and folk was to induce an atmosphere of "constructive anarchism," as derived from the writings of Kropotkin and Reclus. According to Colin Ward:

Geddes' sympathy with the anarchists was consistent with his philosophy. He corresponded with Peter Kropotkin and supported his cooperative theories. He had faith in the liberated human capacity to work toward a harmonious and better world. He supported small, self-generated projects, not grand schemes of government and he believed in people more than laws⁶¹

This is not to say that Geddes was an anarchist.⁶² He empathized with the theories

⁵⁹Kitchen, p. 15.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, p. 71.

⁶¹Colin Ward. *Anarchy in Action*. (George Allen and Unwin, Limited: London, 1973), p. 59.

⁶²Perhaps the closest approximation to the principles of anarchism made by Geddes can be found in a "manifesto" entitled, "What to do." An outline for a series of books entitled, *The Making of the Future* (1912) the ideas contained in this short list were developed as a means of avoiding War and of thinking "constructively about international regeneration." (Kitchen, p. 242). Please note that the ideas of "direct action," "mutual aid," "cooperation," "regional decentralization," "aversion to hierarchy," "communalism," and "anarchistic federation" are all touched upon by one or the other of the following points:

1) Our faith is in moral Renewal, next in Re-education, and therewith Reconstruction. For fulfillment there must be a **Resorption of Government** into the body of the community. How? By cultivating the habit of **direct action** instead of waiting upon representative agencies.

proposed by Kropotkin, and he recognized the "biological" justification and basis for such a society,⁶³ but he was less than enthusiastic about the militant tendencies of some of its adherents and their penchant toward nihilism. As Kitchen explains: ". . . Geddes never allied himself to any political party. It simply was not in him to find merit in group competition and party in-fighting. Intellectually, he was closest to anarchists such as Peter Kropotkin and

2) Raise the life-standard of the people and the thought-standard of schools and universities; so may the workman and his family receive due mead of real wages; the leisure of all become dignified; and for our money-economy be substituted a **life-economy**.

3) Stimulate sympathetic understanding between all sections of the community by **co-operation in local initiative**; so may European statesman be no longer driven to avoid revolution by making war.

4) Let cities, towns, villages, groups, associations, work out their own **regional salvation**; for that they must have freedom, ideas, vision to plan, and means to carry out, a betterment of environment (such as housing fit for family life and land for a renewed peasantry), b) enlargements of mental horizon (such as forelooking universities quick with local-life and interests), c) communitary festivals and other enrichments of life. All these must be parts of one ever-growing Design for the coming years to realize . . ." (*Ibid.*, p. 331).

. . . .

7] Eschew the despotic habit of regimentation, whether by Governments, Trusts, Companies, tyrants, pedants or police; try the better and older way of **co-ordination expanding from local centres through city, region, nation, and beyond**; so may the spirit of fellowship express itself, instead of being sterilized by fear, crushed by administrative machinery or perverted by repression.

8] **Resist the political temptation to centralize** all things in one metropolitan city; seek to renew the ancient tradition of Federation between free cities, regions, dominions." (*Ibid.*, p. 332).

⁶³Geddes sympathized with Kropotkin's argument that natural evolution was not only characterized by mutual aid but mutual struggle as well. (Meller, p. 39).

Elisee Reclus (all of whom he knew well), though he had no truck with the kind of activity he described as 'mere fits of despairing hysterics and threats of dynamite.'⁶⁴

Although sympathetic to the New Town and Garden City movements in England and America, and maintaining intimate association with individuals either directly involved or themselves sympathetic with the movements (i. e. Raymond Unwin, Patrick Abercrombie, H. V. Lanchester) he could not see the sense in sacrificing the historical, high density urban reality of established urban centers to the panacea of decentralization. In this regard, his heart and soul were committed to the preservation, and at most, "constructive surgery" of blighted urban areas rather than their wholesale abandonment or demolition."⁶⁵

What Geddes ultimately envisioned was a popular movement whose mandate was to improve the urban living environment of industrial society and which undertook ". . . a regionalist and decentralist approach to physical planning."⁶⁶

Lewis Mumford (1895 - 1989):

It would appear that Lewis Mumford (an "American architectural critic, student of the city, philosopher, historian of science" and journalist)⁶⁷ was very much influenced by the work of

⁶⁴Kitchen., p. 95. The intellectual connection between Geddes, and to a lesser extent, Kropotkin and Reclus, can be found in the science of ecology, of which all three were innovators. As Mumford suggests: ". . . it is not as a bold innovator in urban planning, but as an ecologist, the patient investigator of historic filiations and dynamic biological and social interrelationships, that Geddes' most important work in cities was done." Lewis Mumford. *The Human Prospect*. Edited by Harry T. Moore and Karl W. Deutsch. (Southern Illinois University Press: Carbondale and Edwardsville, 1965), p. 111.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁶⁶Ward, p. 59. For Geddes, ". . . the region was more than an object of survey, it was to provide a basis for the total reconstruction of social and political life." (Hall, p. 142). A reconstruction in which the newly emerging planning profession could play a crucial role.

⁶⁷The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. Lewis Mumford and the Twentieth Century. *Ideas*.

Patrick Geddes, by his organistic urban perspective, and by his uniquely practical and direct form of civic planning. This would have a far-reaching impact on the planning profession as well as the dissemination of Geddes' ideas.⁶⁸



(Figure 16) Lewis Mumford⁶⁹

If Geddes was responsible for absorbing the ideas of contemporary anarchists, absorbing their "creed of anarchistic communes based on free confederations of autonomous regions," then he just as assuredly passed this philosophy on to Lewis Mumford, and thereby, "to a small, but brilliant and dedicated group of planners (Burton Mckay, Clarence Stein and Henry

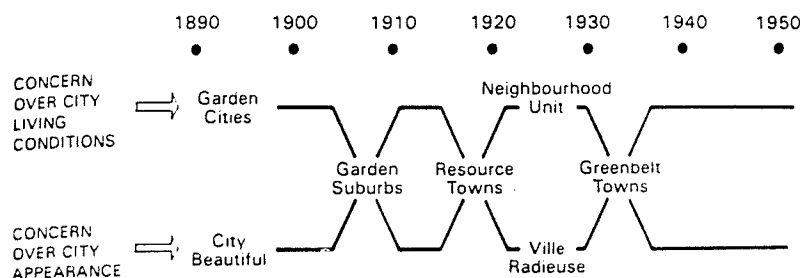
(October 2, 9, 16, 1989: Montreal, Quebec), p. 17.

⁶⁸According to Leo Marx, Mumford: ". . . was a part of what might be called the romantic counter-Enlightenment . . ." meaning he was part of a "protest against the exclusion of value from matter of fact, or a protest in favour of the organic view of life." (*Ibid.*, p. 8).

⁶⁹Lewis Mumford. *Sketches From Life: The Autobiography of Lewis Mumford - The Early Years*. (The Dial Press, New York, 1982), insert.

Wright) whence through Mumford's immensely powerful writings - it fused with Howard's closely related ideas, and spread out across America and the World"70

This philosophy led to the belief that the best way to resolve the ills precipitated by urban concentration and industrialization was to decentralize society, taking advantage of the growing independence offered by technology.⁷¹ Another argument in favor of decentralization was the



(Figure 17) Evolution of Community Planning Concepts Since 1890⁷²

alternative it offered to the aesthetic and logistical problems caused by urban sprawl and endless city expansion, or what Geddes called "connurbation."

For Mumford and his American colleagues, a Green-belt strategy similar in content to both

⁷⁰Hall, p. 137.

⁷¹C. B. C, p. 3.

⁷²Gerald Hodge. *Planning Canadian Communities: An Introduction to the Principles, Practice and Participants*. (Methuen: Toronto, 1986), p. 55.

the New Town and Garden City movements, was the remedy of choice.⁷³

Indeed, it was hoped that the growing trend toward urban sprawl would be halted by the creation of new communities in dispersed localities, both prosperous and "symbolically linked to the surrounding countryside."⁷⁴

Like anarchists and those sympathetic to anarchism, especially Kropotkin, Mumford found a powerful inspiration for city design in the example of the late medieval city, "represented by the cities of central Italy or the cities of Flanders between about the 13th and the 15th centuries"⁷⁵ According to Hall, the key to this model can be found in its social, cultural and primitive roots. In effect, ". . . this was a defined community that existed for generation after generation in some kind of harmony with itself and in harmony with the agricultural region immediately outside it."⁷⁶

Like Geddes, Mumford was not an anarchist⁷⁷ (nor a socialist for that matter); however,

⁷³There were two ways of looking at urban reform at the turn of the century. One was the perception held by Howard and his colleagues that the city was in need of drastic social reform to head off the declining living conditions of a majority of its inhabitants. The other was the perception that the city was in need of structural reform. Each perception spawned its own movement and its own adherents. As Gerald Hodge explains:

From each sprung a different concept of the physical form that might best produce better communities. Out of the concern over living conditions came the notion of Garden Cities, wholly new communities designed to allow new patterns of living in less-congested surroundings. Out of the concern over the appearance of new cities came the notion of City Beautiful, the re-design of major streets and public areas in existing cities." *Ibid.*

⁷⁴C. B. C., p. 3.

⁷⁵*Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁷⁶*Ibid.*

⁷⁷It would appear that Mumford supported a healthy mixture of political, economic and social variation. Only in this way could the highly diverse needs of modern society ever hope to be satisfied to any suitable degree. Thus, the essence of his philosophy "is that many elements necessarily rejected by any single system are essential to develop life's highest creative potential; and that by turns one system or another must be invoked, temporarily, to do justice to life's endlessly varied needs and

his views did reflect many traditional anarchist beliefs, particularly aversion to the nation-state - an organizational entity whose existence Mumford felt mocked the struggle for individual freedom. Mumford's opinion stems in part from his personal observations on the pervasiveness and destructive potential of the State during time of war. The appalling cost of World War II in life and resources, and the subsequent threat of nuclear annihilation only strengthened this perception:

Mumford believed that the war experience had thoroughly discredited the idea shared by virtually everyone on the left, from moderate liberals to Marxists, that the growth of the state was necessarily a good thing because it led to some kind of socialist revolution, and that concentration of industry was necessarily a good thing for the same reason. The way in which war seemed to result in no particularly good resolution of international problems, the enormous bloodshed, and also the domestic mobilization involved in the United States in fighting the war - all of these things had discredited conventional progressive notions about the state and about bigness as being necessarily better.⁷⁸

Although Mumford was not an anarchist per se, neither was he an advocate of traditional American liberalism or conservatism. In fact, he "displayed a reluctance to engage in the nuts and bolts of politics."⁷⁹

We have looked briefly at a number of the ideas and personalities that helped to shape the so-called "organic paradigm." What might we conclude? Do any of these ideas or

occasions." (Mumford/*The Human Prospect*, p. 318).

⁷⁸C. B. C., p. 3.

⁷⁹*Ibid.*, p. 23. It is interesting to note Mumford's rejection of Marxist dogma, particularly when this dogma celebrated "economic and political concentration as in some ways the seed beds of a new kind of socialist society." (*Ibid.*, p. 16).

personalities correspond with those of the anarchists, or for that matter, the anarchist tenets presented earlier. We saw in the sections devoted to planning intellectual tradition (ie. Weaver/Friedmann) that identifiable connections could be made between the early, reform-minded planner and his socialist and anarchist contemporaries. What can we say about the actual ideas of the "organic" planners, however? Did these ideas continue to correspond with the viewpoints expressed by modern anarchists - what about the eight anarchist tenets - do they have any bearing on the theories or outlook of Howard, or Geddes, or Mumford? A brief analysis might prove helpful. (See Figure 18).

For Howard, a cursory examination will reveal the following interconnections. To begin with, the concept of individual sovereignty is established by Howard's own personal philosophy promoting the importance of "individualism." This is exemplified by Howard's belief that only individuality and "isolated" effort can best ensure incentive, new ways of thinking, and new ideas. However, it is also true that Howard was firmly committed to the idea of community and of collective action. Evidently, he saw community as the only way in which to ensure the self-regulation of the individual and the focusing of private economic effort for the common good. That Howard was suspicious of centralized authority and particularly the state, is also evident in his attempts to implement mechanisms for ensuring community control of the Garden City. Indeed, the idea that the state should be involved in the implementation of Garden Cities, was not particularly welcomed by Howard. For Howard, self-reliance was almost a by-word. The ultimate objective of the Garden City was self-reliance, and in turn, the objective of self-reliance was a self-contained, community based economic, social and political system. It is my belief that this objective in part influenced Howard's conception of the Garden City as a "recombined" alternative to the biologically depleted urban environment, dependent on the countryside for food, and the socially/economically depleted countryside, dependent on the city for manufactured goods and cultural amenities. The Garden City represents a determined effort to re-substantiate the value of self-reliance as a libertory ethos. Implied in such a recombination is the participation of the resident. Indeed, as was just stated, it was Howard's wish that the Garden City should

	Howard	Geddes	Mumford
Sovereignty of the Individual	Philosophy of Individualism as incentive - new combinations	?	?
Sanctity of Community	Garden City - Reconciliation of optimums - Communism and Individualism	Life-economy	Example of Medieval City
Aversion to Authority	Aversion to State - favored self-initiative	Critical of authoritarian Formalism/Technocracy	Aversion to destructive power of nation-state/W.W.II
Self-Reliance	Recombination of urban and rural - Garden City	Supported self-generated projects - self initiative	Medieval City/Garden City
Participation	Garden City	"Resorption of Government" into the body of the Community	?
Decentralization	Industry through technology, De-massification of society, breakdown of metropolis	Regional salvation, co-ordination from local centres through city, region, nation, and beyond, Resist political centralization (Federation)	Decentralization through technology, Green-Belt city
Cooperation	Garden City	"Synergy," supported cooperation theories of Kropotkin, Constructive anarchism.	?
Spontaneous Order	?	"Organic" planning, "urban self-metamorphosis"	Preference for different systems of social organization at different times, Life = Diversity

**Comparison of Anarchist Criteria and Early Planners
(Figure 18)**

eventually be "run" by the residents who lived there. As a matter of fact, participation leading to increased cooperation is cited as an inevitable result of the recombination of town and country (See Magnets).

Finally, decentralization played a fundamental role in Howard's plans for de-urbanization - particularly, through the Garden City. For the most part, this was inspired by the call for industrial decentralization and de-urbanization then being voiced by a number of moderate and radical social reformists.

Not surprisingly, the strongest connection between anarchism and planning appears to lay with Patrick Geddes. One of the most outstanding is Geddes' emphasis on community, especially the idea of cooperation through local initiative. He notes the significant relationship between the place in which one lives, the work that one does, and the relationships that are maintained with the surrounding community. It is also easy to identify the aversion that Geddes felt toward artificial structure and indirectly imposed authority, especially by large, centralized organizations and industries. Indeed, this aversion encompassed the very psyche that propelled such organizations and industries, meaning of course, the penchant for technocracy, structure, rigid formalism, and a command structure or hierarchy. Geddes was much more inclined to view the city as an adaptable organism than as a machine predicated on structural organization and a centralized guidance system. This aversion no doubt led in part to Geddes' emphasis on local, self-generated projects for civic improvement and his belief in direct participation as a means to this end. This reliance on self-initiative may have in turn helped to influence his "regionalist" approach to civic study. An approach which actively resisted centralization in any form.

Finally, Lewis Mumford can be seen to have elaborated upon the ideas of both Geddes and Howard. Indeed, Mumford focused special attention on the Garden City, and like many of his American colleagues advocated the Green-belt city as a remedy to urbanization, or what Geddes called conurbation. Other concepts advocated by Mumford in his writings are primarily extensions, refinements, and clarifications of the arguments made by Geddes and Howard.⁸⁰ They will not be elaborated on here. I would like to say, however, that the ideas

of all three theorists share a common affinity, and moreover, this shared urban philosophy adheres rather easily to the tenets proposed and advocated by the proponents of anarchy. I might conclude, therefore, that the influential progenitors of modern planning played a significant role in synthesizing and introducing anarchist theory (whether they new it or not) to the profession of city planning.

V

The Myth of Objectivity:

The important point is that most planners . . . have not thought through alternative planning strategies or "styles." Instead they have tried to develop alternative ways of selling comprehensive or "master planning."⁸¹

Richard S. Bolan
"Emerging Views of Planning"

We have noted the appearance and origin of the less objective, more organistic/humanistic planning ideas of Geddes, Howard and Mumford. The task which presents itself is to provide a summary of these perceptions as they have materialized in a number of contemporary planning role models. Examples abound! I believe that the mere existence of these examples demonstrates the insecurity and uneasiness with which the planner views planning, its history, and its purpose. I also believe that these questions are leading to the indirect demise, or withering away, of comprehensive planning as a dominant ethos. Of course, such a timely demise necessitates the formation of an alternative(s). The alternative(s), I would suggest, will be characterized to some degree or another by a libertarian ethos commensurate with a desire

⁸⁰This is denied by Mumford, particularly rejection of Geddes' "thinking machines," and especially, the "Chart of Life" which Mumford feels is too rigidly abstract. Lewis Mumford. *My Works and Days: A Personal Chronicle*. (Harcourt Brace Jovanovich: New York, 1979), p. 100.

⁸¹Richard S. Bolan. "Emerging Views of Planning." (*JAIP*, [July, 1967]), p. 235.

for freedom, community, and ecological sensitivity. Coterminous with this desire will be an equally powerful dissatisfaction with the regulatory and repressive powers of the state.

With the realization that centralized, scientific planning was not as responsive nor as democratic as many had thought (ex. the disaster of urban renewal in the early 1960's) many planners turned to "pluralism," or the inclusion of multiple viewpoints in the planning process, as a means of bringing a refreshing, as well as politically sensitive perspective to planning.⁸²

The key change was the realization that "value neutrality" had, and always would be, unattainable. Indeed, that objectivity was a myth. It was widely assumed that the planner would have to operate from a position of "bias." This necessitated acknowledgement of the fallacy of objectivity and rejection of certain conditions upon which this attitude was predicated; centralization, specialization, and systemization among the most obvious. Consequently, these precepts were replaced by an acceptance of decentralization, advocacy and subjectivity.⁸³ This in turn raised an ethical question planners are still loath to answer - should planning be political, and by inference, should planners allow political bias to influence decision-making.

Advocacy constituted one attempt to resolve this dilemma! Theorists like Paul Davidoff, and Charles Lindblom rejected the traditional belief that planners function in an "apolitical"

⁸²*Ibid.*, p. 405. Such a strategy necessitates change; indeed, a whole new outlook on the dynamics of participation; first of all, a method of adversarial conflict has to be developed; secondly, a broad-based method of participation has to be ensured; and finally, a common understanding of democracy has to be arrived at.

Donald F. Mazziotti believed that pluralism could only be assured by meeting five criteria. First of all, "competing centers and bases of power and influence" had to be created within the community; secondly, the opportunity "for individual and organizational access to the political system" had to exist; thirdly, individuals had to be involved in a broad range of organizations impacting on the community; fourthly, elections had to be a "visible instrument of mass participation in political . . ." decision-making, and finally, everyone had to agree on the system of resolution or "democratic creed" adopted. Donald F. Mazziotti. "The Underlying Assumptions of Advocacy Planning: Pluralism and Reform." *AIP Journal*, (January, 1974), p. 42.

⁸³Gunton/*The Role of the Professional Planner*, p. 407.

context - one that maintains value-neutrality. It was their belief that the planner should defy this objective format by advocating the concerns of under-represented or disenfranchised interests. In effect, they should willingly represent interest groups and/or prepare proposals "on plans or planning proposals" of the official agency.⁸⁴ It was hoped that in this way ". . . each interest group would, with the assistance of the planner, develop its own plan and defend it in an open forum similar to judicial hearings . . . government agencies would be forced to defend their proposals, possible deficiencies would be more readily identified, more options would be considered, critics would be forced to play a more constructive role, and the bargaining process would be more equitable because weaker groups would have professional advocates."⁸⁵

⁸⁴Arnold Whittick (editor-in-chief). *Encyclopedia of Urban Planning*. (McGraw-Hill, Incorporated: New York, 1974), p. 11.

⁸⁵(Gunton/*The Role of the Professional Planner*, p. 408). Josiah Warren held a similar view. His observations on the "deliberative tribunal" and its means of conflict resolution provides a good comparison, primarily because his method of conflict resolution resembles the one proposed by Davidoff. This becomes more apparent when one examines the following passage wherein Warren describes the deliberative tribunal at greater length as well as the counselor's (advocate's) role in that tribunal:

Such Counsellors should not be tempted to unearned salaries and honors, nor by compensation measured by the necessities or weakness and defencelessness of their clients; nor should they consist of those who, like editors of news, can make more money by wars and other calamities than they can by peace and general prosperity, but let the Counsellors be those who are willing to wait, like tillers of the soil, for compensation according to the quantity and quality of their work. Let compensation or honors come in the form of voluntary contributions AFTER . . . benefits have been realized. It is therefore suggested that any person, of either sex, . . . who feels competent to give counsel in any department of human affairs, publically announce the fact, as lawyers and physicians now do, or permit their names and functions to be made accessible to the public in some manner so that whoever may need honest counsel on any subject may know where to find it. If a meeting of such Counsellor's is thought desirable by any interested party, he or she can invite such as are thought to be most competent for the occasion, according to the subject to be considered.

These Counsellors, while in session would constitute a deliberative assembly, or advisory tribunal

This led to the belief that problems are caused not by irrational planning, but by an irrational planning process; one that fails to ". . . take into account possible alternatives which can only be generated through professionally supported representation of all interested parties."⁸⁶ In effect, a plan derived from a process that does not allow for the presentation of alternative viewpoints is a irrational plan, despite arguments of objectivists to the contrary. To ensure the welfare of all, planning **has** to take into account the "unavoidable bifurcation of the public interest."⁸⁷

The strength of advocacy as an alternative to the comprehensive paradigm can be narrowed down to three, key factors:

- 1) Reflection: Since opposition to official plans and planning agencies would be real, the official plan would better reflect the interests of all concerned;
- 2) Accountability: Since the public agency would not exist in perpetuity, in a surreal environment divorced from public accountability - it would be forced to defend itself and its decision from criticism as well as compete with other interest groups for public support; and

While the concept of the "deliberative tribunal" is somewhat idealistic, it does, I believe, strive for the same goal as the advocacy model. That is to say, both methods seek broad participation and the adoption of representatives (advocates) who are familiar with the everyday activities of the people, and are willing to present their opinions through an adversarial structure or public forum. While government remains the ultimate arbitrator in the advocacy model (which proved its downfall, I might add), Warren maintains a more circumspect, and indeed, radical position by not prescribing a governing body other than the deliberative tribunal itself.

⁸⁶Alan S. Kravitz. "Mandarinism as Handmaiden to Conservative Politics." *Planning and Politics: Uneasy Partnership*. Thad L. Beyle and George T. Lathrop (editors). (The Odyssey Press: New York, 1970), p. 264.

⁸⁷Davidoff, p. 332.

3) Inclusion: Since opposition groups would be elevated from a position of criticism to one of active participation in the production of the plan, the inclusive character of the plan would be reinforced.⁸⁸

Unfortunately, the brilliant idealism engendered by this approach was short lived. This was due in large part to advocacy's inherent organizational weakness. First of all, the advocate planner had to rely on volunteer effort, "outside seed money," and a limited staff capacity when representing less affluent interests. Secondly, the planner was forced to rely on the public hearing as a vehicle for presenting his client's views. This technique was ineffective before an elected assembly that more often than not claimed representation of majority interests. Subsequently, minority interests were acknowledged but not necessarily acted upon.⁸⁹

For Friedmann, the failure of advocacy as a legitimate planning alternative lay in its willingness to compromise. That is to say, in its subservience to the "system." As it turned out, advocacy was neither so revolutionary nor so radical as its "rhetoric" lead one to believe. In reality, the advocate helped disenfranchised groups to participate in what was already a highly structured system subject to or influenced by the struggle between competing "factions" vying for "a piece of the action." (In this case, government regulated resources). Thus, through advocacy, planners became agents of the state rather than its enemies. As Friedmann explains:

In retrospect, advocacy planning was not radical at all, though its flamboyant rhetoric initially suggested otherwise. As it turned out, the notion of advocacy fitted quite comfortably into the realm of a pluralistic politics with planners giving the poor a professional voice to defend their interests in an arena where other, better endowed groups were already busy with advocates of their own contending for a share of the available resources. As advocates, planners assumed the role of 'public defenders' of the urban poor, and like public defenders in the courts, their work typically was paid

⁸⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 332 - 333.

⁸⁹Smith, p. 264.

for by the state.⁹⁰

This perspective is shared by Robert Goodman, a planner who was actively involved in the advocacy movement. According to Goodman, ". . . the availability of technical help to all groups was a critical requisite for true power sharing." Power was therefore to be shared by providing every group with its own personal planner or architect who would advise and represent the group "at the places where decisions about their lives were being made."⁹¹ His reminiscences, however, reflect disappointment. As he explains, advocacy ironically created more dependence than independence. Its ultimate failure represented the collapse of a cherished ideal; one that ". . . would help make a reality of the democratic vision of power shared by all"

The supporters of advocacy soon realized the irony of their strategy and the naivete of their idealism. Rather than creating a libertarian forum - a means of democratic expression - advocacy simply allowed ". . . the poor to administer their own state of dependency." They ". . . could direct their own welfare programs, have their own lawyers, their own planners and architects, so long as the economic structure remained intact - so long as the basic distribution of wealth, and hence real power, remained constant."⁹² One might say that the movement was liberatory only in form. More than anything, advocacy took the edge off strategies for change by allowing the overall status-quo (founded on inequity) to remain intact. This is the strength of capitalism, an ability to respond to legitimate challenges and subsume the challenge itself without visibly rebuffing it. Such a system is insidiously tenacious, it is also extremely effective in absorbing the intrinsic impact of any challenge. This might explain, in part, the commonly held belief that planning is a "tool of authority," or worse, that planning is a means

⁹⁰Friedmann/*Planning in the Public Domain*, p. 300.

⁹¹Robert Goodman. *After the Planners*. (Simon and Schuster: New York, 1971), p. 171.

⁹²*Ibid.*, p. 172.

by which the influential control the less influential. As Ward explains: "Planning . . . turns out to be yet another way in which the rich and powerful oppress and harass the weak and poor."⁹³

Since advocacy, the quest for a purposeful planning role has continued and a number of models have evolved. Not surprisingly, these perceptions have been decidedly pessimistic about the role planners play in the public domain. They include the perception of planner as bureaucrat, out to accumulate power, prestige, income, and job security;⁹⁴ and the planner as public agent, a representative of government and the dominant elites that influence government.⁹⁵

Not all the perceptions are negative however. One of the most radical to emerge in recent years is based on an interpretation offered by John Friedmann. It was Freidmann's belief that the planner could serve the public fairly by becoming a good "transactor," an individual who was willing to learn from the public as well as to plan for it. In effect, the planner was to assume the role of "social learner."

At the root of this idea lay the conviction that the planner should plan *with* the people rather than *for* them. The basic supposition was grounded in grass-roots political determinism, and as such, was highly libertarian. Although difficult to conceptualized, I would like to discuss this model in greater detail as it represents the most innovative, positive and radical interpretation of planning since the 1960's, and goes a long way toward linking the precepts of libertarianism with planning, and rounding out the connections made earlier in the chapter.

⁹³Colin Ward. *Anarchy in Action*. (George Allen and Unwin Limited: London, 1973), p. 61.

⁹⁴Gunton/*The Role of the Professional Planner*, p. 411.

⁹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 412.

VI

Transactive Planning:

The concept of "social learning," and of "transactive planning" first appeared with the publication of Friedmann's, *Retracking America: A Theory of Transactive Planning* (1973). The basic premise of this book was "that planning was not so much concerned with the making of plans as with 'mutual learning,' was less centered on documents than dialogue, and was more dependent for its results on the transactions of individual persons in specific settings, than on abstract institutions."⁹⁶ The objective of the book was therefore the conceptualization of a planning method that would negate the traditional belief that planning was an indifferent, or at least, isolated practice, whose adherent sought to plan for, rather than plan with the people. The method, as such, rejected the formal bureaucracies of the past and aimed at devolving power by creating an environment in which both the planner and the people were enlightened by each other's experiential knowledge. The key point was acknowledgment of the meaningful flow of knowledge from one person to the another through "dialogue" and "mutual learning."

What this perception achieved was rejection of the unqualified belief that "value commitments have no place in planning" and that decisions should be based on scientific knowledge conforming to objective precepts. In effect, transactive planning contrasted what Friedmann felt were the two prevalent planning forms - allocative and innovative planning.⁹⁷

⁹⁶John Friedmann. *Retracking America: A Theory of Transactive Planning*. (Arno Press/Doubleday: Garden City, New York, 1973), p. 1.

⁹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 247

Allocation:

Allocative planning is concerned almost implicitly with resource distribution. As Friedmann explains ". . . the distribution of limited resources among a number of competing users."⁹⁸ In effect, the city becomes an "instrument" of resource allocation, and especially of land distribution.⁹⁹ Not surprisingly, the allocative agenda fits neatly into an environment defined by comprehensive planning.

As a resource distributor, allocative planning maintains four distinct characteristics. The first is a tendency toward **comprehensiveness**, personified by a single, prioritized set of objectives, by criteria that are "capable of harmonizing competing claims of potential users,"¹⁰⁰ and by dependence on long-range forecasting.¹⁰¹ This, in turn, has created a tendency among planners to ". . . assume a model of society in which a stable consensus on the relevant values is not only attainable but also predictable."¹⁰² Thus, the planner assumes a harmonious stable state exists within society and furthermore, that society is free from "conflict and struggle," only requiring the "superior wisdom of a collective mind" to properly prepare for its needs.¹⁰³ The second is the maintenance of **system-wide balances**, including a "balance among the fluctuation and the promotion of a conservative, non-innovative approach to planning."¹⁰⁴ "Equilibrium" is an important part of this characteristic. At the root lies "the criterion of optimal choice which requires a balanced system so that the cause and effect of incremental changes may be precisely measured."¹⁰⁵ Unfortunately, such an approach also makes

⁹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 52.

⁹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 53.

¹⁰⁰*Ibid.*, p. 54.

¹⁰¹*Ibid.*, p. 55.

¹⁰²*Ibid.*, p. 53.

¹⁰³*Ibid.*, p. 54.

¹⁰⁴*Ibid.*, p. 56.

¹⁰⁵*Ibid.*, p. 56.

planners ". . . reluctant to consider innovative actions that are risky and might upset the delicate balances they have projected"106 (Balance is order!) The third is an emphasis on **quantitative analysis and linear programming**.¹⁰⁷ Such a characteristic promotes the tendency to view the world in terms of an abstract model. As Friedmann suggests, this creates a false reality, leading the planner to ". . . believe in the pervasiveness of his own logic and to ascribe greater rationality to actions of a system than they are likely to display."¹⁰⁸ The final characteristic is **functional rationality** an approach which effectively removes the "value implications" from planning.¹⁰⁹

Allocative planning is a physical manifestation of what Friedmann calls Command Planning - in which all aspects of the planning process are rigidly controlled by a centralized system;¹¹⁰ Policies Planning - in which the planning process is "weekly centralized" and dependent on the construction of the decision-making environment for others through creation of general guidelines, "criteria for choice," material incentives and the dissemination of information; and Corporate Planning - in which "bargaining" powers are used by a small number of influential organizations (i. e. industrial concerns and labor unions) to solve problems and control interests through compliance mechanisms.¹¹¹

Innovation:

Pressure for a more inclusive means of participation precipitated the second form - innovative planning. For innovative planners, the basis of planning lies not in "elaborate proposals," or in control oriented approaches like command, or policy, or corporate planning,

¹⁰⁶*Ibid.*, p. 57.

¹⁰⁷*Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸*Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹*Ibid.*, p. 58.

¹¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 71.

¹¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 74.

but in the "fusion of plan and action itself."¹¹² Thus, the innovative planner seeks to reintegrate rationality with the immediacy of direct action. Not surprisingly, this form of planning is action oriented, relies on immediate feedback, is concerned with institutional change, and is dedicated to the equitable mobilization and distribution of institutional resources.¹¹³ As Friedmann explains, innovative planners ". . . achieve a fusion of plan-making with plan-implementing activities during the course of the action itself. In innovative planning, plan and action become contemporary."¹¹⁴

The primary characteristics of innovative planning are 1) an interest in transforming general societal values into "new institutional arrangements,"¹¹⁵ 2) to maintain a consistently action-oriented approach to planning; and 3) to ensure resource mobilization by "mobilizing and organizing the use of institutional resources."¹¹⁶

The embodiment of innovative planning for Friedmann is transactive planning, in which social reform, social learning and interpersonal transaction figure most prominently. The objective of this perspective is to transform knowledge into action through personal experience sharing. This is best achieved through informal networks. For planners, this necessitates bridging the communicative gap between themselves and the client.¹¹⁷ Thus, the importance of "dialogue" or what Friedmann calls mutual or social learning. As Friedmann explains: ". . . society needs a heightened capacity for learning about itself, and, to make what it learns effective in guiding its own development, a way to transform learning into appropriate actions. This implies that we must find a way to join scientific and technical intelligence with personal knowledge at the critical points for social intervention."¹¹⁸

¹¹²*Ibid.*, p. 60.

¹¹³*Ibid.*, pp. 61 - 64.

¹¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 60.

¹¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 61.

¹¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 64.

¹¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 171.

¹¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 190.

It is Friedmann's contention that only by promoting organizational change can we achieve the proper environment for transactive planning.¹¹⁹ This necessitates a new "system of societal guidance" and new principles of organization. Such principles may be found in a number of alternative organizational strategies. For example, "cellular structure" and task-oriented work groups. I will not dwell on the finer details of these structures other than to say that they are meant to define issues from a popular perspective and to solve those issues through a highly interactive means of participation, one which arrives at consensus through dialogue between the planner and the public as opposed to the traditional method implemented from above - dealing with public response when and where it occurs.

Friedmann suggests that cellular structures are best suited to achieving consensus at the root level. There are two reasons for this, 1) they work well in a flexible network, and 2) they are permeable. In effect, they provide a small, temporary, interpersonal, voluntary, self-guided, and accountable environment for discussing planning issues and arriving at decisions,

¹¹⁹Why is "change" necessary? The rationale given by Friedmann is as follows: There is a "crisis in planning" which has been aggravated by three factors: 1) the crisis of knowing - or, perhaps more appropriately - not knowing. As Friedmann explains, the traditional positivist methods employed by planners have become seriously skewed and are no longer in tune with societal values. This has brought about a general lack of confidence concerning the planner's ability to plan with any sense of common purpose. (Friedmann/*Planning in the Public Domain*, p. 312). 2) An accelerated pace of historical events that has led to a general destabilization of the planning environment. As most traditional planning methods require some form of system-wide balance, this factor has necessarily played havoc with traditional perceptions. (*Ibid.*, p. 313). And, 3) the unprecedented nature of current events reveals the useful inadequacy of traditional planning to provide appropriate solutions.

Friedmann suggest four possible "escape routes." The first is recognition of technology and the liberty powers derived thereof. The second is to rely on the natural functioning of the free market by removing any and all regulations, thus allowing the forces of free enterprise to take their natural course. The third is to suppress societal problems through propaganda and repression, thereby "bulling or forcing people into political inertia." The fourth route (favored by Friedmann) is to actively re-center political power within civil society by "mobilizing from below the countervailing actions of citizens, and recovering the energies for a political community that will transform both the state and corporate economy from within." (*Ibid.*, p. 314).

and they are a highly accessible means of participation. Given the anarchic character of such cells, we can understand Friedmann's emphasis on "participant planning," or the dispersal of power among "a large number of actors whose predominant method of control is the voluntary compliance of participants with the results of group deliberations,"¹²⁰ as the style most conducive to a cellular framework.¹²¹ Contrary to command, policies and corporate planning, participant planning places planning decisions firmly in the hands of voluntary communal associations like the village, commune, neighbourhood and cooperative.¹²² Given this argument, the link between libertarian principles and innovative planning is not difficult to make. (For an elaboration see Appendix 4, Section 3).

Conclusion:

While a cursory examination of the theoretical and practical embodiments of libertarian radicalism has proven useful in this chapter, further elaboration of the trend toward anarchy may be required. This is the prerogative of Chapter 4, devoted to understanding the connection or "nexus" that can be made between planning, anarchism, and various modern libertarian movements.

¹²⁰Friedmann/*Retracking America*, p. 245.

¹²¹*Ibid.*, p. 195.

¹²²*Ibid.*, p. 76.

Part III: Nexus

Chapter IV: Contemporary Libertarian Movements and Their Impact on Planning

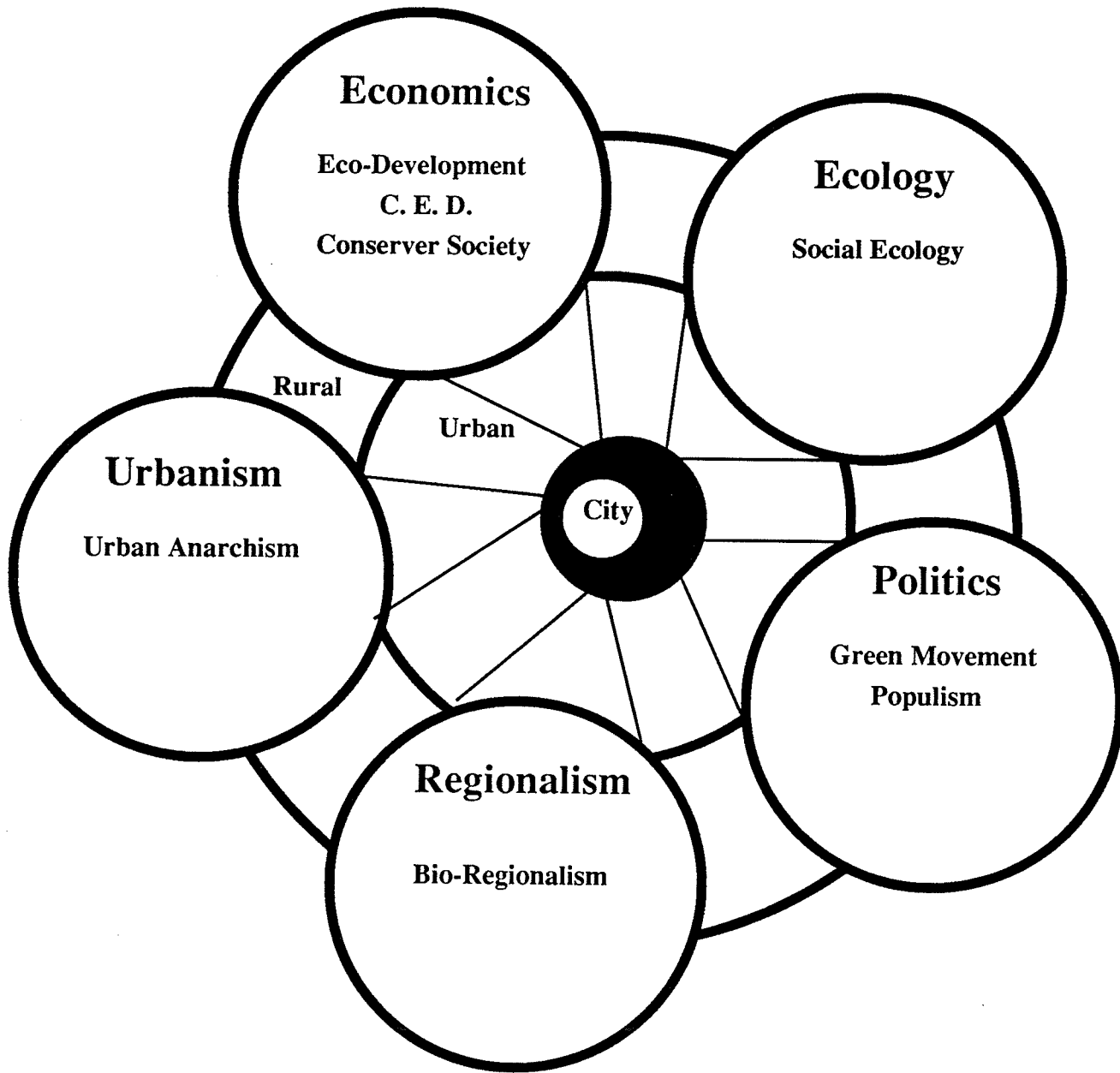
Introduction:

Viewed from a broad historical perspective, anarchism is a libidinal upsurge of the people, a stirring of the social unconscious that reaches back under many different names, to the earliest struggles of humanity against domination and authority. Its commitment to doctrinal shibboleths is minimal. In its active concern with the issues of everyday life, anarchism has always been preoccupied with lifestyle, sexuality, community, women's liberation and human relationships. Its central focus has always been the only meaningful goal social revolution can have - the remaking of the world so that human beings will be ends in themselves and human life a revered, indeed a marvelous experience.¹

An effective way to illustrate the reintegration of planning and anarchism is to examine the potential impact that libertarian movements have had (and will continue to have) on the planning profession. This can be done by identifying a number of contemporary movements and isolating the anarchist principles (if any) that lay at the heart of each. (The following diagram is a visual representation of this relationship). The motive is to demonstrate how each of the movements can be compared with the criteria created in Chapter 2. I believe that this will give a fairly good evaluation of the philosophies behind the movements as well as illustrate their relationship to anarchy, and ultimately, their impact on planning.

I would like to begin by briefly identifying the movements that are to be discussed. I would also like to note the rubric under which each movement can be found (ie. ecology,

¹Murray Bookchin. *Post-Scarcity Anarchism*. (Black Rose Books: Montreal, 1986), p. 21.



**Modern Libertarian Movements:
Their Impact on the Built Environment**

Source: Kent Gerecke [General Discussion] Modified by Author

(Figure 19)

economy, politics, regionalism, and urbanism).

Under ecology we find "social ecology" with its important criticism of both the social and ecological foundations of modern society.

Under the economic rubric are found "eco-development," "community economic development" (C.E.D.), and the "Conserver Society." All three movements propose strategies for an equitable and effective economic solution to present urban dilemmas, as well as a greater emphasis on the liberatory aspect of human social organization, including how natural social inclinations like individualism can be harnessed for the good of all.

Under the political rubric are found the "Green Movement," and the more traditional, but no less radical, "Populist Movement." Both are active in contemporary industrial societies and each seeks to provide alternative political avenues of expression to those presently monopolized by the state and its adherents.

Under the regional rubric we encounter "bio-regionalism" with its logical mix of the biological and geographic sciences.

Finally, under urbanism, we find the ideas proposed by urban anarchists, focusing on the sociological observations of Theodore Roszak and Richard Sennett.

All of these movements share a concern for mankind's living environment and by inference, mankind's ability to manipulate the environment; a capability over which the planning profession exerts not a little influence. I think it behooves us to understand, indeed acknowledge, the important impact which these movements have on, or will have on, planning as a tool of societal organization. Because they are philosophically tied to traditional libertarian doctrine, (as will be shown in the following discussion) I cannot help but conclude that for the progressive planner, these movements constitute a re-awakening of the anarchist ethos within the profession itself, and more importantly, a realization of the importance of the ideas first disseminated by Geddes, Howard, and a number of anarchists, during the birth of formal

planning.

I would like to examine each of the movements in detail; it is at this point that I will identify *some* of the specific comparisons that can be made between the anarchist criteria, planning, and the characteristics indicated in the respective matrices. Again, this comparison is not meant to be conclusive, but rather, is simply designed to demonstrate the more obvious connections. The analysis is purely exploratory! Hopefully, such a discussion will help to clarify the relationship between anarchy and planning, and point to the innovative possibilities that such a relationship entails.

I

Social Ecology:

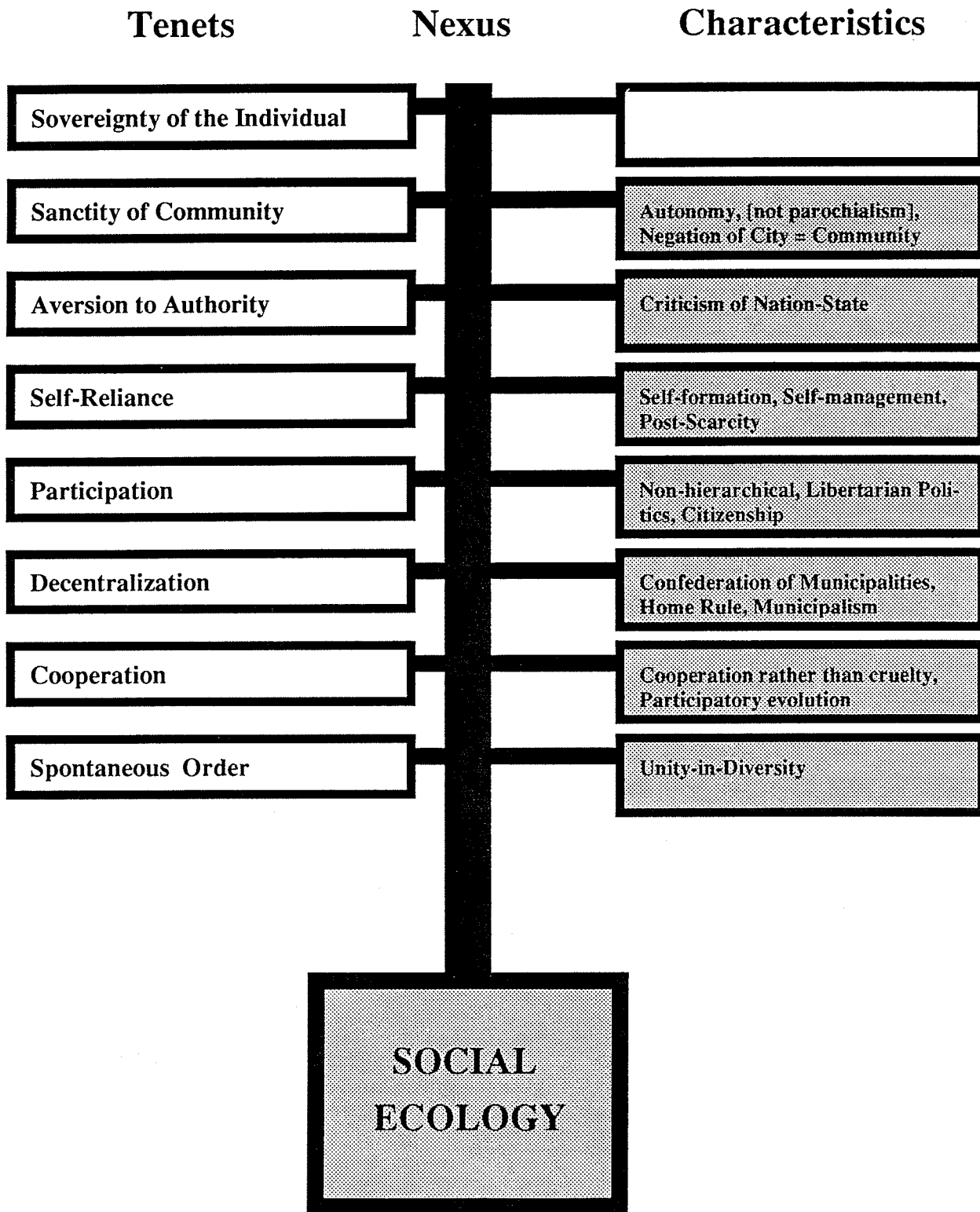
Politics, so easily degraded by 'politicians' into statecraft, must be rehabilitated by anarchism in its original meaning as a form of civic participation and administration that stands in counterposition to the State and extends beyond the basic aspects of human intercourse we appropriately call social."²

Murray Bookchin

"Thesis on Libertarian Municipalism"

One may ask - what is social ecology? Is it a theoretical entity; does it have practical significance? What are the basic premises upon which it is founded? These are not easy questions to answer, as social ecology is not an easy concept to grasp. What the concept does represent, however, is a highly radical way of looking at society and at nature; a perspective which seeks to recombine the two, and thereby reconcile each to a more practical philosophy of how (or how not) to order the world, what priorities should be pursued, and around what sort

²Murray Bookchin. "Thesis on Libertarian Municipalism." *Our Generation*. (Volume 16, Numbers 3 and 4, Spring/Summer, 1985), pp. 19 - 20.



(Figure 20)

of values a recombined perspective would revolve.

A definition of social ecology is provided by Murray Bookchin, a contemporary libertarian philosopher. To Bookchin, social ecology is a philosophy which tries "to overcome the splits between society and nature, mind and body, thought and reality that mark western images of the world and particularly of the natural world."³ What Bookchin sees is a functional disorientation caused by western man's traditional belief in the divisibility of man and environment, and the belief that man could therefore control his environment. Mutual harmony, necessitating a balance of both society and nature was impossible under such a mindset. The environment was one of material scarcity. Consequently, individuals sought to optimize scarce resources through appropriately hierarchical organizational arrangements. It is only with the advent of post-industrial society that Bookchin feels we are finally capable of rejecting the "mentality" shaped by scarcity, in favor of the mutualistic arrangements that a post-scarcity environment allows.⁴

This would explain social ecology's social implications, but what of the ecological implications?⁵ An answer might be found in Bookchin's definition of ecology. For

³Murray Bookchin. "Freedom and Necessity in Nature: A Problem in Ecological Ethics." *Alternatives*, (Volume 13, Number 4, November, 1986), p. 62.

⁴According to Bookchin, these are the same "historic splits that destroyed early organic societies" These splits originated "in the problem of survival, in problems that involved the mere maintenance of human existence. Material scarcity provided the historic rationale for the development of the patriarchal family, private property, class domination and the state; it nourished the great divisions in hierarchical society that pitted town against country, mind against sensuousness, work against play, individual against society, and finally, the individual against himself." (*Ibid.*, p. 11).

⁵The etymological root of "ecology" lies in the Greek word *oikos*, which means "home" or "household." According to David Nicholson-Lord, traditionally, the field of ecology concentrated not only on the study of animal and plant communities, but also sought to apply these studies to mankind in order to better understand the workings of human society. Ecologists, as such, sought to find "affinities and analogies between the two." Finally, ecology offered "a guide to the behaviors of individuals which is at the same time a guide to the wider setting - the ecological community - in

Bookchin, ecology "deals with the balance of nature." The scientific value of ecology, and its basis as a critical as well as an "integrative and reconstructive" science is also highlighted by Bookchin.⁶ Finally, in the ecological vein, Bookchin argues that man's prevailing tendency (or need) to dominate nature is somehow tied to his need (or tendency) to dominate others, and ultimately, to create hierarchies, classes and governments to safeguard that domination. Bookchin suggests that in one way or another, this tendency has spilled over into every other form of human social interaction, and is simply underlined by the highly competitive, confrontational political/economic strategies of capitalism.⁷ This, in turn, is underscored by the proliferation of concepts like "grow or die," "consume or be consumed," the idealization of growth, and the deification of urban development.

While this appears a contradiction in terms, Bookchin does not look upon the negation of private property as the negation of individuality. Rather, he sees it simply as the elimination of the means by which large corporations and a few individuals have been able to accumulate excessive amounts of wealth (including land) and disposing it as they feel best suits their own financial agendas. The prevalence of this form of land control does not necessarily benefit the individual, indeed, does it offer any greater freedom than a completely authoritarian system with absolute control over land and its utilization? No, the powers that determine how most land is used and its resources distributed are still beyond the control of the average individual.

This ties into Bookchin's general critique of capitalism, a economic construct which he denounces as highly irrational, and highly "anti-ecological;" an ethos that supports accumulation and competition at its very root. The implications of such a "narcissistic"

which those individuals live." David Nicholson-Lord. *The Greening of Cities*. (Routledge and Kegan Paul: London, 1987), p. 17.

⁶Bookchin/*Post-Scarcity*, p. 80.

⁷This criticism is by no means exclusive, Bookchin has a strong opinion of state socialism as well. Bookchin notes that from the beginning, Marxists demonstrated a "disquieting" penchant for a number of traditional "bourgeois" attributes - resource exploitation among them. Bookchin/"Libertarian Municipalism," p. 9.

philosophy on the natural environment are self-evident. As Bookchin explains: "In a society of this kind, nature is necessarily treated as a mere resource to be plundered and exploited."⁸ The result is the exploitation of the earth by a consumerized bourgeois society; a manipulation that undermines ". . . the very capacity of the earth to sustain advanced forms of life." Such a trend has stripped the earth of much of its natural bounty and has left a legacy of polluted water, air and earth, rampant urbanism and an increasing devaluation of our living environment, personified by "congestion, noise and mass living."⁹ In summation, it is Bookchin's contention that the exploitation of the natural world is the inevitable product of capitalism, and can only be reversed if such a concept is negated. Anything less than a de-emphasis of capitalism, and the bourgeoisie values upon which it is based, can only result in compromise and failure. As he explains: "Any attempt to solve the environmental crises within a bourgeois framework must be dismissed as chimerical."¹⁰ (For an examination of Planning and Ecology see Appendix 3).

This, in turn, all ties into Bookchin's premise that the individual is not a citizen until he or she has the capability for empowerment. Without the capability for empowerment (through participation, direct action, and political activity), the quest for meaningful political interaction is fruitless; the inability to achieve self-empowerment necessarily results in "the attrition of the self." The result - an overriding indifference to what goes on around one, including a corresponding loss of "ego" and "personality." In its place is substituted a sense of atomization, trivialization, and preoccupation "with individual survival." The ultimate cost is the erosion of citizenship, meaning of course a lowering of the threshold of responsibility that

⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 18 - 19. Society is presented as "a Promethean drama in which 'man' heroically defies and willfully asserts himself against a brutally hostile and unyielding natural world." Subsequently, progress is measured in terms of man's ability to "harness" nature. Murray Bookchin. *The Modern Crisis*. (Black Rose Books: Montreal, 1987), p. 50.

⁹Bookchin/*Post-Scarcity*, p. 58.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 18 - 19.

an individual might feel for his or her community. Planning for many years has helped to lower this threshold by reducing the psychological and social cost that each individual must invest in the community. Indeed, in many cases this impoverishment has isolated the urbanite within a system in which he or she has no avenue of redress or influence.¹¹ In such a system, the individual's "self-recognition dissolves steadily into a grim lack of selfhood."¹²

For Bookchin, there is but one solution to this dilemma - the "absolute negation of the city . . ."¹³ This produces a number of questions. For example, what does Bookchin mean by community; and if the city as a functional unit were negated, what would we be left with?

For Bookchin, the community is very much a political entity, one which is capable of meaningful political activity. Indeed, the community and its traditional political construct, the public assembly, is at the base of Bookchin's belief in the liberatory power of democracy. Thus, the assembly is an informal means of raising and channeling public issues. He notes that in every civilization we considered democratic, the assembly has served as a means of popular expression. For example, in the early clan, the assembly served as a means of achieving consensus. "In Athens, the assembly took the form of the ecclesia." Later it "reappeared in the medieval and Renaissance towns of Europe." And finally, it comprised the insurgent bodies or "sections" of Paris during the French Revolution.¹⁴

¹¹Bookchin/*Modern Crisis*, p. 28. As far back as 1915, Patrick Geddes argued the significance of citizenship and its importance as a catalyst for healthy, active, and meaningful community. As he explains in *Cities in Evolution*: "The returning conception and ideal of Citizenship is offering us a new start-point of thought and labour. Here, in fact, is a new watchword, as definitive, even more definite, than those of liberty, wealth, and power, of science and of mechanized skill, which have so fascinated our predecessors; one, moreover, transcending all these - are enabling us to retain them, to co-ordinate them with a new clearness and towards the common weal." Patrick Geddes. *Cities in Evolution: An Introduction to the Town Planning Movement and to the Study of Civics*. (Ernest Benn Limited: London, 1968), p. 94.

¹²Murray Bookchin. *The Rise of Urbanization and the Decline of Citizenship*. [Sierra Club Books: San Francisco, 1987], p. 10.

¹³Bookchin/*Post-Scarcity*, p. 63.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 177.

The assembly is therefore a consistent embodiment of democracy. Because the assembly is best served by a local community, we cannot overlook the local community as a source of liberatory expression. Consequently, Bookchin places great emphasis on the political capabilities of the local community as well as the value of the "municipality" in the democratic process. As a matter of fact, he calls this form of societal expression "libertarian municipalism."¹⁵ Indeed, it is his belief that a true, vital democracy can only be achieved and maintained if there is a system which acknowledges the importance of the community and thereby seeks to decentralize power to the lowest common denominator; for example, a neighbourhood committee, council or board.¹⁶

This argument acknowledges the communal character of anarchism; its basis in social philosophy, and in the tenets of cooperation and mutual aid.¹⁷

However, unlike Paul Goodman, Bookchin cannot visualize an incremental road to

¹⁵As Bookchin explains: ". . . the municipality may well be the one arena in which traditional institutional forms can be reworked to replace the nation-state itself. The potential for a truly liberatory radicalism has always been inherent in the municipality; it forms the bedrock of direct political relationships, face-to-face democracy, and new forms of self-governance by neighborhoods and towns." (Bookchin/*Modern Crisis*, p. 40).

And in *The Rise of Urbanization and The Decline of Citizenship*: "Municipal freedom, in short, is the basis for political freedom and political freedom is the basis for individual freedom - a recovery of a new participatory politics structured around free, self-empowered, and active citizens. For centuries, the city was the public sphere for politics and citizenship, and in many areas the principal source of resistance to the encroachment of the nation-state. In its acts of defiance it often delayed the development of the nation-state and created a remarkable form of association to counteract the state's encroachment upon municipal freedom and individual liberties." (Bookchin/*Urbanization*, p. 228).

¹⁶Bookchin/*Post-Scarcity*, p. 190.

¹⁷Bookchin/"Libertarian Municipalism", p. 20. Similarly, Frederic Howe argues the relevance of municipal home-rule: "Home rule would create a city republic, a new sort of sovereignty, a republic like unto those of Athens, Rome, and the medieval Italian Cities, a republic related to the state as the states are now related to the nation at large. And it is a significant thing that the great cities of the world, the cities in which the talent, pride, and energy of the people has been able to respond to its ideals, have been cities enjoying a large measure of liberty." Frederic C. Howe. *The City: The Hope of Democracy*. (University of Washington Press: Seattle, 1967), p. 164.

libertarian municipalism, let alone anarchy.¹⁸ Thus, only through a revolution will a libertarian society be achieved. As he states, "the assembly and community cannot be legislated or decreed into existence."

In effect, a libertarian society "must arise within the revolutionary process," only in this way will we be assured that the process evolves naturally and that it is predicated on "demassification," "self-activity" and "self-realization," and is dedicated to "the destruction of power, property, hierarchy and exploitation."¹⁹ Again, this directly contradicts the "incrementalist" approach advocated by Paul Goodman, who like Howard before him, saw a more optimistic approach to social reform in the attainment of social harmony.

However, Bookchin is quick to point out that a society based on libertarian municipalism would not be fragmented, but rather, would constitute an association of communities. Like Michael Bakunin, the most famous advocate of anarcho-collectivism, Bookchin argues the positive value of "confederation." Indeed, in this way he hopes that municipalism will foster autonomy, and at the same time, avoid parochialism.²⁰

Finally, because he favors community and the "confederation of municipalities," Bookchin is necessarily critical of the nation-state. As he explains in *The Modern Crisis*:

We clearly leaped out of scale when we formed the nation-state. And it is not only the scale on which we function that has exploded beyond our comprehension and control, but also the deep wound we have inflicted on our own humanity. Ordinary

¹⁸According to George Woodcock, Paul Goodman ". . . differentiated from the old-style fundamentalist anarchist in his recognition that the changeover to a totally free society is not a possible revolution, and that the gradualism which earlier anarchists contemptuously rejected has to be accepted for anything to be achieved in the real world. He constantly uses phrases like 'adjustments and transformations of historical conditions; and he recognizes that no process which is not gradual can hope to carry the people with it, which is necessary if one is not to resort to Bolshevik methods.'" George Woodcock. "Paul Goodman: the Anarchist as Conservator." *Our Generation*. (Volume 16, Number 3 and 4, Spring/Summer, 1985).

¹⁹Bookchin/*Post-Scarcity*, p. 68.

²⁰Bookchin/*Alternatives*, p. 63.

people find it impossible to participate in a nation: they can belong to it but it never belongs to them. The size of the nation-state renders active citizenship impossible, at least on the national level, and it turns politics, conceived as something more than a media spectacle, into a form of statecraft in which the citizen is increasingly disempowered by authoritarian executive agencies, their legislative minions, and an all-encompassing bureaucracy.²¹

As a matter of fact, Bookchin's blasts the nation-state for its disproportionate scale and its tendency toward the nullification of the participative value of the individual, not to mention his or her prostration to its authoritarian "agencies" and "minions." This parallels the traditional anarchist aversion to authority. It is very much an anarchistic argument levelled at the nation-state's ability to coerce and manipulate the individual - to make an individual "less than human."

By this point, it should be apparent that the notion of participation is crucial to social ecology. More importantly, however, participation represents one of the ultimate negations of our characteristically non-participative society. Bookchin looks upon this negation as historically determined. What he sees is the "end of hierarchical society's development"

In effect, all of the precepts of hierarchy are exhausted, they are no longer necessary. At one time perhaps the need for hierarchical political relationships were necessary for unifying and advancing civilization. Yet, at this stage, there is no longer "any social rationale for property and classes, for monogamy and patriarchy, for hierarchy and authority, for bureaucracy and the state."²² What we are ready to do is move on to a more libertarian society.

Having touched on the communal and participative nature of social ecology, I would like to end this section with some "loose" observations, dealing most appropriately with decentralization and cooperation.

²¹Bookchin/*Modern Crisis*, pp. 27 - 28.

²²Bookchin/*Post-Scarcity*, pp. 19 - 20.

Social Ecology's decentralist argument revolves around two key considerations; one social, the other economic. Under the social consideration we find the truism that "an anarchist society should be a decentralized society." Only in this way, argues the social ecologist, are we able to envision the "harmonization of man and nature," and of man and man. In this way, we also realize the benefits of "real" community; a community that would encourage as much personal association as possible and that would thrive on interaction, communication and the transference of knowledge.²³

Under the economic consideration we must question the ability of our current economic system to accommodate the strain which a highly consumerized, urbanized, bureaucratized system puts on it. Many of these problems have a direct impact on the planning profession - for example, the problems of transportation and of urbanization. Physically stated, the problems created by modern society pose incredible logistical problems (especially when it comes to supplying modern society with "raw materials, manufactured commodities and food stuffs"); not to mention the nightmare of administration.²⁴ Decentralization provides a strategy for breaking down these organizational monoliths and reinjecting vigor and dynamism into political and economic relations.

Finally, social ecology is highly cooperative; in fact, it derives its observations on natural evolution from nature itself - but not the "stingy," highly competitive, zero-sum nature we have been lead to believe in. Instead, a nature that is marked by cooperation, striving, and a "rich fecundity."²⁵ It is Bookchin's belief that we must stop viewing evolution as "the evolution of 'a species,'" and start viewing it as the evolution of plant and animal communities "in which organisms interact with each other in a fecund way and open ever-richer possibilities for development and ultimately for choice or freedom."²⁶

²³*Ibid.*, p. 101.

²⁴Bookchin/*Post-Scarcity*, p. 84.

²⁵Bookchin/"Freedom and Necessity in Nature," p. 62.

²⁶*Ibid.*, p. 63.

Bookchin calls this perception "participatory evolution." By definition, this implies that cooperation is more conducive to survival than is struggle. As he explains:

. . . life forms are related in an ecosystem not by the 'rivalries' and 'competitive' attributes imparted to them by Darwinian orthodoxy, but by the mutualistic attributes emphasized by a growing number of contemporary ecologists - an image pioneered by Peter Kropotkin. Indeed, social ecology challenges the very premises of "fitness" that enter into the Darwinian drama of evolutionary development with its fixation on "survival" rather than differentiation and fecundity.²⁷

This view contradicts the neo-Darwinist notion that evolution operates primarily to weed out lifeforms unfit to survive.²⁸

II

Populism:

. . . populism is ambivalent about government. Its adherents want to use government for public ends, but they fear its ultimate subordination to private designs.²⁹

Murray Bookchin

"Thesis on Libertarian Municipalism"

Under "politics" we find two movements that have arisen as a response to the predominant political systems which have shaped the North American urban and rural milieu. The first is

²⁷Bookchin/*Modern Crisis*, p. 56.

²⁸Bookchin/"Freedom and Necessity in Nature," p. 32.

²⁹Simon Lazarus. *The Genteel Populists*. (Holt, Rinehart and Winston: New York, 1974), p.

the Populist movement, the second a newer variant known as the Green movement. I will examine the Green movement in a subsequent section, the concern at this time is Populism, and more specifically Neo-Populism.

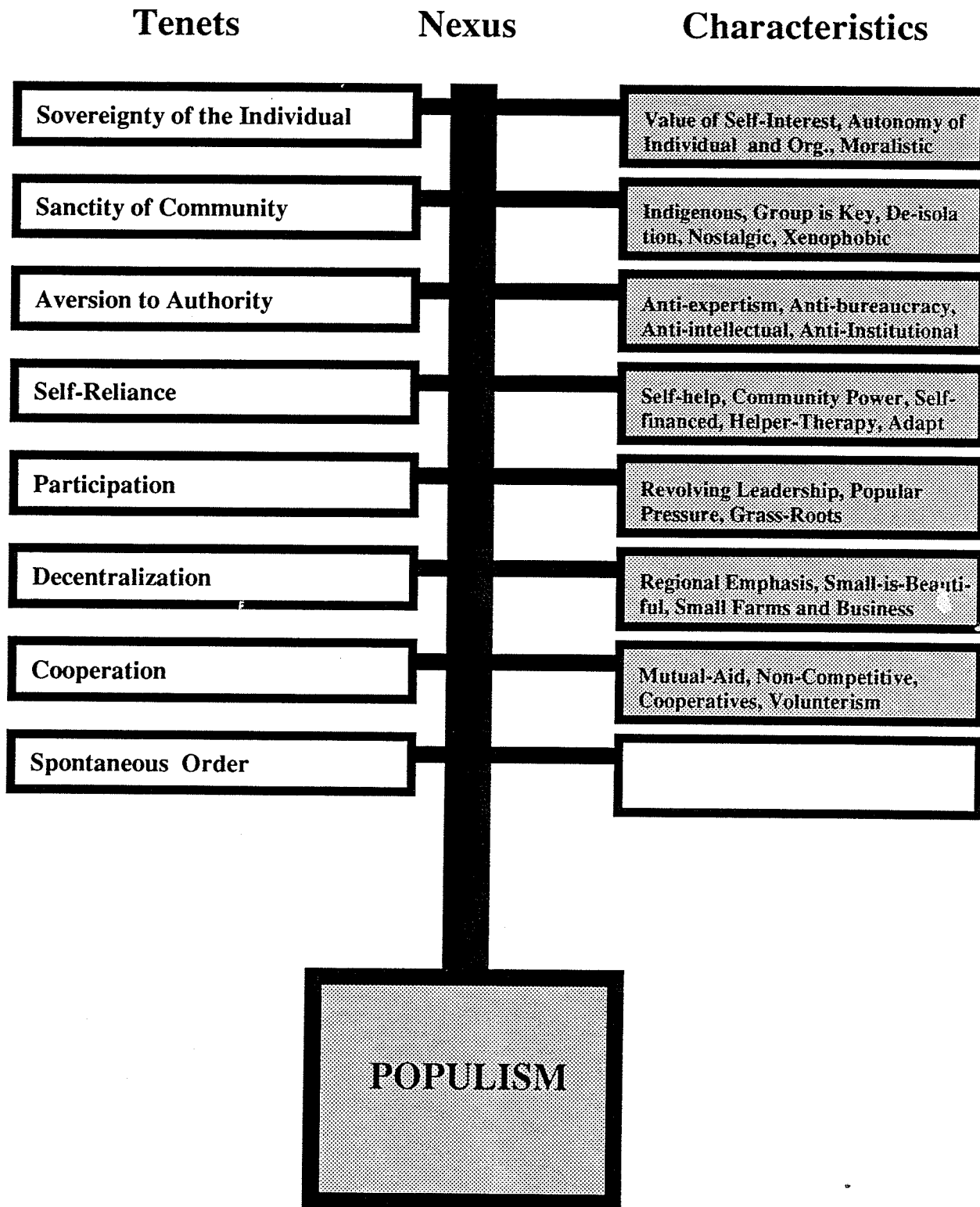
Looking back upon the radical socio/political history of North America, Populism necessarily stands out as a force for radical reform and broad-based political participation. Although the popularity of this movement peaked between the years 1870 and 1900, it has continued to exert a persistent influence on North American electoral politics. This influence is particularly notable among the American working class and farmer.

Populism first appealed to the American masses in the mid to late 1800s, when inhabitants of America's burgeoning industrial first experienced the derogatory effects of uncontrolled market-based economics, including "the alliance of government and monopolists, the manipulation of credit, the growth of the trusts, the squeezing of the farmer by railroads, packers and manufacturers, the centralization and alienation of the political parties, the cheap labor of mass immigration," and rapid urbanization.³⁰ All these elements provided "grist" for the Populist platform and for the radical political reform which the movement expounded.

What kind of reform, you may ask? According to the Populists, there were a number of tenets which had to be maintained. The most important was the "primitivistic" or nostalgic vision of the pre-industrial agrarian community. According to George Woodcock, the Populists wanted to reinvent the age of the sturdy yeomen, when artisans were free to practice their trades and live off the fruits of their labor, uninhibited by external manipulation. What they wanted was ". . . an agrarian *gemeinschaft*."³¹ This vision was predicated on the

³⁰Stoehr, Taylor (editor). *Drawing the Line: The Political Essays of Paul Goodman*. (Free Life Editions: New York, N. Y., 1977), p. 181.

³¹*Ibid.*, p. 156.



(Figure 21)

romantic image of "manly independence," "entrepreneurial radicalism" and "belonging," that small-scale community implied.³² Populism, very much a community based ideology, rejected the elements which perpetuated indifference and expounded the "value of fraternity based on a sense of shared locality." Such a perception was both good and bad. On the positive side, it guaranteed a sense of community and of fellowship with one's neighbours, and it promoted community of resource and purpose; on the negative side, it easily became xenophobic, distrusting anything or anyone not of the "locality", the "clan," or the "folk." This has been, and still is, the unfortunate duality of Populism.

To better understand populism as a political movement, Chita Ionescu has put together a comprehensive list identifying the basic principles which underly populist ideology. According to Ionescu, populism is first and foremost a loosely defined ideology whose adherents purposefully avoid attempts at rigid organization, hierarchy, and authoritarian guidance.³³

Consequently, the adherents of populism are also "opposed to the Establishment," meaning that populism is very much an alternative seeking to counter the authority of elites attempting to alienate the popular masses from the "centres of power." However, this does not imply a revolutionary ethos. Populists are content to promote change from within, rather than without.³⁴ Like most rural-based movements, the goals and objectives of populism make it equally applicable to both the urban and rural setting.

It is also important to note that populism is "anti-institutional," and although not necessarily adverse to progress, it is critical of science and technology, preferring the "moralistic" rather than the "programmatic." Finally, Populism is religious in the sense that its adherents believe in the spirituality of man.³⁵

³²Chita Ionescu and Ernest Gellner (editors). *Populism: Its Meaning and National Characteristics*. (The MacMillan Company: London, 1969), p. 9.

³³*Ibid.*, p. 167.

³⁴*Ibid.*

³⁵*Ibid.*, p. 170.

The populist's preferred economic "idealtypus" is the co-operative. For the populist, the idea of privately owned businesses operating in a voluntarily organized economic framework which allows a market to function freely, but also helps to bring together the various buyers and sellers in an equitable arrangement, is the most appropriate means of commercial intercourse, one which benefits both the co-operative and the local community.³⁶

There are a number of other elements which define populism, and coincidentally, share the anarchist tendency.

While an issue in the latter half of the nineteenth century, when the threat of external exploitation at the hands of monopolists and trusts appeared most pressing, self-reliance has become even more relevant as North American economic predominance has declined. The resurrection of populist ideas in North America and the revival of neo-populism over the last two decades as a form of political expression are the most obvious examples. This revival has also been a response to the "enormous expansion and significance of services in the welfare state." It is a response to the paternalistic and regulatory way in which an increasingly centralized government has taken control of, or otherwise sought to administer, a number of services traditionally left to the responsibility of the individual or the community. Perhaps the most grating aspect of this transformation has been the pervasiveness of the professional mystique. This growing trend has been viewed by the populist with a great deal of criticism and disdain. It is felt that professionals, whether politicians or planners, have only served to "mystify" the political process and further tied the individual to policies or courses of action over which he or she has no control or understanding. Frank Reissman suggests that informal

³⁶*Ibid.*, p. 166. According to A. E. Dreyfuss, "A CO-OPERATIVE IS essentially a business . . . To start their co-operative the member-owners put up a small amount of cash and borrow the rest, sometimes from another co-operative. In the consumer co-op each member's purchases are recorded. At the end of the fiscal year, after operating expenses have been subtracted from income, the member is paid back a percentage of the surplus based on the amount he has spent in the co-op. An important feature here is that all the money stays in the community . . ." A. E. Dreyfuss (editor). *City Villages: The Co-operative Quest*. (United States Youth Council: Toronto, 1973), p. 172.

structures such as mutual aid groups and "natural helpers," are a way to combat this trend, as they constitute an attempt to establish community self-reliance by demonstrating the effectiveness of the "self-help" ethos. In effect, mutual aid provides a foundation for a system based on personal experience, participation, and the interchange of ideas and resources.

Finally, the self-help ethos itself is predicated on a number of assumptions. In brief, these are:

- a noncompetitive, cooperative orientation;
- an anti-elite, anti-bureaucratic focus;
- an emphasis on the indigenous - people who have the problem and who know a lot about it from the 'inside,' from experiencing it;
- a goal of doing what you can do, taking one day at a time, not trying to solve everything at once;
- a shared, often circulating leadership;
- being helped through helping (the helper-therapy principle);
- no necessary antagonism between altruism and egoism;
- offering help not as a commodity to be bought and sold;
- an accent on empowerment - control over one's own life;
- a strong optimism regarding the ability to change;
- a recognition that small may not necessarily be beautiful, but is the place to begin and the unit to build upon;
- a critical stance toward professionalism, which is often seen as pretentious, purist, distant, and mystifying; a preference for simplicity and informality;
- an emphasis on the consumer, or, in Toffler's term, the prosumer (the consumer as a producer of help and services);
- placing helping at the center - knowing how to receive help, give help, and help yourself, that self-victimization is antithetical to the ethos;
- a recognition that the group is key - de-isolation is critical.³⁷

³⁷Frank Riessman. "The New Populism and the Empowerment Ethos." *The New Populism: The Politics of Empowerment*. Harry C. Boyte and Frank Riessman (editors). (Temple University Press: Philadelphia, 1986), pp. 59 - 60.

One of the reasons the self-help ethic has prospered at the community level is due to the strength of community organization. It is here that we see the impact of populist ideas on the planning profession and the consequent flow of principles between planning and anarchism. If we were to examine the community organization in detail these relationships would become more apparent. I would like to identify some of the characteristics of community organization, thereby showing how closely populist philosophy, the anarchist concern for community, and the interests of community organization correspond. In this way, I hope to clarify the fundamental interconnection that lies at the heart of each.

Community organizations maintain a strong base in "local tradition, leadership, and people." Thus, the programs implemented or formulated by the community organization arise out of the people themselves, usually through a desire for direct action, or a need for some form of mutual consensus. Likewise, the organization receives most of its input from individuals, either in the form of ideas, or as volunteers. Thus, the organization "is characterized by a constant day-to-day flow of volunteer activities and the daily functioning of numerous local committees charged with specific short-term functions." This extends to leadership, and leadership cultivation within the community as well, thus making the community organization an ideal vehicle for propagating populism.

Community organizations are also concerned with "emphasizing the functional relationship between problems" Not surprisingly, problems are treated in a holistic manner, with due regard for the consequences of actions taken and for the ideas of methods of resolution adopted by other communities. As such, "circumscribed" or "segmental approaches" to problem resolution are avoided.³⁸ This parallels the populist's traditional dedication to the principle of "cause and effect."

Finally, community organization emphasizes the nature of human motivation and incentive.

³⁸Mike Miller. "Populist Promises and Problems." *The New Populism: The Politics of Empowerment*. Harry C. Boyte and Frank Reissman (editors). (Temple University Press: Philadelphia, 1986), p. 136.

Thus, many populists concentrate on channeling "deeply felt values" and "self-interest" into projects which will benefit the entire community.³⁹

III

Green Movement:

The most revolutionary structures are seen to be those that foster the development of self-help, community responsibility, and free activity, and which are consistent with the ecotopian ideal of a loose federation of regions or communes.⁴⁰

Robyn Eckersley
Green Politics

Perhaps the greatest political expression of the Green Movement is the Green Party. As a political body, the Green Party was first constituted in West Germany in 1983; since this time there has been an ongoing debate on whether or not adherents of the Green Movement in the United States should also constitute a national party. Criticism of this strategy has generally come from fundamentalists who feel that a national organization would compromise the values and indeed the very rationale upon which the movement is based. That is to say, the idea of organic, localized political expression that is directly responsible to the community and not to a national organization, which they see as inherently hierarchical and centralistic. The adherents of party organization maintain that the Green Party would not become just another political organization with a tendency to centralization and bureaucracy. They argue that the Green Party would become an "anti-party party." Whether this is possible remains to be seen.

³⁹*Ibid.*, p. 137.

⁴⁰Robyn Eckersley. "Green Politics: A Practice in Search of a Theory." *Alternatives*, [Volume 15, Number 4, November/December, 1988], p. 59.

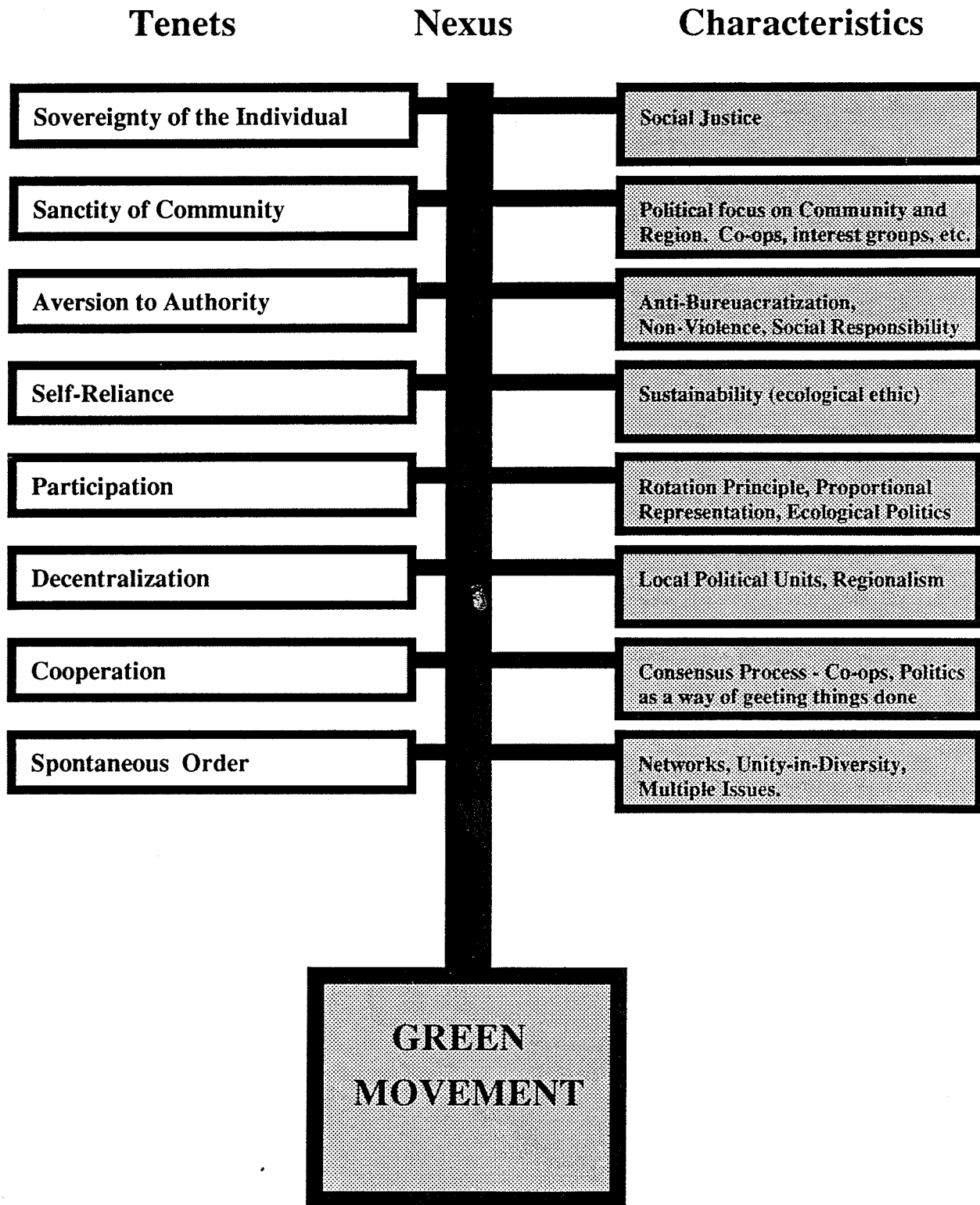
The Green Movement (Party) stands on four philosophical "pillars" These are:

- 1) Ecology
- 2) Social Responsibility
- 3) Grassroots Democracy
- 4) Non-violence

Each pillar represents a key tenet which has helped to define the green movement. For example, the first pillar, "ecology," strings together a diverse series of environmental and sociological concerns and helps to trace "the interconnections between multifaceted crisis that range from pollution, resource depletion and species extinction to poverty, disease, social and economic injustice, alienation, and political oppression." Not surprisingly, ecology is a very powerful term which helps adherents of the green movement to express their concerns on a variety of fronts and to demonstrate the inclusive, and holistic nature of the movement itself. The term also provides a framework for criticism of the "status-quo," including any and all socio-economic systems which fail to make the connection between materialistic expansion, resource exploitation, the manipulation of nature and social degradation. Finally, ecology provides a rallying point for a popular "vision of an alternative future."⁴¹

"Social responsibility" is the second pillar - it stands for a collective sense of responsibility, both to the natural and human environment. A deference to grassroots democracy naturally figures into the Green perception of equitable resource distribution, social and political power, and the importance of political involvement at the community and regional level.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, p. 55.



(Figure 22)

Finally, adherents of the Green movement put a great deal of emphasis on bringing about social change through non-violence - the passive resistance strategies of Gandhi or Tolstoy are a case in point. It is the Green belief, that only through such a method can lasting and constructive change be achieved.⁴²

Given these observations, it can be argued that the Green movement exhibits many characteristics and aspirations that are at heart, anarchic. It is not difficult, therefore, to tie the principles of the Greens into the criterion identified in chapter 2. The following observations represent some obvious examples.

Take, for example, an aversion to authority. This is a "Green" characteristic, one which has manifested itself in what is perceived as the "life-threatening" policies and activities pursued by contemporary authority - whether state-socialist or liberal-capitalist. Some of these life-threatening policies include militarism, the arms race and the various military excursions and wars that have recurred over the last few decades. Others, are the "blind" emphasis by many nations on growth, development and "consumerism," and on the displacement of political responsibility from the people to ever more remote bureaucracies and centralized agencies. This has promoted a "Green" call for increased political decentralization and direct or local control over resource management. It is felt that only in recognition and positive reaction to authority will people achieve some level of involvement in their own communities, and the worst excesses of consumerism, statism and indifference be eroded. As Vaughan Lyon explains:

The central thrust of the green message is that people must assume moral responsibility for the conduct of their lives and the direction of their communities, rejecting manipulation. Party members see an urgent need for a shift of attitudes and life-styles away from the excesses of consumerism and statism promoted by those in power The Greens insist that power must be decentralized and democracy

⁴²Some would add a fifth pillar - "Decentralization." Brian Tokar. *The Green Alternative: Creating An Ecological Future*. (R. and E. Miles: San Pedro, CA, 1987), p. 2.

extended beyond elections and representation. They assume that people will not allow the destruction of their own habitat or opportunity for creative expression, if the power resides with them.⁴³

While Greens are aware of the advantage of harmonious community organization, it is also true that they recognize the need for political action, and indeed, the West German Green Party 'prides' itself on the nature of its "ecological" politics. That is, on the interconnectedness of its social and political life.⁴⁴ Furthermore, reliance is placed on "grass-roots" political participation, consensus building, and the "participatory ethos."⁴⁵ This emphasis is personified by a number of party policies, the most important is the "rotation principle."

The purpose of this principle is to deconcentrate political leadership, (therefore power), by continuously rotating representatives through office at the regional and national level. This practice, however, has not been carried to the municipal level, because it is felt that municipal politics are not as prone to political elitism and abuse.⁴⁶

In addition to rotation, we should note Green insistence on "proportional representation" (PR). In fact, most Green political success in West Germany is attributable to this practice.⁴⁷ Indeed, it is Vaughan Lyon's belief that the adoption of such a system in Canada would prove a positive step toward democratization, reducing the worst inequities of regional and national representation by breaking apart traditional party monopolies. It is also argued that such a model allows smaller minority interests to voice their opinions in national affairs, and in turn, makes the executive body more accountable.⁴⁸

⁴³Vaughan Lyon. "The Reluctant Party: Ideology Versus Organization in Canada's Green Movement." *Alternatives*, (Volume 13, Number 1, December, 1985), p. 6.

⁴⁴Tokar, p. 56.

⁴⁵Eckersley, p. 54.

⁴⁶Fritzof Capra and Charlene Spretnak in collaboration with Rudiger Lutz. *Green Politics*. (E. P. Dutton, Incorporated: New York, 1984), p. 41.

⁴⁷Lyon, p. 5.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, p. 6.

While proportional representation is considered a radical concept, it is not a new argument, nor is proportional representation a new form of political expression. As a matter of fact, H. G. Wells was a firm critic of the British parliamentary system as early as 1900. He was not afraid to criticize western democracies for their party "polarity." As he stated in 1939, when discussing the reluctance of the constituency to consider the positive aspects of proportional representation:

. . . there is a sort of shyness in the minds of young men interested in politics when it comes to discussing Proportional Representation. They think it is a "bit faddy." At best it is a side issue. Party politicians strive to maintain that bashfulness, because they know quite clearly that what is called Proportional Representation with the single transferable vote in large constituencies, returning a dozen members or more, is extinction for the mere party hack and destruction for party organizations.⁴⁹

Another example is found in Well's criticism of parliamentary representatives:

It is an open question whether they are much more responsive to popular feeling than the Dictators we denounce so unreservedly as the antithesis of democracy. They betray a great disregard of mass responses. They explain less. They disregard more. The Dictators have to go on talking and talking, not always truthfully, but they have to talk. A dumb Dictator is inconceivable.⁵⁰

Finally, Greens support decentralization, which I presume means decentralization of economy as well as political power. This concept appears to embody most of the political aspirations of the Green Movement, especially the emphasis on the ability of the individual to influence his or her political environment, and participate in or otherwise affect the path of

⁴⁹H. G. Wells. *The New World Order: Whether It Is Attainable, How it can be Attained, and What Sort of World a World at Peace Will Have To Be.* (Greenwood Press, Publishers: Westport, Connecticut, 1940), p. 94.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*

development the community will take. Decentralization also underlies the movement toward simplified administrative systems, and removal of the mystification and indifference caused by large-scale bureaucracy. The importance of decentralization is highlighted by both Fritjof Capra and Charlene Spretnak in *Greening America*:

Some Greens feel that the principle of decentralization should have been a fifth Pillar, as it is essential to Green politics. All Green proposals are built on the conviction that people must have more direct control over the complex interplay of social, ecological, economic, and political forces. They maintain that overbureaucratization and the hierarchical structure of government thwarts the initiative of citizens. Moreover, the Greens state that the impenetrability behind which various economic and political interests hide has become a danger to democracy. They oppose the strong tendencies in industrialized nations toward authoritarian measures, such as surveillance and censorship of books. To facilitate greater participation by citizens, the Greens advocate decentralizing and simplifying administrative units with a greater share of government revenues going to states, regions, counties, towns, and neighborhoods.⁵¹

Thus, we see that the Greens are firm proponents of regional government and just as firmly committed critics of the authoritarian state, which they perceive as the fountainhead of most of the political evils besetting modern society. According to the Greens, this criticism is directly tied to the nation-state's capability for massive economic and political concentration, which, at least in North America, is highly susceptible to elitist manipulation and as such, used as a means for promoting "economic competition, large-scale exploitation, and massive wars" Such a perception places salvation within the realm of small political and economic units, and on the capability of these units to allow the individual to affect the direction of community development.⁵²

Finally, I would be remiss to overlook Green reliance on spontaneous order as a

⁵¹Capra/Spretnak, pp. 47 - 48.

⁵²*Ibid.*, p. 48.

framework for political expression. Indeed, it is an important aspect of their overall political ethos. Spontaneous order underlines the Green concept of "grass-roots" determinism, with its natural proclivity to voluntary organization and interpersonal networks.

It is also true that the Green movement is at heart a conglomeration of interests groups. While some have suggested that this diversity may be an inhibition to progress - a mark of disunity - others suggest that this is the Green's greatest strength. As Brian Tokar explains: "The Greens are not a single-issue movement. The goal of reshaping the foundations of this society and its relationship to nature requires that people relish their differences viewing them as spheres of complementarity rather than as bones of contention."⁵³

IV

Eco-Development - C.E.D. - Conserver Society:

There are at least three movements which advocate a societal system based on alternative public resource generation and distribution. Among these movements, the most defined are Eco-development, Community Economic Development and the Conserver Society. Because these movements deal implicitly with the distribution of collective resources they inevitably exercise an impact on planning.

It is my contention that these movements evidence a willingness to implement strategies that are based on, or are sympathetic to, a number of the fundamental anarchist tenets. Thus, the connection between anarchism and the movements, and ultimately, planning. I will begin with a few words on the movements themselves, and then proceed to discuss how the criteria and the movements interconnect, taking community economic development as a prime example.

According to a report by the Institute of Urban Studies (University of Winnipeg)

⁵³Tokar/*The Green Alternative*, p. 55.

community economic development (C.E.D.) "is both a movement and a process designed to marshal human, physical and financial resources." The following objectives are implied:

- the integration of "economic and social development at the community level;"
- the improvement of the community's environment, especially its ability to "address its own socio-economic problems;"
- the stimulation of "self-sustaining, socially-responsible economic growth;"
- the retention of "investment returns for the benefit of the community;"
- the engagement of "bottom-up planning and decision-making" techniques;
- the promotion of "community self-determination, and control over basic economic decisions such as employment, investment and location;
- the encouragement of "collective self-reliance;"
- the development of organizations "which are responsive and accountable to the community."⁵⁴

It would appear then, that the mandate of community economic development is at root a liberatory one. The movement seeks to liberate the community from dependence on the economic resources of external agencies by providing a basis for sustainability within the community itself. Such a strategy is intended to provide the community with a renewed sense of confidence in its own political determination and in its ability to oversee its own economic development. The movement assumes that economic wherewithal and political power are mutually inclusive and therefore attempts to "re-empower" the community through the implementation of an appropriate economic strategy.

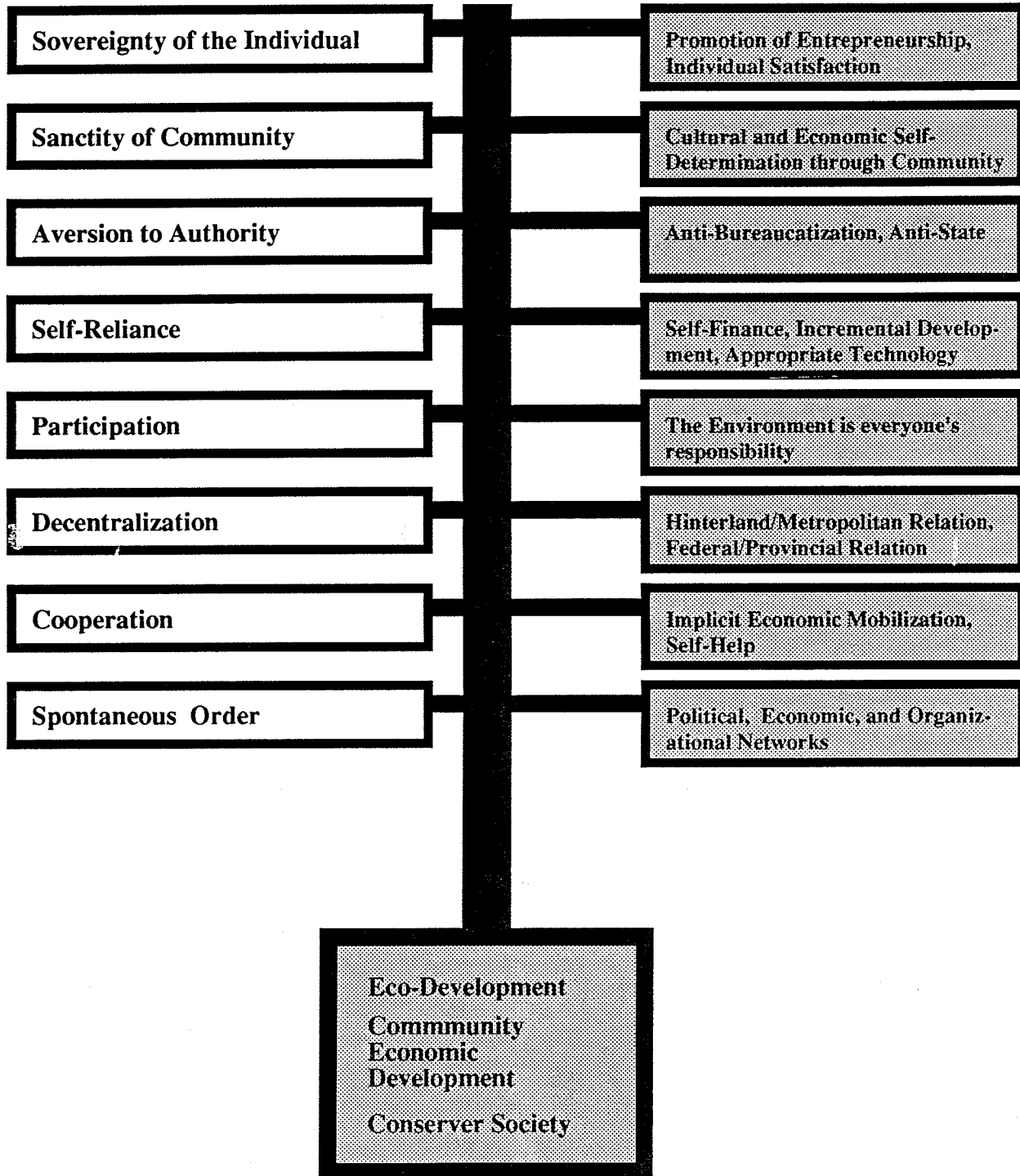
However, one of the main difficulties with such a concept, according to Dixon Thompson, is that it is often considered a movement for " . . . recycling; less materialism;

⁵⁴Lynda H. Newman, Deborah M. Lyon, and Warren B. Philp. *Community Economic Development: An Approach for Urban-Based Economies - Report No. 16*. (Institute of Urban Studies: Winnipeg, Manitoba, 1986), p. 26.

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(Figure 23)

doing more with less; parsimonious resource use; limits to growth and stressing sustainability and renewable rather than non-renewable resources"⁵⁵ This is not an accurate assessment.

Thompson suggests that in truth, movements like C.E.D. address concerns which go well beyond the material problems of the current consumer society. For example, the conserver society focuses on not only the conservation of resources and the protection of the "biophysical environment," but also on the social and political structures of which these problems are a product.

Indeed, the conserver society requires that concerns usually "tacked on as afterthoughts" or given lip-service by conventional planning, such as resource conservation and environmental impact assessments, be given serious consideration throughout any and all "design, planning and policy formulation processes." It is the conserver's hope that these assessments will become the heart of any future planning process.

The following observations represent a brief overview of the principles that tie C.E.D., Eco-development, and the Conserver Society to the anarchist criterion. I will begin with the sovereignty of the individual, proceed to the sanctity of community, aversion to authority, self-reliance, participation, and end with spontaneous order.

Sovereignty of the Individual:

A great deal of emphasis is placed on the local entrepreneur as a source of community income generation. This is particularly true when it comes to developing creative ideas for economic development. Adherents of eco-development emphasize the capacity of the individual to foster the entrepreneurial spirit as a means of promoting "invention and innovation" in the development process. It is felt that if the entrepreneur is personally attached to the community,

⁵⁵Dixon Thompson. "A Conserver Society: Grounds for Optimism." *Alternatives*, (Volume 2, Number 1, Fall, 1982), p. 3.

that he feels welcome, and that he is allowed to function with the utmost freedom, the benefits of his ingenuity will ultimately accrue to the community in the form of local income and employment generation.⁵⁶

The Sanctity of Community:

All three movements support the idea of cultural self-determination, and in turn, community. It is thought that such a right is undeniable and that it should be no less cherished than freedom of expression, or for that matter, freedom of religion. It is also felt that self-determination precipitates diversity, which is considered a desirable prelude to innovation, creativity and social vivacity. Such a belief is also applicable to the biological matrix. Thus, "diversity and complexity should be nurtured with respect to human, plant and animal life in order to maximize our capacity for flexibility, innovation and adaptability in the face of unknown futures."⁵⁷

Aversion to Authority:

Each movement recognizes the debilitating effects of bureaucracy, and its structural embodiment, the state. Thus, each movement seeks to de-emphasize bureaucracy by promoting local initiative and responsibility for economic, political, and social policy. To take one example, the conserver society ". . . would move to instill a sense of responsibility in society in which conservation and environmental protection would be part of the normal, expected framework, rather than something that was done only because it was required by a large expensive (and inefficient) bureaucracy."⁵⁸

⁵⁶Susan Wismer and David Pell. "Living the Good Life: Ecodevelopment." *Alternatives*, (Volume 12, Numbers 3 and 4, Spring/Summer, 1985), p . 29.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, p. 29.

Self-Reliance:

The key, economic principle of the three movements is self-reliance. Using eco-development as an example, we find that there are a number of strategies that can be implemented in order to attain and maintain economic self-reliance. The first is ecological balance - in other words, implementing a strategy that will serve the "long term best interests of the community" and "will of necessity emphasize the long-term sustainability and regeneration of local natural resources." The second is the maximization of local resources "to serve the basic needs of local people for food, shelter, livelihood, and security." The third is an emphasis of incremental gains that seek to fulfill short term rather than long term goals, which consequently, are harder to focus upon. The analogy used by Wismer and Pell is that of the small-scale local industry versus the large-scale external industry. Evidently, "theorists agree that the development of micro-businesses employing one or two people and initiated by locally-based entrepreneurs will, in the long term, represent a better investment of community resources, than attempts to attract large industrial 'transplants' from other locations." The fourth is an emphasis on the value of appropriate technologies, especially those that are culturally or environmentally appropriate. The main objective of this strategy is to ensure that technologies reflect the current cultural and environmental context in which they are placed and that they are "understandable and controllable by those they are meant to serve and should, in general, enhance rather than replace human capacity."⁵⁹ The fifth emphasizes self-finance and the minimization of debt. Thus, labour-intensive strategies are preferred over capital-intensive strategies, save in situations where there is surplus income available or little or no labour to supply the need. Finally, adherents of economic self-reliance emphasize the continuity of human existence, by maintaining that development should be undertaken not only for the good

⁵⁸Thompson, p. 7.

⁵⁹Wismer/Pell, p. 29.

of the community, but with some concern for the interests of posterity.⁶⁰

Participation:

All three movements are predicated on participation as a vehicle for enhancing the democratic character of community. The basic assumption is that those who are affected by development have a right to participate actively in the planning of it.⁶¹

Because each of the movements seeks to provide an alternative to the current centralized, bureaucratized, hierarchical political and economic system, they necessarily rely on strategies which are opposed or antithetical to those employed by the "system." One such strategy is decentralization - or emphasis on regional "locus of control" by means of local organization.⁶² Arguments in favor of decentralization are found in a number of conserver society strategies and in their criticism of the status-quo. One argument in particular highlights the existence of animosity between the hinterland and the metropolis, and between the federal and provincial governments. Such animosity is considered unexceptionable in a conserver society because it promotes the degradation of one region at the expense of another.⁶³

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, p. 30.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, p. 29.

⁶²*Ibid.* According to one non-government organization operating in Montreal (GAMMA - *Group Associe Montreal*), *McGill pour l'etude de l'avenir*], such a strategy is both politically and economically motivated: "Power and activity would be decentralized to small scale institutions, individual needs for personal development and mutual cooperation would be emphasized and consumptive needs downplayed. Achievement of this would involve extensive development of small scale technologies for conservation and renewable resource use, replacement of transportation with communication technologies, de-industrialization, greater handicraft production, and severe restriction of advertising" David Orfald and Robert Gibson. "The Conserver Society Idea: A History with Questions." *Alternatives*. (Volume 12, Numbers 3 and 4, Spring/Summer, 1985), p. 38.

⁶³Thompson, p. 6.

Spontaneous Order:

Finally, all three movements advocate a form of popular, grass-root. The most obvious means of achieving this end is through what are called "supportive networks." The importance of these networks is not only to provide a voice for local concerns and a means of positive participation among all members of a community, but also to allow interaction and cooperation between different organizations, and to provide a means through which information can be shared, knowledge exchanged, allies made, and technical and financial resources pooled.⁶⁴

V

Bio-Regionalism:

Only superman could understand the great city as a total, or as whole groups of districts, in the detail that is needed for guiding constructive actions and for avoiding unwitting, gratuitous, destructive actions.⁶⁵

Jane Jacobs The Death and Life of Great American Cities

Now we turn to bioregionalism. Have we encountered the idea before? In the chapter on planning evolution we see that it figures prominently in the formation of planning theory, especially of the type propounded by Mumford and the Regional Planning Association of

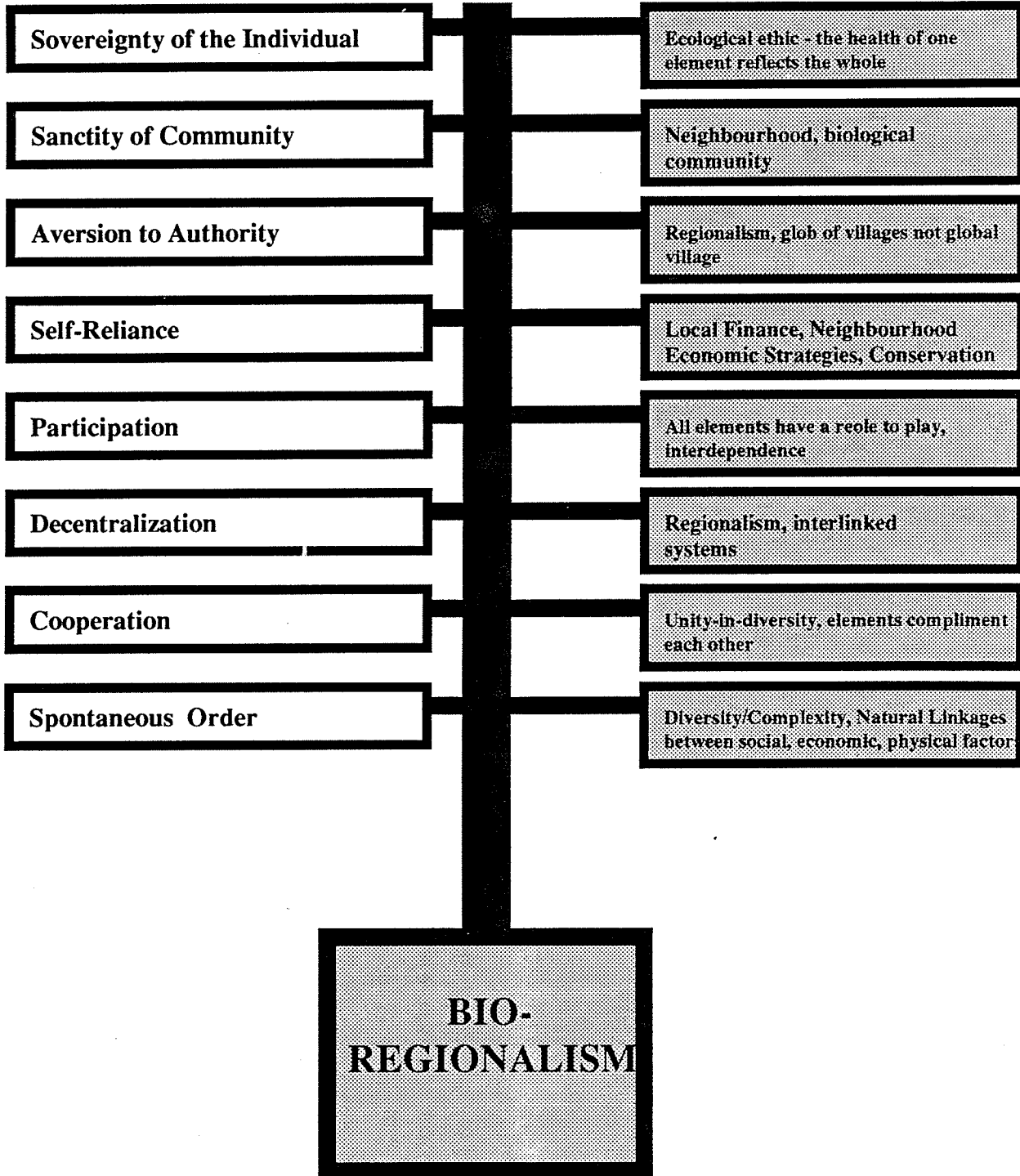
⁶⁴Wisner/Pell, p. 30. According to Hazel Henderson, supportive networks are the "ultimate organizational design." Indeed, it is Henderson's contention that such an organizational structure would be easy to access as many such informal networks already exist "among self-actualizing individuals who share a similar world view and similar values." Hazel Henderson. *Creating Alternative Futures: The End of Economics*. (Berkeley Publishing Corporation: Berkeley, 1978), p. 234.

⁶⁵Jane Jacobs. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. (Vintage Books, New York, 1961), p. 410.

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(Figure 24)

America (RPAA).⁶⁶ We see that it represents a planning philosophy opposed to both the congestion of cities and the depopulation of the countryside. In this respect, bio-regionalism is critical of the dense urban conglomeration and the sprawling metropolis. It seeks rather, to distribute the population and physical attributes of a given region "so as to promote and stimulate a vivid, creative life throughout" the whole - with an emphasis on ecology. In essence, the bio-regionalist views the region as a single interconnected association of people and resources. As Lewis Mumford explains: "The regionalist attempts to plan such an area so that all its sites and resources, from forest to city, from highland to water level, may be soundly developed, and so that the population will be distributed so as to utilize, rather than to nullify or destroy, its natural advantages."⁶⁷ The regionalist does not look for the solution to urbanization in the city, per se, rather, he seeks a solution in an equitable balance and reintegration of the rural and urban fabric. In effect, the regional adherent seeks to bring the country to the city, and the city to the country. Historically, this strategy is personified by the Garden City movement.

There is also something to be said for the "conservationist" quality of regional planning; a characteristic which is as strong now as it was in Mumford's time. The conservationist quality stems for the most part from the idea of urban and rural integration. To the bio-regionalist, such a integration has more than aesthetic significance. It promotes the rational utilization of human and natural resources. Indeed, their combination! As Mumford explains, a "depopulated countryside" and a "congested city" are two symptoms of a shared problem. A problem which ignores the vast resource potential of a region by forgetting what lies between

⁶⁶Mumford became a member of the Regional Planning Association of America, ". . . a group of young architects, planners, and environmentalists," in 1923. He was drawn to their interest in New Towns and their "advanced thinking on urban design." Also, the association's leaders were "three of the outstanding figures in twentieth-century American planning, Clarence Stein, Henry Wright, and Benton MacKaye." Donald L. Miller (editor). *The Lewis Mumford Reader*. (Pantheon Books: New York, 1986), p. 101.

⁶⁷*Ibid.*, p. 208.

cities; by turning "permanent agriculture" into "land skinning," "permanent forestry" into "timber mining," and "permanent human communities" into "camps and squatter settlements" for resource extraction. For Mumford, Regional planning represents a more holistic approach to resource development without resorting to haphazard plundering by attempting to reintegrate town and country; in effect, "regional planning is the New Conservation"⁶⁸

The Region:

But what is a region? Like any large, abstract entity, the region is an elusive concept to grasp. For Mumford, the region is a "geographic area that possesses a certain unity of climate, soil, vegetation, industry, and culture."⁶⁹ For Leonard Marsh, the region is primarily a geographic, political or economic agglomeration. An example would be the "geographical-political regions of Canada - for example, the Atlantic provinces, Quebec, Ontario, the Prairie Provinces, British Columbia, or even larger agglomerations like Eastern, Central, and Western Canada. Geographical regions would include areas of shared geographic features, for example, the "Laurential Shield, the Prairies, and the Rockies." Finally, there is shared economic regions that depend on similar production centers, have similar resource potential and/or similar markets.⁷⁰

Another definition is provided by Peter Hall. He points out that there are two regional types; one the Homogenous or static region, the other the Nodal or dynamic flow region. In a homogenous or static region, a given aggregate of areas would include shared statistical data, for example, a similar population density.⁷¹ In a nodal or dynamic flow region, the

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, p. 209.

⁶⁹*Ibid.*, p. 208.

⁷⁰Leonard Marsh. *Communities in Canada*. (McClelland and Stewart Limited: Toronto, 1970), p. 158.

⁷¹Peter Hall. *The Theory and Practice of Regional Planning*. (Pemberton Books: London,

classification would depend on the aggregate of similar patterns of movement in "geographic space." In other words, on the frequency of vehicular traffic or the movement of commodities through the area.⁷²

The region, is perhaps best defined by Leonard Doob, who distinguishes two types of region that impact on planning; the technical region and the social region. The technical region is a spatial construct which helps the planner to formulate a series of objectives meant to solve problems "beyond the scope" of a given community. In other words, identification of the technical region helps the planner attain a broader understanding of the "physical" factors which influence a specific planning problem at the community level.⁷³ This definition stems from the belief that "the process of interaction among people continues beyond the boundaries of the separate community." Thus, no community exists in isolation! There are economic, political, and social ties which bind different communities together. Because of these ties, problems have arisen that are beyond the redress of the individual community, thus the need for regional planning.⁷⁴

The social region, on the other hand, is a more intangible construct. In a social region, "people are aware of one another as interdependent, co-operating members . . . in which a degree of economic and social self-sufficiency can be obtained."⁷⁵ For Doob, the importance of the social region lies in its inherent capability for developing self-sufficiency, both in an economic and political sense. A social region should be capable of providing within its

1970), pp. 14 - 15.

⁷²*Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁷³Leonard W. Doob. *The Plans of Men*. (Yale University Press, New Haven, 1940), p. 301.

⁷⁴*Ibid.*, p. 298. The Tennessee Valley Authority is a technical region. At its inception, the objectives of the TVA were almost exclusively technical in nature, involving the development of the Tennessee River system, [which runs through the states of Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, and Kentucky], so as to prevent floods, generate hydroelectricity, assist agriculture and industry, enhance river navigation and promote national defense.

⁷⁵*Ibid.*, p. 301.

boundaries, most of the necessary commodities needed by its residents; thus it should be economically self-sufficient. A social region should also be capable of satisfying the social needs of its populace by providing "access to a wide diversity of environments" so that the inhabitants will be able to develop a variety of interests."⁷⁶

The region is a natural "unit" through which social diversity can be achieved. This is due, for the most part, to the independent nature of the region itself, and the fact that it is often socially and physically unique. The advantage of this differentiation, according to Doob, lies in the sense of autonomy which it confers. A sense that helps to safe-guard against movements toward national centralization, a phenomenon upon which demagogues rely for power.⁷⁷ (Consequently, Doob extends this criticism to the present liberal-statist system which he feels has promoted bureaucracy and distance between the electorate and the elected).

The value of regionalism therefore lies in its ability to dismantle centralized political systems, and promote a system based on small scale political ties and direct action; for example, in the vein of the "New England" town meeting. Such a system would be "sufficiently small and simplified so that voters may be able to grasp the relationship between their votes and their future gratifications and frustrations."⁷⁸ The motive for such a system is the idea that participation is crucial to democracy, and the only way to ensure participation is to induce the participants to take an active interest in their community. This can only be done on a large scale when the stakes involved are personal; more often than not, this means that the issues have to impact on the individual or community in a direct manner.

While this helps to explain the regional aspect of "bio-regionalism" what does it say for the biological aspect. I would suggest the same thing. After all, regionalism is by definition biologically defined, especially if you consider the region an organically based, loosely associated conglomeration of physical and social elements. At root, the biological aspect

⁷⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 312 - 313.

⁷⁷*Ibid.*, p. 315.

⁷⁸*Ibid.*, p. 325.

defines the environmental or natural capabilities of the region. Given this argument, the emphasis by Mumford on the organic significance of regionalism begins to make sense. Since the regionalists of Mumford's time were also interested in ensuring the environmental soundness of both the human and natural setting, I would suggest that the "regionalist" aspirations of Mumford's day and the "bio-regionalist" aspirations evident today are simply one and the same.

But how does this tie into the criterion? There are a number of distinct similarities that can be drawn between the regionalist and bio-regionalist movements and those of modern anarchism. The most important is the resurgence of "community, local area, and neighborhood planning." One of the most obvious connections that can be made between this resurgence and the criterion is the emphasis that is placed on the sanctity of community. In this case, on the renewed importance of community input in planning decisions. The objective is to create a "relevant" and more implementable "community-based planning process."⁷⁹ Through such a strategy, it is hoped that planners would work *with* rather than *against* the community.

There is also something to be said for the movement toward economic self-reliance that is so typical of renewed approaches to regionalism. This is particularly evident in the desire of communities to create self-sustaining and dynamic local economies. On a more radical level, this desire for local economic independence has spilled over into a desire for "rebuilding the communal bases of social and political power." The basic premise for this desire is a need for "selectively" disengaging from the dependency of the "larger capitalist economy" by seeking to restore the means of cooperation, mutual aid, and direct democracy that would allow communities to stand on their own.⁸⁰ As Kathryn Cholette explains, "bioregionalists call for the creation of fairly self-reliant local communities based on prudent levels of production and

⁷⁹Grant Anderson. "Local Area Planning: The Dream and the Reality." *City Magazine*, (Volume 2, Number 7, Spring, 1977), p. 35.

⁸⁰Dewey Bandy. "Local Development Policy in the 1980's." *Journal of Planning Literature*, (Volume 2, Number 2, Spring, 1987), p. 148 Bandy.

resource use." As well, "bioregionalist call on communities to plan their economies to meet social and environmental criteria, rather than relying on the market mechanism to dictate production and distribution."⁸¹

In many respects, the push for self-reliance on the part of the community represents a direct rejection of a global economy dependent on large scale corporate interests. It is hoped that the lessening of corporate control over local economies would help to create a "material foundation on which a more democratic development planning process can be constructed." What this material foundation⁸² would do is provide the leverage from which a community could resist the "threat of corporate disinvestment" and ensure that monetary interests are not the only concerns impacting on the local political agenda. It is hoped that such a locally motivated economy would help make planning a more democratic process.⁸³

The interest in community planning has brought on a renewed interest in local customs as well as "neighbourhood power."⁸⁴ Not surprisingly, the economic pull of the neighbourhood has been brought to the fore. Dimitrios Roussopoulos notes that both David Morris and Karl Hess have developed "the notion of the dynamics of local economy." The intention is to create an awareness of the neighbourhood's "aggregate resources," by understanding exactly how dependent it is on outside influences. This necessitates tallying up the actual income of the

⁸¹Kathryn Cholette. "Bioregion: A Means to Community Control." *City Magazine*, (Volume 12, Number 2, Winter/Spring, 1991), p. 31.

⁸²A foundation composed of municipal resources in the form of industry, finance, and real estate. Such resources would be used "to finance public and community enterprise, which can then circulate the resulting revenues within the community." This trend "can be enhanced by developing city-owned banks, union-owned banks, community credit unions, and more public and worker control over pension fund investments." (*Ibid.*, p. 148).

⁸³*Ibid.*, p. 149.

⁸⁴According to Cholette, bioregionalism "... promotes local customs based on an understanding of one's own region and promotes new non-materialistic values which emphasize social connection and the core of the earth. The creation of local culture is a major aspect of bioregional practice." (Cholette, p. 31).

community and identifying the "leaks" that siphon off this income. Once the leaks are identified, solutions can be found to avert the outflow of money. The objective is a thoroughly sustainable micro-economy - one which uses "local resources to better advantage," promotes efficiency, and helps existing "businesses to diversify, modernize and expand."⁸⁵ In effect, a community which helps local business start and stay in business; a community which "recruits" external industries that will yield "net benefits not just gross benefits."⁸⁶ (For example, community development funds, internal taxations systems, and credit unions)."

In the final analysis, what this represents is a decentralization of economy. The implications at the neighborhood level however transcend the issue of economics. If economic decentralization is to be a reality a coterminous devolution of political power is also required. Only in this way can neighbourhoods be assured that they will have both the economic and political clout to determine the direction of their own development.

VI

Urban Anarchism:

For think how much it costs to keep us alive in this churning urban machinery simply at the level of basic necessities In the midst of this busy apparatus, we who fill the cities begin to look like so many million astronauts, hermetically sealed into some strange science-fiction vehicle that is constantly dependent on life-support systems of enormous expense and complexity.⁸⁷

Theodore Roszak
Person/Planet

⁸⁵Amory Louis. "First Put in the Plug: Community Economic Control as a Means to Sustainability." *City Magazine*. (Volume 2, Number 2, Winter/Spring, 1991), p. 34.

⁸⁶*Ibid.*, p. 35. See: Rocky Mountain Institute.

⁸⁷Theodore Roszak. *Person/Planet: The Creative Disintegration of Industrial Society*. (Anchor Books: Garden City, New York, N. Y., 1979), p. 246.

Both Theodore Roszak and Richard Sennett are considered urban anarchists. They see the solution to urban problems in the realization of new, alternative social orders. For Roszak, this means "communitarianism." For Sennett, an "individualist" society based on "social disorder." Both solutions are anarchistic in principle. Because of this outlook, both theorists see modern cities as "overbureaucratized, overmechanized, and inappropriately planned." They reject out of hand the inadequacy of rational-comprehensive planning and favor a planning methodology that accepts, indeed incorporates, decentralization, experimentation, and radical social change.⁸⁸

Let us begin with a brief analysis of Sennett's urban philosophy. According to Sennett, "the essential task of the planner is to create stimulating and challenging social milieus to help make society willingly chaotic."⁸⁹ Thus, Sennett calls for "planned disorder" in the administration of the city - the introduction of "purposive disorder . . . into the house of power."⁹⁰ In this way, he hopes to "debureaucratize" urban institutions and reintroduce conflictual relationships among urbanites, thereby provoking the individual's "developmental personality." The developmental personality is formed by overcoming experiences of conflict and serves to create an independent personality that is able to cope with "crises and disorder in everyday life."⁹¹

To help facilitate this developmental personality and to make society "willingly chaotic," Sennett suggests that the planner be a sort of radical advocate who will work for the disenfranchised classes, ethnic, and racial groups affected by official policy.⁹² The

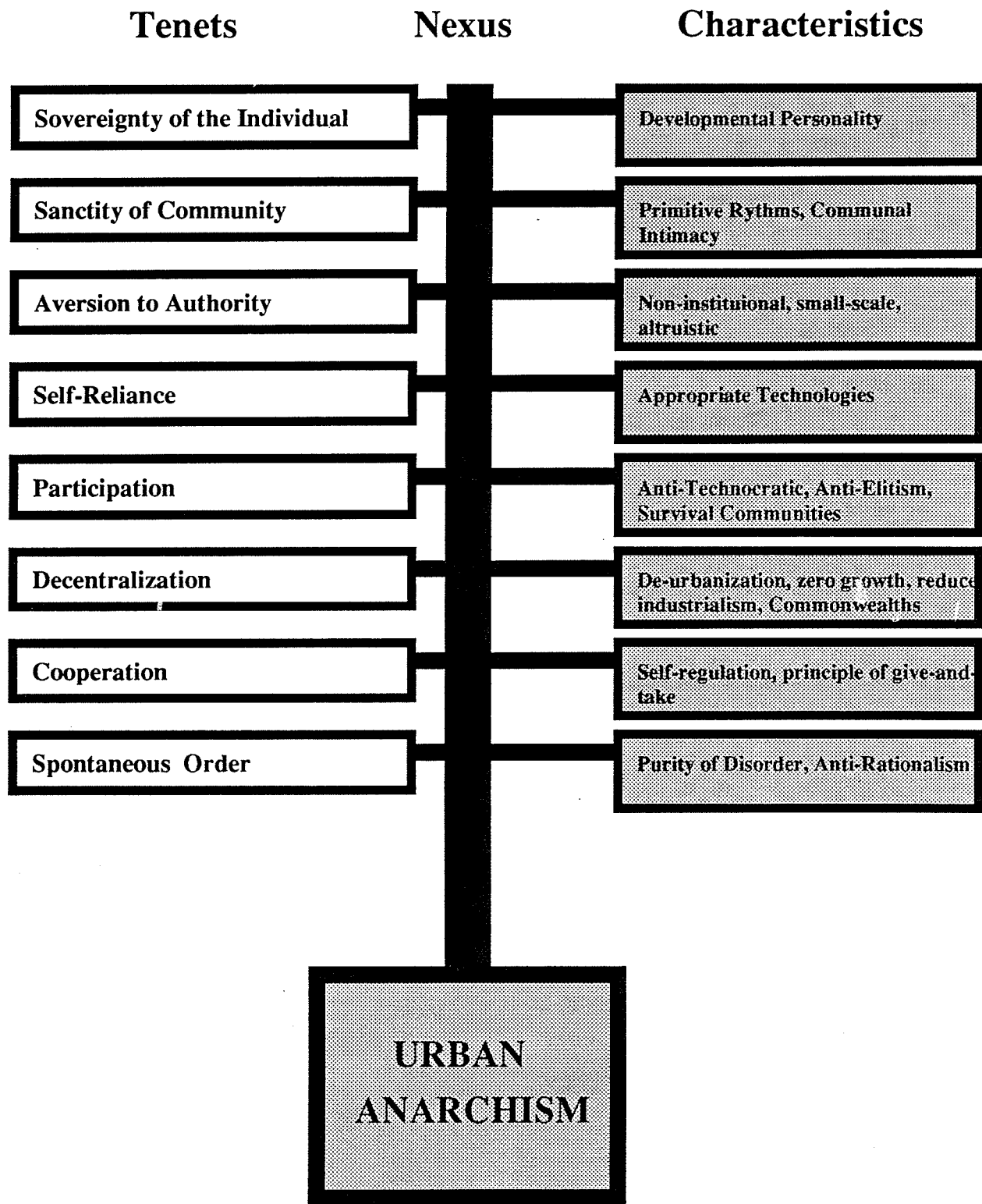
⁸⁸Michael P. Smith. *The City and Social Theory*. (St. Martin's Press: New York, 1979), p. 127.

⁸⁹*Ibid.*, p. 161.

⁹⁰Richard Sennett. *Authority*. (Vintage Books: New York, 1980), p. 190.

⁹¹Smith, p. 153.

⁹²*Ibid.*, p. 160.



(Figure 25)

environment in which such a planner will function is called the "survival community." It is Sennett's belief that in such a community, people will become intimately acquainted through direct social encounters, "full of surprise, exploration, and disorder." Theoretically, such encounters will serve to strengthen the developmental personality and thus promote a more independent and strong willed citizen. Such a citizen will have no need for meddlesome bureaucracies, nor institutional guidance, as he or she will be able and willing to create "bonds" and associations of his or her own free will; whatever is necessary to survive.⁹³

Unlike Sennett, Theodore Roszak promotes the small-scale consensual community as a means of ensuring greater urban cohesion and creating increased local awareness. For Roszak, the city "is a symbolic manifestation of a pervasive rationalism;" one which disorients by its technical complexity, "and confuses the mind and deadens the spirit" by its capability to "overstimulate the senses."⁹⁴ To counteract this condition, Roszak suggests that we recapture a sense of the "primitive rhythms of life, nature, communal intimacy," and existence. Such a view emphasizes the irrational, the mystical and the mysterious, and rejects the rational, scientific and objective.⁹⁵ Since primitive man was "egalitarian, democratic, free from domination," and ecologically harmonious, one could assume that some sort of pre-technological society with an opportunity for "humanly scaled community, direct participation in political life, and spiritual fulfillment" might be the best answer to the problem of urbanization.⁹⁶ Given this argument, it is not surprising that Roszak advocates a model based on an anarchist interpretation of primitive society.

As a supporter of decentralization, particularly in the form of small-scale consensual communities, Roszak is also an advocate of "de-urbanization." That he would "thin out industry," as well as scale it down when and where possible by replacing heavy consumer

⁹³*Ibid.*, p. 161.

⁹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 129.

⁹⁵*Ibid.*

⁹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 130.

industry with more practical, less energy intensive, and more appropriate small-scale cottage industries is no less shocking. In fact, Roszak would provide those who wished to leave the city with ready access to communal living arrangements in rural villages and towns.⁹⁷ The motive behind such a spatial disbursement is based on a communal skepticism of large scale institutions, and a profound belief in the positive qualities and humanistic values of meaningful work and cooperation; not to mention, a relinking of ends and means in production.⁹⁸

It is in Roszak's, *The Making of a Counter-Culture*, that we encounter a detailed advancement of his ideas on cooperation among individuals and communities. For example, it is very much Roszak's belief that the human community is fundamentally "gestaltist," meaning that the individual is very much an influence on, as well as a product of, his or her physical environment. Thus, a cooperative society can only exist if the members of that society are willing to give and receive "mutual aid." However, when this spirit of give and take is eroded, when there is no longer a common sense of association, that is when the power of external regulation becomes dominant; in the face of impending anarchy, people invariably turn to an "external bureaucracy" to regulate their conduct.⁹⁹ The problem, however, is that this regulation tends to become pervasive, especially in technologically advanced urban industrial

⁹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 148.

⁹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 149. One should not overlook the physical "preponderance" of the city itself; including the wasteful way in which it sucks up human and natural resources. As Roszak explains:

Megalopolis presides over the gargantuan expansion of contemporary society in all its aspects. It is not merely the container of big things; it is our collective commitment to bigness as a way of life. It is the daily pressure of city life that turns people into masses, crowds, personnel . . . at the same time, the city is a compendium of our society's ecological bad habits. It is the most incorrigible of wasters and polluters; its economic style is the major burden weighing upon the planetary environment. Of all the hypertrophic institutions our society has inflicted upon both the person and the planet, the industrial city is the most oppressive. (Roszak/*Person/Planet*, p. 242).

⁹⁹Smith., p. 132.

communities, and ultimately, political expression reverts to "technocratic elitism." This in turn erodes the social bonds between individuals and reduces the capability of social interaction. Operating within such an environment, the planner becomes "omnipotent." When the planner acquires a sense of expertise in such an environment, he or she begins to function in such a way as to exclude non-planners from the planning process, and to adopt esoteric methodology, "elitist terminology, initiation rituals, and badges of membership."

An extreme manifestation of this condition can be found in what Roszak calls the "suave technocracy" - a socio-political phenomenon in which large corporations effectively control the state, and to which the planner as a member of the public service is invariably tied. Such a condition is characterized by a close knit association of both the public and private realm, indeed, so much so that the differences between the public interest and the interest of the corporations becomes indeterminable. As Michael Smith explains:

Corporations are tied to politics and opinion formation at all levels of the polity and society. Suave corporate technocrats control jobs, professions, markets, and resources; by their domination of the major national channels of communication, they shape tastes, consumptive patterns, and even self-images. Because they enjoy subliminal power, the suave technocrats do not have to resort very often to brutality or repression to maintain social control. They have substituted "the absorbency of the sponge for raw coercive power."¹⁰⁰

Criticism of the suave technocracy has led Roszak to suggest the wholesale abandonment of the technical, consumptive, centralized system which pervades contemporary society and which has helped to precipitate the present form of urbanization. In other words, spontaneous processes should replace the superficially structured order of post-industrial society. In this way a natural organization will be achieved that is ultimately more appropriate as well as better suited to the human condition. This idea touches to some degree on Sennett's advocacy of

¹⁰⁰*Ibid.*, p. 139.

"disorder." The only difference between the two is the strategy. Roszak prefers small-scale communities and cooperation; Sennett - chaos and disorder.¹⁰¹

For Sennett, a communal society is an oppressive society. Indeed, it is his belief that such a society would only serve to repress the individual personality.¹⁰² As he states: ". . . such little communities permit the flourishing of desires for solidarity, and these desires in turn repress creative, disruptive innovations in life cycle and belief."¹⁰³ For Sennett, constant disorder is the only solution to urban *anomie*, as it forces interaction in a purposively disordered social environment. The idea is to throw off the yoke of indifference and to "bare" the personality to the stark realities of life. Again, "in an affluent world, be it pre- or post-revolutionary, the real problem is for man to be encouraged to abandon their deep-down natural desire for a comfortable slavery to the routine. This encouragement is what purposely dense, purposely decentralized, purposely disordered cities could provide."¹⁰⁴ This is not to say that people will be at each others throats. What Sennett envisions is a city where men and women are encouraged to understand each other better and become more sensitive to each other as individuals. The ultimate purpose of disorder is to make the bureaucratic routine of the city more socialized through the creation of personal interaction. From such interaction it is assumed that a "greater sensitivity in public life to the problems of connecting public services to the urban clientele" will result.¹⁰⁵ "The fruit of this conflict . . ." according to Sennett ". . . is that in extricating the city from preplanned control, men will become more in control of themselves and more aware of each other. That is the promise, and the justification, of

¹⁰¹*Ibid.*, p. 128.

¹⁰²According to Sennett, community size alone does not ensure individual freedom: ". . . just as one parent can tyrannize one child, the mayor and the burghers of a small town can tyrannize a community where everyone knows everyone else. They can, indeed, do so more effectively than the rulers of a large city, for in the town there is nowhere to hide." (Sennett/*Authority*, p. 189).

¹⁰³Richard Sennett. *The Uses of Disorder: Personal Identity and City Life*. (Alfred A. Knopf: New York, 1970), p. 174.

¹⁰⁴*Ibid.*, p. 175.

¹⁰⁵*Ibid.*, p. 198.

disorder."¹⁰⁶

Conclusion:

The intent of this chapter is not to provide a definitive overview of the "radical" movements currently operating within the context of modern society; rather, these movements are examples chosen to illustrate the tendency toward anarchism that is still current and impacting on what is increasingly the responsibility, or at least the concern, of planning. Furthermore, within the six sections, the intent has not been to provide a comprehensive description or analysis of the movements themselves (indeed, a number of thesis could be written on each), but rather, to give a brief overview and then to highlight *some* of the more obvious links that can be made between the principles of the movements, the principles of anarchy, and finally, the impact, or potential impact, of these principles on planning. It is hoped that in some way this discussion will have revealed certain factors pointing to a possible emergence of a contemporary link, or nexus, between anarchism and planning.

¹⁰⁶*Ibid.*

Coda

Chapter V: Summary and Conclusion

This thesis has attempted to explore the relationship between anarchism and planning. Three directions have been pursued. The first has been devoted to the understanding of anarchist philosophy. This has revolved around the identification of eight anarchist criteria. Each represents a crucial element endemic to anarchy as perceived by the author. In brief, the concept of **individual sovereignty** is seen to reflect the anarchic tendency to personal freedom and to individuality. Collective organization and unity is reflected by the value anarchists place on **community** and communal social arrangements. **Aversion to authority** derives from the anarchists' fundamental suspicion of coercive control - the promotion of **self-reliance** is one particular way in which anarchists ensure individuality, protect community and avoid authoritarian control. The emphasis on **participation** highlights the democratic "all-inclusiveness" characteristic of anarchy, and the adaptation of **decentralization** further emphasizes the value of local control and initiative. **Cooperation** is seen as the most logical and productive form of human interaction, and finally, **spontaneity** serves as a means of countering the stagnation of organizational rigidity and the submergence of creative innovation.

The second direction explores the historical evolution of planning. The primary objective has been to trace or identify the theoretical and practical connections between planning and anarchism. It is here that insights into the evolution of planning are encountered (see Clyde Weaver/John Friedmann) and the ideas of three influential planning theorists - Ebenezer Howard, Patrick Geddes, and Lewis Mumford elucidated. The intent of this section is to point out the role of these theorists in clarifying the relationship between planning and anarchism and to demonstrate the possibility of a re-emergence or re-linking of anarchist philosophy with

mainstream planning.

The third and final direction is devoted to an exploration of the potential impact that a number of modern libertarian movements concerned with alternative political, economic and ecological issues have had and are continuing to have on planning. It is the objective of this section to demonstrate the affinity that is discernible between the goals and objectives of these movements (ie. social ecology, regionalism, populism, etc.), the philosophy of anarchism, and the resulting impact which these movements have had and continue to have on planning theory and practice.

Taken together, these three explorations represent an attempt to address the principle question raised at the beginning of this thesis - are anarchism and planning related. At this point, I would like to draw three basic conclusions.

Conclusions:

1) Given the arguments presented so far I would argue that there is a **strong connection between anarchism and planning** - this is certainly true in the historical sense, and I believe, that it is no less true in the contemporary sense. Specifically, I would suggest that this connection is reflected in a number of ways. It is reflected in the interplay between the philosophies of early planning visionaries like Howard, Geddes and Mumford, and the philosophies and strategies of a number of anarchists (Kropotkin, Reclus, and Warren to name but a few). Indeed, in the ideas of the planning theorists we see a more than consistent advocacy of concepts and ideas that, with few exceptions, are compatible with the libertarian philosophies of the anarchists. That men like Kropotkin and Reclus were personally acquainted with Geddes only serves to strengthen this conviction.

2) It is also reflected in the ideas of a number of "radical" planners and the influence that many modern libertarian movements seem to exert on contemporary planning. Indeed, I would

propose that this influence is pointing to a mild, yet significant **re-emergence of liberatory, planning values**. The ideas formulated by Weaver, Friedmann and Hall typify this trend.

3) At a more basic level, I would suggest that what we are seeing is a **fundamental critique of the values upon which society is based**. In effect, the values that have molded our urban environment are no longer accepted without question. What is happening represents an attempt, albeit fragmented, to redefine the urban environment in which most of us live so that it will begin to conform with what is perceived as a truly "good society." Consequently, we see a rejection of values that are based on such untenable precepts as infinite economic expansion and resource exploitation. In its place we see a movement toward controlled growth, conservation, and ecological sanity. We see a growing rejection of the more flagrant examples of material consumerism, and the economic mechanisms which have helped to promote these values. We see a growing rejection of dependence on the state, and a suspicion of its ability to serve the interests of all. In its place, we are witnessing a growing trend toward community-centered democracy and a participatory ethos. This is underscored by the renewed interest in community at both the municipal and neighbourhood level. We see the rejection of large bureaucracies and of technocratic indifference in favor of decentralized economic, political and social systems, and of self-reliance. We see attempts to end complex economic dependency, and a breaking down of centralization through local worker and citizen control. (Ideas like Community Economic Development and Eco-development have gone a long way in this regard). Finally, we see a fundamental rejection of the destructive power of the state in favor of a strengthened sense of local municipalism. In effect, we see a rejection of the capacity of the state for social and environmental disruption, a reduced confidence in the ability of the state to ensure fair arbitration, and a realization that perhaps the only form of accountability one can ensure is to oneself and one's approximate community.

What these value transformations, and many others, represent is a new perception of

planning including a critical appraisal of society's divergence from what might be considered the natural state of man - peace, social harmony, prosperity, and equality for all.

Planning:

This new perception, however, is something more than a continuation of the radical critique of power distribution. For example, the traditional critique of planning as demonstrated by Murray Bookchin in *The Limits of the City*:

Knitted together at the base of a civic entity, people created a city that formally and structurally sheltered their most essential and meaningful social relations. If these relations were balanced and harmonious, so too were the design elements of the city. If, on the other hand, they were distorted and antagonistic, the design elements of the city revealed this in its monumentalism and extravagant growth. Hierarchical social relations produced hierarchical space; egalitarian relations, egalitarian space. Until city planning addresses itself to the need for a radical critique of the prevailing society and draws its design elements from a revolutionary transformation of existing social relations, it will remain mere ideology - the servant of the very society that is producing the urban crisis of our time."¹

And by Stephen Grabow and Allen Heskin in their article on radical planning written in 1973:

There is a new paradigm rising to challenge the "rational-comprehensive mode of modern planning based on system change and the realization of a decentralized communal society that facilitates human development in the context of an ecological ethic by evolutionary social experimentation. Planning in the radical sense is the facilitation of this change through a dialectical synthesis of rational action and spontaneity."²

¹Murray Bookchin. *The Limits of the City*. (Black Rose Books: Montreal, 1986), p. 148.

²Stephen Grabow and Allen Heskin. "Foundation for a Radical Concept of Planning." *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*. (Volume 39, Number 2, [March]), p. 106.

What these sources suggest is that planning is somehow a reflection of society, indeed of societal arrangements for power sharing. Given this argument, it is understandable that they linked planning to the means of societal guidance and expected that a change in power, or a paradigm shift, would bring about a new form of planning. While this may have represented a valid observation twenty or thirty years ago it is clear that such a vision of planning change is no longer feasible. What we see now, especially in modern movements for societal change is something that transcends mere power sharing. In effect, we have evolved through three different planning viewpoints. The first was the traditional view of planning as a technical tool for rational decision making and resource distribution; the second the radical response to the first, a critique predicated on the value perception of the 1960's and the belief that things would change if only the source of power shifted; and finally, a third way which represents a break from the perceptions of the 1960's in that it focuses not on the balance of power, but on the capability for individuals and communities to exist and function outside the traditional government framework - to forego the contest of power by circumnavigating it altogether. The "third way," defined by all the movements and ideas which one would today consider liberatory, represents a completely new attempt at societal change that exists not as a furtherance or resurrection of the traditional power struggle (between the political left and right for instance), but as a completely original attempt by hundreds of different movements and millions of individuals to build a better way of life despite the prevailing system.

Given this third way, it may not be outrageous to suggest that a fundamental "radicalization" of planning would challenge the present disequilibrium of power, environment and economy. Indeed, such a revolutionary transformation might help to dismantle currently repressive and dependent social arrangements, and erect liberatory alternatives. In this way, planning can become an agent for change rather than a bulwark for stagnation.

One possible means of pursuing this revolutionary transformation is to adopt liberatory techniques - like self-reliance, or decentralization, or participation - that will force, (because

they oppose) the breakdown of older perceptions and their outdated values and allow the emergence of a new perception based on contemporary values. (I would argue that contemporary values are quite liberatory, and in some cases conclusively anarchistic).

What are we to make of this! Overall, I would suggest that this value transformation is producing a liberatory planning which might or might not reflect anarchist values, but will certainly become much more radicalized and open to change than is now the case.³

At this point, I am reminded of an observation by Paul Davidoff. In it, Davidoff reiterates the fundamental reality of future planning. As he states: "The prospect for future planning is that of a practice which openly invites political and social values to be examined and debated. Acceptance of this position means rejection of prescriptions for planning which would have the planner act solely as a technician."⁴ What we need now is a willingness to examine and debate our currently predominant political and social values. Are these values relevant? Do they reflect at all the current value-based perceptions of society? If not, why not? Could it be a fundamental reluctance on the part of the system (including its advocates/planners) to allow for change - to re-evaluate a method of societal guidance that has long since had its day. Can we afford to maintain such a regressive position in the face of such change?

This thesis is about transformation, about the passing of one paradigm and the adoption of another, or many others. Technology, science, social consciousness - all demand a continuously evolving perception of society. This transformation necessitates the adoption or

³After some thought, and not a little anxiety, I have arrived at the conclusion that it may in truth be difficult to view anarchism as a realistic "end-state." Perhaps, it would be much more useful, as well as a lot less disappointing, to look upon anarchism as a desirable, albeit radical, process. In this light, anarchism acts as an anchor to its extreme counterpart - hyperarchism (total government). In such a continuum, society can be viewed as a collection of forces being pulled in either one direction or the other. To date, planning, as a reflection of society, has been attracted more toward hyperarchism than toward anarchism. Perhaps the time is ripe for a change. Surely, societal values appear to indicate that such a time is here.

⁴Paul Davidoff. "Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning." *JAIP*. (Volume 31, Number 4, November, 1965), p. 331.

accommodation of new values and patterns of thought. Whether the profession is willing to accommodate this transformation is another matter entirely. However, it is my belief that the process implied by such a transformation will precipitate a similar transformation in the profession itself. Sooner or later this transformation will have to be accommodated. This is what the radicalization of planning implies! Planners, along with the rest of society's "moderators" and "regulators" might resist such change, reverting to retrenchment and reaction in hope of stemming the tide, they might even be successful, but the cost in terms of planning innovation may prove exorbitantly costly in the end. Much more prudent, I would suggest, would be an open willingness on the part of the profession to accommodate new ideas and values, however radical, in the hope that understanding will ultimately breed enlightenment. And if anarchy is the answer, then so be it!

Future Explorations:

Hopefully, these conclusions will help to clarify the thesis and perhaps point to some possible directions for future study. Five possible directions are listed here:

1) What would a more detailed or focused analysis of the theoretical and personal connection between anarchists and planners reveal, particularly between the years 1890 - 1914? Likewise, what sort of information would a more comprehensive exploration of the writings of Howard, Geddes, or Mumford reveal, particularly pertaining to anarchist philosophy.

2) As well, an exploration of the disappearance or de-emphasis of global anarchism (save for a few exceptions) during the Great Depression and the two world wars; and its re-emergence with a vengeance in the 1960's, seems rather enigmatic and deserving of some sort of explanation.

3) This is not to overlook a broader interpretation of the tenets or criteria presented in

Chapter 2. Such an interpretation would certainly help to clarify the arguments made by the study, the connections that exist between the criteria, and even the high probability that other criteria, equally relevant, have been overlooked or de-emphasized by the author.

4) The tenets might provide a serviceable framework, or praxis, for the foundation of a liberatory planning model; a model of organization that might help to direct the planning profession toward a more radical, and relevant, end. Perhaps some sort of visionary rationalization of this framework in a planning context is in order.

5) Finally, other interesting explorations can be undertaken - for example, by rewriting planning history from an anarchistic perspective; or perhaps attempting to understand the rift that exists between planning ideals and planning reality; or even attempting to explain the fundamental problem of change and why people are afraid of it, afraid of structurelessness, afraid of the truth.

A Last Word:

It is the author's belief that if planning is to become in any way "progressive" it must open itself to the type of changes that a liberatory perspective promotes. This may be considered idealistic. Realistically, the opportunity for comprehensive change may never present itself. But this does not mean that we should not recognize the value of concepts like anarchy as an agent for positive change. Societal horizons are even now expanding to absorb a number of ideas historically segregated from mainstream thought, there is no reason why planning horizons cannot expand as well. And even if planning fails to expand its vision, society will still continue to evolve, and the notion of a "third way" will continue forward despite the obstacle that a stagnant planning may present.

Appendices

Appendix 1: An Anarchist Typology

Never organized into a disciplined party, never held to a rigid body of dogma, but stressing the freedom of the individual, anarchism has necessarily had many forms since man first challenged authority.¹

True to its nature; anarchism is a concept of diverse interpretation. As a body of thought, it runs the gamut from extreme individualism to extreme communalism, and can be influenced by both socialist and capitalist tendencies. The purpose of this brief survey is to demonstrate the conceptual diversity of "classical" anarchism and to illustrate some of its theoretical nuances. The following categorizations represent the different forms anarchism has taken over the past two hundred years under its two primary classifications - anarcho-individualism and anarcho-communism. While I have tried to be comprehensive in the choice of variations, it must be pointed out that this typology is still very much a product of one person's perspective. As such, the importance placed on certain of the philosophies is not meant to emphasize the importance of one variation over another, rather, it simply reflects the author's own interests at the time of this study, and his attempt to build a *working* definition of anarchism.

1.0) Anarcho-Individualism:

The embodiment of anarcho-individualism is found in the philosophy of 19th century American individualists, the foremost being Josiah Warren. This philosophy is commonly referred to as individualist-anarchism, but has also been called "private-property anarchism," "Native American anarchism," and even "anarcho-capitalism."² The philosophy, as expounded by Warren in *Equitable Commerce* (1847), centres on a single principle; the sovereignty of the individual. For Warren, the safe-guarding of this principle is the only means by which a person can ensure true liberty; this is particularly true of economic freedom, or for that matter, knowledge. As Warren pleads ". . . I implore my fellow-men not longer to commit themselves to *indiscriminate* subordination to any human authority or to the fatal delusions of *logic* and *analogies*, nor even to ideas or principles (so-called), but to maintain, as far as possible, *at all times*, the FREEDOM to act according to the apparent merits of each *individual case* as it may present itself to each individual understanding. There is no other

¹Gerald Runkle. *Anarchism: Old and New*. (Delacorte Press: New York, 1972), p. 9.

²Gordon Tullock (editor). *Further Exploration in the Theory of Anarchy: A Public Choice Monograph*. (University Publications, Blackburg: Virginia, 1974), p. 3.

safety for us - no other security for civilization."³

Eunice Minette Schuster, who has written a biography on Warren, echoes this sentiment in *Native American Anarchism: A Study of Left-Wing American Individualism*. As she explains, Warren's ". . . philosophy stresses the isolation of the individual - his right to his own tools, his mind, his body, and to the products of his labor."⁴

It would appear, then, that for anarcho-individualists, the highest attainment of freedom is the ability to act without restriction and without restraint so long as this action does not infringe upon the equally individualistic rights of another - in other words, as long as the action is "non-invasive."

Within this classification are found a number of sub-philosophies, including Christian Anarchism, Egoism, Mutualism, Libertarianism, Philosophical Anarchism, and Neonihilism.⁵ I will provide a brief summary of each:

³Josiah Warren. *Equitable Commerce: A New Development of Principles*. (Burt Franklin, New York, 1852), p. 9.

⁴Eunice Minette Schuster. *Native American Anarchism: A Study of Left-Wing American Individualism*. (Da Capo Press: New York, 1970), p. 10.

⁵It is important to note that while anarchism has been explored (given theoretical form) by a number of individuals, almost exclusively of European or North American origin, it is in fact a universal doctrine. To overlook this fact would be a great injustice, not only to the philosophies involved but to anarchism itself. While it is impossible to survey every manifestation of the so-called "anarchist moment," I would like to make, for the sake of balance, a passing note of at least three non-European libertarian philosophies, one of mediterranean and two of Eastern origin.

Stoicism:

A philosophy perpetuated by a small group of Greeks of mixed parentage who, because they were "metics or bastards" were unable to participate in the Athenian political system. Atindranath Bose. *A History of Anarchism*. (The World Press Private Limited: Calcutta, 1967), p. 32.

Embittered by their disenfranchisement, they were drawn to the teachings of Socrates, who held a critical perspective of Athenian society. Under Zeno (336? - 264? B. C.), they were to form a philosophy that rejected Plato's Republic and especially the concept of a "stratified society" (ie. Gold, Silver, Bronze). Indeed, it was Zeno who first ". . . renounced state power . . . and proposed that men should be subject only to moral law." James D. Forman. *Anarchism: Political Innocence or Social Violence?* (Franklin Watts, Incorporated: New York, 1975), p. 14.

Taoism:

Taoism represents the individualist, anarchic manifestation of Chinese philosophy, based almost exclusively on the teachings of Lao Tze (6th Century B. C.). In opposition to the hierarchical,

~~ethnocentered perspective~~ taught by Confucius and Mencius, Taoism [reality] allows for a more natural, free-flowing outlook on life (see Lao Tze's *Tao Teh Ching* - the books of wisdom or right path). This dichotomy is especially true of Chinese planning philosophy which is very much dependent upon the two traditions for guidance, especially as these philosophies are interpreted by *fung shui*, or professional "geomancers." As a passage in the *Encyclopedia of Urban Planning* (1974) states:

These two complimentary philosophies are intertwined in the Chinese character and culture, the male and the female, the yin and the yan. In success the Chinese is Confucian; in failure he finds solace in Lao-Tze. In planning cities, the emphasis is on Confucian order; when planning a garden, the subtle anarchy of Taoism is supreme. Each philosophy balances the other and provides an infinite variety of mood, expression, and beauty. Arnold Whittick (editor-in-chief). *Encyclopedia of Urban Planning*. (McGraw-Hill, Incorporated: New York, 1974), p. 252.

Like Western anarchism, Taoism rejects systemization. It is both irrational and mystical, caring not for order or logic but for the natural "reason of nature," (Bose, p. 23) for "man's original simplicity," and "the wisdom of calm and quietude." (Bose, p. 12).

As Atindranath Bose exclaims in *A History of Anarchism* (1967):

Taoism is not a system. It is a view of and an approach to life. The very idea of Tao is opposed to system-building. It does not give a rational answer to questions nor a rational interpretation of things. It mixes up logic with magic and mysticism. But these are different ways of solving the same problems and relieving the same anxieties. Taoism is opposed to the rational method. It does not accept the logicist's reason as the reason of nature. His perception which makes a distinction between this and that, self and object, is a distorted view of reality. Only the inward vision [ming] reveals the truth of nature, the pure consciousness which sees without looking, hears without listening, knows without thinking" (Bose, p. 23).

Sarvodaya:

The Sarvodaya Movement is of more modern vintage than the preceding examples but is very much based in the anarchistic tradition of Indian philosophy and religion. It also draws on some of the more pacifistic influences of European anarchism, particularly the christian anarchism of Tolstoy. The foremost representative of the movement as well as its founding father is Mahatma Gandhi (1869 - 1948). It is his ". . . philosophy based on the twin principles of truth and non-violence" that has guided the movement. Indeed, it was Gandhi who insisted that the principles of 'holding fast to truth'

1.1) Christian Anarchism:

Christian Anarchism derives from the Christian idealism of Leo Tolstoy (1828 - 1910), particularly the pacifistic principles evident in his later work. As Schuster states: "Christian Anarchism is closely akin to Individualist Anarchism. It is just as 'selfish' but it would realize the 'self' in the service of others, in a mystical 'God-self.' For the law of natural consequence of the Individualists, it substitutes the law of God and especially the Golden Rule . . . In its purest form it would not recognize formalism in religion."⁶

For James Forman, Christian Anarchism is decidedly optimistic. That is to say, Christian anarchists are confident about the ability for man to achieve goodness, as well as the ability for man to resist evil without resorting to violence. Indeed, non-violence is at the root of the philosophy - any abrogation of this belief would contradict the "law of love" as expounded by Jesus Christ.⁷

1.2) Egoism:

The most "selfish" form of anarchism, Egoism, as propounded by Max Stirner, is a philosophy of the "individual." Thus, the Egoist believes, above all, in the supremacy of the individual psyche, or what Stirner called the "own."

Stirner held little regard for those who would submerge the "own" in the collective pool of community or sacrifice it to the authority of a "mundane god" like the State. For the egoist, the "self," the "me," is the only responsibility of the individual - the only reality. Absolute equality, as decried by liberal democrats and by Communists, is simply another form of

and ensuring the 'welfare of all' should be at the root of human social interaction.

Parallels between western anarchism and Sarvodaya are apparent at a number of levels. According to Geoffrey Ostergaard, both view the state as an obstacle to self-government and agree that it is ". . . the duty of the individual to obey his own conscience . . . taking precedence over the states' claim to obedience." David E. Apter and James Joll. "Indian Anarchism: The Sarvodaya Movement." *Anarchism Today*. (The MacMillan Press, Limited: London, 1971), pp. 150 - 151.

Also shared is the belief that social and economic power must be decentralized. (*Ibid.*, pp. 151 - 152). And finally, "in place of orthodox political action (namely parliamentary democracy) the Sarvodayits, like the anarchists, advocate direct action" by the people.

The only real difference between Sarvodaya and western anarchism is the movements spiritual foundation and ". . . unshakable faith in God . . ." (*Ibid.*, pp. 153 - 154). This has led to the notion that anarchism is a gradual process that must be attained incrementally and only after mankind has reached a level of perfection. (*Ibid.*, p. 155).

⁶Schuster, p. 10.

⁷Forman, p. 74.

subjugation - in other words, the interests of the "collective" can not be the interests of the "individual." As Stirner expresses in the preface to *The Ego and His Own* (1845):

God and mankind have concerned themselves for nothing, for nothing but themselves. Let me then likewise concern myself for *myself*, who am equally with God the nothing of all others, who am my all, who am the only one

Away, then, with every concern that is not altogether my concern! You think at least the good 'cause' must be my concern? What's good, what's bad? Why, I myself am my concern, and I am neither good nor bad. Neither has meaning for me.

The divine is God's concern; the human man's. My concern is neither the divine nor the human, not the true, good, just, free, etc. but solely what is *mine*, and it is not a general one, but is - unique, as I am unique. Nothing is more to me than myself!"⁸

1.3) Mutualism:

The most concise observation that one could make about Mutualism is that in many respects it is an attempt to resolve the divisive relationship between the communal and individualist instincts of mankind. First of all, Mutualism subscribes to the sovereignty of the individual, as well as individual sovereignty's non-invasive implications. Secondly, it upholds the importance of economic freedom, especially the freedom of exchange and contract (or reciprocity). This aligns closely with concepts held by anarcho-individualists, including an aversion to monopolies and privileges.⁹ A third principle, however, is not often associated with anarcho-individualists, and because of this, sets mutualism somewhat apart from individualism. I am referring of course to the Mutualist's advocacy of "voluntary association" - a concept more akin to anarcho-communism than anything else. This principle would appear to reflect mutualism's basis in French Socialism, and especially the ideas of its founder - Pierre Proudhon, and is likely a product of this influence. As Clarence Lee Swartz explains in *What is Mutualism?* (1927):

The theory of Mutualism . . . maintains that the interests of society at large are best

⁸Max Stirner. *The Ego and His Own: The Case of the Individual Against Authority*. (Dover Publications, Incorporated: New York, 1973), p. 5.

⁹According to Mutualists, there are four "great" monopolies; they are the Money Monopoly held by the State in the form of taxation and the creation of currency; the Land Monopoly held by individuals and corporations for purposes of speculation; the Tariff Monopoly held by the State in order to inflate the price of domestic goods, and the Patent/Copyright Monopoly preventing competition and universal access to technology. Clarence Lee Swartz. *What is Mutualism?* (Vanguard Press: New York, 1921), pp. 47 - 48.

served by the same means which go farthest to promote the interests of the individual: freedom from restraint, as long as the individual's activities are non-invasive; elimination of all factors which artificially limit man's opportunities; voluntary organization of society into association as the need for them arises in order to carry on such activities as are beyond the power of the single individual, in short, a voluntary creation and mutual exchange of commodities under conditions which exclude special privileges and state-protected monopolies.¹⁰

Thus, Mutualism is a hybrid, sharing both individualistic and communalistic tendencies. It is very much a "I scratch your back, you scratch mine" arrangement; one that is capable of encompassing both competitive as well as cooperative instincts. As Swartz observes: "Mutualism, which is the embodiment of both competitive and associative effort, teaches that there are two great rights that are admitted - in theory, at least - by everybody. These are the right to compete and the right to cooperate; . . ."¹¹

1.4) Libertarianism:

An "offshoot" of anarcho-individualism, Libertarianism maintains a regard for the right of the individual and for his or her right to non-invasive self-determination. The only distinction which I will make here between Libertarianism and Individualism is that the former does not reject the idea of the "State" in *toto*. For Libertarians a state serves one useful function - it is a retaliatory force or defensive mechanism against invasion. Beyond this role, however, the state quickly outlasts its usefulness. As David Osterfeld professes: "Libertarianism is a politico-economic philosophy of individualism. It is premised on the belief that every individual has an unalienable right to live his own life as he sees fit, provided he does not oppress against the rights of others."¹² This observation is echoed in *The Libertarian Alternative* (1974): ". . . Libertarianism . . . is the doctrine that every person is the owner of his own life, and that no one is the owner of anyone else's life; and that consequently every human being has the right to act in accordance with his own choices, unless those actions infringe on the equal liberty of other human beings to act in accordance with their choices."¹³

¹⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 44 - 45

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 49

¹²David Osterfeld. *Freedom, Society and the State: An Investigation Into The Possibility of Society Without Government*. (University Press of America: New York, 1983), p. 1.

¹³Tibor R. Machan. *The Libertarian Alternative: Essays in Social and Political Philosophy*. (Nelson-Hall Company: Chicago, 1974), p. 3.

1.5) Godwinism:

The English intellect, William Godwin was one of the few, great philosophical anarchists. Indeed, he is often referred to, rightly or wrongly, as the "father of modern anarchism."

One of the most interesting, and controversial, beliefs he held was that people are the product of circumstance or environment. As John P. Clark states in *The Philosophical Anarchism of William Godwin* (1977): "In expressing this view he shows that anarchism depends in no way on a naive optimism about human nature, and that it sees the problem of overcoming evil as the problem of constructing social conditions which will develop the human capacity for rational benevolence."

It is also true that Godwin was wary of the danger which government posed to individual freedom, not to mention autonomy. According to Clark, Godwin believed that political authority was ". . . destructive of individual autonomy and rationality, that it undermines the moral quality of human actions, and that it leads to the corruption of both the rulers and the ruled . . ." ¹⁴ His remedy was the reduction of government, and if possible, its complete elimination. Because of this belief, Clark suggests Godwin was the first anarchist to emphasize the "abolition of the nation-state" and the creation of loosely federated, small-scale political units in its place. ¹⁵

In the final analysis, however, Godwin was still very much an individualist and, ironically, rejected out of hand ". . . almost all forms of cooperation and organization for change." ¹⁶ ¹⁷ [See: *An Inquiry Concerning Political Justice, and Its Influence on General Virtue and Happiness* (1793).

¹⁴John Clark. *The Philosophical Anarchism of William Godwin*. (Princeton University Press: Princeton, New Jersey, 1977), p. 306.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 309.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 299.

¹⁷Another, more contemporary, form of philosophical anarchism can be found in the individualistic, albeit abstract, precepts of Existentialism. As Forman explains in *Anarchism: Political Innocence or Social Violence?* (1975): "At a higher level of instruction, individualistic anarchism had no school of philosophy. The nearest thing to it, developed first by Soren Kierkegaard and later by such writers as Jean-Paul Sartre, was Existentialism, a philosophy stressing individual freedom. According to the existentialist, all human action is unavoidably free in a world where no fixed values or ethical systems actually exist. Mankind is and must consider itself free from all norms of behavior, whether they come from society, friends, or family, for 'freedom is the foundation of all values.'" (Forman, pp. 70 - 71).

1.6) Neonihilism:

A source of malignment throughout history, and of "bad press" for anarchism as a whole, [including a universally vilified stereotype, the sinister bomb-thrower]; Neonihilism is perhaps the most destructive, most reactionary and certainly least legitimate form of anarchism. While considered the most active vehicle of "direct action" the philosophy in truth has traditionally appealed to the most violent elements of society, including criminals. This has considerably reduced the appeal of anarchism, especially to persons who would otherwise have applauded its more constructive, less publicized, traits.

2.0) Anarcho-Communism:

Anarcho-Communism is based on an "idealistic" conception of communal man, especially man's ability to cooperate through "mutual aid." Peter Kropotkin is its most noted advocate.

Kropotkin's conviction was that man, like many animals, exhibits a natural tendency to cooperate. This belief formed the basis of his argument against the Hobbsian and neo-Darwinian contention that man, is at heart, a competitor. As Kropotkin explains in *Mutual Aid*: "As soon as we study animals . . . we at once perceive that though there is an immense amount of warfare and extermination going on amidst various species and especially amidst various classes of animals, there is at the same time as much, or perhaps even more, of mutual support, mutual aid, and mutual defence amidst animals belonging to the same species, at least, to the same society. Sociability is as much a law of nature as mutual struggle."^{18 19}

And at a latter point: "The very persistence of the clan organization shows how utterly false it is to represent primitive mankind as a disorderly agglomeration of individuals, who only obey their individual passions, and take advantage of their personal force and cunningness against all other representatives of the species. Unbridled individualism is a modern growth,

¹⁸Peter Kropotkin. *Mutual Aid: A Factor in Evolution*. (Extending Horizons Books: Boston, Massachusetts, 1914), p. 5.

¹⁹This passage acknowledges two distinct tendencies among animals, one toward mutual aid and the other toward mutual struggle. Kropotkin notes that the tendency to mutual aid is strongest within a species, whereas the tendency to mutual struggle occurs most often between separate species - what this appears to suggest is that man should be able to coexist at peace with other men, but not necessarily with other species. In effect, Kropotkin does not appear to question the domination of one species (in this case man) over other species, as this would not contradict the natural tendency to mutual aid and only serve to fulfill that of mutual struggle. Given this argument, an anarchistic critique based on mutual aid may not be the strongest argument to present in favor of man's environmental or ecological sensitivity. Perhaps, the manner in which man "exploits" his environment is simply an extension of the tendency toward mutual struggle.

but it is not characteristic of primitive mankind."²⁰

It is not unusual to find exponents of this philosophy advocating economic and political decentralization, protection of small-scale community, federation of production based upon voluntary cooperation between producers, and division of labor, and the products of this labor according to ability and need.²¹

Under this classification are found a number of sub-philosophies, including anarcho-syndicalism, anarcho-collectivism, anarcho-cooperativism, and anarcho-federalism. I will briefly summarize each:

2.1) Anarcho-Syndicalism:

Deriving its strength from the productive unit, (whether a factory or a farm), this philosophy is concerned with the economic organization of human society, especially the "revolutionary worker." As Schuster states ". . . the Anarcho-Syndicalist is concerned more directly and is more intimately acquainted with the problem of the property-less wage earner, the proletariat, the disinherited" ²²

Organizationally, anarcho-syndicalism advocates the free association of production units or groups in order to co-manage the distribution of labor and the "fruits" of this labor. According to Clark ". . . voluntary groups of producers are to join together to manage production on principles of democratic decision-making and equal distribution according to labor. Because of the need for the division of labor, the units will federate into larger organizations to coordinate production and distribution. Federation will, of course, be voluntary and the right of secession will assure that association will be in the interest of all primary groups . . ." ²³ Ideally, anarcho-syndicalists maintain the right of individual sovereignty, particularly self-management, but only if sovereignty exists in a context of decentralized social and economic cooperation.²⁴

²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 88.

²¹Schuster, p. 12.

²²*Ibid.*, pp. 11 - 12.

²³Clark, p. 313.

²⁴*Ibid.*, p. 314. An example of modern anarcho-syndicalism "at work," can be found at Mondragon, in the Basque region of Spain. While this successful association of worker-controlled industrial, agricultural, consumer, education, housing and service co-operatives deserves a thorough examination in and of itself, I will only say that the project has arisen as an attempt to link economic productivity with anarchist doctrine. While Mondragon has been a great financial success, (almost 0% unemployment) the disparities of wealth (4.5 to 1 at most), so characteristic of other production/consumer based societies is not as pronounced, there does appear to be a problem with the association's "umbrella organization" - the *Caja Laboral Popular*. According to Christopher S. Axworthy, the caja, acting as the financial coordinator for all the other cooperatives, has managed over the years, to translate the

2.2) Anarcho-Collectivism:

The prime directive of anarcho-collectivism is to create social, political and economic associations - in other words - anarchist federations. According to Michael Bakunin, (perhaps anarcho-collectivism's strongest advocate), this strategy necessarily focuses on collectivization of workplace and community.²⁵

2.3) Anarcho-Cooperativism:

Adherents of this philosophy share many of the beliefs and principles held by anarcho-collectivists and anarcho-federalists. However, one distinguishing factor is the anarchist cooperators' emphasis on worker-peasant cooperation, or a reintegration of the rural/urban milieu.²⁶

2.4) Anarcho-Federalism:

Basically, an offshoot of anarcho-syndicalism whose advocates seek to build comprehensive economic and geographic federations. It would appear that anarcho-federalists are strongly influenced by Bakunin's collectivist ideas.²⁷

Conclusion:

In lieu of conclusion, the following chart is offered - this chart attempts to summarize the control of Mondragon's financial resources into control of the worker-members co-ops themselves. It would appear then that the Caja has somehow while managed to construct a "dependency relationship" between itself and the other co-ops contrary to the communities own philosophical precepts. Christopher S. Axworthy. *Worker Co-operatives in Mondragon, the U. K. and France: Some Reflections*. Occasional Paper 85 - 0, (Diefenbaker Centre, University of Saskatchewan, 1985), p. 7.

George Melnyk, notes however, that Mondragon is trying to remedy the problem ". . . by removing the managerial function to a new co-op and by creating a national assembly representing all the co-ops that would have ultimate control." George Melynk. *The Search for Community: From Utopia to a Co-operative Society*. (Black Rose Books: Montreal, 1985), p. 71.

²⁵Clark, p. 313.

²⁶Harrison, p. 37.

²⁷*Ibid.*

variations by "pin-pointing" them on a political/economic spectrum. The horizontal political pole ranges from anarchism (or non-government) on the extreme left to hyperarchism (or absolute government) on the extreme right. Similarly, the vertical/economic pole ranges from capitalism at the top to communism at the bottom. Together, the two poles provide an effective framework for comparing the different philosophies. Because the framework is both comprehensive and logical, and because it attempts to categorize the different variations of anarchism [as well as their theorists] it is included, verbatim, here. Both the chart and interpretation are by David Osterfeld and can be found in *Freedom, Society and the State: An Investigation into the Possibility of Society Without Government* (1983).

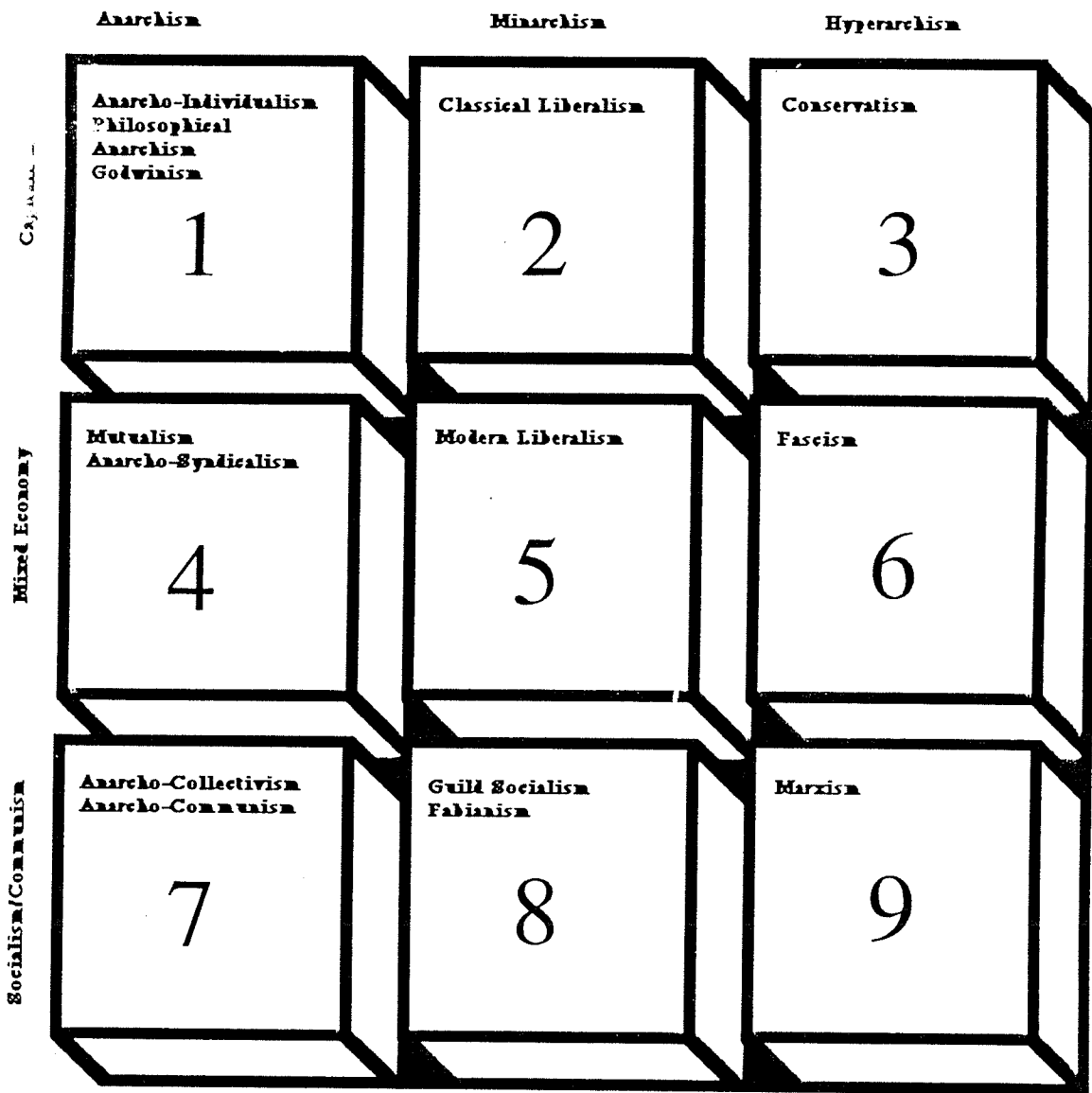
Box [1] entails both a capitalistic economic system and an anarchistic political structure. This would include the contemporary individualist anarchists such as Rothbard and Friedmann as well as the philosophical anarchists such as Tucker and Spooner. Still squarely within the anarchist spectrum but moving slightly away from capitalism would be Stirner and Godwin. On the other hand somewhat less anarchistic but still ardently capitalistic would be the ultraminarchists such as Hospers.

Box [2] entails the limited form of government coupled with a capitalistic economic structure. This would include the minarchists, like Nozick, the evolutionary anarchists, like Spencer and Bastiat, as well as the objectivists. Also included in this category would be the doctrinaire classical liberals such as Humboldt and Mises, and their more moderate counterparts like Mill and Smith and, more currently, Hayek.²⁸

Box [3] entails a highly interventionist state coupled with a market economy. Such a state would restrict its interventionist activities to the social realm, regulating speech, press, drug use, and the like, while permitting the market to function freely. While this category is, perhaps, of rather limited empirical import, probably the closest thing to capitalist-hyperarchism would be the conservatism of Burke and deMaistre and, more currently, Buckley, Kirk and Burnham.

Box [4] entails an anarchist political framework as in Box [1], but a less capitalistic economic structure than prevailed in Boxes [1-3]. There would still be much market phenomena and individual ownership, however some form of collectivism or workers' control is also envisioned. This would include the mutualism of Proudhon and Warren and, while somewhat more collectively oriented, the syndicalism of Sorel, Rocker, and Goldman.

²⁸Osterfeld, p. 35.



The Political/Economic Matrix

Derived from Osterfeld, *Freedom, Society and the State*

(Figure 26)

Box [5] entails the limitation of the market by interest group democracy which extends government into areas that under Boxes [1-3] would be handled by the market. This includes the modern exponents of pluralism and the partisans of contemporary liberalism and the welfare state such as John Rawls.

Box [6] entails severe limitations on the market. Democracy is also rejected in favor of rule by elites. It includes the mercantilists and cameralists of the eighteenth century, and the extreme conservatives as well as the exponents of facism and nazism such as Rockwell and Gentile.

Box [7] entails the rejection of the state coupled with a pronounced movement toward a marketless economy. This would include the anarcho-collectivism of Bakunin, and the more extreme anarcho-communism of Kropotkin.

Box [8] entails a socialist economy coupled with some form of limited statism. It would include the quasi-anarchistic Guild Socialism with its reliance on functional representation, where the only role for the state is to mediate between the functional groups when controversies could not be otherwise resolved. Close to this would be Fabianism (1889) with its emphasis on universal suffrage and municipal or local control of industry.²⁹

Box [9] entails the socialist or communist economic framework with polling to be done through the instrumentality of the state. This would include the British Labor Party [1937] with its call for nationalization of industry and a "general state plan." Close to this is Fabianism [1908] with emphasis on nationalization of such industries as water works, the mines, and the harbors, as well as a large dose of state planning. Also included in this category would be Marxism, which advocated a planned economy, but one in which all individuals participated in both the planning and the execution of the plans, and the elite-planned socialist technocracies outlined by Saint-Simon and Edward Bellamy.³⁰

²⁹*Ibid.*, p. 37.

³⁰*Ibid.*, p. 38.

Appendix 2:

Speculations on Local Autonomy: The Case For Municipal Independence

Introduction:

If the roads, the railways, the banks, the insurance offices, the great joint-stock companies, the universities, and the public charities were all of them branches of the government, if in addition the municipal corporations and local boards, with all that now devolves on them, become departments of the central administration; if the employees of all these different enterprises were appointed and paid by the government and looked to the government for every rise in life, not all the freedom of the press and popular constitution of the legislative would make this or any other country free otherwise than in name.¹

John Stuart Mill
On Liberty (1859)

Consider the dialectic of liberty and authority. We must concede that each is anti-thetical to the other; one, the symptom of autonomy, individuality and anarchy; the other, of law, order, conformism, and at times, oppression. Because both are constructs of humanity, each concept is vilified, (as well as verified), by manifestation of the other. To be exact, liberty would not be the idealized goal that it is without the abuse perpetuated by authority, and the disdain which such abuse engenders. Likewise, authority's credibility would be lost without the real or perceived fears entertained by individuals subject to an anarchic or non-hierarchical environment.

It therefore comes as no surprise that throughout history, various political and social thinkers have attempted to reconcile the two proponents; recognizing an inherent evil in the absolute domination of one or the other. One such reconciliation, perhaps the greatest and certainly the most modern, has been the concept of Federalism. Propounded by individuals who were sincere in their desires for liberty, fraternity and equality, yet loath to condone the complete individuality of man, federalism existed as a device for insuring the responsiveness of the nation-state (a relatively new phenomena) to that of the "people's" will, or at least, a

¹John Stuart Mill. *On Liberty*. Edited by Gertrud Himmelfarb. (Penguin Books: London, 1988)

majority of the "people." The system was therefore politically inspired; economics, as such, was delegated a secondary role.

However, a reassessment of the importance of economic theory in relationship to the state emerged during the nineteenth century when the adverse implications of rampant industrialism became apparent, and effective critiques of the economic and social defects of capitalism gained credence. Thus, the preponderance of radical economic and political theory; and the justification for men like Pierre Proudhon, Karl Marx, Robert Owen, Charles Fourier, Michael Bakunin, Peter Kropotkin and Josiah Warren. All of these individuals, and many others, were concerned with the prevalence of economic disparity under capitalism, and the consequent political disparity this condition engendered. They believed that, by and large, social and political equality ultimately emanated from economic equality.

My intention, however, is not to trace the roots of radical economic theory; rather, I would like to relate the struggle of liberty and authority to the issues of localism, municipal self-government and fiscal federalism. To be concise, I would like to determine, albeit theoretically, the possibility of municipal economic autonomy, especially in the context of Canadian federalism. As an example, I would like to concentrate on a single Canadian urban center - in this case, Winnipeg - and the consequent advantages and disadvantages that the City might experience if, miraculously, the entire Canadian federal economic system suddenly disappeared. While this may appear facetious, I believe that it is a useful exercise given the current trend toward economic decentralization, the malfunctioning of the centralized state as a representative political unit, and the growing demand for regionalism, responsible government and even non-government. In fact, I believe the issues at stake will be particularly critical determinants in the future of Western Canada.

I would like to begin by discussing the theory of local autonomy in its broadest sense, with special emphasis on economic theory. Afterward, I would like to apply some of these theoretical conclusions to the case-model in question - Winnipeg - and thereby attempt to determine the feasibility of local economic autonomy; in other words, can Winnipeg survive as a political and social entity without the economic guidance and stability of the Province of Manitoba or of the Federal Government?

The Theory:

Let us begin by outlining the three responsibilities of any public sector empowered to serve the common good. In their most basic form these are: 1) ". . . to ensure an efficient use of resources (or public goods);² 2) to establish an equitable distribution of income;³ and 3) to

²Wallace E. Oates. *Fiscal Federalism*. (Harcourt Brace Javanovich, Incorporated: New York), p. 3.

³The allocative/distributive tool most commonly used by provincial authorities is the

maintain the economy at high levels of employment with reasonable price stability."⁴ As David King points out in *Fiscal Tiers: The Economics of Multi-Level Government* (1984), most discussions on public sector responsibility have simplified the terminology, classifying each responsibility under a single name: allocation, distribution, and stabilization respectively. In any comparison of autonomous or "sub-central" versus centralized authority, these three priorities figure prominently.

Thus, it has been argued that a sub-central (i.e. municipal) government should serve but one function; the allocation of public goods.⁵ In effect, many economists believe a sub-central government does not, and perhaps should not, have any part to play in either the distributive or the stabilization function of the public sector. This viewpoint parallels the perception of local governments as ". . . nothing more than administrative agencies of other levels of government - provincial or federal . . ." ⁶ In other words, to use a corporate analogy invoked by Donald Higgins in *Local and Urban Politics in Canada* (1986), local governments act as administrative branch offices for more centralized, often patriarchal, "head" offices.⁷

Given the validity of this observation, it comes as no surprise that municipal governments in Canada are considered "creatures" of the province.⁸ Indeed, this is implicit in Canadian constitutional law, wherein localized governmental units can be formed or dismantled wholly at the discretion of the provincial authority. Bird and Slack elaborate on this point when they

conditional (or specific purpose) grant. Designed to insure allocative efficiency and fiscal equity, the conditional grant also limits the autonomy of the recipient by stating the terms and ultimate beneficiaries of each transfer. As Richard Bird and Enid Slack explain in *Urban Public Finance in Canada*: "Most grants have to be spent on projects specified by the provincial donors and in ways designated by the relevant provincial authorities. In this way, the provinces are able to maintain considerable control over what appear to be local expenditure functions." Robert M. Bird and N. Enid Slack. *Urban Public Finance in Canada*. (Butterworth and Company, Limited: Canada, 1983), p. 100.

⁴Oates, p. 3.

⁵David King. *Fiscal Tiers: The Economics of Multi-Level Government*. (George Allen and Unwin: London, 1984), p. 6.

⁶Donald J. H. Higgins. *Local and Urban Politics in Canada*. (Gage Educational Publishing Company: Toronto, 1986), p. 15

⁷Many of the sources have come to the same conclusion; local government in the present federalist framework is a "junior" partner or client. (p. 67 Higgins). Bird and Slack suggest that "it is probably not too much of an exaggeration to say that municipal authorities are usually regarded by federal and provincial politicians less as partners in the governmental process than as yet another interest group, and often an undesirably troublesome one." (Bird and Slack., p. 116).

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 99.

state that:

Since the British North America Act (1867, Section 92) was first implemented, the provinces have had the exclusive rights to create or disband municipal corporations. The provinces also determine the powers and responsibilities of their constituent municipalities, and hence their expenditure requirements. They also dictate which revenue sources are available to finance these expenditures.⁹

Thus, under critical analysis one must admit that municipal governments are bound by provincial statute.¹⁰ Even the most elementary financial freedoms are restricted! The question remains, therefore, as to how far behind political freedom lies? If a centralized authority, no matter how sincere its intentions, controls the "purse strings," is it not hypocritical to suggest that a localized governmental body subject to financial interference has any autonomy whatsoever? If so, does this not contradict the most basic of political tenets; the freedom of individual initiative! How representative can a local government be, if its actions, duly condoned by a constituency, are influenced or altered by more distant, and consequently, less representative authority? Are we talking about the "decentralization" of power, or are we talking about the "deconcentration" of power? Perhaps a distinction would prove helpful here.

At present, when most officials speak of decentralization, what they really mean is deconcentration. There is a fundamental difference between the two. As Robert E. Kasperson and Myrna Breitbart explain in *Participation, Decentralization, and Advocacy Planning* (1974):

Decentralization involves the transfer of powers from a central government to specialized territorial or functional units. This process entails a substantial areal delegation of decision-making and discretionary powers . . . *Deconcentration*, by contrast, entails the dispersal of facilities or functions from the central government to subunits in an effort to improve the effectiveness and/or efficiency of substantial

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹⁰The historical evolution behind such a centralized model of government is complex, but one explanation, albeit simplistic, made by Ted Gurr and Desmond King in *The State and the City* hearkens back to the formation of the "state." In their book, Gurr and King suggest that the federal system of government as we know it today originated when "the opportunities for the natural state were inherent in the urban concentration of new liquid forms of wealth." They also suggest that the resulting "well financed institutions of authority . . . were complemented by the short run predatory interest of rulers in sequestering a share of private wealth for personal use." In effect, the wealth (and subsequent revenue) generated by urbanization was an irresistible catalyst in the formation of the centralized state and the demise of urban independence. Ted Robert Gurr and Desmond S. King. *The State and the City* (The University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 1987), p. 47.

decision-making or discretionary powers The concern is really to devise a more complex network of delivery stations. The major change is really in the distribution of workload and flow of services. Ultimately, deconcentration extends the center to the periphery. It is a form of penetration.¹¹

This raises the following question; how far **have** the federal and provincial governments penetrated the realm of municipal affairs? Remembering the corporate analogy raised earlier, the answer is self-evident.

Given these arguments, perhaps it would be advantageous at this time to weigh the relative merits and de-merits of the centralized and decentralized economic system.

The "Centralist" Argument:

I would like to begin by quoting an observation by Bird and Slack:

In reality, there is . . . very little local autonomy for Canadian cities. The province determines the assessment base for the property tax and how much it will give out in provincial transfers on the revenue side, it determines which functions the municipalities can undertake on the expenditure side and then it requires municipalities to balance their budget on current account. With respect to capital expenditures . . . the province must generally approve all long-term borrowing.¹²

One might ask why such stringent economic restraints are imposed. The centralist or federalist proponent would suggest a number of reasons; almost all based upon the economic responsibility of the public sector; that is - stabilization, allocation, and distribution. With regard to stabilization, he would point out that centralized governmental bodies must exist to insure that both monetary and fiscal policy maintain ". . . the economy at high levels of output without excessive inflation."¹³ Secondly, he would suggest that local governments do not have the capacity ". . . to regulate the aggregate level of economic activity in their jurisdictions."¹⁴ As for distribution, he would argue that a centralized system is more likely to insure the fair distribution of resources (monetary, or otherwise) because its scope and size alone will deter the financial chaos and confusion resulting from a decentralized system. In other words, ". . . it is generally argued that redistribution should be carried out by higher

¹¹Roger E. Kasperson and Myrna Breitbart. *Participation, Decentralization, and Advocacy Planning*. (Association of American Geographers: Washington, D. C., 1974), p. 28.

¹²Bird, p. 10.

¹³Oates, p. 6

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 6.

levels of government because of the efficiency problems created by labour mobility at the local level"15 Finally, the centralist would argue that a decentralized system will create serious disparities with respect to allocation of resources and public goods. He would intimate that:

. . . although the demand for local services may be the same in two jurisdictions, the revenue available to meet these demands may differ. Thus, in order to provide the same level of services in two different jurisdictions, it may be necessary to levy different tax rates. A municipality relatively rich in terms of the size of its tax base will not have to levy as high a tax rate to provide a given level of services as would a relatively poor municipality. Private sector resources (and labor) will thus tend to flow to richer areas, where the fiscal differential (taxes related to expenditures) is more favorable.¹⁶

In other words, a centralist government could internalize externalities because it has access to a much larger jurisdiction, and consequently, a much larger tax base.

Other arguments levelled at the decentralist are as follows. In a decentralized economic system, it is likely that financial efficiency would be jeopardized by local government as a result of attempts to attract or retain industry, especially through manipulation of the local tax structure.¹⁷ It is also possible, that without the financial stabilization provided by a more centralized governmental body, local governments would accumulate an excessive debt load through irresponsible spending.¹⁸ This has happened to more autonomous American municipalities when allowed to control their own debt financing.¹⁹ There is also the danger that excessive spending would be aggravated by local politicians ". . . attempting to maximize their own welfare rather than that of their electorate."²⁰ Finally, a centralist would raise the universal implication of "economies of scale," suggesting that local governments are too small to benefit from the financial efficiency of service provision on a broad scale. Thus, jurisdictions would vary widely in service patterns and levels, their quantity and quality, and

¹⁵Bird, p. 18.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 29.

¹⁷King, p. 24.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 25.

¹⁹In contradiction, however, Higgins points out that "while those American cities that do have home rule can frame, adopt, and amend a charter concerning the internal machinery of their government and therefore have considerable autonomy in that regard, they have much less functional and financial discretion or autonomy." (Higgins, p. 70). This may imply that decentralization is not the only culprit responsible for fiscal imbalance, indeed, if at all responsible.

²⁰King, p. 25.

the general tax levels required.²¹ This might lead to massive population mobility (*a la* the Tiebout Hypothesis) caused by residents "voting with their feet."²²

The "Decentralist" Argument

Although the centralist's arguments are strong, the decentralist is not without a defence. Perhaps the most powerful argument the decentralist can field against a centralized system stems from man's basic desire for liberty, individuality, and sovereignty; what Donald Higgins calls the liberal-democratic perspective; "from this viewpoint, units of local government are seen as full-fledged governments possessing sovereignty to make whatever decisions, policies, and regulations are desired locally and which are not subject to ratification or alteration by any other level of government."²³ We must assume that this viewpoint holds fast for good or ill, and is an end in itself - regardless of success or failure.

More conventional arguments, however, are as follows. First of all, contradicting the centralist argument that greater efficiency is served by larger governmental bodies, the decentralist would suggest that in fact, greater efficiency of public goods is assumed ". . . by providing a range of outputs of certain public goods that corresponds more closely to the differing tastes of groups of consumers . . ." as well ". . . expenditure decisions are tied more closely to real resource costs."²⁴ Following this argument, the decentralist would insist that it is ludicrous to expect a central financial body to insure equality of distribution when it is so far removed from the recipients of that distribution. In effect, it is impossible for a central body to consider all the variables involved in such decisions, let alone to reconcile those variables in a system as politicized and as spatially dispersed as the one found in Canada. Continuing, the decentralist would undoubtedly raise the following point: "decentralization results in greater experimentation and innovation in the production of public goods."²⁵ Moreover, decentralization induces local self-reliance and the creation of alternative revenue sources, cost-

²¹*Ibid.*, p. 27.

²²Oates, p. 28.

²³According to Higgins, this implies: "1) legal jurisdiction over at least several major aspects of public policy; 2) the absence of control by anyone outside the locality in terms of ratification of veto or change to local decisions; 3) financial self-reliance in the sense of having the authority to levy taxes or to borrow in order to pay for implementing decisions made locally; 4) the right to hire and fire local officials without outside intervention; 5) the right to organize the local administrative and legislative structures and processes in any way that the local residents may choose; and 6) a guaranteed existence as a political government entity." (Higgins, p. 69). Many of the points, obviously, are not compatible with current Canadian legislation, nor are they likely to be in a "statist" system.

²⁴Oates, pp. 12 - 13.

²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 12.

saving schemes and a whole gamut of locally inspired solutions to economic stagnation. In other words, it is not absolutely imperceptible to suggest that a local economy could survive or even thrive in the absence of external regulation. One might point out that before the phenomenon of the centralized state, urbanized centers were capable of existing quite independently, indeed, even of prospering. (Ironically, this may have been why the city-state ultimately perished - it was too damn prosperous for its own good).

The decentralist would press his attack. First, he would point out that greater political responsiveness to the will of the electorate is assured in less centralized systems, ". . . in a system of multi-level government, politicians, particularly those in the lower tiers, are likely to have a greater understanding of election wishes than would be the case with a fully centralized system" ²⁶ Likewise, he would argue that decentralization would insure accountability on the part of public officials and thereby deter the discriminate or indiscriminate abuse of power. ²⁷ Finally, a decentralized system would promote a greater political awareness, especially when constituents realize that their input provides more than democratic legitimacy; that they can make some of the fundamental economic decisions by actively determining the costs and benefits of local economic decisions that will directly affect them. ²⁸

The Reality:

Having examined the arguments made for and against the centralist and the decentralist systems of government, I would now like to examine an actual Canadian city, and make some

²⁶King, p. 22.

²⁷*Ibid.*, p. 22.

²⁸There are important arguments to be made with regard to size and democracy. The most popular appears to be that the smaller a constituency is, the more democratic its political apparatus becomes. Thus, it follows that decentralization creates a more credible, accessible, and responsive political environment. As Donald Higgins states:

A key question some political scientists and sociologists ask is whether small population units of government have greater inherent capability to be democratic in terms of participation than is the case for large units such as cities. A presumption that many accept is, that the quality and amount of participation is highest in the smallest governmental units because the citizenry is more able to identify itself as a community and with governmental issues based on that perceived community. People are most likely to participate beyond ritualism when the stakes are most immediate, and that means local. Otherwise, those who govern are likely to be minorities of some kind - perhaps the elected officials, perhaps the appointed bureaucrats, or perhaps the economically influential. (Higgins, p. 26).

observations about its position in the present system and its potential for local autonomy. Perhaps the first thing we must determine is the pervasiveness of provincial and federal financial control in Winnipeg.²⁹

The most obvious way to do this is by examining the 1989 City budget. In it we observe that next to property taxes, provincial grants are the second largest source of revenue for the City, totaling some 98 million or 17% of the entire revenue budget.³⁰ Of course, this does not represent the entire extent of provincial and federal fiscal involvement, but it is certainly the most visible source. The question that must be asked, however, is whether such a sum is proportionate to the amount of political influence the provincial, and indirectly, the federal government exert in municipal affairs. Could Winnipeg, for instance, afford to assume those tasks carried out by the provincial and federal governments, and to forego the annual grants in the name of autonomy?³¹ Given the resources attained from income and sales tax, which the

²⁹The constitutional and statutory expenditure responsibilities of the various provincial and municipal government bodies are as follows. Municipalities are theoretically responsible for ". . . education, transportation, planning, protection to persons and property, social assistance, housing, industry, tourism, recreation and culture." (Bird, p. 7). However, it is apparent that many of these expenditures are directly or indirectly influenced by provincial authority. For example, the province maintains a degree of control over the funding, curriculum, and hiring policies of local school-boards. Public transit is often dependent on provincial subsidies. (*Ibid.*, p. 8). Municipal planning initiatives are subject to the scrutiny of a provincial advisory body; in fact, ". . . each province has a planning act that stipulates rules and regulations regarding municipal planning decisions, the development of regional and municipal plans, planning by-laws and sometimes provincial assistance for planning." [Bird, p. 9]. Finally, health, social assistance, housing, industry, and culture are in fact, primarily the priority of provincial and federal governments. (*Ibid.*, p. 9).

³⁰Budget Bureau. *Municipal Budgeting and Taxation for the City of Winnipeg*. (November, 1989), p. 20.

³¹One argument against equalization based on transfer payments is made by Jane Jacobs. She notes that while the policy of equalization is designed to "equalize" or "share wealth" between the richer and poorer Canadian provinces, the policy, in reality, has only served to make the poorer provinces dependent on Ottawa by "glossing" over their financial dilemmas with promises of aid. As she explains:

Equalization has been made necessary by the huge discrepancies of wealth and poverty between the provinces. In theory, equalization has not been intended merely as charity, but rather as a collection of social and economic programs supposed to improve the economies of poor provinces directly or indirectly and thus help them become more self-supporting. But it has not really worked out that way. The poor provinces remain poor. Nevertheless, the funds distributed through the good offices of Ottawa do make poverty easier to bear and do help

municipalities have very little direct access to (something like 2.2 points of the personal income tax revenue and only 1 percent of the corporate income tax)³², it is quite possible that the city could function independently. This is especially true when one considers that such a system would not be forced to finance the various responsibilities and excesses of the centralized nation-state: for example, massive development projects, foreign loans, security-intelligence services, national councils, military forces, political parties and " a mega-bureaucracy," to name only a few of the largest resource drains. The costs of centralized social welfare programs, unemployment insurance, and health services would also be reduced based on the fact that many of the problems that prompt individuals to seek government aid in the first place would no longer exist, or would be significantly reduced. It is also evident that such a system would de-emphasize nationalism and cultural unity. Is this bad? I would suggest that the benefits of the nation-state as a socio-political body are overrated; after all, it is given to highly counterproductive economic policies as well as gross incidences of misrepresentation - especially at the federal level. For the sake of individual freedom we could afford to do without it.

While autonomy, as such, is highly feasible, it is also apparent that a self-sufficient municipality like Winnipeg could not exist in isolation. For example, the City would have to interact with surrounding municipalities, if not for economic reasons, then for reasons of social and cultural affinity. Associations of municipalities, or even smaller units such as neighbourhoods, are therefore necessary. This observation is particularly relevant if one considers how dependent many rural communities are on the province. Thus, highly decentralized regional associations would be acceptable replacements for the province, but the power of decision-making would have to be as decentralized as possible, and surely would not parody the patriarchal nature of the present municipal-provincial relationship.

One might ask how this would be achieved? A simple means toward economic autonomy would be to allow direct municipal access to all, or a large portion of, provincial income and

gloss over economic stagnation in the poor provinces. Jane Jacobs. *Quebec and the Struggle over Sovereignty: The Question of Separation*. (Random House: New York, 1980), p. 107.

³²Tax sharing payments alone, comprising the revenue from this source, total some \$27.2 million. What would be the net revenue if municipalities had access to a larger percentage of this income? I estimate that it would be at least two billion dollars annually, if not more. Even if municipalities like Winnipeg have to provide all the services presently under the purview of the provincial and federal governments, it is hard to believe that there would be a shortage of funds. Rural Manitoba, however, is a different story, as municipalities here would not have the high concentration of taxable income found in larger urban centers; especially from industry and commerce concentrated for the most part in Winnipeg. (Budget, p. 20).

sales tax. Another strategy, would be to create a regional bank or perhaps a "municipal credit union." Such a union would assume the stabilization function of the Province of Manitoba and its political influence would be limited. This co-operative bank would also serve as a lending institution for long-term capital projects, most likely at a fixed interest rate. Profit accumulated by the bank would be redistributed to the municipalities at the end of each fiscal year based on need and monetary input.

Although these strategies are straightforward, they do present some problems. For example, it has been argued that municipalities in a decentralized system would be unable to redress the "... mismatch of revenues and expenditures because expenditure demands rise far more quickly than revenues . . ." ³³ However, I believe that this argument is only valid if one assumes that a municipality or association of municipalities will simply accept a condition of fiscal imbalance without attempting to find new forms of revenue or to better manage expenditures. Much like the informal economies that exist in countries practicing state-socialism. One must also consider the possibility that tax policies implemented by the federal and provincial governments are currently promoting disparity. As Bird and Slack state: "Whatever its magnitude, fiscal imbalance (Expenditures - Revenues) at the local level occurs essentially because local revenue sources tend to grow more slowly over time than income, while local expenditures tend to grow more quickly . . . It is clear, for example, that local revenues, notably the property tax, do not automatically expand as quickly as incomes in general; it takes a good deal of sweat, tears, and political blood to raise property taxes sufficiently to keep up with the pace of expenditure growth needed to maintain service levels . . ." ³⁴ Given this dilemma, where will the municipalities turn, but to the province for aid. What this suggests is that municipalities are too dependent. Perhaps they *could* solve their own budgetary imbalances if allowed access to more "painlessly expansible tax" sources (i. e. income and sales taxes) which the provincial and federal governments now enjoy.

Would this not induce wild spending sprees on the part of the municipalities? Not necessarily, but even so, would the result be any more catastrophic than the current federal spending record; the one which has saddled this country with a \$28 billion dollar deficit. The municipal capacity to overspend pales in comparison!

Finally, I believe that the derogatory effects of decentralization predicted by the Tiebout hypothesis are unwarranted, especially in regard to "fiscally induced migration." For example, I cannot believe that money (taxation) is the only determining factor in one's choice of residence. In many instances the strong influences of family ties, job commitments, familiarity and the cost of moving must also be taken into consideration. ³⁵ It is also suggested that in a decentralized system, the financial disparities will not be as drastic as some would concede,

³³Bird, p. 102.

³⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 14 - 15.

³⁵Oates, p. 29.

and that the "association" could maintain economic stability better than the province - with far less paternalism.

A Word on Municipal Autonomy:

It is true that in the course of this paper I have argued rather unabashedly for the liberation of the municipality; and to some extent for the liberation of the region from national control. The argument, as presented, attempts to build on the economic and social benefits of decentralization, and to a lesser extent, local economic theory. The ultimate goal of this argument is unclear however. What I would suggest here is that the idea of "Libertarian Municipalism" as expounded by Murray Bookchin in a number of books and articles (See for example, *The Limits of the City* [1974], *Toward an Ecological Society* [1980], and *The Rise of Urbanization and the Decline of Citizenship* [1987]), is what I feel most likely fills this theoretical void. In fact, I would argue that this concept represents the goal of the observations presented so far.

But what is "Libertarian Municipalism," you may ask. For the most part Libertarian Municipalism represents a conceptualization of man's "restored urbanity." In other words, the concept of Libertarian Municipalism seeks to restore those properties and conditions upon which the best features of the *polis* and medieval commune were based, "supported by rounded eco-technologies that rescale the most advanced elements of modern technology to local dimensions." It is hoped that in this way, "the equilibrium between town and country will be restored - not as a sprawling suburb that mistakes a lawn or a woodlot for 'nature,' but as an interactive functional eco-community that unites industry with agriculture, mental work with physical."³⁶

Thus the municipality becomes both humanistic, ecological, and communalistic. It becomes a vehicle for the direct and intimate expression of political, social, and economic "sociation." By far, the most important point to be carried is that the municipality would expand beyond its proscribed, limited role, to encompass an ". . . authentic ecological consciousness that transcends the instrumentalist 'environmental' mentality of the sanitary engineer."³⁷

To do this, Bookchin argues, the megalopolis must be "ruthlessly dissolved and its place taken by new decentralized communities . . ." predicated, for the most part, on the tenets expressed throughout this thesis and more succinctly, by the criterion.

In this regard, libertarian municipalism's logical facilitator - radical planning - would work very much from the opposite direction of traditional city planning. Instead of becoming a system which ". . . validates the urban crisis by dealing with it as a problem of logistics and

³⁶Murray Bookchin. *Toward an Ecological Society*. (Black Rose Books: Montreal, 1980), p. 168.

³⁷*Ibid.*

design," radical planning would attempt to liberate planning rather than limit it to the realm of commodification, exchange values and statistical aggregates.³⁸

Thus, liberation becomes the motive of municipalism.

Yes, Yes, you might say, but what does this mean for Winnipeg, let alone Canada? I would reply as follows.

In any centralized system, whether a corporation or a country, it is unrealistic to expect an elected few to understand the needs of the broad majority. In a representative democracy we expect our representatives will acknowledge and reflect the will of their constituents. However, reality dictates otherwise.

What people must realize is that a modern state as spatially diverse and yet as politically centralized as Canada, often takes on a life of its own - to the detriment of a large majority of its citizens. In such systems, attempts to convey strongly felt local conviction is nearly impossible. The bureaucracy is simply insurmountable. Is it any wonder that regional political movements, typified by organizations like the Reform Party, are gaining popularity! Indeed, political adherents from both the left and the right have realized the fallacy of large, modern bureaucracies, especially in a centralized context. Remedies often appear in the form of demands for greater public representation, accountability, and political/economic decentralization. More radical strategies forego the system all together; preaching the value of grass-roots organization and building political consensus from the bottom-up. Such strategies generally acknowledge the importance of the environment, the individual, and the value of community. Not surprisingly, urban Canada is the incubator of much of this dissent; for cities, quite obviously, are subject to the most abject symptoms of modern urbanism - unemployment, homelessness, family abuse, pollution, and alienation. Indeed, it is here that frustrations are most directly focused on the structure of power, the distribution of income, and the ability to influence decision-making or otherwise be heard. It is in the urban context that the word "citizen" is most critically defined.

Most citizens are more likely to identify with a given city or community than with an artificial construct like the "nation-state." To the average "joe," (including this one), a community, neighbourhood, or even city, is a much more tangible entity; one in which an individual resident can interact and share common experiences with others, or perhaps help to create a common environment and culture. This sort of intimacy is very hard to achieve on a national scale, especially in a large, ethnically diverse country like Canada. Moreover, I would suggest that to superimpose the values and beliefs of one region on those of another is the height of folly, and one of the most unfortunate side-effects of a federalist/centralist bias.

One might ask - how can this bias be deterred? This is a difficult proposition, but I would suggest that the solution will ultimately originate in the city. It is here that locally initiated associations and locally inspired movements are most likely to prosper. In essence, the

³⁸*Ibid.*, p. 167.

municipality can and does represent a counter-balance to the centralized, externally imposed will of the provincial and federal governments. In the municipality we find a natural vehicle for fostering grass-roots political determinism, for insuring political accountability, and for realizing a more realistic level of public participation. It is through the liberatory municipality that we can, as Murray Bookchin states, ". . . shake off the state institutions that have infiltrated it: its majorality structure, civic bureaucracy, and its own professionalized monopoly on violence."³⁹ In effect, we already hold the means of civil self-actualization in our hands. We have but to recognize the importance of municipal autonomy, and to act on this inclination; in this way, we will have taken the first step toward achieving "true citizenship." The kind of citizenship that makes the individual more than a statistic, that allows him to become a communal being and to influence his own environment; thereby coming to know it intimately.

You may ask what this has to do with the City of Winnipeg? Well, to be honest - everything. I believe that everything good about this city has been the product of local initiative, inspiration, and work - not external agencies. And I believe that we should protect and foster localism through the strengthening of community, emphasizing the importance of local politics, and safeguarding the sanctity of the individual. This means listening to the voice of local residents when decisions are made, not to the mandates of Ottawa or any other civic bureaucracy. We must re-empower the local community and recognize its inherent capability for reasonable and responsible consensus building. Only in this way can we eliminate the dependence and gross inequities characteristic of the modern state.

Conclusion:

While our concern has been the economic implications of decentralization, I would suggest that the "bottom-line," so to speak, is of a far less tangible nature. What we are really discussing is the right for communities to make their own collective financial decisions, whether these discussions are of a social, political or economic nature is inconsequential. The important point is that *municipalities* make the decision, not an external or "regulatory" government determined to conform municipal action to a grand political mandate, a hidden agenda, or the empowerment of an artificial construct like the "state."

This may seem like a harsh condemnation of centralized authority because it is intended as such. I believe that there is no greater vehicle for the exploitation of humanity than the centralized nation-state. If individual freedom, and thereby collective freedom, is ever to be guaranteed we must first eliminate the apparatus of centralized authority. Decentralization of formalized politics, economics and culture appear to be the first step towards this end. The consequent devolution of the state into smaller components (i. e. regions, municipalities and neighbourhoods) is the logical outcome of this movement.

³⁹Murray Bookchin. *The Modern Crisis*. (Black Rose Books: Montreal, 1987), p. 41.

Appendix 3: Planning and Ecology

The earth is round. We have known this for hundreds of years, but few people even today see what it means: that everywhere on earth, linked by cause and effect, is in a sense the same place, and that there is only so much earth and sky and water: so much and no more. We do not have unlimited amounts of anything - of land, of wind, of rain, of food, of sunlight, of away to throw things; for the earth is round, and roundness means limits.¹

Not unlike most revelations, the realization that man has been destroying the earth has been slow in coming. Only in the past two decades has the implication of the mistreatment of the earth's resources, her poisoning by pollution, and the myriad threats posed by man's seemingly insatiable greed, captured humanity's collective attention. Before, only a handful of environmentalists, scientists and sociologists warned that things were amiss.

I

It was during the so-called "Quiet Revolution," around 1970, that many individuals, and more importantly - countries - began to seriously question the condition of the global environment, local resource exploitation, the value of unbridled technology,² the implications of urban sprawl, unlimited growth, and countless other symptoms of man's attempts to dominate nature.³ Concurrently, a resurgence of interest in the design of "urban green areas, naturalistic design approaches and ecological techniques" took place. This trend was most pronounced in Europe, where it achieved actualization in Britain, Sweden and the Netherlands; through projects like the Dutch *heemparks*;⁴ "eco-niches" designed to refamiliarize urban dwellers with the natural environment by demonstrating the characteristics of indigenous,

¹Friends of the Earth. *The Stockholm Conference: Only One Earth - An Introduction to the Politics of Survival*. (Earth Island Limited: London, 1972), p. 22.

²Robert Tregay. "In Search of Greener Towns." (*Planning Outlook*: Volume 27, Number 2, 1984), p. 59.

³According to one source, blind faith in technology is a dangerous proposition: "We shall have to use a transformed technology to salvage what we can - but technology at its best cannot save the whole scene." Garrett DeBell (editor). *The Environmental Handbook: Prepared for the First National Environmental Teach-In*. (Ballantine Books, Incorporated: New York, 1970), p. 7.

⁴Tregay, p. 60.

naturally planned communities. A simple step, but highly effective!

The repercussions of the Quiet Revolution were also felt by the planning profession. Until the late sixties and early seventies there was no overt conception of ecological planning. True, environmental planning, with its emphasis on scientifically implemented impact analysis, reactive techniques, and a mandate to exploit nature with minimal repercussion, was well established. But the notion of a planning strategy that would "work with, spring from, and learn from" nature, was a novel proposition to say the least.⁵ The idea that there were "limits to growth," that the world could sustain only so much abuse, that every action had a reaction; in effect, that the world was a living, breathing entity, bound by an intricate chain of cause and effect, upset more than a few traditional assumptions. As Richard Register explains: "One of the most important axioms of ecology is that all things are connected in a complex web of relationship. Some connections are very direct, some very indirect."⁶

While many hailed the popularization of ecology in the early seventies, (as a turning point), it is apparent that most of the principles upon which the concept is based have yet to achieve widespread recognition - at least in a "popular" sense. This is true of the planning profession as well. In many cases, ecological principles have been paid lip service and quickly subverted or overlooked during the actual planning process. As Paul Selman suggests:

The adoption of ecological concepts has clearly been one of the most significant developments in recent planning theory. Nevertheless, the translation of these principles into practice has so far been limited and there has perhaps been a tendency to concentrate overmuch on a few isolated topics of common concern to planning and ecology rather than to progress toward a more complete integration of the two disciplines . . . the liaison between planning and ecology has been without substance."⁷

Thus, we see that the incorporation of ecological planning techniques into a planning ethos is still more aspiration than reality.

II

There are a number of concerns I would like to address in this paper. First of all, I would like to define the term "ecology" because it is often invoked without a good understanding of

⁵DeBell, p. 6.

⁶Richard Register. *Ecocity Berkeley: Building Cities for a Healthy Future*. (North Atlantic Books, Berkeley, California, 1987), p. 11.

⁷P. H. Selman. "Planning for Green Cities: Some Emerging Principles." (*Planning Outlook*: Volume 27, Number 2, 1984), p. 55.

its meaning. Secondly, I would like to discuss the importance of ecology to planning and how planners might assume a more "positive attitude toward the natural environment of the city." Finally, I would like to look at ecological planning principles put forward by a number of "Eco-planners," including Robert Dorney (Ecoplan) and Richard Register (Ecocity).

What is Ecology?

What does ecology imply? Surely, it is more than the preservation and protection of natural "resources," - of ancient forest stands, of natural river beds, of tidal pools, of marshlands - as popular opinion would have us believe. In fact, there is a much deeper base from which ecology stems, and a far more comprehensive goal toward which it is heading.

Perhaps we should begin by defining the word "ecology." For the sake of comparison, let us contrast the word's meaning; first of all, from the standpoint of Webster's dictionary, (which I assume reflects an established perception). According to Webster: Ecology is "... a branch of science concerned with the interrelationship of organisms and their environments." However, two English authors, John and Ann Edington, offer an entirely different interpretation:

Ten years ago an 'ecologist' was quite unambiguously a scientist interested in analyzing the environmental relationship of living organisms. More recently, the term has come to be use in a second sense, not to identify a practitioner in a particular scientific discipline but rather to indicate a philosophical attitude, often an attitude involving a commitment to conservation and an antipathy to development.⁸

In effect, the concept of ecology has grown beyond the confines of esoteric "scientism." It has become a philosophy of living; a pattern for life. Some ecologists suggest that the new philosophy is "humanistic," that "ecological techniques (become) a means of achieving a richer; more diverse and more stimulating environment for people."⁹ However, there is a danger in emphasizing anthropocentrism through ecology, after all, anthropocentrism is largely responsible for past and present natural resource exploitation. Man's need to dominate, to assume man is the "measure of all things," has created a peculiar sort of environmental arrogance, resulting in man's separation from nature. No, anthropocentrism is not the path of ecological wisdom - it must be rejected in favor of a new path based upon the interdependency of man and environment.¹⁰

⁸John M. Edington and M. Ann Edington. *Ecology and Environmental Planning*. (Chapman and Hall: London, 1981), p. 3.

⁹Tregay, p. 61.

¹⁰DeBell, p. 7.

It might also be pointed out that part of the problem in defining ecology has arisen from confusion over those who are its so-called adherents. This is as true today, as it was when ecology first gained popular relevancy in the early 1970's. Simply ask yourself whether self-titled "eco-packs" for soap detergent are truly ecological. Is the producer, therefore, an ecologically sensitive company? The packaging might be reusable, phosphates might even be removed from the product, but the process - the means of manufacture - are still as unenvironmental as ever. Similarly, it has always been politically expedient to label oneself an "ecologist," regardless of how incompatible one's perceptions were with the term's actual meaning.¹¹ As one student article pointed out in 1971:

Persons who talk fluently about it (ecology) are in fact simply talking about dirty air or conservation. The ecological issue itself becomes increasingly difficult to see. Everybody's an ecologist: Nixon's an ecologist, Agnew's an ecologist, Ronnie Reagan, Timothy Leary, everyone . . . it is generally acknowledged that the goals of the movement have been absorbed by much of middle America, and thus have become weakened.¹²

And as Brian Tokar observed in 1990:

Everyone from George Bush and Margaret Thatcher, to Al Gore and the head of the World Bank, wants to be thought of as an environmentalist. Corporate America is doing everything it can to direct public concerns about environmental decay into safe channels, whether that means voting for mainstream candidates, buying high-priced "ecological" products, or sending money to the major Washington, D. C. - based environmental lobbying groups.¹³

¹¹The "ecological/environmental" bandwagon is a very popular vehicle at present. The problem is that the motivation for "hopping" on this bandwagon is not influenced by genuine concern for the environment, as much as a concern for a products public image and markability. Indeed, many well known corporations and individuals have joined the movement with seeming abandon, perhaps without full knowledge of what exactly such a movement implies at the most basic level. Large corporations, are especially suspect for they can hop off the "wagon" as easily as they hop on - in my opinion, they have no compulsion aside from a sort of ambiguous business ethic. Public opinion is also a prime motivator, as any business must rely (especially in an age of media saturation and rampant consumerism) on how they are perceived by the national and international consumer. They cannot afford product degradation at the hands of "environmental critics," let alone popular boycotts.

¹²Robert Chrisman. "Ecology is a Racist Shuck." *Toward Social Change: A Handbook for Those Who Will*. Edited by Robert Buchout and 81 Concerned Berkeley Students. (Harper and Row Publishers, 1971), p. 424.

In effect, we must be careful to separate the sincerity from the "crap," the "true believers" from the "posers" as it were. This is especially true of planning, where extravagant guidelines based on ecological principles are easily adopted and then just as easily ignored in the plan's actual implementation.¹⁴

Why Ecology?

One may ask why planning should acknowledge the importance of ecology, especially in an urban setting. This is a good question which many ecologists and more than a few planners have sought to answer. Paul Selman lists five reasons why planners should take "a positive attitude toward the natural environment of a city."¹⁵ He notes first of all that because many urban areas still have small natural environments scattered here and there: "planning departments should . . . map and evaluate the wildlife habitats of urban areas and take these resources positively into account in the activities of plan preparation and area management."¹⁶ Secondly, Selman points out that these natural resources must be maintained so that certain "city-locked" (i. e. carless) individuals will be able to enjoy natural environments in close proximity to their homes.¹⁷ He sites the need for alternatives to conventional landscaping techniques, (using natural processes and solutions), and the need to work with nature rather than against it. (An added bonus is the reduced maintenance cost associated with this technique. As he states, ". . . the prospect of a design philosophy based on self-sustaining, and therefore economical, principles must seem attractive.")¹⁸ Also explored by Selman is the idea of community involvement. He uses derelict urban sites as an example. If derelict sites are "perceived by a community as being a valued and recognizable part of its territory, a sense of caring and respect will develop for them."¹⁹ Selman even suggests that local communities

¹³Brian Tokar. "Shut Down Wall Street for Earth Day!" *Green Synthesis*. (March 1990, Number 33. League for Ecological Democracy, San Pedro, CA), p. 13.

¹⁴Andre Gorz provides an interesting criticism of the ecology movement when he states that ecology should not be an end in itself. As Gorz explains, the ecological movement is simply another stage in a larger struggle against capitalist "oppression." Gorz worries that a narrow interpretation of the ecological movement may not achieve the desired changes, and that eventually capitalism will work its way out of the "ecological impasse" and "will assimilate ecological necessities as technical constraints, and adapt the condition of exploitation to them." Andre Gorz. *Ecology as Politics*. Translated by Patsy Vigderman and Jonathan Cloud. (Black Rose Press: Montreal, 1980), p. 3.

¹⁵Selman, p. 55.

¹⁶*Ibid.*

¹⁷*Ibid.*

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 56.

take responsibility for site management. Finally, Selman emphasizes the potential economic (i. e. employment benefits) of incorporating ecological techniques into an urban environment. As he states: "the widespread greening of cities and the incorporation of traditional ecosystem management techniques into maintenance regimes, could prove very labour intensive."²⁰

Strategies:

While Selman's proposals are equitably sound, they do not fulfill all the expectations, nor address every aspect or problem that arise when planning a more ecologically sensitive environment. I would like to pursue this idea further. I intend to do this by examining two contemporary strategies designed to implement ecological principles in a planning capacity. They are Robert Dorney's "Eco-plan" proposal and Richard Register's "Ecocity" model. It is expected that these strategies will help one visualize what ecological planning techniques can achieve and the methods a planner might employ toward this end. I will begin with Dorney's proposal.

III

The Eco-Plan:

According to Dorney, the best way to ensure the proper utilization and protection of natural resources and environments is to develop an eco-plan.²¹ This involves the collaboration of consultants familiar with "local history, geomorphology, soils, limnology, botany, wildlife management and climatology." Ideally, each professional would examine the area from the perspective of his/her own discipline. This information would then be "digested" and analyzed by a team of ecologists, planners and architects. The information would later be passed on to a team of civil engineers, landscape architects and economists for further analysis. Finally, a strategy, or development plan, would evolve which would embody all five principles of Dorney's eco-plan. These include:

- 1) Maximization of plant and animal diversity within the urban area;
- 2) Identification of fragile environments which can withstand only limited development;

¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 57.

²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 58.

²¹Kamal S. Sayegh (editor). *Canadian Housing: A Reader*. (University of Waterloo: School of Urban and Regional Planning, 1972), p. 247.

- 3) Identification of hazardous areas or areas which because of soil or geological structure have developmental limitation;
- 4) Prediction of changes in vegetation through natural succession and in water quality resulting from development and reflection of these anticipated changes in the urban design;
- 5) Identification of what types of natural restoration of the landscape are feasible, such as shelter belts or planting of trees in designated parkland.²²

While this strategy does represent a very thorough consideration of principles for ensuring ecological sensitivity in an urban environment, overall it limits itself to a very technical, "analysis" oriented approach. There appears to be a great deal of identification and evaluation involved in the process, but very little imagination, which is often critical when balancing human and natural environments.

The Ecocity:

Perhaps we can find this latter, imaginative perspective in Richard Register's ecocity. In developing his strategy for implementing ecological planning, Register relies on one basic premise; that planners must look beyond a given crisis to its ultimate origin. As he states; "seeking changes at the level of causes is not the habit of planning . . . which, ironically, is also indifferent to the long term effects of plans as well . . . but dealing with changes at the level of causes is necessary if cities are to become vital, healthy, enduring creations."²³

In order to rectify this "flaw," Register proposes a number of principles for ecocity building; each is based on a need for aesthetic beauty, equity among citizens, and the enhancement of the quality of urban life.²⁴ To satisfy these needs, the ecocity is dependent on a number of biological preconditions.

For example, it is generally assumed that diversity is healthy, thus Register suggests that a number of different habitats and species of animal should be encouraged, both inside and outside the ecocity. The importance of space is also highlighted; people should be dispersed among natural and agricultural environments.²⁵ Land has a "carrying capacity;" as a result, there is only so much biomass to go around and it must be utilized efficiently. Finally, there must be a "green hierarchy" in ecocity planning; this means growing plants for food production

²²*Ibid.*

²³Register, p. 12.

²⁴*Ibid.*, p. 13.

²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 16.

as well as shade. The plants should not be a means of decoration alone, and for that matter, they should require as little maintenance as possible.

Not surprisingly, Register feels that waste should be recycled. He advocates biological pest control and organic nutrients as opposed to chemical fertilizers. And finally, he makes an obvious but interesting observation: the environment is **everybody's** responsibility, thus everyone should be involved in its preservation and protection.²⁶

Register also attempts to identify a number of strategies that could be used to improve the ecological "profile" of cities and towns. First of all, he feels that human dwellings should be clustered in rural areas in order to promote community and reduce the cost of services. He also feels that towns and especially cities should be spatially "compact" as opposed to spatially "flat." His models in this regard are old, high-density European communities. (For him, urban sprawl is a distinct sin). Following these lines, he proposes that higher densities must combine with mixed land uses.²⁷ This could be achieved by integrating homes, jobs, schools and recreational facilities. Register advocates the de-emphasis of low and medium-density neighbourhoods while at the same time promoting a revitalization of local commercial centres, and a gradual increase in population density through basement and attic bedroom conversions. He advocates the withdrawal of low and medium-density neighbourhoods from areas of sensitive or rich ecological importance, such as creeks and shorelines.²⁸ Finally, he suggests that street widths be reduced in medium-density neighbourhoods, that future development occur in already developed areas, and that economic incentives be used to concentrate people and businesses within already defined urban boundaries.²⁹ In effect, growth should occur inward and upward rather than outward.

Finally, Register proposes a number of strategies that would help to shape the core of an ecocity. These include pedestrian malls with car free zones;³⁰ expansive public spaces; public amenities like benches, arcades, shady and sunny areas; "no-car" condos, single-room housing, and free public parking.³¹ Free parking, Register suggests, would eventually lead to parking reductions as transportation emphasis shifts from cars to public transport systems, and ultimately to "rampant pedestrianism."³² Register reasons that the present problems with transit and the destructive potential of the car (both to human life and the environment) can only be solved when the city once again achieves human scale; ". . . it becomes apparent that even

²⁶*Ibid.*, p. 17.

²⁷*Ibid.*, p. 23.

²⁸*Ibid.*, p. 21.

²⁹*Ibid.*, p. 24.

³⁰*Ibid.*, p. 28.

³¹*Ibid.* p. 32.

³²*Ibid.*, p. 33.

decent transit has trouble connecting the scattered city - the city itself needs to be restructured so that more is available closer together with less need to move about, less required investment in transportation, less cost in wasted time, less expense in attempting to cleanup."³³

Conclusion:

While there are many models demonstrating the obvious potential for ecological planning and design technique, (and even a few prototypes that have been developed), it is apparent that there is still much to be done. Planners must become aware of the possibilities for implementing ecological techniques in the built environment before real changes will begin to occur. Finally, ecological awareness is a product of education and that without a strong ecological emphasis in planning schools, dynamic philosophies like ecology will remain an obscure topic of study and an even more isolated planning "ethos."³⁴

³³*Ibid.*, p. 11.

³⁴Dorney suggests the fault for ecological ignorance ". . . lies both within the universities and the governments who outwardly are promoting environmental equality but internally are not responding vis-a-vis installing an ecological conscience in their professional students and staff. With some exceptions, professional engineers, architects, landscape architects and planners have little or no course work in ecology or natural resource management . . ." (Dorney, p. 248).

Appendix 4: Notes on Planning Evolution

I would like to present three perceptions of planning evolution. It should be emphasized that these perceptions are just that - perceptions - as such they must be accepted with a measure of caution. For example, Tom Gunton's model might be viewed with confidence from the perspective of the current planning paradigm; but with a great deal of incredulity from a more radical perspective. Likewise the models offered by both Clyde Weaver and John Friedmann might seem appropriate from the perspective of radical planning but completely untenable from a conservative approach. Each perception, however, is informative in its own right, and depending on the viewpoint - accurate. It is not my intention to form an opinion here or to favor one perception over another, rather, I would emphasize that the study of planning history is, if anything, an inexact science. I will, however, present a brief summation of the three interpretations for the edification of the reader.¹

¹ A Canadian interpretation can be found in Kent Gerecke's "The History of Canadian City Planning." Gerecke's history is comprised of five stages, each representing a turning point in the evolution of planning practice. The first stage represents the "formal beginnings" (1909 - 1931) of the profession as influenced by Thomas Adams and British and American planning experience. The second stage represents a period of "uncertainty" (1932 - 1943) following the disintegration of the professional planning organization and the onset of the Depression and World War II. (Kent Gerecke. "The History of Canadian City Planning." *City Magazine*, p. 2). The third stage is represented by the rebirth or "restart" (1944 - 1951) of the profession and its expansive growth under the auspices of the Canadian Government and its mandate for post-war reconstruction. The fourth stages represents the growing "institutionalization" (1952 - 1964) of the profession and its incorporation as a tool for the extension of government control and elite corporate interest. (*Ibid.*, p. 3). The fifth and final stage (1965 - present) represents the "broadening" of the profession's responsibilities and specialization, as well as the concurrent "criticism" which such a direction entails, including precipitation of a number of attempts at alternative social planning. (*Ibid.*, p. 5). As Gerecke explains:

The obvious conclusion to draw from this history of Canadian city planning is one of tremendous shortcomings. Canadian planning has chiefly carried out housekeeping functions. Planners have offered few initiatives and innovations. Planning serves the interests of the property industry and the politicians best not the people it has so often been portrayed to serve. Planners shun citizen involvement, and concern themselves mostly with facilitating growth, usually regulating minimum requirements rather than spelling out maximum objectives. (*Ibid.*, p. 6).

I

According to Gunton, a number of role models have been entertained over the last one hundred years, particularly by individuals attempting to rationalize the planner's place in the public domain. Perhaps the oldest, and certainly most staid, has been the vision of the planner as technocrat, as professional expert ". . . above politics and ideology employing objective, scientific knowledge to solve society's problems."² Here, the goal was to separate politics from planning in order to ensure the attainment of mechanistic, systematic, and theoretically objective ends.³ Not surprisingly, the technocratic role model gained credibility under, and was personified by the ideas of sociologists like Karl Mannheim (1893 - 1947), and Rexford Tugwell (1891 - 1979). These individuals (and their perceptions) influenced and guided the planning profession through the first four decades of the twentieth century.⁴

In the mid to late 1940's, the perception of the planner as technocrat slowly gave way to the perception of planner as "public servant." Planners sought to identify and evaluate the means necessary to achieve a client's self-proposed ends. The planning process, however, remained inaccessible to the client. "Experts" were still needed to translate and interpret information for the public.⁵

The perception of planner as "referee" followed. The planner was considered an arbitrator

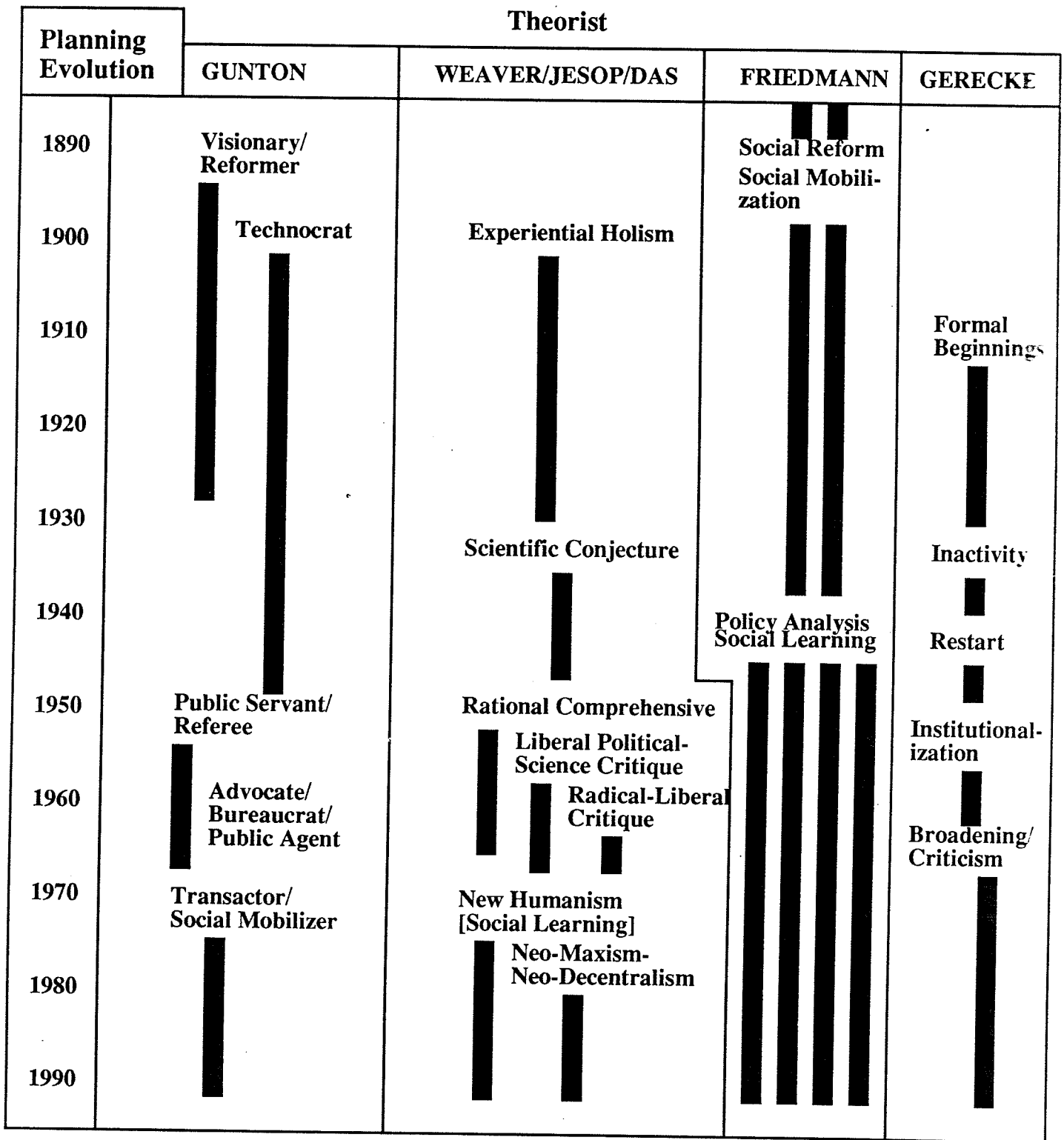
²Tom Gunton. "The Role of the Professional Planner." *Canadian Planning Administration*. (Volume 27, Number 3, February, 1984), p. 400.

³*Ibid.*, p. 401.

⁴The primary criticism levelled at this model is its susceptibility to "bureaucratization." This includes criticism of its absolute reliance on "scientism" and technical rationality as a means of interpreting knowledge. Max Weber [1864 - 1920] spent much time on the subject of bureaucracy and its ultimate objective - rationality. He traced rationalization to the Protestant Ethic and the "idea of scientific and technical rationality" so prevalent in centralized economic systems. Astutely, Weber also recognized rationalization's inherent susceptibility to strategies of domination. George C. Benello. "Anarchism and Marxism: A Confrontation of Traditions." *Our Generation*, (Volume 10, Number 1, Spring, 1974), p. 53.

This accusation can be extended to "mandarinism," a bureaucratic phenomenon. How does this phenomenon impact on planning? As Alan Kravitz explains, when planners plan, especially in a large bureaucracy, they tend to act "without being aware or conscious of the role 'really' served, the role 'really' played, the function 'really' served or the objective 'really' pursued." Under this influence, the planner is rational, but also very "one dimensional," "other directed," "unauthentic," and "technical." He or she functions with no apparent concern or knowledge for the consequence of his or her actions. In effect, an objective purpose or entity is served, but little else. Alan S. Kravitz. "Mandarinism: Planning as Handmaiden to Conservative Politics." *Planning and Politics: Uneasy Partnership*. Thad L. Beyle and George T. Lathrop (editors). (The Odyssey Press, New York, 1970), p. 241.

⁵Gunton/"The Role of the Professional Planner," p. 405.



Planning Evolution:

Derived from Gunton, Weaver/Jesop/Das, Friedmann, Gerecke

(Figure 27)

attempting "to supplicate or otherwise seek compromise between conflicting interests in the municipal realm." This perception's most notable adherent was Charles Lindblom.⁶

By the early 1950's, however, planners began to view themselves as "public agents" - as more than technical experts of the public service. If we are to believe Gunton, they now sought active involvement in the concerns of their clients, which more often than not required a new political "sensibility." Consequently, new skills were required and new tasks adopted. Among these were the ability to analyze ". . . the efficacy of available means in achieving the objectives of clients and in assisting clients in identifying their own values."⁷ In many respects, this role foreshadowed advocacy.

Gunton ends his interpretation with the emergence of Friedmann's radical role model - transactive planning - in the early 1970's. This will be discussed at greater length in section III.

II

In contrast to Gunton, C. Weaver, J. Jessop, and V. Das, break the evolution of planning down into a series of chronologically distinct paradigms.

The first encompasses a period between 1900 and 1935 labelled "experiential holism." The authors suggest that at this time planning practice was driven by "the Comtian-influenced empiricism of Patrick Geddes" and the Pragmatists. The temperament was reformist in nature and planners worked to reform "social relations and physical living conditions through a reintegration of town and countryside." Not surprisingly, the ideas of Ebenezer Howard, the "New Towners," and the regional advocates peaked at this time.⁸

The second encompasses a period between 1935 and 1950 labelled "Scientific Conjecture." This phase was molded by attempts to implement centralized, "scientific decision-making," and reflected, in part, pressures exerted by the "Great Depression," global authoritarianism, and the Second World War. The primary theoreticians of this period, Tugwell and Mannheim, brought forth the ideas of the Pragmatists, the English Fabians, institutional economics and the German Historical School as a method of practice. Together, these ideas shaped "an organic/evolutionary view of society."⁹

The third paradigm, rational comprehensiveness, spans a period between 1950 and 1965. This period is characterized by the predominance of rational-comprehensive planning - a

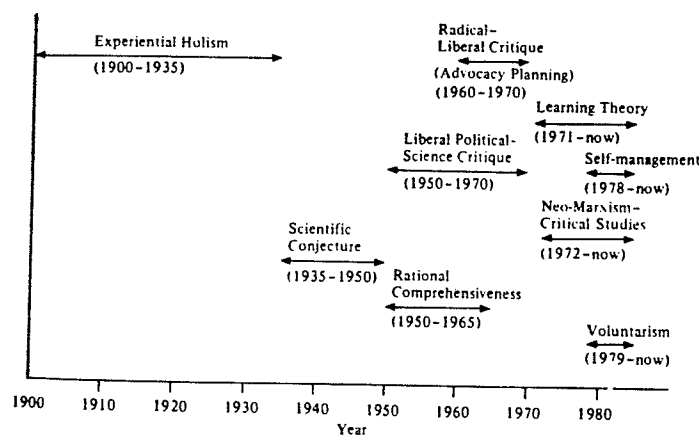
⁶*Ibid.*

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 404.

⁸C. Weaver, J. Jessop, and V. Das. "Rationality in the Public Interest: Notes Toward a New Synthesis." *Rationality in Planning: Critical Essays on the Role of Rationality in Urban and Regional Planning*. M. Breheny and A. Hooper (editors). (Pion Limited, London, 1985), p. 155.

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 156.

"framework which attempted to apply logical positivism to society." Accordingly, rationality was defined "in terms of positive knowledge and instrumental calculations." Objectivity was key! Planning as a sociological tool for exploring knowledge and personal experience was rejected in favor of a more "utilitarian" outlook. The values of planning were effectively left to the politicians; all the planner had to do was provide "the processed facts."¹⁰



(Figure 28) Historical Planning Paradigms¹¹

The fourth paradigm is called the "Liberal Political-Science Critique" (1950 - 1970). The most important element of this paradigm, according to the authors, was the legitimization of "pluralism" as a means of political expression, as well as the realization among planners that "1) individual values may conflict" and 2) "the intelligence of democracy was its procedure for 'muddling through.'"¹²

The fifth paradigm, the "Radical-Liberal Critique," was posited between 1960 and 1970. The importance of this pattern lay, for the most part, in its radical-liberal criticism of society, as

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 158.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 155.

¹²*Ibid.*

well as recognition of the limits of professional knowledge and the need for extending scientific knowledge to the "poor and disadvantaged."¹³

The final paradigm represents the "devolution" of planning. There are three notable sub-paradigms - 1) the paradigm of "new humanism" as found in Friedmann's theory of social learning; 2) the neo-Marxist criticisms of post-industrial society; and 3) the "new-decentralism."

New-decentralism is further divided. On the right we find the advocates of "voluntarism" - neo-conservatives who rejected the notion of central government intervention in community affairs," and advocated the necessity for voluntary association. On the left we find the advocates of self-management, proclaiming a "need for a real devolution of responsibility and authority in order to promote self-government at the community level, and to bring about an atmosphere of self-sufficiency, appropriate production, and direct decision-making."¹⁴

III

Friedmann's breakdown encompasses four traditions. The first two represent the duality out of which planning has evolved. On the one hand, there are the advocates of Social Reform, taugting a relatively conservative vision of societal change based on many of the ideas developed by the positivists. On the other, the advocates of Social Mobilization.

The first tradition treats planning as a sort of "scientific endeavor," best promoted by placing it under the jurisdiction of the state, "thereby making its function more arbitrary and the action of the state more effective."¹⁵ Implicit in this perception is the distancing of political activity from functional decision-making. The rationale for this segregation is the belief that the politician and the ordinary citizen are not "sufficiently informed" to plan on a societal scale. The advocates of Social Reform also consider planning better served by individuals who can offer specialized professional and executive skills within the context of state authority.¹⁶

Counterpoised to this tradition are the advocates of Social Mobilization. Such a perception was formed and influenced by a number of radical influences, not least of which were the "doctrines of anarchism and historical materialism."¹⁷

As a tradition, social mobilization has and continues to maintain ". . . the primacy of direct collective action from below." Consequently, social mobilizers tend to conflict most sharply with the planning traditions that advocate conservative planning approaches, including those

¹³*Ibid.*, p. 159.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 164.

¹⁵John Friedmann. *Planning in the Public Domain: From Knowledge to Action*. (Princeton University Press: Princeton, New Jersey, 1987), p. 76.

¹⁶*Ibid.*

¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 53.

that advocate state involvement in the planning process, rational-scientific methods, and incremental change. Indeed, as Friedmann suggests, social mobilization has been and continues to be very much based in a "political" approach to planning, recognizing the inherent tendency for professions like planning to reflect or serve the dominant power elites.¹⁸

In addition to the traditions of Social Reform and Social Mobilization, are added Policy Analysis and Social Learning. Both evolved as a result of state-centered allocation precipitated by the massive human and material mobilization that took place during the 1930's and 1940's.

Lacking a distinct philosophical ethos, Policy Analysts first emulated the organizational strategies of "large private corporations and the state" during World War II. The planning technician or "technocrat" was the result of this emulation. It is also significant to note that the approach to planning advocated by Policy Analysts is based on the belief that systematic techniques, such as systems theory and mathematics, can identify, commodify, and reduce societal problems to precise, rational calculations, and that from these calculations "best solutions" can be derived. Thus, the motivation for policy analysis reflects the rationalistic, positivistic strategies posited by Social Reform. This is most evident in the policy analyst's inherent distrust of politics and the "personal whim, fickle passion, and special interest, that is perceived to be the result of politically based decisions." However, the policy analyst also looks to neo-classical economics, individualism and the "supremacy of the market in all allocation of resources and the inherent conservation of the equilibrium paradigm," as the only means by which to ensure equitable and efficient planning.¹⁹

The final tradition - Social Learning - is considered radical in that it advocates a departure from the organizational philosophies which shape both Social Reform and Policy Analysis. The premise behind Social Learning is that societal values cannot be frozen in time, and therefore, cannot be used as "building blocks" for the societal guidance. The advocate of social learning would suggest that knowledge can only be derived from experience, and consequently, can only be "validated in practice." As such, knowledge and action compliment one another, merging to form "an ongoing dialectical process in which the main emphasis is on new practical undertakings" ²⁰ In other words, knowledge cannot be treated as a end in itself, but rather, as a process subject to continuous change as new "lessons are drawn from experience, and new understanding is achieved." Unlike Social Reform and Policy Analysis, which exist very much in a "steady-state" system based on "equilibrium" and "immutable social laws," social learners assert ". . . that social behavior can be changed" and ". . . that the scientifically correct way to effect change is through social experimentation, careful observation of the results, and a willingness to admit to error and to learn from it."²¹

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 83.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 79.

²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 81.

²¹*Ibid.*, p. 82.

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