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**Municipal Planning and the Repositioning of the Canadian City Amidst the Private Governance
of Telecommunication Networks: A Study of Four Canadian Cities, 1985-2000**

by

Christopher Bodnar, B.A.

**A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts**

Department of Mass Communication

Carleton University

Ottawa, Ontario

3 August 2001

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Carleton University

29 August 2001

Abstract

This research project examines the manner in which, amidst myths of technological imperative, the medium-size Canadian city has assumed a privatized system of governance and planning. Four cities – Saint John NB, London ON, Saskatoon SK and Kelowna BC – are used to analyze how they, as physical and social institutions, have been part of an ongoing convergence of media holdings between 1985 and 2000. Central to this analysis are the public planning processes, and their transfer to private interests under the auspices of efficiency, accountability and the interests of the public good. The increased salience of telecommunication infrastructures over the period of analysis has contributed to a facilitated takeover of the city by private interests. The public has been alienated from meaningful, democratic participation in social planning in their cities as a market-oriented nature of neo-liberal governance at the municipal level of public administration and management has become further entrenched.

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Chapter 1

The Privatization of Planning:

A Communication Approach to Urban Studies and Patterns of Change

This research project examines the manner in which, amidst a global network of data and capital movement, the medium-size Canadian city has assumed a market-oriented system of governance and planning. Specifically, four cities – Saint John NB, London ON, Saskatoon SK and Kelowna BC – are used as case studies to examine how they, as physical and social institutions, have been part of an ongoing convergence of media holdings between 1985 and 2000. Central to this analysis are the planning processes, present through institutional structures of public governance and ideals of social planning established over 70 years ago, and their transfer to private interests under the auspices of efficiency, accountability and, ultimately, in the interests of the public good. The city is in itself a communicative medium over and within which a variety of new media have been merged. The increased salience of telecommunication infrastructures over the 15-year period of this study's analysis has contributed to a facilitated takeover of the city by private interests. This has alienated the public from the means of meaningful, democratic participation in social planning in their cities and further entrenched the market-oriented nature of neo-liberal governance at the municipal level of public administration and management.

This chapter introduces, in general terms, the theoretical basis for this research as well as the actual methodology for the investigative process undertaken to establish empirical evidence in support of the theoretical perspectives. First, an introduction to the argument for including the urban spatial medium in communication studies will be outlined in the context of recent communication and geographic research. This will be followed by a summary of the theoretical perspectives adopted in forming a basis for investigation, including definitions of concepts used in subsequent chapters. The next section will outline the rationale behind this particular study

and the methodology employed to adequately probe the areas of focus. Further, a discussion of each city studied is provided, explaining the demographic makeup of each municipality's population and a summary of major governance issues addressed by each city in previous years. In closing, a summary of the remaining chapters is provided and addresses how the overriding theme of the privatization of planning will be developed.

1.1 The Theoretical Context for Exploring Urban Structure as a Communication Medium

Media convergence under the market-oriented regime of neo-liberal governance is generally recognized as a given in contemporary mass communication research, the topic having amassed a significant amount of research over the last part of the 20th century (Bagdikian 1983, Winter 1992, Barlow and Winter 1997, Herman and McChesney 1997). At the same time that interest has piqued around the convergence issue, limited but comprehensive critical studies and theoretical perspectives of the political economy of communication have arisen (Babe 1990, Mosco 1996, Winseck 1998). Meanwhile, scholars of a different discipline – geography – grappled with a series of new theoretical questions. These were posed by significant changes in international production locales, the creation of information-based economies and the emergence of spatial conflicts with the tendency toward the seemingly more fluid nature of capital. A corresponding body of critical research has attempted to establish a basis for lines of socio-geographical investigation amidst the emergence of new class formations and an increasingly market-oriented style of governance (Harvey 1989, 2000; Ley 1996; Isin 1996a). A further branch of investigation formed over the 1990s that began to join communication and geographical perspectives as planners began to investigate the manner in which telecommunication infrastructures were functioning within society (Castells 1996). This line of

reasoning began to form an understanding of space and time not as opposing forces, but as complementary, if not mutually constituting elements (Marvin and Graham 1996). As such, a political economic analysis of media convergence involving spatial constructs as communicative mediums opens new areas of investigation for the field of communication research.

Research focusing on the uses of communication technologies over spatial dimensions has attempted to lay out the production changes in an increasingly interconnected and interdependent global society seemingly dependent upon the transfer of information as opposed to the manufacture of physical goods (Lash and Urry 1994). The network's salience increases and is understood to be the fabric of this new global social cohesion. The resulting body of research forms an important basis for entering discussion on the nature of the city in a so-called "network society" by attempting to come to terms with physical changes in production, transport, labour and interpersonal interaction. From this basis a significant discussion encompasses perceived changes in the status of the urban centre in post-industrial society. Namely, this examines whether or not a social disjuncture is taking place between previous manufacturing and information-based societies. Much of the discussion around whether or not a disjuncture is forming deals with whether changes to social, geographic and economic circumstances are radically altering the state of fundamental assumption present with contemporary global societies. Many ascertain that changes, at least in Western societies, are leading to an increasingly fragmented society under fundamentally altered regimes of governance and social management (Warf 1993).

Within the body of work encompassing planning and telecommunication infrastructure, much of the work produced, while perhaps examining significant social changes, seems to act as a checklist for the professional planner hoping to account for new technologies in daily practices. Outside of a few exceptions there is little historical context regarding the

institutionalization of planning as a tool of modern society and its state of practice in contemporary society. This study recognizes urban or municipal planning as a process by which the physical form of urban space is planned for specific functions in order to fulfil a defined purpose. Despite particular instances in Canadian planning theory (Isin 1992, 1996a, 1996b; Artibise 1979, 1984, Gerecke and Reid 1991, Purdy 1997) and likewise in Canadian communication writing (Babe 1990, Winseck 1998), there has been very little written that lends critical consideration to the state of planning and decision-making in constructing and allowing for the use of the key communicative apparatuses that constitute the myths of Canada as a nation. Moreover, planning and communication research that does attempt to bridge the two fields has rarely dealt with the legal frameworks, including the constitutional status of municipalities, the protective status afforded to landed property and ongoing government policy within which planners operate. This is a significant absence in planning literature considering the fact that municipal bodies operate within particularly unique circumstances from one nation to another. Indeed, much of the work in this area is written from American and British perspectives. Moreover, while each of these perspectives attributes to a particular city within its national borders the status of “global hub”, for example, New York and London (Sassen 1996) around which much economic, social and cultural activity operates, this characteristic is absent from almost every other nation.

Empirical research concerning the status of planning and telecommunication infrastructure from a Canadian perspective remains limited, if non-existent. This is not to say that Canadian cities have not been affected by economic and social changes. Rather, the status of planning and the concept of the city have sparked little interest in academic research from a communication perspective. There is a need for increased attention to this area of study. Moreover, considering the value placed upon land in modern market-oriented societies (Groot

and McLaughlin 2000), how land is used to create spaces for profit generation and the administrative processes around such actions, there is reason to question and investigate how some of the underlying assumptions of contemporary Canadian society are being translated into particular social and physical institutions. Further, the advent of network-based virtual spaces with no particular spatial attachments has often been taken to mean that cyberspace is a realm of “friction-free capitalism” (McChesney 2000). The manner in which these new spaces are created and used and how digital spaces are often created as complimentary sites to physical places is increasingly important as an area of study.

Lash and Urry accurately identify a shift in capitalist growth within Western society toward information and knowledge production, for which concepts such as post-Fordism do not properly account. At the same time, as Western society is increasingly embedding urban places into the space of embedded networks, an international socio-economic interdependency is being created. For this reason, material production cannot be discounted as a lasting artefact of contemporary society. This will be demonstrated in the context of Canadian cities. Yet, changes in spatial and temporal perceptions brought about through new communication technologies may, indeed, be occurring. If so, then fundamental shifts in society may be occurring because the institutionalized assumptions and practices no longer support the ideology of a society based upon a spatial and temporal dialectic, as explained by Babe (2000).

The changes in spatial and temporal perceptions accompanying the increased salience of communication networks, the following chapters will argue, are having distinct impacts upon traditional concepts of planning and control in the modern nation-state. Robinson and Harris (2000) explain that “analysis of the power of the capitalist ruling class cannot be separated from the issue of the state and the political process,” (27). The city, as a creation of a national orthodoxy, is a particularly important institution for analysis in understanding the manners in

which a particular economic elite controls the spaces of daily existence and interaction for the majority of the country's population. But while these changes are bringing about fundamental differences in social institutions, the actual social relations, through class, are only being reinforced. As virtual spaces are being created and controlled by corporate interests transcending the traditional borders of urban spaces and national borders, the city is becoming a new site for profit generation. No longer is one city sufficient for effective corporate operations. Rather, as new technologies make distance easier to transcend for a limited segment of the global population, they are further instituting their ideals of control over a global population of consumers.

This research project encompasses two main undertakings. First, it includes a research project in which the planning processes in four Canadian cities are examined at the end of a 15-year period. The purpose of this analysis is to gauge the degree to which the privatization of public governance and the provision of services with specific reference to municipal planning have been catalyzed through the introduction of new technologies reliant upon telecommunication infrastructures.

Second, this project examines the state of planning over the fifteen-year period in relation to the historical establishment of urban and social planning in Canada and the contemporary notions of space as a communicative medium. This takes into account the inherent relation between social agency and the technologies it produces and uses, thus shaping all into new physical tools for interactive mediation. These tools have grown to create spaces unto themselves, albeit virtual spaces, wherein new social interactions and social management may take place. The crucial element to the development of any new technology, its uses within a society and the resulting institutional structures that become normalized by the presence of the resulting physical structures and social norms is recognizing that these processes all involve

struggle. The presence of struggle is important in that social actors influence and interact with their physical space and other individuals, thus labouring to produce outcomes involving new spatial forms, interactive patterns and social concerns.

The physical is not itself the causality of linear processes. Isin (1996) explains that a general problem with critical research on the post-industrial city is that “it remains centred on economic capital and ‘its’ power to shape the city,” (121). Indeed, capital is not an autonomous body capable of making conscious decisions that direct the affairs of a society. Rather, it is an artefact of social processes manifest in a regime of power. As a result capital and its relations to the Canadian city is part of an ongoing process of interaction, negotiation and struggle between groups of people attempting to appropriate power over their particular circumstances. Through this struggle, planning has become an institutional process within which decision-making processes are facilitated by a decrease in social friction under the auspices of particular social agendas. In analysing the struggles inherent in the influences of telecommunication infrastructure in Canadian cities, the status of the urban formation within contemporary transnational governance trends may be better understood.

1.2 Rationale and Methodology

Each of the four cities for this research project were chosen based on a series of criteria established to provide a basis for analysis of places with some relation in general characteristics. At the same time, each provided a diverse range of variables allowing for interesting comparative analysis of the cities’ planning processes. Of primary concern for the selection of cities in the project were population size and spatial location in relation to each other. The choice of studying medium-size cities meant establishing a basis for categorizing potential subjects. Given the size of Canada’s 7 largest cities, each with populations nearing 1 million people and higher,

there is a significant difference between the next group of city size (See Appendix I). The population size of cities to be considered for this study was set at between 100,000 to 500,000 people. City size was established on the basis of population, given that population and the resulting demographics of such a sample represents actual labour capital within a given area. The population of each city considered was established by the Statistics Canada census metropolitan area records from the 1996 national census records.

The next selection factor was whether or not the centre is the predominant centre of provincial government policy and administrative functions. This excluded all provincial capitals from the study, given their relatively stable and sizeable government workforce and influence upon planning around the provincial legislative functions as a centre of the city's focus. Despite the lack of government administration required in sample centres, cities that are home to a post-secondary institution were sought. Post-secondary institutions, whether universities or colleges, receive a significant amount of public funding from the provincial level of government. At the same time, post-secondary institutions have become the target of funding cuts since 1990 while corporate bodies have attained considerable influence in the operations and program planning of institutions (Robertson 1998; Tudiver 1999; Turk 2000). These educational centres are part of a cultural infrastructure through which particular visions of society are communicated to students and surrounding communities.

Rather than choosing cities in the same province for a comparative analysis of differential geographic and social changes under almost identical systems of legislative governance, cities in different provinces were used. This parameter was established for a number of reasons. First, many of Canada's telecommunication service providers developed historically along provincial lines and under different models of network management and service provision. Over the fifteen-year period of this study's scope many of these traditional service areas

expanded and utility service models were abandoned in favour of corporate growth.

Municipalities within each traditional service area witnessed a variety of changes in regard to corporate philosophies and market development. The way each has dealt with these changes given its traditional service model as opposed to new corporate priorities provides an interesting comparison of cities in different geographic regions and commercial telecommunication markets. In particular, cities with a history of use by incumbent telcos as test-beds for new products and technologies were also chosen. In addition, cities in which incumbent service providers maintained corporate offices were sought. These offices generally contain both back end operations and front end executive, administrative and engineering operations.

In selecting from cities fitting the above outlined criteria, urban centres were chosen that experienced a variety of population growth patterns over the fifteen-year period of analysis. As outlined in more detail in the subject descriptions, there was not a consistent growth pattern amongst the cities. While Saint John experienced a 3.7 per cent increase in the city's population from 1986 to 1996, Kelowna witnessed a startling 52.2 per cent population growth over the same period. Despite these differences in population change, the actual demographic makeup of the cities remained consistent in many facets, such as age composition and income distribution, providing an adequate basis for inter-city comparisons.

Finally, upon preliminary examination, it was discovered that each city has taken distinctive steps towards competing for the relocation of a variety of back end service economy operations from corporate bodies located in other geographic areas. This included the establishment of an Economic Development Corporation or comparable municipal department to develop strategic plans to attract business to the area. Often, provincial government funding schemes aimed at positioning the cities as competitive centres further supported these activities. As a result, the notion of the competitive city was firmly established in each city.

One note of importance following upon the legal system and registry of landed property is that a conscious decision was made to exclude a Quebec city from this study. While such an inclusion may have provided an interesting sample for comparison against the planning processes in Canadian cities with different provincial legislative structures, the scope of such a study would have been too large for this project. Three Quebec cities would have fit the above outlined criteria for use in this study. Moreover, it was recognized that many Quebec municipalities have staged prominent battles between citizen groups and municipal and provincial government bodies over urban revitalization projects and citizen involvement in decision-making processes (Dionne, Faucher and Martel 1998, Villeneuve and Séguin 2000). At the same time, inclusion of a Quebec city would have presented too many difficulties in completing this project. Primarily, the time involved with reading documents written in French and the translation of resources to English would have extended the length of research time beyond that available for this project. Translation processes would have created additional costs that were out of line with what could have been afforded.

Upon having made preliminary decisions on cities of study and upon receipt of approval for this project from the Carleton University Research Ethics Committee, initial inquiries to each city indicated a sufficient number of individuals willing to participate in this study by way of in-person interviews. Following positive responses from a sufficient number of potential participants, official letters of invitation and “Informed Consent Forms” were sent to each participant. A set of questions approved by the Ethics Committee comprised the basis for each interview.

The research for this project involved visits of three to five days to each of the four cities over a six-week period in April and May 2001. During each visit, in-person interviews were conducted with urban planners, representatives from each Incumbent Local Exchange Carrier,

real estate agents, provincial representatives from economic development and municipal affairs departments, local economic development agency corporations, labour representatives for ILEC employee union locals and various representatives from organizations involved in private and public network development within the particular cities. Interviews lasted between 60 and 90 minutes and were often followed-up with questions via phone and e-mail.

In addition to interviews, extensive statistical data for each city was collected in order to assess demographic information against individuals' perceptions and trends in municipal planning in each city. Demographic information comes from Statistics Canada federal census reports from 1986, 1991 and 1996. Real estate and construction statistics come from Statistics Canada records of building permit issuances and Royal LePage real estate market price guides.¹

Documents used to analyse the official planning procedures and processes required by law include the Planning Acts or Municipal Government Acts from each province, each city's official plan, local business directories and infrastructure planning and feasibility studies commissioned by the cities. Municipal budgets are used to assess spending patterns over the period of research. Listings of local businesses were obtained for each city to assess the nature and number of various sector operations. Obstacles met in obtaining complete records generally

¹ A number of qualifications about the statistical information obtained must be stated. First, a number of changes in Statistics Canada data sets were made over the period of study, thus creating inconsistent data records. In particular, the format for data collection on the telecommunication industry changed in 1996 to incorporate wireless, satellite and cable service providers, thus providing incomparable figures for the periods before and after the changeover; public sector categories of spending included a variety of different types of data over the period of study making comparisons over time different; and data in census data sets and telecommunication statistics is suppressed in a number of instances in compliance with federal statistics privacy legislation, making some data sets useless or difficult to use accurately. Anytime in this research project that the quality of data is compromised due to these circumstances, a note is made explaining the issues of concern. In addition, some statistical information from Statistics Canada records was adjusted for use in this study. This is due to the fact that in many circumstances information, such as income data, is categorized by Statistics Canada into arbitrary groupings that distort the accuracy of population representations. For example, census income data is presented in various monetary increments in published data. When placed on a graph, this data provides an evenly distributed bell curve, thus representing a substantial middle class (see Appendix E). When the monetary categories are grouped into equal increments, however, the corresponding graph shows a substantial low-income group and relatively small middle- and upper-income groups (see Appendices C and D). Information has been adjusted in this study for accuracy of data representation. Anytime data groups have been adjusted from original published data a note indicating the nature of the adjustment is included.

involved finding copies of municipal documents. Some documents, such as municipal plans, were available through the particular city's planning department or through inter library loan services. Financial documents were more difficult to find. Some were available through the National Library but most were obtained through individuals in a particular city's planning department, comptroller's office or municipal clerk's office. As a result, obtaining accurate information most often depended on the willingness of individuals to copy or retype information in response to requests.

1.3 The Case-Study Subjects

After choosing the four cities to use as case-study subject for this project, a demographic profile of each centre was established in order to begin comparisons of each centre. These summaries provide an overview of changes in each city of the period of analysis and any relevant historical data about each place. Below, these summaries provide an introduction of each urban subject and form the basis for subsequent discussion.

1.3.1 Saint John NB

With a population in 1996 of 125,705, Saint John is the largest city in New Brunswick. It was the first city in British North America, having been incorporated in 1785. The city maintained a relatively steady population base from 1986 to 1996, showing a population increase of 3.7 per cent. The city saw a significant rise in some housing prices through the mid-1990s although the value of construction activities through the 1990s remained lower than that of the preceding decade (see Appendix B). The Saint John population had the lowest mobility rate of the four cities studied. The city's period of most significant population mobility was between 1986 and 1991, during which 43.2% of the population moved (see Appendix F). The city has the highest ratio of pre-World War II housing in comparison with the other three cities examined. Almost

one quarter of the city's dwelling units were constructed prior to 1946 (see Appendix A).

Additionally, 54.8% of the city's housing was built prior to 1971 – again, the highest percentage of older housing amongst the four cities.

While the city's form has remained relatively similar to that of 15 years ago (MapArt 1989, Rand McNally 2000), the labour activities within the city have changed significantly. The city has become home to 18 new call centres since 1994, employing over 3500 people. With the incentive of significant subsidies from the provincial government, the opening of large building spaces following the collapse of Canada's department store industry, the province's advanced communication structure and an aggressive marketing campaign beginning in the late 1980s, the city has attracted a significant number of call centres operated by corporations across North America including Air Canada, Unilever Canada, Xerox, IBM Canada and TD Canada Trust as well as contract company Cedant Canada that operates customer service and reservation centres for companies such as AVIS and Resort Condominiums International.

Saint John is home to ILEC NBTel's head offices for the province. Initially owned by Bruncor, NBTel, along with with Island Tel, MTT and NewTel, formed Aliant in 1999, an Atlantic Canada subsidiary of Bell Canada with head offices in Halifax, Nova Scotia. Prior to this amalgamation, NBTel established New Brunswick as the first entirely digital telecommunication network in North America. No Competitive Local Exchange Carrier (CLEC) has been licensed by the CRTC to operate in New Brunswick. The city's cable television provider, Fundy Cable, was purchased by Shaw Cable in 1999 and then transferred to Rogers Cable in a deal that gave Rogers almost complete control of the cable market across eastern Canada. In 2000 NBTel began competing against Rogers, offering digital television service over copper phone lines.

New Brunswick is in the process of converting its land registry system to the Torrens system of land titles and digitizing the property titles system. This procedure involves the

consolidation of 400 years worth of land transfers into a centralized database, accessible through a provincial government network and assuring the guarantee of land titles to the current owner. Administered by Service New Brunswick, a provincial crown corporation charged with operating all public services on a for-profit basis, the system network has become a benchmark for the design of digital land registry systems around the world, (Groot and McLaughlin 2000).

1.3.2 London

London is the largest of the four cities used in this study with a 1996 population of 398,616 – an increase of 16.5 per cent from 1986. Similar to Saint John, over half of the city's dwelling units were constructed before 1971, although a greater percentage of these were built during periods of suburban expansion in the 1960s. Over the period of study, London witnessed a plateau in housing prices from 1990 to 2000 following 5 years of significant increase (see Appendix B). Following a peak in construction value in 1988, the construction market diminished in the city until 1994. At this point building activity was worth less than one-third of that taking place 6 years earlier. A steady increase in building value from 1995 to 2000 ensued. Of the four cities, London had the lowest number of lower income workers at both the beginning and end of the study (see Appendices C and D). The city had the second-lowest ratio of mobile population. At the same time, the city had the highest ratio of intraprovincial migrants as well as international migrants of the four case studies (see Appendix F).

Of the four cities studied in this project, the London planning department has developed the most publicly accessible electronic Geographic Information System. The department is also the most aware of the city's telecommunication infrastructure and potential impacts upon the planning process. In addition, the city recently witnessed the creation and dissolution of a public telecommunication system. Local utility London Hydro, owned by the city, began laying fibre

optic cable in 1999 with the intention of providing high-speed network connections throughout the city. London city council, however, stopped the project in late 2000 forcing the company to sell off the infrastructure already installed.

Bell Canada, the ILEC in London, maintains a significant number of administrative offices in London, servicing a large region of South-West Ontario (McGuffin 2001). The company has traditionally used London as a test bed for new infrastructure and services due to perceived economic stability and conservativeness of the population (McGuffin 2001). City residents are well aware of their “experimental” status with the company. Various city documents cite this status as a perceived benefit for the city in its ability to attract and accommodate telecommunication-reliant service industry operations. Bell Canada sees the city’s position within the company’s network hierarchy as on par with that of all other major urban centres the company services (McGuffin 2001).

In the past London has been home to corporate offices for Canada Trust, Canada Life and 3M. Over the past 10 years though, these companies have transferred many of their executive operations to larger centres such as Toronto, and used their London facilities for more backend administrative and research functions. The profile and status of these companies coupled with the city’s high tech perceptions as Bell’s test market, though, have lent to a reputation of the city as a “white-collar” town. This has often masked the reality that manufacturing jobs alone employ 22,000 workers as opposed to 3,000 positions in Information Technology positions (Lakshmikanthan 2001). City planners recognize a trend toward “grey collar” work in back-end data processing and technology support occupations throughout the city whereby low-wage positions in call centres are becoming more common (Flemming 2001). The reality of existing blue collar work and the increasing grey collar sector in the city amongst an exodus of executive positions is evident in the housing market stagnation through the 1990s.

1.3.3 Saskatoon

The city of Saskatoon is the largest urban centre in Saskatchewan. Its 1996 population of 219,056 was a 9.2 per cent increase from 1986. At the beginning of the study period, Saskatoon had the highest level of population – over 50 per cent – that had been mobile in the previous 5 years. This remained steady throughout the study period, although Kelowna's population showed a higher mobility ratio in 1991 and 1996. In the late 1990s Saskatoon saw a steady increase in housing prices and construction value following a period of low building values in the early 1990s. The fluctuations in the city's construction industry compared against the overall real estate price increases and high mobility rates of the population over the period of study indicate the economic volatility witnessed in the province of Saskatchewan over the same time frame.

City planners have focused much of their attention on land use and development for new manufacturing firms in the city (Wallace 2001). Saskatoon has grown as the primary service centre for rural and smaller-city residents the region (Stabler and Olfert 1999). With the rise of international corporate retail service outlets, big box chain store development has become a significant focus for Saskatoon planners in recent years. The city is now a central service area for rural resident consumers up to two hundred kilometres away. This is common phenomenon amongst all four cities studied.

Saskatoon's planning process plays a distinctly different role in the city than any other municipality in Canada. At any given time, the city owns and acts as the developer of between one-third and two-thirds of the city's land. Another public institution, the University of Saskatchewan is the second-largest landholder in the city. Moreover, municipal by-laws state that development must begin and be completed within specified time frames following the date of

purchase. Failure to do so may result in fines against the developer. These measures effectively limit much speculative land purchasing in the city.

In addition to the extensive control of property in the city, the *Planning and Development Act, 1983* as well as the *Community Planning Profession Act* govern Saskatoon's planners. The province of Saskatchewan is one of only two Canadian provinces that have legislation concerning the professional status and conduct of municipal planners, thus instituting planning as a provincially regulated profession. The *Act* institutes an Association of Professional Community Planners in the province that may set code of ethics, carry out disciplinary measures and set "standards of practice" over members (9.b). The Association is mandated by the *Act* "to ensure to the public the proficiency and competence of professional community planners in the practice of professional community planning," (6.a). As such, the planner's foremost obligation is to the well being of the citizens in communities developed through planning.

Despite the public accountability of planning, trends in public land administration in the province have been, as in other provinces, toward privatized models of operation. While the province operates on the Torrens system of land titles, the process of digitizing the system began in the late 1990s and will be fully implemented and cross-linked with comprehensive GIS databases by July 2002. The administration of the system – entitled the LAND System – is to be managed by a crown corporation, thus placing the management and use of public information outside of public monitoring systems, such as that of the Information and Privacy Commissioner's office.

City planners and developers have for the most part, recognized and taken for granted the development of telecommunication infrastructure as a provincial government matter. This comes largely because Saskatchewan represents a unique situation in Canadian telecommunication services. The province is home to the only remaining fully provincial crown-

owned telecommunication corporation, SaskTel. Until 2000 SaskTel also operated under a different regulatory model than other telephone companies in Canada. Until that point, the company operated under a moratorium from CRTC jurisdiction and has since been brought under the Commission's regulatory jurisdiction and the federal *Telecommunications Act* of 1993. The unique nature of SaskTel's operations as a crown corporation means the province has a large body of legislation concerning telecommunication activities. This legislation includes *The Saskatchewan Telecommunications Act*, *The Rural Telephone Act* and *The Department of Telephones Act*. This legislation is in place largely to govern SaskTel as a government-owned corporation, but also highlights the importance placed on communication technologies as an essential element of social cohesion and economic success in the province. Nonetheless, as new and traditional technologies come under strict regulatory control of the CRTC – most notably since the advent of cellular phone service in 1989 (Ching 2001) – SaskTel has increasingly been forced to abandon its public service model of communication service provision in favour of a market-oriented rollout scheme.

1.3.4 Kelowna

Located in the interior of British Columbia, the city of Kelowna underwent the most radical change in terms of form and size of the four cities used in this study over the fifteen-year period. The city's population grew from 89,730 to 136,541 – a staggering 52.2 per cent increase – between 1986 and 1996. The city showed a higher than average percentage of interprovincial migrants in 1991 and 1996 while intraprovincial and external migrant population ratios remained similar to those of Saskatoon and London. As a result of the city's demographic changes, Kelowna is the “newest” of the four cities studied; 75 per cent of the city's dwelling units were constructed between 1971 and 2000. A rise in housing prices and construction activity came

about with the increase in population. At the same time, Kelowna maintains the greatest population ratio of lower income individuals than any of the other three cities studied.

Amidst Kelowna's significant population boom, the city dealt with tumultuous planning issues. During a severe recession between 1982 and 1988, the city reduced the size of its planning department. Starting in 1986, when Vancouver hosted the world Expo and the Coquihalla Highway was completed between Vancouver and Kelowna, the city began to grow in population and required new housing developments. Due to the lack of planning department staff over the previous six-year period, there was an overall inability to deal with the significant demands placed on the city (Mattiussi 2001). The problem came to a head when the planning director was fired in 1993 following public outcry over dislike of new suburban housing developments.

The corporate structure of British Columbia's telecommunication services have undergone a significant change since the Telus Corporation merged with the ILEC BCTel in 1998. The Okanagan Telephone Company originally serviced Kelowna until 1978 when BCTel purchased the company. In the mid 1980s BCTel reorganized its administrative operations, consolidating its operations in headquarters located in Kelowna. These offices still remain in the city and represent the largest groups of Telus workers in the province after company headquarters in Vancouver. The city does not have any licensed CLECs operating in its market although there are a number of high-speed Internet providers.

At the end of this study Telus' network in Kelowna was considered equal in service capacity and capabilities to that of other major centres in British Columbia. The company has operated on a "death of distance" principal in offering services to business and residential customers desiring flexibility in establishing business operations outside of Vancouver (Tukkimaki 2001). The prominent media report cited Kelowna as one of "Canada's new tech

boomtowns” due to the city’s high number of high tech start-ups and ability to attract a skilled workforce due to high quality of life factors (Turner, 2001). Kelowna has one of the highest ratios of home-based workers, reaching almost 10 per cent of the city’s workforce in 1996. Telus credits the city’s ability to develop a high-tech industry to the presence of the company’s communication infrastructure along with the city’s natural beauty and existing quality of life attractions (Tukkimaki).

Following its merger with BCTel and a subsequent purchase of the Clearnet mobile communication company, Telus became the second-largest telecommunications firm in Canada. Along with this growth and the resulting corporate restructuring, twenty years of reasonably tolerable labour relations between the Telecommunication Workers Union and BCTel came to an end. The company has refused to acknowledge previous contracts with its workers (Zawaduk 2001). While workers cooperated with BCTel to allow the company to grow, Telus has fought new union efforts to consolidate bargaining units. Issues of union representation and contract precedent have gone to the Canadian Industrial Relations Board for decisions setting parameters between the company and workers.

1.4 Findings

The increased salience of telecommunication infrastructure in the four cities examined in this study has had distinct impacts upon the planning processes of each municipality. While each city has experienced population changes unique to its own situation, a number of general trends in demographics and the resulting planning needs arise in each centre. Most notably, a trend toward the privatization of planning is observed as cities are positioned as entrepreneurial centres in competition with other similarly sized municipal centres across the country and around the world. This trend, supported with evidence from changes in municipal governance

over the fifteen-year period of study is discussed throughout this paper. Given the changes at hand and the nature of the corporate Canadian city, the potential ramifications of these issues on the overall status of democratic community functions across the country are thoroughly discussed as well.

The next chapter provides an overview of work done in the fields of telecommunication infrastructure and urban planning. Much of this research focuses on one of two areas of investigation: (1) new communication technologies and their relationship to changes in spatial perceptions and urban configurations and (2) the role of the professional urban planner in post-industrial society. Links between the two bodies of writing, however, are rare despite significant social and economic interconnections between the two subjects. An outline of the small body of work linking the two areas will be provided. It will be argued, however, that much of this work fails to address the particular circumstances of Canadian municipalities. In fact, very little writing on the nature of Canadian cities and the effects of telecommunication infrastructures exists, and virtually none of it addresses the role of the professional urban planner in society resulting from this new infrastructure. This is a significant gap in Canadian communication research that requires additional attention.

The chapter will close with an overview of critical perspectives on the development of communication technologies, urban development and the role of the city as a medium of communication. As such, the theoretical basis of the time versus space dialectic must be reconsidered in critical Canadian communication thought in order to move away from the dominant myths of “technological nationalism” (Babe 1990) and “death of distance” through technology. Rather, the convergence of media in and of the city through the privatization of planning and management functions in governance trends is providing corporate control of many cultural artefacts. This is allowing for the commodification of many facets of life and

further implementing a dominant corporate system of hegemonic social interaction amongst citizens. Moreover, the planning processes instituted in most cities, based upon misconceptions of public struggle and which emerged in dominant myths of technological social deliverance, are allowing this transition of power to private bodies, if not actually facilitating the phenomenon. In order to move beyond the constructs these dominant political forces, critical research must begin to examine its own reliance upon space and time theoretical constructs. This must begin to recognize these two categories as mutually constituting concepts, thus placing a renewed focus upon political agency acting within the social constructs of theoretical frameworks.

Chapter three further explores the nature of the city as a medium by establishing a historical and theoretical context within which the planning process was institutionalized in Canadian cities. More importantly, the rationale establishing the city as a site of struggle for control of cultural affairs is established, and thus a theoretical perspective identifying the city as a medium of communication is proposed. In explaining this perception of the city, parallels will be drawn to perceptions of the city in contemporary Canadian society and the role of the planner. The dual nature of this role, recognized both as an agent of social action and a social manager attempting new achievements in efficiency standards, is examined in light of the historical context of Canadian municipal planning. This recognizes struggles by people to establish their own roles as citizens and social actors through an appropriation of physical and political space and the dominant hegemonic notion that the planner's role is to manage space in ways that promote the accumulation of profit. These themes have continued through recent developments in the roles and perceptions of the planner, and span into the realm of late 20th century telecommunication infrastructure development.

In Chapter four, a discussion of the ideological bases behind telecommunication regulatory systems implemented in Canada over the 1990s establishes the starting point for

recognizing the technological myths stating the necessity of the urban convergence into a global information network. The process by which this convergence is happening is accounted for in practical examples of network development at municipal levels in cities across Canada. The four case-studies in this project provide not only examples along these lines, but also insight into who constitutes the political agency within decision-making bodies constructing these networks. In recognizing the rationale used by those constructing such networks, there is a better basis to understand the perceived imperative to transfer network control away from public governance bodies and instead to private interests. As such, the nature of the “public good” is changing to conform with a class-based economic model providing privilege of planning participation to those able to pay. This process establishes the foundation from which privatized governance is viewed as more efficient than models recognizing conflict and struggle.

Chapter five further investigates the transfer of public information management beyond public scrutiny. Examples of how the increased reliance of planning professionals on information stored in electronic databases is changing spatial and temporal perceptions and affecting the manner in which participatory democracy is further being removed from planning. The use of Geographic Information Systems (GIS) in increasingly complex processes of spatial representation and data storage is resulting in obvious changes in governance priorities. The financial allocations to network development and virtual urban modelling is facilitating a move to aesthetic design functions in planning while removing social concerns from public attention. External corporations producing software for municipal GIS systems and virtual reality mapping are charged with ethical considerations inherent in traditional cartographic professions, but exacerbated by the deskilling of cartographic production. In addition, as information is digitized and centralized in electronic databases, municipal planners are dependent upon products for classifying and categorizing information determined by external, private firms. In many

instances, the implications of maintaining such public records have not been properly addressed through planning, and have resulted in a series of ethical conflicts requiring intervention from privacy commissioners. The ultimate result of these trends toward data storage and administration is that the municipal planner's role is often nothing more than that of a senior administrator while the actual task of socio-economic planning has been devolved by default to by private agencies.

The manner in which private agencies have been established to take over planning functions is the subject of chapter 6. Through the 1990s, economic development organizations have been created in municipalities across Canada in an effort to compete for financial benefits from corporations seeking the best opportunity for maximizing investment returns. All municipalities studied in this project have instituted economic development organizations to undertake the task of positioning their respective cities as economically competitive centres of production in global commodity markets. These organizations are not simply the result of coincidental shifts in regional economies, but concerted efforts from national and international governance regimes to ensure geographic and economic regulatory factors do not impede corporate profit accumulation venture. The efforts to align cities as "nodes" within part of a global information network is the result of changes to governance structures outlined throughout the paper. These changes come at the expense of reduced public accountability and increased corporate hegemonic control, placing the value of institutional modes of profit generation over that of the labouring forces producing corporate wealth.

The final chapter summarizes a discussion around the need for communication research to refocus its attention on spatial and temporal constructions as mutually constituting classifications within a critical theoretical perspective of urban research. In this, the institution of property, as identified by MacPherson, is reconstituted in Canadian communication thought in

order to understand the underlying drives behind market-oriented planning and the resulting transfer of public governance to private capitalist regimes of control. This perspective provides an opportunity to bring geographic space as a medium into Canadian communication thought. In doing so, the problems inherent in only posing space against time in communication theory may finally be addressed.

Chapter 2

Defining a Theoretical Field for Analysis:

The Emergence of Research Centred Around the City and Telecommunications

The bodies of academic literature dealing with the interaction of the professional managers and designers of space and new technologies cover a range of disciplines. Work in this area, regardless of discipline, generally makes one common omission in discussing new communication networks across various geographic formations; there insufficient attention given to the understanding of modern social and economic planning processes, concepts of property and resulting regimes of power in society and the status of democratic citizen empowerment. Indeed, literature exists on many of these areas separately, but very little work has been done to draw these lines of investigation together into an understanding of spatial planning interaction with new networks of power in society.

This chapter brings together a variety of areas of work done in perceptions of control in society, the relation of control to planning and the resulting regimes of power instituted in society. This will be done in three major sections. First, contemporary concepts of property will be outlined and related to the myths of market control and the need for administrative systems to manage property rights. Particular attention will be given to the situation of Canadian cities, contemporary thought concerning the role of the city and their interaction with the state within the trends toward global regimes of governance. The second part of this chapter will outline research into the areas of technological development and systems of automated control. Special attention will be given to problems with work that lends excessive credibility to linear cause and effect theories of technological advancement. In putting this perception under critical light, literature taking an approach in line with social struggle and interaction and increasing awareness of class and systems of power will be suggested as a more reasonable alternative. The third part

of this chapter will outline specific examples of research and literature done in regard to urban planning procedures and new technologies and the resulting changes in urban form and governance. In concluding the chapter, a short discussion of alternative perceptions for technological interaction and the development of research to adequately address the reality of struggle within the city under the developing regime of global corporate rule will be outlined. This will set the basis for the following chapters in establishing perspectives for understanding the privatization of planning and the danger posed to local democratic processes.

2.1 The nature of the city, landed property and systems of control

Harvey (1987) establishes the physical environment as a key determinant of societal relations and social processes. The physical constructs of a given society as well as the processes by which the physical form is established “are a permanent arena for social conflict and struggle,” (265). As a result, the processes by which physical spaces are created provide significant leverage for those in positions of power to further entrench their positions of control (265).

The debate concerning the status of geography as an academic discipline within the post-modern society has been limited, but useful in assessing the continued relevance of academic discussion based around the material influence and interaction upon social relations. In an assessment of the postmodern debate around geography, Warf (1993) takes aim at the Marxist tradition of analysis within his discipline, specifically dealing with Harvey’s theoretical perspective. In particular, Warf takes issue with a perceived tendency of Marxian analysis to “dismiss human consciousness as unimportant in social life; a refusal to confront the importance of language and symbolic meaning in theory; and the reduction of geographic relations to a passive, secondary status, generally by privileging time over space,” (163). Warf concludes that this is not necessarily a fault of Marxian analysis, but of modernism in general. Attempts to

categorize human particularities under a limited range of perspectives may lead to an increased possibility of ignoring uniquely human attributes. In his suggestion to analyze the particular contributions of the local within larger processes, Warf suggests, “individual regions, caught up in ‘universal processes’ such as a changing national and international division of labor, also give these relations very different concrete forms. Further, regions do not simply passively ‘receive’ these changes, they actively reconstitute them,” (166). In order to better understand the processes by which localities exist within social relations and a variety of geographic formation, Warf offers four “essential elements of a postmodern geography”: complexity, contextuality, contingency and criticality, (165-6).

Warf lays out a reasonable argument against simple generalizations in understanding social change and proposes a research model of urban nesting within spatial and temporal flows of labour and capital. Yet, in his rush not to be labelled as a Marxist he neglects the progress made in thought centred on struggle and social change. As a result, the theoretical perspective taken by David Ley offers a more constructive basis for examining the status of geographic thought within the remaking of space and social relations within the context of regimes of power constituted with class and spatial appropriation. Ley (1996) sets out a perspective in which post-industrialism, post-fordism and post-modernism are each taken as useful but not sufficient without the other two concepts for contemporary research. With the rise of the cultural industries, and an information society in general, Ley critiques Bell’s prospectus of significant strides to social unity in the post-industrial city. He states that Bell’s

radiant vision of the 1970s has been obscured by the darker storm clouds which have followed: a dual labour-market and tendencies toward social polarization, unemployment, poverty, homelessness, and urban crime. The post-industrial city, the typical site of gentrification, is also the site of acute inequality and, particularly but not exclusively in the United States, a setting of some anxiety in everyday life. (15)

Meanwhile, post-fordist consumption patterns typified the Canadian housing market in the 1980s as urban renewal schemes became common in Canadian cities, homeowners went through phases of renovation and gentrification came onto the Canadian radar, at least in larger urban centres (18). As citizens with sufficient capital to afford residential mobility to neighbourhoods of their choice, new concerns around the liveability of the urban environment came to light as areas became defined by economic segregation. Ley suggests “that Fordism in both manufacturing and urban planning suffered a simultaneous crisis of meaning,” (21). In order to adequately assess the changing nature of the city into a postmodern stage of development, Ley suggests method becomes important in that “theory should be empirically accountable,” (25). From this a model for investigation may be drawn in which the particularities of a geographic location and its population, such as demographic trends, may be compared with larger empirical evidence in order to identify significant social trends. The locality’s embeddedness within larger regimes of power and social processes amongst the communities’ redefining of self-perspective may be placed and compared with ethnographic evidence. This perspective gives much more structure for pursuing useful research than that offered by Warf, without denying the reality of social change and struggle inherent in society.

From this perspective, the need for socio-cultural analysis within the framework of a political economic approach is required to draw larger humanistic conclusions within a research project. This is the point at which urban cultural research juxtaposed alongside the global economic tendencies of capital to reposition the city as a centre for capital accumulation become important. Before exploring this work, however, the perspectives dealing with the very nature of landed property within contemporary society must first be addressed.

Lessig (2001) states that in any society there are a number of basic assumptions, each taken for granted and understood as truth to such a degree that for any member of that society

to question such an assumption is considered lunacy. He argues that the notion of private property as a given feature in Western society, and specifically North American society, is just such an assumption. Dale and McLaughlin (1999) demonstrate the pervasiveness of this supposition in stating, "Land, together with its associated buildings and construction, is one of the most important financial assets in any country . . . Without the security of title to land or buildings it is difficult to obtain investment funds and venture capital," (4). In this statement, Dale and McLaughlin gloss over any discussion that suggests the possibility that landed property is not in itself a useful good, but rely on the idea that land is a tool for further accumulation of wealth, supposedly for the benefit of society. The authors offer a precursor to this statement explaining "Land is a physical thing that encompasses the surface of the earth and all things attached to it both above and below. It is also an abstract thing that is manifest as a set of rights to its use with a value that can be traded even though the physical object cannot be moved," (1). While the first half of this utterance would seem obvious, the second sentence is much more loaded in its implications. By associating the former sentence with the latter, the authors attempt to normalize the concept of the land surveyor's parcel division of land around which inherent rights are embedded. Through these rights, in fact, they would have the actualization of land and its purposes for human sustenance.

The notion of property and its relation to the individual warrants further investigation in this discussion. Macpherson (1979) outlines two historic perceptions of property within Western society: property as a means and property as an end in itself. Property, Macpherson explains, is itself an institution, "a set of enforceable claims (enforceable by the states or by a self-acting community), can be and has been justified as a means to some end," (7). Establishing property as an institution is expected to bring about a number of socially beneficial circumstances such as freedom, orderly relations and a benchmark by which to settle disagreements. Macpherson goes

on, “What can be and has been justified as an end is not the institution of property but the *accumulation* of property, specifically the accumulation of capital,” (7). Within capitalism, the ends to which accumulation will allow become irrelevant because, for the capitalist, the entire system of capitalism allows for the reproduction and reinforcement of the regime of power already established. The individual needs are thereby satisfied and further accumulation becomes the objective of initial accumulation, so to maintain the established set of relations.

In other work, Macpherson (1978) explains implications of property and individual self-perception within society. He expresses that a common misperception made is recognizing property as a thing rather than a right, (2). Under this incorrect classification of property, “the prevailing ethical theory holds that [property] is a necessary human right,” (3). It is not landed property itself, but the sustenance that may be attained through labour upon land that is essential to human existence. Should property as an artefact be the defining characteristic of existence as a human, there would hardly be any case to allocate property-holding (or other) rights to a corporation or a state. Within this framework, other rights may be understood as property. For example, legal and social parameters are established within which people are able to function with a degree of security and assurance that their safety is not in constant peril. Thus, the individual in modern society becomes defined by legal reference points to which the self can be related. In contemporary circumstances, the individual’s rights as defined by successive properties assigned, guaranteed or offered by the state become the fulcrum of social interaction and definition of existence in a collective body.

It is the institution of property in Western society, developed in Europe and implemented elsewhere through the process of colonization, that forms the basis for the contemporary city, both in Canada and throughout the world. The formalization of property tenure through the creation of advanced land administration systems is recognized as an

essential element to the development of impoverished economies (Palmer and McLaughlin 1997). The value of landed property receives new definition in the information age as information achieves property status equivalent to those of human rights and landed property. Information as an abstract artefact of the cognitive process achieves value only in relation to an actual state of existence in relation to the users of the particular piece of knowledge. In the case of landed property, efficient administrative processes are understood as essential to the use and trade of land: “In the case of an organization concerned with land, good and timely land information allows for greater efficiency in managing its natural resources” (Finley 2000:245). Information about landed property is a commodity in itself, exceeding the initial scope of the land’s value. Isin (1996b) explains: “in our era individuals increasingly find themselves in class situations characterized by ownership of knowledge as cultural capital rather than ownership of capital, labour or property” (23). Thus, a new challenge is presented to the neo-liberal regime of market administration: the role of the government as an administrative institution in relation to the maintenance and distribution of information about property must be defined (Kabel 2000: 27).

2.2 The urban “space of flows”

Separate from the body of literature defining the role of land administration is an area of research attempting to address the changing nature of land use within the increasingly global market system. Emerging from this academic investigation into global systems is most often the role of the “global city” in recent economic and social trends. Sassen (1996) explains:

Major changes in the technical and spatial organization of the economy at the local, national, and global levels have fed the demand for the kinds of services and centralized control operations likely to be concentrated in major cities. Here the constructs ‘world city’ or ‘global cities’ or ‘global city function’ are useful. The need for nodal points to coordinate global economic activities contributes to the emergence of world cities. (25-6)

A hierarchy of cities emerges on a global level where the “first-tier information cities” emerge “where most strategic decision making and revenue ultimately reside,” (Sussman 1999:36). And while these cities maintain an international status determined by their capital and human resources as well as the centralization of particular economic control functions, the benefit of such status is not distributed amongst the entire populations.

Castells (1996) examines the construct of the global city as a new urban form called “megacities” (403). These megacities are “the nodes of the global economy, concentrating the directional, productive, and managerial upper functions all over the planet,” (403). Castells embeds the megacity concept within a notion of “the space of flows,” (412). The space of flows idea places cities at interconnecting points in a vast global network where information is processed and directed (412). Three physical layers to the space of flows concept are the “circuit of electronic impulses”, “its nodes and hubs”, and the spatial organization of the dominant, managerial elites,” (412-5). As such, the city becomes the new manifestation of what Robinson and Harris (2000) term the “transnational capitalist class,” (12). The city is a system of control for a class no longer confined by the nation state’s borders. The populations of the city are mere workforces with specific sets of abilities available for the transnational producer to access. Thus, in assessing the effects of networks in social and capital formations, Castells explains, “what is most significant about megacities is that they are connected externally to global networks and to segments of their own countries, while internally disconnecting local populations that are either functionally unnecessary or socially disruptive,” (404). This phenomenon is indicative of trends in the repositioning of Canadian cities. The dislocation of entire populations within new global networks of power is not unique to global cities. Work done on the Canadian drive toward larger, globally competitive cities emphasizes this point. Boudreau (2000) examines the feeling of disenfranchisement of a local population in Toronto throughout the amalgamation of six

municipal bodies into the new Megacity. While numerous trade and corporate groups favoured the amalgamation of the city because “it would make the region more attractive to foreign capital,” (9), people outside of the dominant economic institutions saw more detriment than benefit to their situations resulting from the merger. The influences of the megacity trend are also present within smaller- to medium-size Canadian cities, as will be shown throughout the remaining chapters.

Todd (1996) cautions against Castells’ “fetishization of space and the city by attributing causality to ‘the urban’ in ways that obscure the structures of capitalist social relations,” (45). Kelly and Olds (1999) point out that “A preoccupation with the ‘global’ has become one of the emblematic – almost obsessive – characteristics of our time,” (1). The body of work growing around the topic of globalization risks simplicity in following traditional economic linear causality rationale. Kelly and Olds stress that “globalisation has not been contested,” (2) and deserves further analysis. Jessop (1999) analyzes this avenue in introducing the idea of globalization as a “chaotic concept” (19). Struggle and oppression are inherent in the effort of various individuals and organizations to realign both physical space in the city and countryside and the flows of capital over communication networks controlled by a decreasingly number of elites. The figures indicating the ever-increasing numbers of the world’s population living in urban areas fit well onto graphs justifying expenditures on urban development programs by international lending institutions (World Bank 1999, Industry Canada 2001). However, the empirical evidence presented only reduces the actions to a linear trend without representing the pressures and struggles resulting in increase urban habitation. Urbanization actually falls into the chaotic process of globalization as “the dominant power might seek not only selectively to bind neighbouring economies into its strategic economic orbit but also to enter alliances with other dominant triad powers,” (Jessop:35). Smaller localities attempt to align themselves with

economic powers to find “niche markets” at a global scale (35) thus resulting in “glurbanisation”: the efforts of “a local or national state’s strategies to build global advantage by restructuring urban spaces to enhance their international competitiveness,” (35). It is this realignment and the struggle inherent in such a process that is important to a discussion of network and urban planning processes in the Canadian context.

What becomes obvious from these discussions is that there is an ongoing effort by particular individuals and organizations to position the city in a situation that may potentially benefit them as planners the most. Planning has come to denote a notion of control – a concept that occupies a large part of urban and technological research. Bogard (1996) identifies the perception of control as a part of the increasing presence of computerized pools of information available over networks. He explains, “technologies of simulation are forms of *hypersurveillance control*, where the prefix ‘hyper’ implies not simply an intensification of surveillance, but the effort to push technologies to their absolute limit,” (4). Bogard’s observation is particularly intriguing in relation to the concept of planning. As he explains, “Simulation, in its most generic sense, is the ‘point’ where the imaginary and the real coincide, specifically, where the gap between virtual control and actual control disappears,” (9). Fiske (1998) examines the use of surveillance in the city to highlight social conflict as public and private blur when the individual is faced with situations in which surveillance is a constant. Social control and the perceived predictability arising from such functions play a crucial role in economic theory; the greater the ability to predict an outcome based upon a set of information, the more advantageous and beneficial the outcome of rational decisions based on the information should be. But, as Mulgan (1991) points out, “all purposes and all controls are contested. There are no universal ends. The networks which humans create exist in a world of power and conflict, of positional advantage and struggle over surpluses,” (21). The potential for control and predictability through processes

of simulation and surveillance meet the material reality in urban planning. Moreover, the dominant economic perspectives maintaining that perfect information distributed through advanced communication networks become all encompassing. But the networks have not only become distribution channels, but also observation and tracking means. Graham (1999) summarizes:

The computerized linkage between surveillance and simulation helps to reconfigure and intensify surveillance practices because simulations become continually updated representations cybernetically connected 'backwards' to extending webs of data capture and 'forwards' to (attempted) disciplinary and consumer practices. At the same time systems of surveillant simulation become less visible because of their complex, disembedded time-space geographies, based on instantaneous flows of images and data. (134)

All space in the city is being contested as control is sought by an array of players as diverse and numerous as the very population provides in actual bodies. It is the phenomenon of contestation and struggle that shapes the uses and controls of space – including, in Harvey's model, the material, social and imagined spaces. These processes ultimately shape and develop technologies that are, in themselves, part of the space of a society.

2.3 The social shaping of space as technology

There is a distinct danger in both spatial and technological planning, development and use to regress into simplistic notions of social determinism. The most prominent Canadian examples of "wired" community research have generally examined new developments with a specially designed network access infrastructure (Wellman and Hampton 1999, 2000). These studies tend to look at social uses of technologies prescribed by communication service providers at a micro community level while ignoring larger societal processes effecting socio-economic patterns. These perspectives risk oversimplification of far more powerful and consuming trends. While determinist concepts of change provide easy templates for categorization through cause and

effect relationships and pervade many spatial and technological discussions (see, for example, Mitchell 1999; Kunstler 1993), these misperceptions arise from more complex social myths involving progress and development.

There is recognition of the social negotiation behind new technologies both in communication studies as well as other disciplines. Mansell (1996) notes:

The observation that the design and selection of technical systems are complex social processes that emerge from continuous negotiations among supplier, user, and policy-making communities is appearing with increasing frequency in the literature on technical change and innovations. (17)

An analysis based upon thematic perspectives of privatization benefits from these tensions inherent in the shaping and control of new spaces. One particular decision or design cannot necessarily precipitate a predictable effect within a controlled environment. Mansell explains, “Design, both intended and unintended, embodies actions that constrain and create opportunities for the actions of proximate or distant others,” (27). What Silverstone and Haddon (1996) identify as “the unintended consequences of human action” (58) are an essential focus of study in examining social and institutional power settings. They argue:

Actions are both determined and free. Social action involves both the constitution and communication of meaning. The dialectic of structure and agency is subsumed within a theory of structuration which insists on understanding the dynamics of a complex and, in the last analysis, indeterminate process . . . which involves different actors differently and which will have different consequences and outcomes for the conduct of social life. (58).

In recognizing the presence of the social interaction and negotiations found in discourse around new technologies and the new spaces they embody there is also a need to avoid a simple rationalization of negotiation and conflict as a banal factor in society. Doing so would only simplify the debate and endanger the discussion of falling into a pluralism mindset.

Raboy (1997) explains that the Canadian national information infrastructure (NII) has relied upon a policy ideal purporting greater meaning inherent in technological design than the network itself. He explains that in Canada:

... it is industrial offer rather than social demand that is driving the construction of the NII. In Canada, however, one has to factor in the 'high policy' objectives and the particular set of jurisdictional disputes linked to the role of cultural nationalism in legitimating the designs of industry, and the critical role of communication in constituting national identity, the role of cultural nationalism in legitimating the designs of industry, and the critical perspective put forward by social groups, with respect to both the substance of the project and the process surrounding its development. (213)

It is the neo-liberal regime preaching a social pluralism that undermines true citizen involvement in democratic processes. As Barney (2000) outlines, the network has come to represent democracy in the context of contemporary political dialogue: "At the very least, the consensus suggests, computer networks enhance existing democratic practices and institutions measurably," (264). At a time when hope for social progress remains real within the context of neo-liberal regimes, faith is placed in technology to deliver a new state of human existence – technology and its vehicle to existence, the market, become symbolic of greater human desires. Barney goes on, "At the present moment, networks and bits appear ready and able to stand in for almost anything," (265). The notion of the inherently democratic network is one of the most pronounced myths of the previous 15 years in North American society and requires some sobering analysis.

While the network and its potential for initiating public debate and open communicative dialogue has been espoused over the last fifty years, control of the network has fallen into private hands with very little popular attention. This is not by accident, but by way of dialogue pronounced by an elite that equates democracy with capitalism and freedom of the technologically-induced "friction-free" market (McChesney 2000). While recent attention has come to focus on the privatization of the Canadian network infrastructure (Gutstein 1999,

Winseck 2001) and the inherent anti-democratic nature of such subsumption, the discourse surrounding the technology remains pregnant with promise. As Schiller (1989) emphasized, the undemocratic nature of capitalism within public space is encapsulated in the interests of a ruling capitalist elite, the same is true of networks at present time. While the ability for large numbers of individuals and organizations to mobilize through a new-found interconnectedness is possible – and is being done at a global scale while meeting equal resistance from existing regimes of power (Klein 2000) – this connectivity is not democracy in itself. Just as the agglomeration of millions of workers in a city has the potential for radical organizing by virtue of proximity and ease of assembly and communication, urban history has not shown this to necessarily lend to democratic change. Moreover, the combination of the city and the network do not equate to a new or more profound sense of democracy. Although the potential exists, an empowered citizenry is not the rule around the world, but the rare exception. Nonetheless, the way a society conceives of and grapples with a new technology indicates much about the state of the myths driving them as a people and their ultimate desire for meaningful existence. As outlined in the next section, how a society plans around the dominant myths it embodies further illustrates the potential for democratic involvement and the existing regimes of control and power already in existence within a society.

2.4 Approaches to planning and telecommunications

The planning profession in Canada would appear to be in a state of transition. If statements such as “Cities and urban systems are being reshaped by the information revolution,” (Blais 2000:1) prove true amidst an environment where “there is at present very little understanding or awareness of the nature of this transformation, and what it means for cities, city planning, urban

economic development, or the development industry and real estate markets,” (1), then planners appear to be in danger of obsolescence. Castells (1999) comments to Canadian planners:

... the issues treated by city and regional planners are more important than ever .
 . . What is at issue is the ability of planners – and of their teachers – to renew their thinking, their framework, and their method, while departing from the world that is left behind: a world centred on the welfare state, on rigid zoning, on the belief in models of metropolitan growth, on the predictability of social patterns, on the legitimacy of national governments, and on the long-term benefits of economic growth without social and environment constraints. . . .
 Resistance is not a tenable course. It must not be. (18)

Significant questions arise out of the premise of this statement: From where are these changes coming? Should planners throw away professional frameworks established for sound public planning processes? Or, do these public processes even work? Are planners responsible for ensuring cities adequately accept the hype of technology promoters? Essentially, what is the role of the planner? Responding to Castells, Heseltine (1999) offers direction:

Given that resistance is not a tenable course, we must learn to work within a new paradigm – one where we have less control, and where trends are less predictable . . . We need to move our profession away from ideological biases of all kinds, and towards a creative command of the new technical tools at our disposal. (22)

This statement comes as a startling admission that Canadian planners may be prepared to abandon a tradition of social policy and citizen consultation upon which their profession was built. Planning, as part of the social welfare state’s bureaucracy is better left to the speculative nature of the market. The mantra of market regulation rather than social economic planning prevails.

Some research assessing the role of the professional planner in the apparent network society has emerged in previous years, however small the area may be in relation to overall technology-related debates. Graham and Marvin (2000) highlight the fact that “issues of urban policy and planning have been virtually absent within both the popular and academic sides of the discussions,” (72). Despite the “fast-growing wave of urban experimentation with

telecommunication, which is currently emerging across advanced industrial cities,” (73) little attention is being given to this issue from municipal policy-makers. The potential for significant loss of comprehension and control of urban development exists if left without adequate discussion. This perception of inadequate research into urban telecommunication issues comes despite the substantial work of Castells (1996) and Graham and Marvin (1996) themselves. In assessing the trends in planning and governance at the urban level, Graham and Marvin argue that many cities are grappling with telecommunication policy issues previously out of their scope of interest and influence (339). This new interest in telecommunications “is being driven by different approaches to urban governance as well as a proliferation of new proactive strategies attempting to shape the economic, social, physical and environmental development of cities,” (339). This perspective draws from and mirrors the perspective Harvey (1987; 1989) takes in regard to the increasing focus upon the entrepreneurial city competing for capital accumulation operations. A situation is thus established wherein “we can identify telecommunications and telematics both as a central set of technologies involved in the wider changes underway in cities and as an increasingly important focus of the policy responses to these diverse changes,” (Graham and Marvin 1996:340).

Graham and Marvin use a research perspective into urban policy issues that encompasses national network designs, the entrepreneurial city model and an electronic administration system for governance facilitation. While continuing processes of information commodification (365) are being facilitated by the adoption of business-oriented governance models, network design situations have also advocated a situation where cities become “advanced telecommunication zones,” (348) and interconnection between smaller cities advocates regional enterprise models. While the research model undertaken by Graham and Marvin provides significant framework for the findings presented in subsequent chapters of this

work, they do not analyze the agency within municipal institutions and processes. The roles individuals play in the processes being presented merit attention to better understand how the local place and its citizenry are actively engaged in the processes of change and social design influencing larger institutional trends at global levels. Their work, nonetheless, provides an ideal basis for understanding the field of telecommunications and the city from both pragmatic and theoretical perspectives as well as critiquing the gaps in the field at present (2000).

While criticism of the lack of attention to issues of the public interest have arisen in relation to Canadian federal policy circles (Walters 2001, Clement, Moll and Shade 2001, Reddick 2000) a similar absence must be noted at the municipal level where potential for renewed public discussion about the direction of community network resources might take place. Grant and Berquist (2000) highlight many of the areas in which there is need for municipal attention. From a U.S. perspective, they explain, “there has been a policy convergence among federal, state, and local governments in the sense that all have a stake in promoting competition and the proliferation of advanced telecommunications infrastructure . . .” (97). In general, telecommunications infrastructure is understood as “a necessary but not sufficient condition for economic development,” (108) wherein economic benefits lie in the fact that “telecommunications can add value or impact the utilization of other infrastructures,” (108). Schmandt et. al. (1990) explain, “As advanced telecommunications has become more important as a factor of modern production and service delivery, it is also increasingly viewed as a tool to be used in cities’ economic development strategies,” (5). If the planner’s task is to contribute to the city’s economic growth, it might be expected that telecommunication planning would increase in importance of attention. This is generally not the case because “city governments have played minor roles in telecommunications policy throughout the development of the technology,” (2). Indeed, the lack of an assigned role in the technological development of this

infrastructure appears to have limited the involvement and attention to the process by municipal policy developers and planning officials. This, subsequently, has meant a lack of attention until recently to municipal policy and planning process issues from academic researchers both in planning and communication disciplines.

From a planning and public policy research angle, literature has generally examined the role of new applications in the administrative functions involved in planning procedures (Talen 2000; Kent and Klosterman 2000), the role of new technologies in urban revitalisation and economic development (Graham, Phillips and Maslove 1998; Korval 1999), and the potential for renewed public participation based upon on-line public forums (Graham, Phillips and Maslove 1998; Gattinger 1998; Hale, Musso and Weare 1999; Lenk 1999). A set of critical examinations of the social shaping of technologies in the city has also developed (Isin 1996a; Indovina 1999) in addition to those of communication perspectives already outlined in this chapter.

However, within the discussion of planning's relation to the creation, introduction and uses of new technologies, a larger debate regarding the status of planning and the role of the planner in general has taken place over the past 10 years. Gerecke and Reid (1991) argue that planning emerged out of "powerful political movements involving progressivists and socialists," (133), thus establishing an inherently political nature in the profession. However, due to "the powershifts of the last century which have created big government, a close alliance between big government and capitalism, and the creation of a supporting planning function," municipal government "manages urban life to provide social control and economic exploitation," (133). The result has been a profession "polarizing around corporate planning" rather than that for social needs and concerns (142). This critique is particularly important because it takes into account the overall shift in the role of government to that of an administrative corporate body under the neo-liberal ideological regime.

The very legal nature of the Canadian city as “creatures of the provinces” under the Canadian Constitution has been examined in its relation to the planning process as well (Isin1992; Sancton 2000). Stelter (1984) outlines a historical discussion of the Canadian city as colonial entities for the accumulation of capital. This will be dealt with in further detail in the next chapter, but provides an important basis for critiques of literature on the city thus far. Specifically, the absence of focus upon struggle and the conflict amongst human agency is a particular issue in much technological discourse and, surprisingly, the city.

Fainstein (2000) identifies three general models adopted by planners: the communicative model, new urbanism and the just city model. The communicative model uses a perspective where “the planner’s primary function is to listen to people’s stories and assist in forging a consensus among differing viewpoints,” (454). The planner thus assumes a supposedly neutral position of mediation. At the same time, the communicative planner overemphasizes the tasks of the planner rather than the issues facing the city and its citizens’ needs. New Urbanism takes a completely “design-oriented approach” to planning and development (461). It puts an overemphasis on “spatial determinism” while offering limited opportunity for change. Previously developed areas require solutions to urban problems as much as new developments. Fainstein points out that new urbanism projects contracted by municipalities offer limited mixed-demographic communities due to reliance upon private design firms and private developers who operate on small-scale projects. Moreover, human agency is completely ignored in the new urbanism model.

The third perspective Fainstein examines is the just city model where “the planning theorist in the role of advocate – not necessarily the advocate for a particular group, as in Davidoff’s concept of advocacy planning – but as the advocate of a program,” (467). Fainstein further divides the just city advocates into two groups: “radical democrats and political

economists,” (467). Classifying her own perspective within the category of the political economists, Fainstein describes this group as taking “an explicitly normative position concerning the distribution of social benefits” while “analyzing distributive outcomes as they affect non-class-based groupings and refusing to collapse noneconomic forms of domination into class categories,” (467). On the other hand, the radical democrats “accept a conflictual view of society,” (467). As such, “progressive social change results only from the exercise of power by those who previously had been excluded from power” such that “Participation is the vehicle through which that power asserts itself,” (467). Fainstein would seem to indicate that the planner is absent in the radical democrat’s perspective. This is not, however, necessarily a prerequisite. Both the political economic and radical democrat models of the just city perspectives can be reconciled in a planning concept whereby the planning process is understood as a site of debate and struggle – and the planning process is not necessarily confined to the institutional notion of planning.

Isin (1996a) lays out two traditional categories into which urban observers fall: legislators and interpreters. The interpreter, Isin asserts, is the postmodern role of the intellectual: “comfortable with relativism, seeks neither engagement with nor intervention in the world,” (101). They “tend to side with a greater role for the market,” (117) and that interference with such “will result in market ‘distortions,’” (117). Meanwhile, the legislators “favour a more prominent role for government planning agencies as a means of achieving the diverse social goals associated with planning,” (117). The problem with both of these perspectives, Isin explains, is they “are conveniently oblivious to relationships of power at work in producing specific urban forms in different societies – power relations in which both interpreters and legislators are involved but who conceal their own positions in different ways,” (118-9). The critical responses to urban research (Harvey 1989, Sassen 1996, Castells 1996) do not, for the

most part, identify “cultural and symbolic capital” (121) as significant elements in the formation of space, relations and regimes of power in post-industrial society.

There is an emerging body of research that recognizes the increased importance of culture in the contemporary city. Zukin (1995) emphasizes the role of culture in driving economic decision-making in the contemporary city through her study of New York. King (1996) also emphasizes the state of cities as texts to be read as much as institutions and processes to be understood. This does not necessarily enter a realm of cultural studies literature, but rather emphasizes a recognition of the perception, meaning and aspirations a people have for a particular space they occupy and use. Mosco (1999; 2000) emphasizes the role of culture in the “information” city. Explaining the meaning assigned to space, Mosco focuses on New York as a practical example:

New York is not only a community of physical connectivity, it is also an imagined community of cultural connectivity. It is both a physical space where people can connect to make deals but also an imagined space with multiple overlapping identities, today including Silicon Alley. (2000:41)

Rather than simply focusing on cultural and political institutions, Mosco recognizes a need to identify the role of the citizenry in the spatial functions of daily life:

The reshaping of national citizenship and the concerns it raises lead some to return to notions of local citizenship as a genuine alternative. This is not to recreate a liberal regime of formal rights derived from a different central authority, simply a relocation of citizenship, but to transform the meaning of citizenship into a genuinely democratic practice based on active social participation. (45-6)

Following this, the city takes on the characteristic of a cultural medium itself through which a citizenry may have the opportunity to enact a democratic model of governance. This does not mean rejecting a role for the planner. Rather, it involves a new understanding of the city as a cultural medium with which people interact and form through their uses of space and

perceptions of their physical environment. The significance of such recognition in the context of planning and the current privatization of planning processes is the focus of the next chapter.

Chapter 3

Struggle, Capital and Myth in the Institutionalization of Planning:

A Theoretical Basis For the City as a Communication Medium in Canada

This chapter lays out a theoretical framework, embedded in historical analysis, as to how the Canadian city may be recognized as a communicatory medium. This understanding is essential to recognize contemporary political uses of the city, and how through these understandings the state of urban planning has become institutionalized as a profession. This analysis will encompass an assessment of the influence of radical and otherwise alternative groups in Canadian political, social and labour history on the development of urban form in the early part of the 20th century and the resulting effects of this influence on contemporary understandings and uses of the Canadian city. To accomplish this analysis, the chapter consists of three sections: the coalescence of radical and otherwise socialist groups in Canada during the first thirty years of the 1900s and their use of the city as a fulcrum of political action; the influence of established social democratic political and labour groups of the 1930s arising from the radical movements of the previous 30 years and their influence on urban policy and social planning in Canada; and the resulting myth of “social” urban planning, communicative planning and pluralist compromise (Fainstein 2000) that ultimately led to the commodification of the city in Canada. The understandings of the city that arise from this analysis influence and contribute to contemporary notions of the city and dominant capitalist, technological mythic discourses at the end of the 21st century, beneath which lies the social reality of struggle.

In *The Cultural Front*, Denning examines the failure of a social democratic movement to succeed out of the 1930s Cultural Front movement in the United States. Denning explains, “the strength of the Popular Front was regional and local, rooted in particular cities and industrial towns,” (14). The migration of the period was important in concentrating a group of workers in

key urban centres. In fact, “the Popular Front was a product of unequal developments across North America,” (21). In the context of America’s social democratic failure, Denning identifies the rise of post-fordism and the political economic circumstances of the war economy followed by the McCarthy period. He explains that the Cultural Front’s “defeat in the post-war settlement was due both to the dis-organizing social transformations of mid-century and the strength of its adversaries,” (37). At the same time, the “commercialization of the household’s reproductive functions” only provided a basis for private market forces to further control the necessities of life in the American city. What Denning does not discuss in great detail is the form the city of the 1930s took and how this further exacerbated the fall of social democracy with the conservative political policies of the 1940s and 1950s. The physical form of the city as established by a variety of private and public, radical and conservative forces in the period of the Cultural Front had long-lasting consequences in the triumph of the American capitalist market system of the twentieth century. Only recently have Baxandall and Ewen (2000) explained how capitalism relied upon the New Deal policies of the 1930s to further commodify the household. This resulted in a dramatic repositioning and commodification of the city for a post-fordist economy, as the form of the American city facilitated the accumulation of capital.

The effect of urban form and planning myths of the 1930s left unaddressed in Denning’s examination of the Cultural Front movement provides an excellent basis for understanding the rise of social democracy in Canada amongst the country’s capitalist market system. Controlling the shape of urban form is, perhaps, one of the greatest successes of private industry’s efforts to commodify the Canadian city. The effect of such control has had greater effects on contemporary triumphs of neo-conservative political forces in Canada. While Harvey (2000) notes that agglomeration of an urban workforce should provide a greater ability to organize workers (30), Palmer (1992) notes that these efforts were often hampered by language

differences amongst varying immigrant groups, which left the urban movement somewhat disabled (162). Nonetheless, the city is itself a powerful communicative medium as the urban space stages protest and ultimately a number of visions for a successful future, regardless of socialist or neo-conservative perspectives.

3.1 The establishment of the Canadian city as a corporate entity

Stelter (1984) explains that the first urban establishments in Canada were corporate. Fur traders constructed garrisons as points of communication, trade, storage and rest (12-3). The constructions allowed a certain degree of safety and control over the external environment, but were completely controlled by private, corporate interests. This came to change with the advent of British and French conflict over control of land for economic purposes. British military establishments reinforced the commercial presence in the urban communities and provided new forms of control over the cities. The forms of Halifax and Charlottetown, for example, originated from the grid of military barracks established to protect the crown's financial and territorial interests in the area (Grant 2000). Halifax maintained this form until 1917 when it was rebuilt in the "City Beautiful" model following the Great Explosion (Hébert 1996, Grant 2000). In fact, almost each of Canada's major cities takes its core form from the grid structure of the commercial-military garrison that led to the grid survey system for land division.

Through government force, the capitalist regime succeeded in shaping the land of North America to its own map of how space should be organized. This became more apparent in the establishment of urban centres in the new British colony. The cities of contemporary Canada have only existed for the limited period of time of about 215 years at the most. Canada's first city, Saint John in present-day New Brunswick, was incorporated by royal charter in 1785. By providing the city the same legal existence as that of a corporation, Britain transferred its own

legal framework for its own cities to Canada. Sancton (2000) explains that municipal forms of governance allowed the federal government to effectively govern cities during the industrial revolution and the rapid urbanization that ensued. Isin (1992) emphasizes that in giving the modern city corporate status, the British government placed an emphasis on the institution of the urban construct as a tool of control over that of human agency. The human agency is what the institution ultimately sought to manage.

Municipal governments generally benefit the needs of local elite first and foremost. Only those who owned land were able to vote. As a result, decisions about the construction of local infrastructure were not done in a democratic fashion, but more to the benefit of those ruling each municipal area. The city, however, is better viewed as an administrative body for a ruling elite, both in early colonial days following 1785, and even in contemporary times. The city has never been an autonomous governance body able to set policy beyond a narrow set of parameters established by their act of incorporation. Municipal governance was instituted as a means of facilitating the accumulation of capital during a period of rapid urban growth. The first priority of municipal boards was management of growth and land use. This meant accounting for and accommodating the workforce necessary to maintain the local industries and creating an environment conducive to capital accumulation.

This purpose for the city was reaffirmed and further entrenched in the legal structure of Canada as an established colony with the British North American act of 1867, which formed the Dominion's constitution. The documents provisions for the city are not, however, empowering to the municipal citizenry. The only provision for municipal governance given to the provinces under the *British North America Act of 1867* are defined as: "In each Province the Legislature may exclusively make Laws in relation to Matters coming within the Classes of Subjects next hereinafter enumerated, that is to say, . . . Municipal Institutions in the Province," (Canada

1867). As a result, the city has no authority outside of the parameters it is assigned by the provincial government. Moreover, the legal institution of the city is afforded the status of an incorporated body; the municipal corporation may have the same or even fewer privileges than a private corporate body and in the court of law is deemed to have no privilege by virtue of its public nature. Other public institutions granted the same standing include Business Improvement Areas, school boards, hospital or health boards and universities. The city is thus left to the whim of its provincial legislative body that may overrule any municipal decision and revoke any autonomous authority the local bodies may have held. Power is allocated not from the population at a local level, but from the top of an institutionalized hierarchy. The undemocratic nature of the municipal body was reinforced more recently in Ontario through the 1990s as local municipalities were forced to amalgamate, school boards were stripped of their taxation authority, municipal council sizes were reduced, hospitals were closed and university funding was cut. Sancton (2000) highlights a 1997 court decision rejecting any autonomy of the municipal bodies that comprise the new City of Toronto. This is the most recent legal precedent to deny cities any authority within Canada. The decision states: “municipal institutions lack constitutional status . . . are creatures of the legislature and exist only if provincial legislation so provides . . . have no independent autonomy,” (quoted by Sancton, p 426).

The phenomenon of rapid urban growth caused by immigration occurred in Canada through the early part of the 1900s. The opening of the Western provinces to Eastern European immigrants in the first twenty years of the twentieth century led to a staggering increase in the rural and urban populations of the provinces. These immigrants generally came to spaces pre-designed for habitation. Grant (2000) explains that many Canadian cities took their form from economic models for the area in which the centre was located. Many of Canada's cities maintain to this day core forms consistent with the square land grid divisions of the early 1900s. Winnipeg

and Edmonton, for example were each founded as trading posts in the 1700s while Calgary and Regina were founded as headquarters for the North West Mounted Police. Saskatoon, initially established as a temperance colony, was divided and sold as speculative land in 1886 in the hope the Canadian Pacific Railway would run through the area, (Nader 1976). The prairie cities act as particularly compelling examples in manufactured urban development since they were developed through liberalized immigration standards to supply workers for the land and as markets for Eastern Canadian producers. It is in the early 1900s, with the establishment of prairie urban centres, that the national economy of regional and urban interdependence identified by Simmons (1979) began. The national economy was planned before a national culture existed. It is out of the myths of the economy, as Babe (1990, 2000) highlights, that the culture was constructed.

Each of the five major prairie cities experienced their greatest growth periods with the eventual establishment of rail lines into their communities and the subsequent wave of immigration through the early years of the century. The very foundation of the prairie urban centres was based on the economic model of land division and private ownership and the state enforcement of such a system through the location of a police force. Aside from establishing the cities, the economic system also assigned the form of the cities on a grid pattern around the central economic and political foci of each locality. In this sense, the prairie cities represent a transplant of the British economic system into a new territory whereby land was understood as property and the city was a tool for economic growth, controlled by an elite capitalist minority. Property, as explained by MacPherson (1979), became a mediating factor in Canadian communication. Conflict over property allocations and the resulting consequences of allowing culture to form around economic systems amidst unprecedented immigration, however, became

apparent in the early part of the 20th century. At this point in time the modernity of the nation met political unrest.

3.2 The influence of Canadian radicals and reformers on urban design

A number of accounts have documented the rise of various radical and moderate socialist movements in these provinces (Allen 1971, Avakumovic 1978, Lipset 1968, McCormack 1977, Penner 1992, Whitehorn 1992). Significant radical groups of the early part of the century included the International Workers of the World, One Big Union, the Social Democratic Party, the Socialist Party of Canada and the Ukrainian Socialist Labor Committee. These organizations were the victims of orchestrated government oppression and had little effectiveness past the first 20 years of the century. However, after the fall of these groups in the 1920s a significant socialist mentality remained. Out of this mentality, a distinct social democratic movement formed in Canadian politics with the advent of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), which later became the New Democratic Party (NDP). In fact, while the CCF – the longest-lasting left-wing political movement in Canada – originated in 1932, the most radical socialist movements and largest instances of class conflicts of the century were finished before this time (Palmer 1992: 221). Radicalism in the Canadian context generally came about with the rise of industrial trade unionism in the 1800s while socialism as an ideology came about in the earlier 1900s (Penner 1992: 1-2). Palmer suggests Canadian radicalism declined overall through the 1920s, having met the harsh opposition of capital through the depression (221). This is of particular importance in the Canadian context because the social movements of the 1930s did not necessarily come about as a result of the influence of the radical tradition of the early part of the century. Aside from temporal disjuncture in the socialist movement, there is also a spatial break. While labour led the revolutionary campaigns of the first twenty years of the century largely

from an urban perspective (McCormack: 3-4, Bright 1998), the social democratic movement of the depression era arose from conflict and solidarity between the remnants of organized labour, the social gospel movement and the Communists (Palmer, Lipset, Allen). Rather than viewing the development as a cause and effect function, a variety of communities across spatial boundaries created a synergy that manifest itself in collectivist ideals. Of particular interest from an urban planning perspective is that the CCF, a strong advocate of economic planning and based upon the social gospel movement in solidarity with the international Popular Front against fascism, found its strength in the Western Canadian agrarian sector.

The rise of the prairie population brought hope to religious groups “impressed with the social possibilities of new beginnings on the Canadian prairies,” (Allen 1971: 10). Urban blight arose as a focus point for social gospellers as the issues “of slums and immigration prompted the larger part of the institutional response of the social gospel within the churches,” (11). Nonetheless, many social gospel leaders recognized an urban-rural dichotomy in Canadian life as rapid urbanization led to both rural and urban problems (23-4). Uncontrolled urban and rural growth and a lack of ability to employ migrant workers and a rural population in crisis was problematic for a people in the west already “plagued by a lack of social life and community ideals, which left the farmer a prey to speculators and a victim of a system which permitted unearned increment in business and commerce,” (202). Social gospellers recognized needs in both urban and rural areas that went beyond social compassion. Wide-scale economic planning was desired as an institutional approach to reducing the oppression of the free market.

The emergence of urban planning as a profession and government practice in Britain catalyzed the notion that cities could be planned and controlled for the social benefit of the citizenry (Purdy 1997). The social gospel movement obviously affected the vision many Christians had for the prairie cities. Social values were instilled in a population concerned with

the well being of their cities and the population within. This was not, however a hegemonic movement, as explained by Christie and Gauvreau:

... the emphasis which the new evangelism of social service placed upon the application of the lessons of the Gospel to daily life struck a resonant chord in those who had become inured to the irrelevant dogmas of the Victorian church. However, this same message of social regenerations was moored in the often judgemental language of moral uplift, and the implementation of its ideals depended upon the activity of a wealthy and leisured community leadership. (1996: 54-5)

The civic ideals of the social gospel movement nonetheless hold significant relevance to the civic boosterism of the prairie city and the priorities established for urban planning and regeneration of the early twentieth century. In addition, despite the class divisions the movement may have emphasized, it bridged a significant gap between rural and urban priorities and brought the elite class of many communities in line with social improvement. This may have contributed to the eventual emergence of a sustained social democratic movement in Canada.

With the arrival of the depression in the 1930s a widespread discontent with capitalism arose throughout the Canadian Prairie Provinces. However, where radical movements of the previous thirty years had a definite confrontational attitude to fighting the dominant political economic system, a new reformer attitude became the norm through the depression period. This is not to claim a complete disconnect between the radical and reformer movements. There was a connection, most specifically in the urban centre of Winnipeg (Cross 1974: 6). While debate ensues around the significance of events such as the 1919 Winnipeg General Strike and its brutal suppression by RCMP officers on “Bloody Sunday,” (Cross, Wichern 1983), the city from which CCF leader J. S. Woodsworth came, maintained in its working-class neighbourhoods a strong sense of progressive politics. Cross explains:

... the strike lived on as one of the most important benchmarks in radical history. And it lived on in Winnipeg. The city’s north end, a cluster of working class ethnic ghettos, would become the cradle of Canadian socialism. So much so that one commentator, raised in the north end, claimed that until he was eighteen

he thought there were only two parties in Canada – the CCF and the Communists. (6)

Indeed, while the CCF and Communists were strong mobilizing groups in labour, migrant and religious social movements of the time, the two parties maintained a confrontational relationship throughout the 1930s. The Communist Party viewed the CCF as another party working within the capitalist system. The CCF attempted to distance itself from the Communists, viewing the latter as too much of a risk with which to be associated. Much of the friction between the two parties came most apparent in urban forums where both parties looked to gain popularity and used the populated centres for organizing. For example, Communist Party leader Tim Buck ran as a candidate in North Winnipeg in the 1935 federal election. The CCF held its major organizing conferences in Calgary and Regina in 1932 and 1933, respectively. Both parties saw significant mobilizing potential in the prairie urban centres. While the Communists attempted to mobilize the urban working class the CCF used the city as a point of convergence for meeting and developing policy.

While Bright (1998) questions how much the poor, urban working class was actually represented and felt a part of any socialist movements of the early 1900s, it is within the largest urban centres that the most famous socialist doctrine of Canadian history came. In the 1933 *Regina Manifesto*, the CCF declared “No CCF Government will rest content until it has eradicated capitalism and put into operation the full programme of socialized planning which will lead to the establishment in Canada of the Co-operative Commonwealth,” (Cross: 23). Nonetheless, the policy positions established by the CCF were cautiously conservative, earning them the title of “Fascists” by Communist Party organizers through the 1930s in their Toronto-based publication *The Worker* (17 November 1934).

The city also had a prominent place in the eye of the agrarian sector of the day. With the rise of cooperative organizations in the 1930s and significant reforms in the agricultural policy of

the period with the introduction of the Canadian Wheat Board in 1935, the agrarian population appears to have established a new understanding of its position in international markets. The contradiction of working under a national marketing regime during a period of social democratic growth in the prairies perhaps marks one of the continued paradoxes under which the CCF and later the NDP have had to operate. While the agrarian economy witnessed significant government involvement in marketing practices and the growth of cooperatives such as the Saskatchewan Wheat Pool, this was all done within the institutional capitalist system of international markets. Within the globalization trends of agriculture markets, the city attained a new significance in agrarian discourse.

Full-page advertisements placed by the Saskatchewan Wheat Pool in the Saskatoon-based weekly agriculture publication *The Western Producer* announced new successes in agrarian collective programs. “Built by Farmers,” announced one advertisement’s headline on 7 April 1932 above a photo of a new Wheat Pool grain elevator in New York. Similar proclamations appeared for new storage and shipping facilities in such port cities as Churchill, Manitoba and Thunder Bay, Ontario. Articles also appeared announcing the rise of the Western city. “Saskatoon now largest livestock marketing centre in Saskatchewan,” read a 26 May 1932 *Producer* article. Yet, while the paper catered to the interests of a largely rural – and more conservative – audience, it provides evidence of Communist discussion, indicating a population still at odds with the dominant political hegemony. Letters proclaiming the advantages of Communism were printed in the early 1930s with no rebuttal. A 3 May 1935 caption announced a warm reception for Communist Party leader Tim Buck in Toronto following a May Day parade. Nonetheless, these examples are sparse and a vision of economics prevailed. The agrarian sector in fact came to be a buttress of the commercial service and market centres the cities were becoming.

The Communists, in their own right, saw the greatest potential for organizing in urban centres. They had unprecedented influence in mobilizing unemployed workers and transients throughout the depression (Manley 1998). Communist Party publications of the 1930s pronounced the class struggles happening across Canada, generally profiling actions in a wide selection of cities and towns across the country as though to show the widespread popularity of labour unrest. Photos of new urban apartment buildings or suburban developments appeared at various points in *The Worker* during the 1930s. “A Canadian Housing Program?” asks one headline above a photo of recently constructed houses. “No,” a caption below responds, “this is a district of Gorlovka, new Soviet city arising in Danbas. The city was carefully planned and chief consideration given to comfort and health,” (13 April 1935: 2). The paper profiled the achievements of the Communist Party and worker solidarity as three Communist aldermen won seats on the Windsor city council, only to be defeated later by auto “magnates,” (22 December 1934: 2). The paper also profiled the trials of the working poor and unemployed living in poverty housing and facing eviction in Edmonton, London and Toronto (22 December 1934: 1, 26 December 1934: 3, 27 April 1935). The city and the form that brought about horrible living conditions for the poor became a chief rallying point for the Communist Party.

In particular, the “On to Ottawa” movement exemplifies the vision of the city as a fulcrum of social change and mobilization in Communist records of the period. Beginning on 9 April 1935 articles on the trek to Ottawa appeared in every issue of *The Worker* until mid-August. Articles focused on the arrival of the trek aboard railcars in each western city as the group gained additional unemployed workers in its slow progress east. Other articles profiled solidarity and planning rallies in other cities preparing to host the travellers or who would start solidarity marches to meet in Ottawa. A solidarity march in Toronto appropriated the lawns of the Queen’s Park provincial legislature for a day followed by a rally in the landmark Maple Leaf

Gardens (30 April 1935: 1). The city was viewed as a point of momentum and empowerment as people appropriated space along the way and looked forward to arriving in Ottawa. The hopes of the unemployed were communicated through their vision of the city as a place for the reclamation of political space. The city also became a place of contention and defeat as 500 police met the trek in Regina and beat the marchers down on order from Prime Minister R. B. Bennett, (25 June 1935: 29 June 1935: 1).

Thus, the social and political activities of the city were paralleled by a vision of the city as a site of potential resistance against capitalism. The agglomeration of workers allowed for easier dissemination of information to a larger audience through labour and radical newspapers. More established commercial publications such as *The Western Producer* provided some space for the discussion of alternatives to the market system, but its agrarian audience ultimately opted for a more conservative approach to reform through the CCF. This same constituency, however, carried the social democratic movement out of the 1930s, providing a longer legacy than that of the urban radicals. However, neither the urban or rural social movements of the period managed to have a significant impact upon government policy following the war.

3.3 Communicating ideology through urban planning and social management

Canadian urban planning comes from a tradition of social democratic principals of a planned economy to account for the sufficiency of the citizenry. As concretized in the CCF's *Regina Manifesto*, this program included a set of promises to establish funding for housing and slum clearance. Much of the hope for a planned society to counter the ravages of capitalism came from promises in Britain that by giving proper consideration to the ways cities are built and its inhabitants housed, there maybe a corresponding decrease in urban poverty and thus accompanying disease and crime (Purdy 1997:30). At a time when Taylorism ushered in

complete scientific management of industrial production, the same mentality was understood to be valid in urban planning and management initiatives. This movement manifest itself in the City Efficient planning movement (ibid: 33, Van Nus 1979). The ideology inherent in the movement asserted that social planning would ensure adequate living conditions for the entire working population. Thus, a healthy, able and largely pacified workforce would be assured. As a result, planning became a way of subduing a workforce with basic considerations than considering democratic appropriation of space by the population.

The strength of social movements in Canada, however, was compromised by the dominance and ubiquity of the market system in so many facets of life. In recognizing the achievements of social reformers in instituting basic quality of life rights, the notion of rights as property, as explained by MacPherson (1978) cannot be ignored. In a society where property is such an ubiquitous medium of human interaction, the easiest default understanding of any rights of the person is to institute the privileges through a relationship of commodification. This is what happened in Canada following the country's attempt to maintain a pacified workforce in the post-war period while continuing to institute the ideals of the market system.

The Canadian urban planning experience illustrates the ability of capital to adapt to social concerns that may arise in the collective conscience of a population and to appropriate these feelings into further justification for profit. While much of the mainstream concern over urban decay arose from the social gospel movement of the early part of the century (Allen 1977) this eclipsed a longer history of radicalism that attempted to redefine the nature of the Canadian urban place (Palmer 1992). It was, perhaps the struggle between radical labour and the unemployed organized by the Communist Party that served to entrench the practices of the capitalist class in order to fully control the actions of the proletariat. For example, while mining towns witnessed the greatest organization of labour in the early part of the 20th century, they also

formed the new model for the corporate city. Palmer explains that management's response to labour struggle in mining towns suppressed the workers long enough until capital interest and investment on the East Coast left:

Employers imported strike-breakers by the thousands, stood fast against unionism, drew on the state and the law, and, in the end, constructed an elaborate hegemony that would carry them through the war years and into the period of the regional economy's ultimate collapse. (172)

The mining towns represent the most powerful organizations of capital in physical form of the early part of the century. The workers, largely an immigrant class brought in to fill a labour gap, were not afforded the privilege of owning their own land. Rather, they came to occupy towns built in a form that centred on the physical layout of the mine itself (Grant 2000: 444-5) where the company owned all houses and stores. The workers came under the complete control of the company. The towns were disposable constructs into which the capitalist invested the minimal amount of capital possible to house its workers. This region still feels the effects of capital's devastation in the area today as a result of their abandonment while capital maintains the flexibility to leave, the workforce remains, decimated and incapacitated by capital's control of space and thus the economy.

Planning as a public government practice and institutionalized profession was not accepted, as Grant explains, until the practice of zoning land use became commonplace (447-8). This allowed private developers unleashed by federal subsidization of housing through the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation in the 1930s to gain control of the planning process. Zoning provided private developers with guidelines indicating acceptable land use practices (e.g. business, housing, industry) and thus regulated the price of land to a great degree. This framework succeeded in opening the door to widespread corporate development in the post-war years wherein the corporate suburb became commonplace throughout Canada (Sewell 1991). Further, the usurpation of planning by corporate power in Canada shows how the foundational

moral elements leading to planning were undermined and forgotten according to Gerecke and Reid (1991):

A closer look at planning from the 1920's to the 1940's shows that the rationalist apolitical model for planning did not just come out of thin air but was the result of real political struggle in the urban arena: the victory of the rationalist school was really the victory of the right wing over the left. This victory had more to do with the formation of successful business lobbies after the red scare menace of the post World War 1 era and the threat of municipal socialism in the 1930's than in the unfolding of some essentialist logic. (133)

By the post-war period, private development was firmly established as a principal of urban growth in Canada. With the exception of some social housing for returning veterans, the housing market was completely private. With the dissolution of Home Improvement Plan loans in October 1940 – initially established in 1936 to “relieve unemployment, particularly in the depressed building industries” (Public Archives of Canada 1936-44) – Canada would see very little in the way of national housing strategies again.

In the post-war period of urban development, the corporate suburb took on a new shape. As cities witnessed rapid growth with the resettlement of Canadian forces servicemen and the onset of the baby boom population expansion, suburban development expanded at tremendous rates. Corporate developers provided a product to residential consumers that appeared attractive: urban dwelling with spacious lot sizes and low prices (Grant: 448-9). Much has been written about the decrease in density as housing plot sizes increased and suburb sprawl became the characteristic planning practice of the post-war period and its influences upon contemporary social trends in North American cities (Kunstler 1999, Duany, Plater-Zyberk and Speck 1999). The development of suburban housing meant families had greater latitude in choosing their housing locations. The dispersed population model of planned suburban developments in contemporary urban design practice helped ensure a segregated population through differential property values. For progressive movements, it becomes harder to physically

mobilize groups of people over larger geographic areas. At the same time, the residents of these developments become completely reliant upon vehicles. Costly infrastructure is required to maintain transportation and communication routes (Vojnovic 1999). Moreover, despite the increased spatial areas self-reliance for food production is not a standard urban expectation by any means. Thus one primary contradiction of capital is illustrated in Canadian urban form. The myth of “friction free capitalism” (Herman and Sloop 2000) propagates under the auspices of globalization and the fabled democratic market (McChesney 2000). At the same time, the reality is that capital depends upon the inefficiency of the urban form to subjugate its workforce while building a consumer economy that purchases the means by which it might at least cope with the societal inefficiencies. Capital does, indeed, have the upper hand in power relations by which it may subdue its labour force, but it remains dependent upon this workforce for a pool of labour. As long as this is the case though, workers at least have the potential to organize and resist the forces of capital. Mobilizing this pacified work force, nonetheless, is another matter.

Now, with the institutionalization of urban planning in Canada and the naturalization of land ownership, property development is not viewed as a public good for the housing of all people in order to meet their needs as citizens, but as an economic market. Miron (2000) explains that real estate is a major component of the Canadian economy. Land property in Canada is valued at \$710 billion (using 1997 figures) while building value on these lands equals \$1.57 trillion – making up 28 per cent of Canadian assets (156). Housing starts are used to judge the economic growth of an urban municipality. Most of the property value in Canada is in cities (156), thus providing urban areas with privileged respect in the eyes of capital. Land is not valued by its quantitative dimensions but by a market system that places the value of some land above that of other places. The market value of land does not necessarily recognize the use-value of the soil, but rather assumes an exchange value by which the valorization of the land's value

normalizes the exchange value amongst the general population. Yet, while capital depends on the production of value through labour and the resulting commodity, the capitalist tries to become free from the physical nature of production. Capital becomes the mediating factor between relationships by which land is exchanged for the purpose of profit. Nonetheless, capital remains dependent, although at a distance, on the spatial qualities of the places in which production occurs. It thus becomes important to recognize the physical form capital takes in landed property and the resulting and social perceptions of property along with the legal framework protecting property. As MacPherson outlines, property becomes a mediating factor in social relationships – a medium in itself. Further emphasizing the market imperative, the “information society” introduces a new level of reliance upon information in decision-making processes. While this would seem to benefit the process of public planning, the concept is steeped in myth, propagated by market boosters. The commodified nature of information means decision-making on the basis of the “public good” is only done on a cost basis. Those who own information ultimately control much of the public process.

The information society has given new energy to the notion of “perfect information” (Winseck 1999) and the ability to achieve well-orchestrated economic control through communication technologies (Mulgan 1991, Bogard 1996). The Internet and its myths of control and travel lend to an understanding that physical bonds have been broken and people are afforded a new freedom in the cyber world (Herman and Sloop 2000). The need to control activity and information finds additional strength as the ideal virtual maps of the world interact and transform the social and physical spaces in which people live (Mosco 2000). As Harvey (1987) argues, space is the site of struggle and “Those who have the power to command and produce space possess a vital instrumentality for the reproduction and enhancement of their own power,” (265). The control of space is vital to capitalism’s ability to propagate and

ultimately reproduce itself. The use of space communicates a vision of society and, under capitalism, allocates roles and constraints upon the majority of the population.

Lessig (2001) states that property in the North American context is a “non-thought”. In discussing the legal framework that acts as a legitimacy for the ownership of property, Lessig views three main areas of concern for legislating the use of resources: a physical layer, a logical layer and a content layer. This model, while coming from a different political background as Harvey, still matches very closely to the three levels of spatial use and understanding he uses to build off of those Lefebvre establishes: the material/experience, the representation/perception and the imaginary (Harvey 1987). The material or hardware level is as much a regulatory system as the second level of the cognitive perceptions put in place through laws intended to restrict the social behavioural actions of individuals Lessig explains: “Architecture is a kind of law: it determines what people can and cannot do. When commercial interests determine the architecture, they create a kind of privatized law,” (1999:59). The private laws of capital now have the largest role in designing the material spaces of Canadian urban spaces. It is within these undemocratic laws of material space that control the movement and ability for one to produce their own sustenance that the contradictions of capital in the physical realm become apparent. The assertions that time is destroying space are exposed in light of their false guarantees. As communication technologies ease the flow of capital and its accumulation, the global masses become more entangled in the material regulations that restrict their ability to resist the drive of the hegemonic market system.

From this analysis, the Canadian city and its origins in a capitalist system of colonization along with Harvey’s concept of “uneven geographical development” can be better understood as it relates to the topic of this chapter. In this concept, Harvey describes a model for analyzing the interaction of people at different levels – recognizing they are “nested” in communities, nations

and global structures of social and economic systems (75-9). This is part of the “production of spatial scales” or the scope from which we view ourselves and the systems of which we are a part. At the same time “geographical difference” is created by uneven infusions of capital investment in particular spaces. In using these two points for a geographic analysis of capital, Harvey proposes to extend critical thought beyond mono-scalar examination:

We need to think, therefore, about differentiations, interactions, and relations across and within scales. A common error of both analytical understanding and political action arises because we all too often lock ourselves into one and only one scale of thinking, treating differences at that scale as *the* fundamental line of political cleavage. (79)

From this, Harvey posits that the current shortcoming of analysis is the use of globalization as a concept that denies action at a personal local level. Indeed, one problem with using the process of globalization as an entry point for analysis of social and economic issues is that the individual can easily abstract issues to a point at which they escape practical action. This concept becomes important in understanding the state of municipal planning in a society where the market has established itself as a more credible system than public planning.

3.4 The institutionalization of urban planning as a profession in the “city efficient”

In reflecting upon the results of Canadian urban design and the legacy of radical and socialist groups upon city form, three perspectives must be taken. First, the physical form of the city results from generations of development and building. This occurs as new spaces are constructed around previous structures and land use patterns, spaces incorporate previous forms and spaces are destroyed for the building of new spaces. Second, the legal framework in a given society establishes by whom and how space may be created. This involves the commitments of government to particular social programs as well as bylaws that restrict the creation of particular spaces. Third, a social historical image of space and the places within is communicated through

the physical form of the city. A general understanding of history is represented through the form of the city and the social norms established in a particular community. Within all of these three areas of institutionalized mediation, human agency exists and must deal with the structure established by previous generations – namely the concept identified by Mosco (1996) of structuration. It is important to recognize that, as with written historical records such as media files and documented records, the physical spaces and the subsequent spaces present from previous times tend to represent a hegemonic record of history more aligned with an elite class that existed through points in time. The ultimate presence of the city and how it is understood in contemporary society is the result of a dominant class's record of social institutions, representing its various perspectives and visions established for urban centres. These hopes are now part of a myth of the city, riddled with contradictions, that holds a powerful effect over contemporary uses and plans for the urban citizenry. It is within the vision of the upper classes of a society and the struggle of the majority of people to attain an equal standard of living that perspectives on planning and the allocation of design and control of space become important.

Through the early part of the 1900s, urban planning became an established profession in Canada. Urban revitalization plans in Britain sparked considerable interest in the potential for controlling undesirable city conditions; cleanliness could at least be controlled in public areas with the potential of preventing diseases (Grant 2000: 445-6, Purdy 1997:30, Gunton 1979). The notion of public health arose partly out of a concern for social democratic movements as extolled by the centrist gossellers, but this only became a gloss for other motivations. As zoning gained ground as an effective management tool for controlling property value, Purdy further argues that the “efficiency movement,” sparked by the Taylorism system of scientific management, brought about a vision of the city as a manageable resource for organizing a labour pool (Purdy: 33-4, also Van Nus 1979). Moreover, in further entrenching the notions of private

land ownership with permissible uses and a for-the-good-of-the-economy mentality, planning could reduce interest groups within the city to stakeholders. The version of the planner mediating stakeholders in the planning process is what Fainstein (2000) calls the Communicative Model of planning. This model, established in post-war times to lend an appearance of public participation to planning, is still widely used, having enjoyed a comeback with the neo-conservative agenda of the 1980s and 1990s. Planning as a scientific profession achieved recognition just as geography became a respected area of study in previous centuries: when the elite recognized the power of legitimized spatial control, they manifested apparent neutrality in cartographers to represent and normalize their private ownership and control of space (Livingstone 1992). Once the financial elite recognized the benefit of controlling the urban form, previous fears of socialism and communism arising out of planning and social concern were alleviated (Grant 447, Purdy 33).

Finally, while planning commodified the process of land use to such a degree, Purdy points out that the basic family unit became a focal point for the federal government in generating “a ruling myth” whereby “nationalism strived to eclipse other social divisions, especially class, by positing an overarching national identity,” (34). In doing so, “altruistic concerns are overshadowed by the vital effort to create a stable family unit comprised of fit and complacent workers which guaranteed the protection of the nation,” (34). As such, the myth of planning as a weapon against poverty and disease was useful to those with vested financial interest in the city, while the notion of a socially beneficial program in fact allowed for the subversion of social democratic values and priorities expressed in the physical struggles to reclaim physical and political space in the streets and public halls of Canadian cities through the 1930s.

While urban design is firmly instituted in the practices of the Canadian capitalist system, the need to expand markets continues. The city, now understood as a commodity may be produced and exchanged in a market system. The World Bank refers to cities as “engines of growth” stating that, “Globalization and localization have not diminished the importance – or the pace – of the urbanization process,” (2000:125). Industry Canada identifies urban growth as a significant area of interest because “The most explosive urban growth will occur in developing countries,” where “93% of urban growth over the next 30 years will occur,” (2001: 3). Using the basic assumption that “Cities provide a natural focus for economic growth,” (4) Industry Canada explains, “Sustainable development must target cities to maximize their efficiency,” (7). The similarity of such an argument is strikingly similar to that of the City Efficient movement that arose out of the scientific management model of Taylorism.

As Isin (1996a) points out, new communication technologies have brought about a facilitated method by which a dominant corporate class is continuing its mythic quest to achieve the “death of distance.” The city remains as an important place of profit generation in the international market as it has and continues to be designed and controlled in the interests of the market system. In recognizing the communicative potential of the city as a medium, it becomes clear that a definite convergence of media is occurring with the corporate positioning of the city in a global “space of flows” (Castells 1996) network. Given the legal institution of the city and the nature of urban planning in the market system, the city efficient concept is receiving new energy, but with in a reverse situation from its initial appearance. Rather than creating a healthy workforce that will, in turn, provide a healthy economy, it is now assumed that a healthy economy will deliver a satisfied consumer society. Communication systems, both through new telecommunication technologies and cities as central social management centres, are being used as drivers behind the further establishment of the consumer society. The manner in which

telecommunications are being instituted in medium-size Canadian cities, the rationale behind such processes and the results on the Canadian urban institution are the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter 4

The City, Telecommunications and the Politics of Control:

Municipal Convergence in the Age of Transnational Governance

One of the key components of attempts to reposition the city as part of the “network society” comes with the increased salience of telecommunication infrastructures in various municipalities over the past 15 years. The city efficient movement has gained new momentum as civic boosters, private Telco representatives and government officials extol the virtues of investing in what federal government programs term “smart communities” and “connecting Canadians” initiatives. Many cities are building their own fibre optic networks in an effort to plug-in to the global information flow. Federal grants provide community organizations funding to establish “access points” for citizens to use the Internet. Provincial governments have established a number of funding schemes to attract new investments and employers to communities in their jurisdictions. The city is undergoing a convergence both physically with telecommunication infrastructure and content-wise as media corporations vie for the urban consumer audience. The market imperative driving much of the telecommunication infrastructure development is not for the benefit of the communities or their cities as it is for an elite corporate class attempting to integrate the city into an international grid of commercial holdings with an audience held captive within the physical space that makes up urban Canada.

This chapter analyzes the manner in which telecommunication infrastructures have emerged as focal points for urban development discussion in Canada and how the mythology surrounding such technologies has contributed to a renewal of city efficient models of privatized urban management. First, an overview is provided of the manner in which telecommunications and their relations to the city are understood as part of a national myth of a collective good. These understandings of the public interest are supported with both policy decisions and

examples of trends in municipal discussions around telecommunication infrastructure. Second, the degree to which public municipal administrations have accounted for telecommunication infrastructure in ongoing planning will be assessed. Through this analysis, the suggestion will arise that while telecommunication infrastructures are recognized as important elements for urban economic growth, how they may be accounted for in daily planning processes is not generally addressed. What follows, in the third section, is an assessment of the telecommunications industries in the municipalities examined in this study. What will be shown is that despite the perceived importance of networks to a municipality's economic viability, the trend of the 15-year period of study has been to move away from socially oriented network planning. Market models for technological rollout have been employed over community design purposes. This has been done in the name of efficiency and market development. This has established a system of urban technological infrastructure in Canada centred around institutional analysis while generally ignoring agency, which is addressed through a discussion of telecommunication and planning labour issues in the fourth section. In conclusion, the results of this transformation of communication networks into a commodified system of space-obiterated nationalism will be discussed in light of the Canadian city's position as a site of profit generation in the information society. This is important in recognizing the city as a communicative medium in itself, and the resulting convergence of new technologies with the form of the old municipality. From this, the disjuncture between the vision of the technologically efficient city and planning principals advocating social responsibility for the establishment of equitable urban centres will be critiqued.

In examining Canada's place in the digital world in 1995, the Information Highway Advisory Council told citizens, "The list of possibilities is long, and the promise is real – provided that everyone can respond wisely and quickly to the new realities," (2). Responding

wisely means conforming to the “need to align national strategies with the worldwide movement toward a global information society,” (2). As discussed in chapter 2, Raboy (1997) outlines that it is private industry rather than social concerns driving the deployment of new communication networks. Following the direction of the General Agreement on Trades and Services “with a view to the progressive liberalization of trade in telecommunications transport networks and services,” (World Trade Organization 1993:414), the Canadian government has ensured telecommunication infrastructure is not managed in a public manner as was the case with previous infrastructure projects. The Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission ensured a market-oriented model of infrastructure development in its 1994 *Decision 94-19* in stating the public interest nature of competition in the telecommunications sector. This, in effect, meant a transfer of regulatory responsibilities out of the public realm and over to the erratic nature of the market.

In light of national programs that provide a particularly compelling public relations strategy to lure the population into the wonders of the so-called knowledge-based economy, there remains doubt as to whether any meaningful social change is in store for the population. As Babe (1990) argues, the presence of communication technologies in everyday life has been normalized by a series of myths. These myths indicate that without communication technologies Canada could not exist and that the use of such technologies is, in fact, inevitable. Moreover, the national mythology contends, such technologies, their uses and the regulatory systems overseeing their operations are in the public interest. These myths remain in the psyche of the nation, and provide a starting point for the investigation of myths promoting the privatization of planning in Canadian cities.

4.1 Telecommunications and the public good: urban infrastructures and nationalism

As suggested by Babe's (1990) myth of "technological nationalism" (5), communication technologies play a central role in Canadian nation building. The importance of cultural artefacts in the realm of state governance is clear in that Canadians have a national public broadcaster in the form of the CBC and Radio-Canada, the National Film Board and a variety of Canadian content regulations for broadcasters. The technological imperative inherent in nationalism is evident in the federal government's emphasis on Internet connectivity, Canadian Internet content (Canada 2001). At the same time, while 77.9 per cent of the country's population live in urban areas (Statistics Canada 93-357-XPB), the government has no urban strategy, no housing policy outside of its system of housing loans through the Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation, no homelessness strategy and no national transportation strategy. This creates a strong dialectic in Canadian communication thought, which Babe outlines as "The opposition between governance over space ("state") vs. community (or "nation") within time," (1-22). Nationalism thus forms a more powerful umbrella of community in this manufactured country than local social networks. At the same time as nationalism holds the population in a manufactured social cohesion, the state is able to continue its operations as an operationalizing body for business. This is crucial in recognizing the oppositions in maintaining a national communication strategy reinforced by lengthy policy while urban strategy is left to become aligned with the global trends of capital flow.

The nature of a "public good" therefore lacks clear definition. The government proposes a national community connected by common cultural artefacts while provincial and municipal governments, on a regional level, manage the well being of local communities. At the same time, as the federal government maintains privileged constitutional status for regulating new technological apparatus there has come into existence a widening chasm between notions of the

common public good. On one hand, there is an emerging market-oriented public good reinforced through nationalism and the media infrastructure through which this is communicated. On the other hand, there is a subjugated public good recognized as a local community's sovereignty for self-determination under its own structures of governance. This dichotomy and the consequences are highlighted in the following examples of national regulatory decisions and their impacts upon local governance systems and the associated planning processes.

The Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission regulates Canadian telecommunication industries according to specific guidelines in the 1993 *Telecommunications Act*. The *Act* ensured comprehensive regulation by the CRTC of all Telcos across Canada, many of which were not previously regulated by the Commission. At the same time, the *Act* regulates the abilities of municipalities to effectively plan their own infrastructure. The municipality's nature as a subjugated body of governance to all federal and provincial interests is further reinforced by the *Act*. The *Act* obliges telecommunication companies to obtain "consent of the municipality or other public authority having jurisdiction over the highway or other public place" before constructing any transmission lines on public property (43:3). The municipality, however, does not have final say on the matter as carriers may apply to the CRTC for permission to construct lines if the carrier "cannot, on terms acceptable to it, obtain the consent of the municipality," (43:4). The municipality is granted opportunity in the *Act* to apply to the Commission to prohibit construction of lines or order carriers to "bury or alter the route" of transmission lines existing or proposed within the municipality's jurisdiction (44:a-b). The municipality's role is thus eliminated in having ultimate control of its public rights-of-ways as its interest in the matter is reduced to that of a stakeholder against the interests of the carrier and any other organization involved.

The CRTC further detailed the limited role of the municipality in having jurisdiction over its rights-of-ways in a 2001 decision granting Leducor access to 18 intersections in Vancouver, despite the city's objections (*CRTC 2001-23*). The City of Vancouver proposed to the CRTC that space in the street is "an increasingly scarce societal resource," (21) and as a result applications to use streets "that are of the greatest societal benefit will be more likely to achieve access to public property," (23). Allowing carriers access to space in roads for their private profit without adequate recompense "would be to subsidize users, such as carriers and their shareholders and customers, at the expense of the city and its taxpayers," (24). The Commission, however, explicitly denied itself any jurisdiction in regard to Vancouver's concerns, stating: "Any effects on property and civil rights in the province are incidental," (34). While the Commission noted it was not issuing a standard "template" to act as a basis for agreements between carriers and municipalities thus making the decision specific to the Vancouver situation, the results of the decision have specific ramifications for all municipalities in Canada. First, in constitutional terms the Commission confirmed the lack of decision-making status the municipalities have in regard to their operations. This puts a local population and its resources at the judgement of telecommunication corporations regarding appropriate resource allocations and uses. Second, in practical terms the Commission denied municipalities access to a lucrative resource base in denying them the opportunity to charge carriers a fee in perpetuity for use of rights-of-ways.

More significant to the topic of this chapter, the Commission recommended that municipalities and carriers participate in a "joint planning and co-ordination process" to reduce "excessive road cuts, pavement degradation, congestion, need for relocations, potential liability, etc.," (52). Such a forum would, according to the Commission, "provide the municipality with a forum to announce its long range plans as to road construction and maintenance, affording

carriers and other users an opportunity to co-ordinate their construction plans with those of the municipality,” (53) while providing “a mechanism for carriers to exchange information as to the availability of spare capacity,” (53). It is conceivable that lines of communication could, and in many cases do, exist for better planning between municipalities and telecommunication corporations. However, the guidelines suggested by the CRTC require full disclosure of plans by the municipality for the benefit of the carrier. Similar disclosure by the carriers is limited to “information at a sufficient level of detail to facilitate the co-ordination process, without compromising competitively crucial information,” (54). The Commission negates any involvement by the province as having ultimate authority over the city, despite the constitutional status granted the provinces over municipal bodies. Also ignored in the decision is that every province has instituted a planning procedure, established through legislation, explaining public consultation and disclosure requirements in long-term planning procedures. Moreover, the opportunity provided to the carriers to discuss the “availability of spare capacity,” a task already negotiated by carriers, relegates the municipality’s role to that of an administrative coordinator for the telecommunication providers. While the onus to arrange such joint planning initiatives is placed upon the municipality, the carriers are not explicitly required to contribute to the cost of the effort. The Commission only notes that for carriers to contribute financially would be “reasonable,” (54) although no further guidelines are provided.

The final significant element of the Commission’s decision in regard to Vancouver and Leduc is its emphasis that telecommunication services available to municipalities are essentially positive additions to the communities. The Commission writes:

The Commission notes, as argued by Group Telecom, that greater demand for rights-of-way derives from a competitive telecommunications market and the expanded roll-out of modern, high-speed networks. The benefits of a competitive telecommunications market and greater access to modern, high-speed networks are not enjoyed solely by the shareholders and customers of carriers. The economic base that such facilities support will provide generalized

benefits throughout the municipality, attracting industry, creating jobs, increasing tax revenue, etc.

Communication technologies are allocated an inherently beneficial quality in regard to their contributions to the municipality. This attitude is further demonstrated in the rationale for other market-based decisions made by the CRTC. In May 1997, the Commission's *Telecom Decision CRTC 97-8* established a framework to allow Competitive Local Exchange Carriers to compete against the traditional incumbent Telcos in local markets. Despite the Commission's rationale that "increased local competition is in the public interest," (B.4), three years later, of the 19 CLECs licensed across Canada as of October 3, 2000, only two offered residential services: EastLink Telephone and Futureway Communications Inc. These companies provide service in Halifax and seven Toronto-area suburban markets, respectively.

In April 1999, the CRTC issued *Letter Decision, File 8690-S9-01/99*, allowing Futureway Communications Inc. the right to lay cable in new subdivisions under agreement with the developer and thus becoming the default carrier for phone services. Subdivision residents, as part of buying their home, also become permanent customers of Futureway high-speed Internet and cable television services. The Commission's August 1999 *Telecom Decision CRTC 99-10* set the technical framework for multi-dwelling unit owners (e.g. apartment buildings) to sign exclusive agreements with telecommunication cable television and Internet service providers, making subscription to such services mandatory for tenants in a given building. Competition as a public good has come to represent only the interests of service providers as they compete to capture the largest monopoly markets.

Within this framework, municipalities are coming to realize that they have less and less control over their physical spatial resources in light of the authority granted to telecommunication firms. Moreover, the ability of a firm to gain exclusive rights for service provisions in a particular neighbourhood or building is used as a "value added" by developers

and real estate dealers attempting to increase property values prior to a sale or lease. This feature, while providing some residents, albeit on a compulsory basis, technological features unavailable to others, also further reinforces spatial segregation on an economic basis. Realizing they have little ability to counter such actions, many municipalities' attitudes are becoming closely aligned with those of the CRTC in recognizing technological development as a necessary element of economic development and thus overall quality of life. At the same time, these events have rarely been a subject of intense public controversy. Extensive government and private telecommunication service provider campaigns have extolled the virtues of wired communities. Industry Canada explains, "Smart Communities are communities with a vision of the future that involves the use of information and communication technologies in new and innovative ways to empower their residents, institutions and region as a whole," (1999). This statement alone embodies the mythology that, as Barney (2000) explains, networks are somehow inherently democratic. This assumption has fast become a building block for elite civic boosters and city efficient advocates alike, from which to build their vision of society. The following section examines how these attitudes are forming at municipal levels and the manner in which planning has accounted for these ideas.

4.2 Municipal planning and telecommunication infrastructures

Despite the emerging research fields examining the integration of telecommunication infrastructures into the urban environment, many of the results are difficult to translate into a Canadian example due to the differences in municipal jurisdictions from country to country. Canadian municipalities are in a distinctly different position in regard to their relationships to telecommunication infrastructures and services than that of their American counterparts. Grant and Berquist (2000) outline a number of cities to enter comprehensive telecommunication

infrastructure management plans in recent years. These include the franchise of public rights-of-way, requiring carriers to purchase construction permits for laying cable, incorporating telecommunication infrastructure into zoning considerations and developing environmental policies specific to laying cable and erecting poles and transmission towers. Canadian cities are limited in their involvement in these areas. Only a few examples of planning departments analyzing right-of-way management trends exist. Toronto has commissioned a study on the management of its rights-of-ways while the nearby regions of York and Durham have commissioned a joint management study. Overall though, municipal planning departments in mid-size Canadian cities have been decidedly silent in regard to examining telecommunication infrastructure policy options. This is not to say there is no attention to the issue. In fact, through the development of economic development corporations, many cities have embraced the growth of telecommunication infrastructures. This will be further outlined in chapter 6. What is illustrated in this section is that the growth and planning of networks is decidedly removed from the sphere of social planning within the established discipline of municipal planning for the public good.

Of all four municipal planners interviewed for this project, all indicated that little or no planning is done by their departments around telecommunication infrastructure. The one exception to this was in Saskatoon where a zoning bylaw was developed to restrict cellular phone tower construction in residential neighbourhoods (Wallace 2001). At the same time, planners generally recognized that the changes in their respective cities' employment characteristics are the result, to some degree, of new communication technologies and shifts in market flows. Moreover, despite the lack of any perceived ability to influence telecommunication networks through municipal planning, a number of planning departments place importance on the presence of this infrastructure for the benefit of residents and business.

The areas of network construction upon which the cities in this study have focused, often relate to economic development in the community and the ability of citizens to participate in what is perceived as modern society. While recognition of new communication technologies in the urban environment can be found in municipal documents as early as 1985, the awareness of the accompanying infrastructure did not arise in many cities until approximately 1996. In an infrastructure-planning document published by the City of London in 1996, the authors make specific reference to “information infrastructure” and its role in the city. They write:

As these networks evolve, it is envisioned that, at the local community level, people will be able to participate in commerce, health, education, community services, civic affairs and recreational pursuits, exchange ideas and information and, in doing, contribute to the economic growth and well-being of London and its citizens. (36)

The report notes the “extensive” infrastructure already in place within the city and that many institutions are involved in the municipality’s infrastructure development. In conclusion, the report suggests a series of initiatives falling under three general recommendations: the formation of a “community round table on information infrastructure” to “allow sharing of information and insights and to promote the development of complimentary skill bases in this sector,” (37); the improvement of “computing and networking skills of individuals and institutions in the community,” (37); and the promotion of “electronic interactions among the citizens of London for communication and access to information,” (38). These emphases, the report states, will contribute to an environment within which, “The economic development opportunities for London in the fields of education, medicine and manufacturing will be enhanced as we build and find additional applications for the City’s information infrastructure,” (39). The ultimate benefits of the infrastructure are not clearly identified in the report, beyond the potential for improved economic development and an enhanced quality of life.

While London emphasizes a need to facilitate the development of telecommunication infrastructures within the city, it recommends doing so outside the jurisdiction of the planning department. The *Official Plan* (2001), published by the city in accordance with the Province of Ontario's *Planning Act*, classifies phone and cable television services as "Other Utilities" (17.9.), noting "Although these services are not the responsibility of the City, the manner and locations in which they are provided may have certain impacts on the surrounding areas," (17.9.). As a result, the plan calls "to ensure that utility services are available to all developments at the time required," (17.9.1), encourages the placement of lines underground and the use of common utility corridors when appropriate (17.9.3). There is an emphasis upon minimizing "impact on people, adjacent land uses, and the environment," (17.9.5). All of these guidelines are, of course, contingent upon agreement by the carrier and any decision upon appeal by the CRTC.

The City of Saskatoon is in a unique position as the controller of one- to two-thirds of the municipal development market at any given point in time (Wallace 2001). Very few Canadian municipalities are active developers in addition to their land-use planning and administrative functions. As a result, the city's utility development policy in the *Development Plan* (2000) aims "To ensure that the costs of public utilities associated with land development are distributed appropriately among utility agencies, consumers, and the development industry," (12.2.1). This provision includes "telephone, and cable television service," (12.2.2.v). Following basic mainframe infrastructure construction, the remaining cost of utility infrastructure construction is borne by the development, which is, in turn, included in the final price to the homebuyer.

The City of Kelowna, in the development of its *Official Community Plan* in 2000, recognized "Electronic Infrastructure" as an area for "Future Civic Action" (13.22.3). This attention is intended to "Encourage the continued upgrading of electronic infrastructure in support of high tech businesses and industry," (13.22.3). The city also recognizes the presence of

private phone and cable television service providers and their capacity to extend service on a “customer pay” basis (13.21). In encouraging underground placement of utility lines, the city takes a facilitation role in the development of telecommunication infrastructure.

These examples serve to illustrate the intentionally removed nature of telecommunication infrastructure from the municipal planning process. Cities have little control over the development of their infrastructure done by separate corporate service providers. The city thus falls into the position of administrative facilitator with telecommunication service providers rather than active planners of infrastructure architecture as they often are in regard to sewage, water and electrical utilities. The provision of telecommunication services highlights the removal of planning authority from a municipality’s control into the hands of other government bodies, often with economic or social interests differing from that of social responsibility within the municipality. In addition, the nature of corporate service provision of any utility means the service will be offered on a market viability basis. A community, regardless of potential benefit from a new technology, may not receive new infrastructure and accompanying services if it does not present a viable profit for the corporate provider. The corporate nature of telecommunication infrastructure development and resulting lack of services have led some municipalities to consider a public foray into public infrastructure development.

Many Canadian cities do not present profitable market opportunities for corporate telecommunication providers. In its 1999 annual report, Telus emphasizes its focus on “the higher revenue business segment” in its wireless sector, rather than the “low revenue and high churn pre-paid customer segment,” (BCT.TELUS 1999:34). The company recognizes the importance of servicing urban markets where Competitive Local Exchange Carriers are presenting new competition. As already shown, the CLECs, however, focus only on business markets rather than residential services. This places a particularly strong emphasis upon servicing

business customer in larger urban markets as opposed to smaller centres and residential customers.

The lack of service coupled with the perceived need for further fibre optic infrastructure has led some municipal bodies to investigate entry into their market as service providers. Of the sample cities in this study, London became a test ground for a municipal fibre optic network, constructed and operated by municipally owned London Hydro's LondonConnect. The original network, consisting of 41 kilometres of fibre optic cable in the city's downtown business core when established in 1999, was intended to offer "high-speed electronic connectivity to local businesses, institutions and community organizations," (London Hydro 29 April 1999). By early 2001 the company invested a total of \$3.4 million, resulting in a final network of 100 kilometres of fibre servicing 40 buildings and 100 customers (Paraskevas 20 February 2001: A7). In essence, London Hydro developed an infrastructure and service package for local businesses, institutions and community groups in a market other telecommunication providers would not enter due to the risk of the area's market viability. The city, however, anticipated a \$4 million cost to upgrade the network in order to continue as a competitive entity. Facing an overall \$300 million budget deficit in 2001, instead of developing the network further, the city's council ordered London Hydro to sell off the network. Group Telecom, a Toronto-based CLEC, purchased the network for \$8.25 million in February 2001. The acquisition increased the number of markets in which Group Telecom operates to 13 across the country.

London Hydro's venture into public fibre networks is not unique in the Canadian urban context. Sudbury, Ontario began construction of a 400-kilometre fibre optic network in 1998 through Greater Sudbury Telecommunications, a division of municipal utility Sudbury Hydro (Dixon 14 June 2001:B15). Hydro One Telecom Inc., owned by Hydro One, offers network services throughout south, southeast and southwest Ontario to telecommunication carriers,

Internet service providers and various other private networks. (Hydro One 2001). Other Ontario municipal utility corporations to operate telecommunication services include Peterborough Utilities Services, the Orillia Power Corporation, the Hamilton Utilities Corporation, Utilities Kingston, Guelph Hydro, Oakville Hydro, Burlington Hydro and Halton Hills Hydro. Winnipeg is investigating the option of installing fibre through the city's rights-of-way.

The fact that many electrical companies with existing infrastructure would consider it profitable to enter the telecommunication market as a carrier is understandable. In many provinces, electrical services are run on a utility operations model rather than a market model. At the same time, as many services are transferred to market-based operations, there are new opportunities for exploiting new revenue bases. In particular, many electrical utilities recognize the revenue potential in pole rental to other telecommunication carriers. This was illustrated in various municipal utilities' attempts to charge cable carriers a \$40 pole rental fee prior to the CRTC's decision to set the rate at \$15.89, (*Telecom Decision CRTC 99-13*). It may be recognized as a beneficial opportunity for the local community serviced by the infrastructure in regard to potential economic development through the attraction of new businesses reliant upon such infrastructure and searching for reduced operating costs. At the same time, the service areas and business plans of ILECs, CLECs and utilities alike demonstrate a common trend in network development; the public good in a given municipality is being defined as business expansion which generally requires data transfer systems. As a result, networks are increasingly being built with a hierarchy within which business groups' needs are increasingly the focus for future development.

There are still alternate models for public infrastructure development that brings new elements of development while also following similar trends as described above. Saskatoon and

London demonstrate particularly distinct examples of publicly designed, limited access networks that perhaps illustrate more fully how planned networks may be of greater social use and benefit.

London is host to the London And Region Global Network (LARG*net). The fibre optic network, established by a group of researchers at four of London's largest public institutions – the University of Western Ontario, Fanshaw College, University Hospital and St. Joseph's Health Centre – was first used in 1994. It was the first ATM environment in London (Higgs 1999). The initial uses of the network were educational, the transfer of medical information, video conferencing and research collaboration. The Ontario Network Infrastructure Program funded the network with a \$2.16 million contribution. Through LARG*net's connection with the Ontario Networking (ONet) organization, members have access to the CA*net national fibre infrastructure. LARG*net maintains a connectivity focus in order to provide its members with access to local and national networks for their own purposes. By early 2001 LARG*net had 21 member organizations, including the City of London and two other municipalities, six medical facilities, the London Library, the local school board and a variety of other local organizations.

The LARG*net organization faced a situation common to many public projects after their initial start-up period; by the late 1990s the initial ONIP grant ran out, forcing it to look for alternative funding sources. LARG*net incorporated as a not for profit corporation in 1998, governed by a board of governors consisting of member organizations and community members (Higgs 1999). Following incorporation, the organization became funded through membership fees. Memberships are established on a three-layer formula wherein "sponsoring" members assume financial risk in the network and retain decision-making authority on the organization's board, "non-sponsoring" members include organizations that simply obtain particular services

from the organization, while “community” members have no direct relationship to the organization outside of expertise they offer the organization.

Meanwhile, in Saskatoon another example of a public network has been developed. Innovation Place is a research park located at the University of Saskatchewan. Established in 1977, Innovation Place hosts approximately 120 business and government research labs, many in the biotechnology sector. The facilities are serviced by a fibre optic network linking the institution to the CA*net network. This has attracted research to the city and aided in the development of local research facilities. It has also become one of the city’s foremost marketing tools in public relations material. Following the National Research Council’s 1999 awarding of the National Synchrotron Facility to Canadian Light Source Inc. at Innovation Place, a renewed sense of high technology, scientific research potential for the city came about in public discourse. The city adopted the slogan “Field of Beams”, mimicking the high technology “If you build it, they will come” mentality of many cities constructing new technological infrastructures. The additional telecommunication infrastructure anticipated for the Synchrotron Facility is expected to introduce a new level of access to a network hierarchy occupied by only the top research institutions in the world (Christ 2001). Municipal planners are using other cities to have built Synchrotron facilities as examples for growth trends. The city’s future growth studies are preparing for expansion up to 400,000 residents (Wallace 2001). Growth is viewed as a positive attribute for the city and the planners are present to facilitate the process. They are not, however, privy to the planning process around the activities of Innovation Place or the social use of new infrastructures built.

While both the Saskatoon and London networks described here present models for the development of telecommunication infrastructure constructed by public institutions, there are further implications to the management of these networks. Despite the positive intentions of a

funding scheme for network development at a community level, unless the program is sustainable in the long term, the public nature of the network is in jeopardy. The nature of public institutions has come under extreme criticism in political dialogue over the past 15 years. While maintaining the label “public” many institutions such as health care and education systems have become conduits for the commercialization of knowledge and essential services. Public networks such as that in Saskatoon operate for almost entirely private corporate benefit and offer no consideration to public network access outside of the research park’s purposes. The end result of many public infrastructure initiatives is their ultimate privatization.

In addition to the privatization of public networks and the network planning processes, the major absence throughout this discussion is the general public. London offers an example of a network designed for public institutions to offer improved services to a local citizenry. At the same time, this is not the rule. The public at large has the option of accessing the Internet on a private-cost basis or from a variety of points in their communities, generally funded in part by local service organizations and the federal government’s Community Access Program. Kelowna hosts 38 such sites, 22 of which are located in schools and libraries with the remaining 16 located at a variety of community and social service centres (Brounstein 2001). Saskatoon had 57 CAP sites by mid 2001 at libraries, schools, a post office, urban reserves and five additional projects (Klymochko 2001). London had 20 CAP sites at the same point with an additional 36 proposals awaiting processing and approval (Potter 2001). Those already in existence were located at the Boys and Girls Club of London and WIL Counselling & Training for Employment. Saint John had nine CAP sites at libraries and local social service organizations including the YMCA (Norman 2001). None of the four communities are part of the Industry Canada Smart Communities program.

These projects all face similar problems encountered by the closed public institutional networks: the start-up funding is a one-time contribution after which each site is responsible for continued sustainability. One regional contact explains, "Site sustainability . . . is an on-going challenge to most CAP sites to allow operation after government funding has been used," (Klymochko). Various initiatives by access sites to maintain sustainability include user fees, for-profit on-line training programs and web-based services on a profit basis for local businesses. Despite the initial open nature of the program sites must often revert to private-sector models of cost recovery services to continue operations unless municipal bodies incorporate the services into their social planning and provide sustainable funding for evolving programs. The transfer of these programs from public to private funding and maintenance is not by mistake, but by design. Just as London's LARG*net and its provincial and national counterparts, ONet and CA*Net, have been designed as a public initiative to eventually be privatized, community access points are not part of a long-term network access strategy. Rather, the short-term public relations blitz, of which these projects have been a focal highlight for the Connecting Canadians initiative, is indicative of governance trends in the late 20th century. Public funding supports the initial start-up costs while private industry manages and eventually owns the network infrastructure, also collecting the economic benefit in the form of profit – the private dividend for public investment (Gutstein 1999).

4.3 The shift from utility planning as a public necessity to market-based speculation

To this point, much of the discussion surrounding municipal planning and telecommunication network development have focused on projects spanning, for the most part, the late 1990s. As the lack of academic research on the subject prior to 1995 would indicate (as outlined in Chapter 2), the telecommunication industry did not reach the height of its public relations frenzy until

the late 1990s. This may have been due to the commercialization of the Internet as new applications such as the browser and e-mail programs became commonplace on North American computers. While cities have investigated the potential of telecommunication infrastructure development, their efforts, however, may not be as cutting-edge as many may believe. Telecommunication corporations outside of the public realm of discussion already developed the rollout of this infrastructure, now being recognized as a potential area of focus for the urban planner. In fact, many of the digital networks in use across Canada by the end of 2000 were complete in the early 1990s before the commercialization of the Internet and prior to the public hype that blurred public debate in the later '90s. These networks were developed within a much different market and regulatory environment than existed by the mid-1990s where many telecoms operated on a public utility model, regardless of their crown, public or private ownership status. It was in the so-called competitive environment that the shortcomings of the market became evident to many communities outside the major urban centres. In light of this failure, the public utility model once again became a consideration, this time at the municipal level. The failures of the market system and the subsequent impact on the privatization of planning are the topic of this section.

The digitization of Canadian phone networks began some 25 years prior to the completion of the country's first completely digital network in New Brunswick. The first digitally capable network loops in the province were built in the late 1960s. Former NBTel Chief Executive Office, Ken Cox (2001), describes the company's operations until the later 1980s as that of a public utility. This model recognized that telecommunication services "are needed by everyone, not just businesses." Writing a business plan on this basis means looking at least three years ahead at any given point and maintaining an overall macroeconomic approach to revenue areas. This recognizes from a business perspective that an initial expenditure for infrastructure to

the household for a useful service required by the customers would repay the costs in service fees, despite the high initial capital costs. This model succeeds in a province like New Brunswick when the Telco is provincially focused with a small population base. Cox explains, “What was good for the province was good for the company – but not the other way around.” In such, the Telco recognized itself as dependent upon positive relations between institutions of governance and the public.

In 1999 NBTel merged with the four ILEC carriers in Atlantic Canada to form Aliant, of which BCE Inc. owns 48 per cent. This follows a transition through the 1990s during which new services were introduced by the company, a new regulatory framework began to influence the operations of the corporation and the public utility model for operations was abandoned for a market-based business plan. By this point NBTel operated an entirely digital network with guaranteed service across the province, regardless of location. The focus of the telecommunication industry became “bigger is essential”. This falls in line with Babe’s (1990) description of the myth of “technology and industrial structuring” (14) that “industrial applications of scientific knowledge (‘technological evolution’) are now forcing convergence among these industrial sectors,” (14-5). This myth is further illustrated in the Telus’ 1998 annual report. The company goes as far as stating its merger with BCTel is in response to the fact that “Basic human communication is evolving,” (15). This attitude became the driving force behind numerous mergers in the telecommunication industry across Canada in the late 1990s. Prior to its merger with BCTel, Telus began operating as a holding company in Alberta in 1990, buying AGT and then EdTel from the city of Edmonton in 1995. The company began operating as a CLEC in Toronto in June 2000 and purchased the Clearnet mobile phone company in 1999. Telus further explained the drive behind its growth in its 1998 annual report: “This data

revolution is also fundamentally reshaping the communication industry itself as companies look for new opportunities to grow and increase shareholder value,” (5).

At the same time that Telcos across most of the country participated in buyouts and corporate mergers to increase their market shares, trends in Saskatchewan have taken a different focus. In interviews, planners and economic development representatives in the city specifically noted that planning in the city could generally assume the best available technologies and services through SaskTel. In understanding that Crown-owned SaskTel oversees the network, municipal groups see little need to dwell on telecommunication infrastructure issues. The province of Saskatchewan boasts one of the most advanced telecommunication networks in North America with equal service in both rural and urban areas. At the same time, the province's interests are most vulnerable under the CRTC's regulatory regime calling for competition and the elimination of cross-subsidization of market costs. The history of SaskTel and how it contributes to the present provincial situation is important in understanding an alternate basis for communication network development in Canada. At the same time, the organization's history through the late 20th century also illustrates the pervasiveness of market models for communication service provisions.

Started in 1908 following the Saskatchewan Government's buyout of Bell's small network in the province, the province's public telephone utility was founded on the basis that it was not viable for a private Telco to service the province's population. With SaskTel operating its own network, the government also encouraged communities to start their own local telephone companies. The *Rural Telephone Act*, still in existence, provided legislation for community network projects. As communities became inter-reliant for services, long distance lines were established on an as-needed basis (Ching 2001). Following the election of Saskatchewan's first socialist government in 1945, SaskTel was created in 1946 as a crown

corporation in the belief that “government shouldn’t just run treasury line departments, but should also set up public businesses,” (Ching 2001). SaskTel purchased the community networks, a process only completed in 1986, and integrated them into a province-wide network, also connected outside of the province through the company’s membership in Telecom Canada. By 1984 the company completed a fibre optic network between the province’s 52 largest municipalities, then the longest of its kind (SaskTel 1985). At the same time, the company identified an uncertain future in the Canadian regulatory environment, identified as “a somewhat muddled division between federal jurisdiction and varying provincial jurisdictions,” (4). Changes in the regulatory environment brought about a significant change in the company’s focus, eventually moving the rollout of new technologies to a market-oriented approach.

In 1986 SaskTel began a “Corporate Effectiveness Program” which reorganized the managerial structure of the company’s operations to a market-oriented approach to corporate governance (SaskTel 1986). In addition, a new subsidiary, SaskTel International, was created to exploit international markets in the development of network infrastructure while also providing employment for workers whose positions would have otherwise been eliminated. The company adopted a mission statement in 1988 as part of meeting goals in its Corporate Effectiveness Program, which included “making the most out of its prospects and its abilities to compete,” (SaskTel 1987:18). In 1988 the company opened a “Business Development Division” which focused on service to large businesses in the province (SaskTel 1987). The company’s 1988 *Annual Report* proclaimed “SaskTel’s new market-driven direction,” (3) as a historical turning point for the corporation. The company’s move away from utility-oriented operations was a response to uncertain regulatory changes at a federal level, positioning the company as a corporate entity, able to compete in a market-oriented environment.

While the other three ILECs operating in the markets examined for this project have always been privately owned and operated, distinct changes in their operations occurred in the last 15 years of the 20th century. In general, ILECs began to shift their attention toward growth in a market system as national regulatory systems were moving away from monopoly perspectives to competition models of regulation. Due to the infrastructure in place and the new emphasis on business customers in large urban markets, ILECs had the luxury of taking their local residential markets for granted. While BCTel emphasized its community-oriented service in the company's 1997 *Annual Report* by profiling individuals and communities benefiting from new technologies, subsequent BCTel reports focus on the corporation for the sake of growth. What is good for the province and its communities is no longer good for the company. All Telco representatives interviewed stated that by the early 1990s, much of their digital residential networks were already constructed (Tukkimaki 2001, W. Moore 2001). The Telcos' focus was no longer the construction of new networks but the purchasing of existing networks and catering to the needs of business customers.

If the networks desired by the ILECs were largely in place by the early 1990s, then the fibre hype of the late '90s would appear to have been somewhat inconsequential to the overall network operations. In fact, a *New York Times* article notes that only five per cent of the 100 million miles of fibre optic cable already in the ground were in use by mid-2001 (Romero 2001:A1). Comparing the development of the fibre networks to superhighways, the article suggests that while the lines are in the ground and ready to use, not enough access points have been built in urban centres to begin transmitting data to the cables' full potential. Moreover, it is suggested that the new information corridors are being developed much the same way as did America's original transportation corridors – the railways. Not until after speculative building collapsed as an industry and regulation of the railway construction was implemented did the lines

reach their full potential, servicing the communities through which the tracks ran and linking markets, families and citizens across the nation.

Now as medium-size municipalities realize the failures of the market to provide them with infrastructure and service they believe is necessary to their social and economic viability, they are building their own networks to plug into the larger international web already in existence. The community-model of the early 1900 prairie town citizenry deciding to build their own telephone systems appears relevant today in ensuring local success in an increasingly global market with quickly moving capital and jobs. At the same time, a sobering perspective must be added to the situation. The cost of building and maintaining fibre networks is prohibitive in many areas. This either means there is little chance of developing a municipal infrastructure, or the privatization of public networks upon construction. Moreover, the motives behind building such a network need to be investigated with closer scrutiny. If the model of investing large amounts of public expenditure into a network with the end goal of privatizing the network is desired, as is the case with CANARIE and its CA*net, then the value to the public comes into question. Moreover, following the multi-billion dollar private investment into optical fibre networks, it is unlikely for companies to abandon such large capital investments or settle for a five per cent rate of usage. The 2001 Canadian federal government Broadband Taskforce report may act as the remedy to current fibre traffic backups if the recommended \$4 billion investment into building high speed lines to various communities is realized. A public infusion of funding to help ensure vacant lines become used is a welcome opportunity for the private sector. Nonetheless, unless the principles behind network construction are established prior to any expenditure, the public interest remains subservient to the private interest of the economic elite.

What is more important in light of the current realignment of Telco holdings is their use of the city as a profit-generating tool. Telecommunication service providers are jockeying for

control of major Canadian urban centres through the construction of networks that service the business elite, both within Canada and for transnational firms seeking similar profit potentials by operating in particular urban places. Telecommunication companies have been granted the power to override municipal government authority over rights of way and customers' service choices through exclusivity agreements with private developers and building owners. Residential markets are given services that increase the profit potential of the companies, although the actual features promoted may not be useful in light of the public interest. Through this convergence between the medium of urban form and those of telecommunication technologies, Telcos have managed to align the urban population into the designated role of consumers. This perspective necessarily negates any potential for public participation in network planning. As urban business districts are transformed into technological centres, citizens are only further alienated from the means of any meaningful participation in public planning processes and, moreover, the media in which they live, work and interact on a daily basis. Indeed, city efficient movements are no longer centred on a motivation toward ensuring social stability and a basic level of sustenance for all members of the population. Rather, efficiency is understood as the process by which the highest profit is extracted from the least investment. The evidence of this change in efficiency is explained in the next section.

4.4 The emphasis upon institution over the well being of agency: Profit, management and labour in the Canadian wired city

In the technological preoccupation of federal nationalist policies around telecommunications, communication institutions take the prominent role in establishing social cohesion. At the same time, the workers are essential to the development and maintenance of these institutions. Just as the agency within the urban construct is taken for granted as a captive audience for the private

Telco, the telecommunication workforce is absent from telecommunication regulation. The topic of labour in the telecommunication industry has received some attention in academic work (Bernard 1982, Martin 1991, Menzies 1996). Labour is a crucial aspect in understanding the relationships between international trends in regulation and change of the industry (Mosco 1996). Nonetheless, it is still not commonly a focus in communication industry studies. Similarly, the people occupying urban planning positions in municipal institutions across Canada are rarely studied as workers. Even Harvey (2000) pays little attention to agency over institution in his study of the post-modern city. Despite this, municipalities and telecommunication firms constitute some of the largest unionized workforces in Canada. Urban planners across the country are unionized, generally in the municipal locals under the Canadian Union of Public Employees. Meanwhile, the Communication, Energy and Paperworkers and the Telecommunication Workers Union represent many of the workers employed by the ILECs in Canada. In recognizing these individuals as workers considering issues and making decisions based upon principles beyond the scope of the corporation's interests, a better recognition of the state of planning can be recognized.

Between 1985 and 2000, many telecommunication workers based the future security of their own jobs on the ability for their company to grow and remain competitive under a new market-oriented system (Bray 2001, Zawaduk 2001). At the same time, telecommunication workers have found their positions become the first expendable items following new technological changes and corporate mergers. As shown in Appendix H, between 1989 and 1996² telecommunication workforces were reduced in British Columbia by 26.8 per cent, in

² After 1996 Statistics Canada changed the groupings of telecommunication sectors in its records concerning the industry. As a result, figures from 1997 to 2000 include wireless, satellite and Internet sector workforces and revenues. Due to this disjuncture, figures after 1996 cannot be accurately compared to those before. The first date for the period of analysis used above was chosen because the year 1989 represented a peak in the number of telecommunication workers in the provinces analyzed.

Saskatchewan by 17.5 per cent, in Ontario and Quebec by 31.2 per cent and in New Brunswick by 9.5 per cent. Over the same period, the telecommunication revenues increased by 35.1 per cent, 2.9 per cent, 19.8 per cent and 30.6 per cent respectively (see Appendix H). Efficiency in the telecommunication industry is recognized only from a profit perspective. It is not achieved by cooperation with employees, but rather in spite of them.

Since merging the BCTel and Telus in 1998 the company claims to have eliminated over 1,500 employees (BCT.Telus 1999). In collective bargaining for contracts beginning in January 2000, Telus attempted to have workers separated and excluded from bargaining units and have previous collective agreements disregarded in the bargaining process (Zawaduk 2001). The Canadian Industrial Relations Board (CIRB) has decided against Telus in each of these instances. The company has also tried to prevent Ontario Clearnet workers from inclusion in the TWU bargaining unit following the company buyout in 2000 (Cope 2001). The matter was set to go before the CIRB in 2001. These examples follow a trend in which Telcos are attempting to extract greater profits not only through new services and increased charges, but also through reduced workforces. The operations that remain have, increasingly, been consolidated in larger urban centres. As ILECs are granted licenses to provide digital cable television services over their copper lines, there is no longer any requirement to have a local community access channel (CRTC *Decision 2001-171*). Agency is entirely ignored as a fundamental part of a communication system in the rush to implement competition regulated by the market. Efficiency of profit generation is the foremost concern of the telecommunication industry.

Meanwhile, municipal institutions have had to deal with changes in workforce composition and production and manufacturing services performed in the city that result from international economic shifts. This does not mean, however, that social planning is not possible amidst these trends. It is important to recognize that shifts to private control of social services,

including planning, are not uncontrollable phenomena, but carefully crafted processes as one class attempts to gain control of particular media. It is through automation by technological change that agency is removed from institutional structures, shifting the processes of production to serve the purposes of the controlling class. It is the continued consolidation of ownership and ongoing convergence of a large variety of media, as outlined above, that signal the ongoing seizure of communicative functions in society. As the city becomes part of this process, a focus must be redirected to the role of the planner amidst the institutional setting of the urban system.

Fainstein (2000) emphasizes that the planner may play one of many roles in a particular position. The planner may take an advocacy role, outlining the influence of development decisions on various groups in the city not already represented by the developer and other immediate individuals in the discussion around a particular decision to be made. The planner may provoke conflict by encouraging participation in the planning process, challenging the assumptions of a particular community or decision-making body or using their position as a political lever to encourage change in an institutional construct. On the other hand, the planner may act as an agent of the municipal elite, enacting policy to benefit the city's economic elite and closing the planning process for the expedition of decision-making processes. This may include the facilitation of development by mediating between a developer and the bureaucratic process required for proper licenses to be issued and inspections to be completed. Such actions may work to suppress conflict or simply enact an aesthetic exterior on the city's political process. A planner may plan around any particular focus, whether for the public's benefit or the satisfaction of a few. Similarly, the planner may become only an administrative agent animating decisions being made by a small ruling elite.

The way a city is planned, the form it takes and the way it is used are as important as how a network is planned, built and used. Workers in both network management and urban

management can play a variety of roles in shaping the physical and social constructions of new spaces. As shown in recent years, the network and city are essentially parts of the same infrastructure through which human agency interacts. From the network planner's perspective, the city is a node in the network, occupying a place on an international hierarchy based upon the amount of capital it is capable of attracting and, in turn, producing. Capital investment is expected to produce a return. At the same time, the international corporation searches for opportunities for increased return with reduced expenditure. While some cities at the top of the global urban hierarchy attract an exclusive market of high-end consumers, cultural capital and labour capital, small cities are in a continuing race to maintain their position in the hierarchy while increasing their ability to attract back-end production for global firms. The consolidation of capital and control functions in global cities is creating a crisis in smaller cities as they scramble to establish their position in an internationally competitive market. It is in this scramble that municipal planners and network planners meet in an effort to create a filter in order to skim whatever capital might be available.

4.5 Reinforcing the city's purpose: Employing new technologies

It may appear that while the medium-size Canadian city attempts establish itself as a low grade filter in the rapid current of international capital flows, it is still in a viable position to compete internationally, only requiring a readjustment in production focus and facilities. The processes of commodification operating under the myth of spatialization (Mosco 1996) occurring in cities across the country are facilitated by new communication technologies being used, as Isin (1996a) points out, to produce a new level of capitalist appropriation of public infrastructure – and cultural apparatus – in a manner previously too difficult to accomplish. Thus, the processes supporting capitalist growth are similar to those existing since the Industrial Revolution. As a

result, the Canadian city is in similar position to that which it existed upon European colonization of the land. It is only the manner by which these processes are achieved that has changed. The four examples from this study offer a few examples to illustrate these final trends in this chapter.

Saint John, not being “in a position to choose its industries,” (Nader 1976:55), has had difficulty surviving as a viable urban community following the collapse of the wooden shipbuilding industry in the late 1800s. The city has, however, been the recipient of much effort by a few business people to make the city a viable data-processing centre. Following a trend the city established in 1808 when it was designated a “free port” in an effort to boost manufacturing and trade, the city is now an open “space of flows” in the international call centre business. The city boasts the lowest call centre wages in North America and Europe, low worker benefit costs, low corporate tax rates, longer work weeks, high unemployment and low unionization rates, (New Brunswick 2001). A coordinated effort between provincial economic agencies and local business groups has attracted over 18 call centres employing approximately 3,500 people. By providing an outlet to the international network of workflows through its telecommunication infrastructure, the city is now a free port for back-end corporate services. Following the collapse of the nation’s department store industry, call centres are increasingly being used as convenient filler for the otherwise empty buildings left in the retail sector’s wake. A private developer established a “technology park”, housing a Xerox call centre by the end of 2000. The nature of the planning behind this effort will be further discussed in Chapter 6. The important aspect of this trend for the present discussion is the reliance upon an international connection the city has had in the past and continues to have in the present. Despite this transnational reliance, though, the municipal planners have been left virtually unable to become involved in planning for social or economic considerations or even basic trends in the form the city is taking. The reasons for

this, namely the removal of macro planning functions from municipal departments to the private sector, are addressed in subsequent chapters.

The call centre competition is common to the other three cities examined, although not to the extent to which Saint John has pursued the sector with the help of the New Brunswick provincial government. Saskatoon and London view the attraction of call centres as opportunities to diversify their economies (Wallace; Flemming) while Kelowna sees the attraction of such service industries as an opportunity to increase the city's sparse middle class (Mattiussi 2001). Kelowna is also looking at the potential of a technology park, having reserved a large portion of land at the city's outskirts in the event of a large technology park or manufacturing centre being established. The planners in each city credit the presence of advanced telecommunication infrastructures as significant resources in attracting call centres, although they all state that the city's ultimate attraction appears to be cost of business and wage subsidies offered by the provincial governments.

Another trend planners identified as having a significant influence on their planning processes is the presence of their city as a service centre for much of the surrounding rural population. Saskatoon exemplifies this trend best. Stabler and Olfert (1999) illustrate the decrease in rural shopping and convenience centres across Saskatchewan over a 35 year period ending in 1995. The decrease is due to an overall depopulation in the rural population caused partly by the collapse of the family farm, but also because of a dramatic increase in the distances rural residents will travel for work, entertainment and shopping. Empirical data to support this trend has been collected and analyzed by Stabler et. al. (1995). Within the city, new service centres have developed as big box franchises open in cheap shell buildings on low-cost land serviced by high capacity roads. The establishment of the city as a service point for the

consumption needs of urban and rural populations within a 100-kilometre radius is viewed as beneficial to the city's economic – and thus social – viability.

While planners in each of the three cities recognize trends toward regional dependencies on their urban centres, they see telecommunication services as acting as an accelerator in retail service provisions. Just-in-time production orchestrated by international companies means retail locations may open in a new development within months influencing a city's entire traffic flow. Saskatoon has attempted to plan specifically for big box retail developments while Kelowna's planning department has recognized the presence of larger service centres within community centres. Meanwhile, each of the cities studied have put an emphasis on establishing new manufacturing sites for future development. The manner in which service sector employment has affected cities will be further discussed in chapter 6. These examples serve to illustrate how planners perceive telecommunication infrastructures and socio-economic changes as affecting their daily planning processes. Despite the "Field of Beams" and "Silicon Vineyard" brands, the major pressures on planning departments are to find new spaces for material production of goods and retail sales points.

Many planners indicated a specific trend in their cities' change over the 15-year period of analysis: the use of the medium-size city as a point of generational movement. Kelowna planners identify the city as having an older (middle age) population (see Appendix P) due to the high quality of life available to residents and lower cost of living. As a result of these amenities, Kelowna has grown significantly over the 15-year period. Similarly, Saskatoon has witnessed significant growth in population and accompanying construction. At the same time, as illustrated in Appendix P, the cities of Saint John and Saskatoon witnessed the most significant population growth in older age categories. As the traditional agricultural economic base of the province has crumbled, Saskatoon as a city would appear to benefit in renewed growth. At the same time, a

significant exodus from the city has also taken place. As indicated in Appendix P, the population groups between ages 15 and 34 decreased in both Saskatoon and Saint John over the 15-year period of study. London experienced growth in the 25 to 34 year old age group, but overall the city has an aging population. Planners in Saskatoon and Saint John recognized particular difficulty in maintaining a young population base as people leave the city and province for larger urban centres. At the same time, both cities had population growth over the period of analysis.

As a result, in the global society many have come to take for granted, urban life is recognized as beneficial. At the same time, cities offering greater aesthetic and cultural amenities may be the destination for those with sufficient financial ability to choose their community. At the same time, the majority of the migrant population moves not due to aesthetic choice, but in search of employment opportunities (Finnie 2000). Small- to medium-size cities may become a stopping ground for members of young generations on their way to even larger centres, following the trend toward metropolis-style urbanization. Those medium-size cities with amenable quality-of-life offerings with close proximities to at least one metropolis, such as Kelowna, are becoming upscale retirement wings of the larger urban centres.

These examples risk an oversimplification of some trends in Canadian urban planning issues as cities attempt to earn a nodal position on the global network of capital flows. What is important from this, however, is to recognize the increasing difficulty many planners have in actually planning given the larger influences of liberalized markets and rapidly increasing trends of urbanization. These processes are facilitated by the use of information networks that reduce the barriers presented by space otherwise facing corporate interests searching for means by which they may maximize their profits. For media industries, the city is an ideal point of focus given the population agglomeration, providing an easily tapped market of consumers. These consumers are not provided access to the entire network being constructed, however. As

opposed to collective network construction of telephone systems on the Prairies where communities already existed and built their own network out of perceived necessity, companies are now building networks and expecting new relations and communities to be formed. Yet, only the services that provide the greatest profit to media companies are extended to residential customers. As a result, companies, not communities, are determining the uses of the network. Citizenship within the city is thus becoming defined by one's value as a consumer in the large, urban audience.

This chapter has shown how trends in telecommunication infrastructure construction rely on the city as a node for data processing and transmission. At the same time, the infrastructure has been viewed as all-important while social issues have been sidelined. This comes despite the planner's potential role in urban change processes to provide a democratic system of citizen participation rather than managing the demands of the business and politically elite of a community. Part of the nature of planning is managing growth in changes. At the same time, following 15 years of computerization in planning departments, growth management and efficiency is often equated with data management. Notions of perfect information and control are becoming commonplace in municipal management contexts, leading to advanced systems of surveillance and mapping. It must therefore be considered whether planning in the telecommunications age is actually revolutionizing the nature of the city, or only reinforcing its reason for existence in the market society as an exclusionary system of worker management, capital growth and social segregation. New models of efficiency are being implemented on an ongoing basis in Canadian municipalities. The role of control and surveillance systems in the urban planning and management process in the contemporary "efficient" Canadian mid-size city is the area of analysis in the next chapter.

Chapter 5

Virtual Maps and the Design of Space:

The Transfer from Social Planning to Social Management in the Wired City

If, as Bogard (1996) says, “Simulation, in its most generic sense, is the ‘point’ where the imaginary and the real coincide, specifically, where the gap between virtual control and actual control disappears,” (9), then the role of visionary and virtual spaces in planning must garner some attention here. Spatial design practices are performed so to shape and control physical environments for specific purposes and with defined outcomes in mind. Amidst the time-biased nature of capitalism, Harvey (1987) explains that the financial elite “can command space through spatial mobility and ownership of basic means of reproduction,” (271). It is this power to direct the form of space, he states, that constitutes a particularly strong authority amongst those who plan and implement visions of society. To plan and to operationalize within space is to control a powerful medium of social management. It therefore comes as little surprise to see neo-liberal governance regimes subsuming virtual space of imagined frontiers within the urban context of Canadian city planning.

This chapter examines how the institutions of social planning and service provision, epitomized in the early- to mid-20th century, and are now being undermined by a brand of politics that denies any ability to maintain a non-commodified social fabric. Intrinsic to the process of dismantling institutions designed as keepers of social values is to discredit their value and offer alternate designs of their political spaces. The first section of this chapter outlines how digitized models of the virtual city have gained popularity in the planning profession over the 15-year period of analysis in the four cities examined. This will be followed by an overview of discussions advocating reliance upon “perfect information” in the marketplace. The understanding of control through knowledge is the basis of the information society and is

becoming the basis upon which planning is establishing its authority amidst the decline of social advocacy governance. The third section outlines how, through examples of financial expenditures on virtual urban modeling and surveillance, the rush to build virtual models of urban spaces is pushing municipal planning processes away from actual social planning functions. In place of traditional planning principals, these departments are becoming administrative service wings with cost-recovery service provisions for corporate customers that are, increasingly, taking over planning and design processes. Financial expenditures, however, are not the only costs associated with this shift. Section four describes a series of provincial and federal privacy decisions that have attempted to come to grips with the challenge of individual rights within privatized market governance. This is followed by a discussion of the changing nature of the planner's role and, in the final section, the deskilling of planners in their professions.

5.1 The rise of the virtual urban model

The introduction of telecommunication infrastructures into municipal planning departments over the fifteen-year period of 1985 to 2000 allowed for the development of new information databases in many cities. Each of the municipalities examined in this study now uses Geographic Information Systems (GIS) to cross-reference land subdivision characteristics with property value records, zoning classifications and any variety of information categories kept on public record. Each planner, although to varying degrees, indicated that new communication and information technologies have benefit them in their daily work. Each has witnessed the increased use of e-mail in communicating with other individuals both in the office and in other departments and institutions. Each department has made use of GIS resources for some functions. London and Kelowna planners, in particular, explain that having GIS services

available to the public through Internet applications and public terminals has changed the manner in which the city is able to provide information and services (Mattiussi 2001, Flemming 2001). This translates into what planners identified as less “red tape” while improving the citizen’s understanding of spatial formations and physical geography considerations in planning. The degree to which planners claimed these technologies have affected their profession varied. Overall, however, the introduction of these technologies was not viewed as having any instrumental influence over the nature of their work.

The routine use of these technologies warrant further investigation. Over the 15-year period, a variety of technological innovations have brought a significant number of digital resources together into centralized databanks. Many of these municipal land division databases are being cross-referenced with provincial land titles records that are maintained by newly formed external bodies. This is the case in New Brunswick where the crown corporation Service New Brunswick is constructing elaborate GIS resources that include the province’s new “paperless” land registry files. By using corporate service models for information management, public information is often available only through sale. These resources are allowing planners to produce increasingly complex and detailed socio-economic maps and reference materials for public and private use. As a result, this phenomenon appears to bring a number of potential benefits to the planner. It also raises a series of questions regarding the very nature of planning in the virtual environment.

In the eyes of some, map making is taking on a “grass roots” nature as new geographic-oriented software allows for easier map production (Talen 2000). The resulting interest is often to use systems of surveillance and tracking to produce virtual representations of society that mimic reality in the most comprehensive manner possible. The database of public records and the resulting virtual representations of the city are recognized as strategic tools in providing the

planner, the public and political representatives with as near-perfect information as may be generated and used to make planning decisions. This, it is hoped, will lead to greater citizen participation in planning processes through better understanding of problems and more tools available to act at a community level. There are, however, distinct trends in the processes of record digitization and their subsequent transfer to private control. The advantages to democratic public planning are thus somewhat dubious.

5.2 The Quest for Perfect Information and the Myth of Perfect Decision-Making

As outlined in Chapter 2, government and corporate bodies are using networks and their accompanying technological applications to create databanks with as much information in the most specific categories possible (Mulgan 1991, Bogard 1996, Winseck 1999, Graham 1999).

The motivations for this push in the municipal government sphere have included crime reduction, cost saving and increased quality of service provision through market-oriented efficiency and accountability. Also inherent in many attitudes of those working on the development of urban property databanks is that by virtue of having more information available, better decisions around social policy will prevail, whether made by government, private industry or individual citizens.

However, inherent in the market-oriented nature of neo-liberal governance is the notion that any service or good, regardless of an item's intrinsic essentiality in human existence, can be provided best by supply and demand functions. Graham and Marvin (1996) highlight that there are potential benefits for telematics in municipal planning to increase the ability to manage vast amounts of public information necessary for well-informed decision-making processes in planning. At the same time, the perception among many planners is that this is necessary in

consideration of reduced operating budgets and a fundamental shift of government roles in the neo-liberal state:

The current emphasis in urban government is increasingly on facilitating the delivery of public services to targeted groups of local citizens, using dwindling local resources as efficiently as possible and only supporting social welfare through a final 'safety net' rather than through uniform service provisions. (365)

As a result, the telecommunication networks now present are making possible the privatization of public services with seamless service provision in a manner previously unfeasible. As a result, "The new policies of targeted provision, managed networks of service providers, and newly responsive approaches to customers or citizens succinctly capture the cultural and political transformations which together make up the radical changes in local government," (365). Thus, the nature of planning is being used for its mythical promise of social deliverance as a public relations tool while speculative market forces are left to "plan" and provide for entire populations. This has led to a media environment whereby the physical is abandoned for the virtual and cyber discourse promises "a friction-free marketplace with no impediments to fulfillment, capital itself and the interests of capital are seemingly erased from the equation," (Herman and Sloop 2000). This belief has become manifest in very distinct forms within the urban environment.

New perspectives into critical urban research have emerged in order to understand the dichotomy between the physical and virtual nature of the city. Critical research into the city has produced a unique perspective on the nature of urban space amidst the increased rhetoric of virtual romanticism and the transcendence from the physical. Zukin (1995), King (1996), Isin (1996) and Mosco (2000) have emphasized the increased importance of cultural artefacts in the contemporary urban environment. This work has gone further than simply recognizing specific events as part of a city's nature, to identify the city as a physical medium through which a dominant class may communicate a particular vision of social order and control. Maps are not

attempts to represent the actual physical structures of the urban environment as much as they are attempts to design the physical in the order of a particular vision to the benefit of particular interests.

This is by no means unique to the present time. Planning only gained widespread acceptance when particular ruling classes found beneficial factors to spatial control (Purdy 1997, Grant 2000, Sancton 2000). Nonetheless, new virtual space is providing an avenue for new visions of society in the global space of flows and the methods by which this space is created. Many elements of information collection practices are not used specifically in decision-making processes. Surveillance cameras, increasingly being used by cities in public spaces, intend to deter undesirable behaviour as well as to introduce a feeling of control and thus safety into the spaces (Graham 1999, Fiske 1998). Both cities of Kelowna and London are designing public space with surveillance systems in mind. At the request of local businesses, London is installing 16 cameras in public areas in an effort to deter crime in the downtown area while Kelowna has a roving camera which acts as a monitoring device at various points in the city (Walton 22 June 2001: A6). Planners in this situation are being asked to design space according to methods of social control rather than the provision of more fundamental social services. Social management is very different than planning to avoid social problems to begin with. The planner is thus being asked to act as a designer of ideal space while the city ensures that the aesthetic model corresponds to the design by way of surveillance and police enforcement measures.

5.3 The Cost of Control

One of the most marked examples of shifts in urban governance in the late 20th century is the change in spending on planning that has led to the development of elaborate information storage and retrieval and mapping systems. Admittedly, the costs associated with new

technologies in municipal planning environments are difficult to pinpoint due to a variety of financial record-keeping methods and the very availability of such documents over the period of this study.³ However, some information gleaned from reports and public files indicate a significant shift in municipal spending patterns with the introduction of electronic resources into the office environment. As computers become more widely used for data management, the City of Saskatoon saw its budget reserve for replacement of electronic resources increase 222 per cent from \$278,900 in 1985 to \$619,300 in 1987 (Saskatoon 1985; 1987). Kelowna's 10 year capital plan covering 1996 to 2005 provided a \$5-million information services budget covering hardware, software, network components, land administration hardware, cartographic printing and various financial forms and databases (Kelowna 1996). All planning departments consulted in this study received information technology support from their respective cities' Corporate Services divisions. In Saskatoon this has meant extensive restructuring of the city's information services. In 2000, management consultants PriceWaterhouseCoopers were contracted to provide guidance on implementing a new service model for municipal departments. As more service operations of various departments are being transferred to information technology divisions for administration, increasingly large portions of budgetary expenditures are being redirected to the Information Services departments.

³ While every effort to obtain comprehensive financial data from each municipality was made, the information was simply unavailable under the time and cost circumstances of this project. In Saint John, municipal budgets and planning reports were not available in the municipal library and no city archive maintains the data. Requests to the planning department resulted in partial data sets that indicate overall funding trends. Some London records were available through the University of Western Ontario's library, although actual planning figures are often incorporated into general administration budget lines. Inquiries to the city's planning and finance offices returned partial information. Saskatoon is the only city of the four to file its financial records in a depository accessed by the National Library of Canada. This resulted in consistent data collection through to 1991, although planning figures are often incorporated into general administration lines. City of Kelowna financial forecasts and annual fiscal reports were available through the city's municipal library, although records from the late 1980s were not present in the data sets. Further inquiries made to the city's planning department resulted in some additional information of a recent nature. General municipal spending habits by province were attained through Statistics Canada catalogues 68-213-XIB, 68-516-XPB and 68-512-XPB.

Over the fifteen-year period of this study's analysis, regional planning and development expenditures by local Canadian governments ranged between \$358.1 million in 1985 and \$753.3 million in 1990 or 0.85 and 1 per cent of total expenditures by local governments (see Appendix M). Much of the fluctuation in the national figure is reliant upon Ontario municipal spending, where funding peaked in 1990 (see Appendix N). This is represented in the fact that nationally planning saw its largest increase over the period of study between 1985 and 1990 when expenditures increased by 210 per cent. Through the overall period of study, planning expenditures decreased in Saskatchewan and New Brunswick, while overall funding increased in British Columbia. Over the 15-year period, the portion of spending funded by federal and provincial government transfer payments declined from a high of eight per cent in 1995 to less than four per cent of the total municipal costs by 1998 (see Appendix O).

Through this analysis, a number of obvious trends emerge. Overall, it would appear that planning departments were in a better funding position at the end of 2000 than in 1985, especially considering the tightening of fiscal budgets through the 1990s. At the same time, though, the total expenditures by all governments of planning through the mid-1990s fluctuated a great deal (see Appendix L). While planning, as a percentage of total expenditure of all governments remained steady through the mid-1990s, its cost as a percentage of total deficits over the period, increased significantly (see Appendix L). This represents the overall decrease in expenditures by federal and provincial governments amidst the offloading of additional services on municipalities. Thus, while planning expenditures remained the same overall, more of the cost was borne by local governments, constituting an increasing portion of a deficit. As well, while overall planning expenditures remained consistent in overall figures, Statistics Canada figures include costs associated with economic development and planning boards – an issue to be further examined in chapter 6. Of importance for the moment is that trends in planning

expenditures indicate a shift to higher-cost electronic infrastructure amidst diminishing funding from provincial and federal governments while the overall cost of planning is being divided between actual planning departments and new economic development agencies.

5.4 Conflict and control over information in the virtual spatial order

Within the creation of digitized spatial control systems, there exist new opportunities for using information in an open, transparent manner for the benefit of specific communities attempting to anticipate social repercussions of planning decisions. New technologies have provided a fresh breath of life into the “city efficient” movement for cities left to wither in the sprawling, cement-laden cities of the 1970s. There is a common perception that new communication technologies, employed as management tools, will help overcome the physical inefficiencies of North American urban sprawl. At the same time, private bodies, providing access to information on a pay-per-use basis, are increasingly administering the hardware, software and content of these new technologies. This is partly the result of the initial cost of such systems and the unwillingness or inability of many government bodies to invest funds in such a system amidst the decline of the welfare state. While the system is recognized as an essential element in the efficient and effective functioning of planning departments, the municipal GIS resource is becoming only a small end-user part of a larger system of government-controlled databanks. It is, in fact, in the realm of non-planning-related areas that new digital virtual maps are being created and overlaid upon traditional geographic models. This has allowed for the development of powerful databases encompassing personal information from a variety of government departments, all cross-referenced over a spatial order at municipal and provincial levels. This has attracted the attention of many public watchdogs across Canada, who have documented and

analyzed the struggles and conflicts associated with the digitization and privatization of public information and the effects upon geographic records.

One of the country's first official forays into the area of the digitization of public geographic information, its subsequent sale and the effect upon informed citizenry involvement in planning took place at a provincial level in 1995 in British Columbia. The British Columbia Information and Privacy Commissioner ruled on the sale of digital maps by the Ministry of Environment, Lands and Parks to the Western Canada Wilderness Committee (WCWC), (Flaherty, *Order No. 51-1995*). In its request for review to the Commissioner, the WCWC accused the provincial ministry of making public documents inaccessible to the general public by charging exorbitant fees for the information. The Commissioner ruled on whether such information requests fall under the jurisdiction of the IPC office. The maps, the ministry argued, are "categorized as record for sale to the public through sales outlets," and thus are not available through Freedom of Information requests, nor are they subject to the Commissioner's jurisdiction (6). In an intervention filed by the B.C. Freedom of Information and Privacy Association, the importance of the documents' availability to the public with the intention of forming public policy was highlighted:

Environmental decisions of government are currently among the most important and controversial governmental decisions and they affect many generations of British Columbians. The applicant organization was established specifically as an advocacy organization for the preservation of the natural environment. From a public policy perspective, it is important that the applicant have access to the independent review process of the commissioner's office to resolve the access issues raised by its request. (7)

In his decision, the Commissioner ruled that information for public sale is within the IPC office's jurisdiction and that fees on public information often serve to restrict access to information rather than enhance the information's availability.

The B.C. case serves to emphasize government attempts to restrict information flow by placing high prices on data and offering it for sale, thus trying to circumvent formal procedures for public access to documents. While this sets precedents for geographic information availability in B.C. from public ministries, it does not address the availability of information maintained for the government and sold by a separate corporate body. This is an area of concern for the Saskatchewan Privacy Commissioner who identifies a trend toward establishing “service” branches of government under crown-owned corporations or private firms performing tasks contracted out by government institutions (Gerrand 2001). While the Saskatchewan Commissioner had not investigated privacy issues around geographic registries and databanks by mid-2001, he did recognize concern around the decreased ability to access information and to guarantee confidentiality of personal information as databank administration is moved into the private sector and out of the Commissioner’s jurisdiction. This is of particular concern as the province undergoes a transfer to a “paperless” land registry system and the establishment of a crown agency to administer the collection, management and sale of geographic information, including the land registry database.

The Saskatchewan example has received attention from groups and individuals concerned with new electronic registry systems. In a widely-distributed open letter to the Information Services Corporation of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon lawyer Henry Kloppenburg emphasized a need to analyze the rationale for a digital system of land registry: “I am afraid that I am not prepared to accept the security which a Crown Corporation, i.e. LAND, can provide is going to be any more effective than that used by Microsoft or the Pentagon which appears to have sieve-like qualities,” (27 Oct. 2000). He further states, “the history of computing has not been to reduce costs . . . is the LAND project just another attempt to offload costs and liability onto the private sector[?]” (ibid.). While one of Kloppenburg’s primary concerns is the role of

the private lawyer in the new system (i.e. the liability of lawyers for errors using the digital system and the privatization of land title registration to private conveyors without the same interest in upholding the integrity of publicly accountable registry institutions) he emphasizes overall concern with the shift away from the public administration of records to instituting records in systems of private-sector control.

A similar discussion took place in 2000 when the Law Society of Alberta (LSA) investigated the impact of digitizing the province's land registry system (Billington 2000). The LSA concluded that:

The Western Torrens Project provides an opportunity for solicitors involved in residential real estate conveyancing to expedite the conveyancing process for lenders, provide consumers with continued access to independent legal advice and ensure the integrity of the Torrens land registration system is preserved. (8)

In each instance from Saskatchewan and Alberta, the primary concern of those who interact with the land registry administrators is the integrity of the system, which the members of the law society feel they represent. The guarantee of land titles to the property owner by the public institution of governance and the availability of independent legal council are recognized as primary concerns in the process.

The discussion of the digitization of land registries has not always been left to consideration in afterthought. In 1998, the offices of the Information and Privacy Commissioner and the Auditor General in Alberta conducted an audit of Alberta Registries, the body administering public records for the Alberta government, upon request of the Deputy Minister of Alberta Municipal Affairs (15 April 1998). The audit was intended to assess "privacy compliance" under the province's Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act (FIPPA), "controls over information systems" and government "monitoring of private registry agents." Public records maintained by the agency in digital format include vital statistics, vehicle

registration, the provincial corporate registry, land titles, a personal property registry and land information.

In their report on the audit, the Commissioner and Auditor General identified numerous deficiencies in the application of the FIPPA to various functions of Alberta Registries including procedures involving the disclosure of personal information, the collection of personal information and the adherence of private registry agents using the system. The report included 21 recommendations for changes in the FIPPA, administrative procedures of Alberta Registries and monitoring by the responsible ministry. The ministry indicated its intended compliance with 15 of the recommendations. The six remaining recommendations had “major legislative, policy and financial implications” and thus received no promise for future compliance despite the fact the ministry agrees “in principal” with the audit’s suggestions. These remaining recommendations all dealt specifically with the jurisdiction of the Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act and the monitoring of information disclosure.

While the maintenance of such records at the provincial level may appear removed from the municipal level of operations, an investigation by the Information and Privacy Commissioner of Ontario the same year highlighted the misuse of such records within a municipal corporation (Mitchinson 1998). Councillors in three cities were obtaining detailed information about constituents from a private sector agency contracted to maintain public registry documents, real estate databases and Assessment Roll data. Information provided to councillors included a variety of details about individual properties such as prices paid and initial down payments, lot sizes, zoning information, census data references, construction dates and lot descriptions. The issue was investigated following a complaint stating “the practice disregarded the privacy rights of citizens and could create an unfair electoral advantage for incumbent politicians.” The three cities, having been amalgamated into one city at the time of the

investigation and thus represented by the new city, claimed “members of Council have an obligation to represent their constituents and to be aware of land use and planning issues which arise in their wards.” As well, the city claimed the information was necessary to “welcome new residents and to create accurate mailing lists,” and to access information immediately necessary to a particular situation regarding planning or construction issues. Good public policy became the excuse for privacy breaches and the sale of public information by a private registry and a public governance institution.

The Commissioner found that the city was not acting in accordance with the province’s Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act because the information provided included individual addresses, name and financial information and the information was disclosed on a routine basis without the consent of the people whose information was provided. This highlights the inherent dangers of maintaining large databases of personal information by any private or public body. This situation, along with the other provincial examples, also emphasizes the complex legal territory within which information is being collected under the auspices of public-private partnerships. The group maintaining information databanks is not necessarily responsible for the use and distribution of information. Rather, the onus is on the government to monitor how the information is distributed and used. There is not necessarily a balance between one public body maintaining the information and setting usage guidelines and the second public body using the information and making further decisions on data use. Agency is necessarily removed from the institutional parameters and decision-making process in place to process data. Although Information and Privacy Commissioner positions have been institutionalized in many provinces to deal with the storage and use of private information, the effectiveness of their actions is reduced when the administration of information processing and storage systems are placed under the authority of crown or private corporations. Moreover, as

private corporations – and many crown corporations – operate on a for-profit basis, records may only be maintained on a profit-potential basis. This was the case in Ontario where Teranet Land Information System Inc., the corporation contracted to administer the province’s digital land registry system, only maintains active records on 2.5 million of 4.3 million properties in the province while anticipating a \$300-million cost overrun by the completion of implementing the system (Provincial Auditor of Ontario 2000:3.03). In its annual report on privatization, the Canadian Union of Public Employees accused the company of processing only the easier and most profitable properties – new developments, for example – while leaving significant holes in the province’s public records, (CUPE 2001:82-3).

A point of particular importance emerging from these examples is the changing nature of property within the digital society. Just as workers came to understand their labour as a personal property with the rise of trade unionism at the turn of the 20th century, members of the public came to recognize personal information as property at the end of the century. In turn, when this information is treated without respect for the “owner”, there is considerable backlash. Privacy Commissioners, while intended to uphold the credibility of personal information as a property right, are increasingly witnessing the undermining of their authority and the institution they represent.

5.5 Public Information and the Role of the Planner as an Information Manager

The very fact that increasingly large amounts of public information are available in cross-referenced databanks has led to further dilemmas for municipal planners. London and Kelowna have each used the advent of desktop GIS records to provide visual services to citizens requiring planning information. Kelowna planners have used this technology to consolidate various municipal services into a “one window” approach to information dissemination. People visiting

the department may obtain information about any given property including aerial photos, property servicing, zoning, rights of way and special notes about the land such as heritage property designation and environmental restrictions. The system is intended to act as a method of facilitating relations with the public requiring property information by giving “people as much information as possible at the counter the first time they arrive,” (Mattiusi 2001). Planners hope this will result in streamlined processes for local residents wanting information about permits required for construction and renovations. Other benefits of the system have included easy access to information for preparing planning documents and reports and generating comprehensive geographic analyses for new projects.

The City of London has a similar public service available on its web site. Site users may access property information including subdivision boundaries, property services, rights of way, zoning information and community service and zoning provisions. London, however, is unique amongst the cities studied in its uses of GIS technologies. London uses a customer-based model for service provisions, which exceeds the customer-oriented approaches of the other cities. Citizens, developers and builders are viewed as customers of a product: planning. What planning entails, however, is now a serious debate amongst the city’s planners and may ultimately influence the very nature of municipal planning in Canadian cities. While past planning has included social considerations and advocacy models to ensure proper provision of basic necessities to all citizens, the customer-oriented approach caters to those citizens actively pursuing involvement in development. Planning as a commodity may thus only represent the necessary tools for a private developer or citizen: the purchase of building permits, information about property concerns such as rights-of-way and the approval of plans for ongoing construction. Planning is not a collaborative process, but an information distribution and approvals procedure.

This has led to GIS uses unique to the city. By maintaining a land registry cross-referenced to municipal services and demographic information, the city realizes new administrative potential in this system. For example, the planning department has maintained a Vacant Land Inventory since 1999. The Inventory uses the city's GIS technology to "identify vacant and underutilized" properties in the city and also tracks "land consumption" by property purchasers (London 2000). This system became crucial in the city's Main Street Program, which documents all downtown properties and occupants. Each property is cross-referenced with photos and approximately 300 information variables in the city's GIS database. Planners use this system to manage the downtown core with what have been traditionally the "organizational strengths of malls," (Flemming 2001). The planning department is thus the "central point for potential investors" requiring information about available retail and office property in the city.

The GIS database in London acts as a particularly compelling example of the creation of digital maps produced to design reality in the form of particular urban ideals. Finding particular success in integrating new technologies into planning processes for this purpose, London's planning department employees have also applied virtual reality technologies to mapping practices. In cooperation with the National Research Council of Canada's Integrated Manufacturing Technologies Institute at the University of Western Ontario, the department has used simulation facilities to demonstrate the validity of planning projects. In 1999, the IMTI created a virtual tour of a new Downtown Entertainment and Sports Centre proposed for the city. Planners view the use of this virtual tour as a key element of attaining city council's approval of the project.

Through the various uses of new information databases and the increasingly complex representations of space, populations and activities, it may be expected that cities are able to make planning and policy decisions with an increased ability to anticipate outcomes of actions

taken. Electronic information distribution systems provide new avenues for citizens to obtain information about municipal planning processes, to become more informed about issues and to become involved in the process. Every city planner interviewed in this study identified an increase in public demand for planning information and opportunities for involvement in community decision-making. In such circumstances, community networks may provide a powerful opportunity for democratic revitalization at municipal level. In 1995 and 1996 each of the four cities launched its first web page. London's web page increased in use from 15,000 hits a month in 1995 to 369,000 hits a month by the end of 2000 (Crawley 2001). Many planners recognize their department's web presence as a virtual representation of the city and the processes by which it is planned. The increased accessibility of information through this virtual environment is understood as a catalyst for continued interest in planning processes. At the same time, the corporate nature of Canadian municipalities, where people are increasingly viewed as customers rather than citizens, means planning departments face a new challenge to the nature of public planning processes. As well, virtual participation is not necessarily representative of desired involvement in the reality where 35 per cent of households do not have even one member using the Internet in a given month (Dickinson and Ellison 2000), a determining factor to Internet access is income (ibid) and significant portions of the population without access either have no interest (31 per cent) or no need (43 per cent) to be online (Reddick 2000). At the same time, amidst diminishing planning budgets and increased financial demands for the maintenance of electronic infrastructures, the virtual world of on-line access to information creates a friction-free planning environment; only those with interest and ability to become involved will seek out further information. When the virtual model is taken as a replacement for the real model of physical space, users forget what is not always represented in

maps – poverty, violence and oppression. Those who may create conflict as they request alternate attention to basic needs are excluded from the process.

Amidst its rapid incorporation of new technologies into its planning process, the City of London has had to deal with new policy issues in specific regard to the planning department's role. Since beginning significant investment in GIS projects in 1996, city planners have faced conflicting types of community expectations. First, as a public institution, the city allows general access to its records and information resources for the benefit of local developers. As a result it takes on the role of an information provider about the planning, development and the general nature of the city. At the same time, the second perception, which has a longer history in the nature of planning, is that of the planner as a professional actor in the planning and development of the city. As such, the planner should not only be providing information resources, but serve as an active user of the resources in forming policy and subsequent plans for the form and social characteristics of the city. The advent of GIS technologies and the parallel demand by the public for information has created a situation whereby the planner is only regarded as a data administrator in many circumstances. This has led to discussions with the London planning departments regarding the role of the planner within the city and the basis upon which information should be available to the public (Flemming 2001). With the power of new GIS resources and the depth of information maintained in municipal files, information from a variety of resources is at hand for cross-reference in formats previously unavailable. This may include sensitive demographic material from the federal census, financial and property information from real estate and land registry systems and municipal policy information regarding zoning, service provision and bylaw enforcement. While of increased benefit to the planner requiring detailed and accessible information in making day-to-day decisions, the information is also of great value to private-sector organizations that may otherwise need to

perform expensive and time-consuming market research, or have traditionally purchased the same information in the past.

Similar situations have surfaced in other areas examined with the advent of digital mapping and registry systems. In New Brunswick, municipal planning departments are already working on reduced budgets in relation to finances of 15 years ago and 40 per cent of the population lives in unincorporated areas (Kinney 2001). There, it is the province, through its crown corporation Service New Brunswick, which is designing and providing access to digital geographic and property registry systems. While system designers maintain that the digitization of geographic data is “heading into the democratization of geomatics,” (Castonguay 2001) the corporation is in the process of making decisions regarding what information is to be accessed by the public on a day-to-day basis. While dealing with fundamental public involvement issues such as “Do we want the public asking these questions?” in relation to property assessment and ownership concerns, there is also tension between levels of government (Castonguay 2001). Provincial officials fear governments and corporations external to the province that have not contributed to the costs of the system should not have access to the information. This poses obvious problems to making the information widely available, such as through the corporation’s web site as has been planned, and compromises the actual “democratization” of the information. Moreover, as vehicle registration, address changes and licensing are also added to on-line services, network administrators have to decide what information is suitable for public distribution and which is considered confidential.

Amidst the policy issues to be considered in the application of digital information technologies, there is a continuing risk of deskilling the planning workforce. Despite the fact that each department in the four cities examined still maintains at least one technical support person and GIS-trained staff, the introduction of desktop GIS resources means individuals previously

employed as cartographic and geographic information specialists are not necessarily required on a day-to-day basis. Moreover, as a variety of software companies develop new GIS applications, cities are finding a need to change entire software platforms in order to maintain current records with capabilities desired for the data analysis techniques required within the department.

Saskatoon switched GIS software in the late 1990s when the previous package “was too technical and cumbersome to gain widespread acceptance at the desktop level,” (Holden 2001).

In addition, planning departments maintain a hierarchy of responsibilities between management and planning staff, within which GIS must adapt. One planner explains:

Desktop GIS has been a theoretical reality since 1990. Practically, the technical knowledge requirements of GIS meant that GIS use was restricted to a few planners, engineers and technicians who performed development, management and analytical functions for all. Since the adoption of Mapinfo the practical limits of GIS penetration on the desktop has been lowered significantly. Still, actual use of desktop GIS will remain far below the theoretical limit as managers and staff in most areas of the corporation will continue to rely on a core group of planners, engineers, analysts and technologists to deliver GIS products and analyses. While we can put GIS capability on any desktop in the corporation, adoption at senior management level will be limited as these people will necessarily and rightly delegate analysis to appropriate staff. (Holden)

This analysis would seem to raise two distinct questions: first, are new technologies in planning actually being used in an effort to change the profession; and second, are the changes being implemented by senior government levels in regard to information management by public bodies recognized for their true effects by planners on an adequate basis? Amidst the cost-reduction processes many municipal governments are undergoing, the reality of new technologies stands to reduce the involvement and effectiveness of planners as cities take on the role of development facilitators. At the same time, if planners are only using new technologies to continue their routines of zoning and infrastructure management, they may be making their profession obsolete by nothing more than their own complacency.

5.6 Digital resources, virtual space and the repositioning of cities as a fetish of time

The potential deskilling of the planning workforce and transfer of responsibilities to those of an information provider rather than that of an information analyst in planning applications highlight some significant concerns in the potential for the privatization of planning. The degree to which virtual space has consumed the realm of discussion of “perfect information” provision leads to a danger of creating a time fetish that obscures actual positive action within space by particular individuals. In fact, the issues that come to light are much the same as those relevant in planning and cartographic professions in the past through the growth and development of capitalism. This is emphasized in Kent and Klosterman’s (2000) assertion that there are three purposes for which maps may be used: for reference, for analysis and for illustration (189-90). As such, “All too often, planners use GIS to prepare a map without fully understanding the purpose the map is intended to serve,” (189). This can lead to incomprehensible and inaccurate mapping practices. At the same time, given the new accessibility of map-making, Talen (2000) explains that GIS resources may allow for a “bottom-up” planning process whereby a local citizenry may use cartographic models to represent their spatial and community perceptions. The interpretation of the map becomes as important in understanding the meaning allocated to a space by a particular community. This, however, would seem to detract from the notion that electronic geographic networks of information will lead to more efficient decision-making. If efficiency is marked by reduced decision-making periods and fewer conflicts within the process, then making such information available on a wide scale and requiring subsequent interpretation of the perceptions presented would detract from the efficiency potential. Indeed, the results may provide alternatives those in the planning process are not anticipating, and perhaps not willing to consider. The end result may be greater disagreement and tension than willingness to achieve new models of consensus.

This, in fact, brings to light the fundamental issues at hand in any cartographic representation. Livingstone (1992) explains that “the geographer’s traditional craft-skills – such as cartographic and regional survey – turn out to be rhetorical devices of persuasion by which geographers have reinforced the authority of their assertions,” (29). The ability to represent spatial organization is significant in many instances of history (ibid: 100). From a context of power relations, the map represents a dominant discourse affecting the overall nature of a society’s beliefs and understandings of its basis for social interaction. At the same time, the cartographic representation abstracts the physical constitution of social and geographic positivities. The territorial designations appear arbitrary in relation to the actual cohesion of individuals in a given region of space.

In any city, most citizens will not be familiar with particular physical layouts of neighbourhoods, nor with the neighbourhood communities and social fabrics beyond those in which each individual is a part of in their own daily interactions and travels. Maps, however, offer a sense of opportunity for familiarity with unknown areas of a city. As well, the map provides definition for a particular area of space and designates it as a place in which the individual lives as part of a greater community. This community is thus understood as sharing particular relations through common values. Harvey’s (1987) assertion that “Those who have the power to command and produce space possess a vital instrumentality for the reproduction and enhancement of their own power,” (267) can be recognised as particularly significant in this discussion. The map is not only a representation of space but a space unto itself, both in the physical presence of the map as well as in the mental imaging of self in relation to space.

Harvey’s (1987) three plains of spatial practices – material spatial practices, representations of space and spaces of representation – provide a useful entry point into discussions regarding the use of cartographic texts and their tripartite role in mediating physical,

social and mythic relations of space. Mosco (2000) argues that citizenship can take spatial or political forms (44). These arise from social constructs of social cohesion and attempts to provide an identity with which a citizen may identify. This identity is produced through social and cultural artefacts created by dominant groups. The artefacts may take the form of various media ranging from physical to virtual maps, newspapers, audio and visual media and artistic performances.

Regardless of how “neutral” a map may appear, the neutrality originates from a notion of objectivity whereby the cartographer must attempt to observe and translate these observations from a removed position. Nonetheless, what is represented, the reasons for producing the map and the uses of the map all correspond with societal priorities. While the City of London uses virtual reality models of representing proposed physical spaces, that which is represented poses ethical challenges. In the virtual tour produced for city councillors, representations of people in the newly designed space were absent. People present movement, interaction and a social fabric that helps determine the nature of physical space as much as the physical space poses particular parameters to social perceptions and uses of the space. Similarly, despite the accuracy of three-dimension mapping procedures, service provisions and special designations provided in Kelowna’s citizen-oriented GIS resource, the technology does not represent people and their uses of the network of physical infrastructure. In a city where “community consultations are a contact sport,” (Mattiusi 2001), the technologies are used to obtain new perceptions of spatial use and physical structure. The availability of such features is not, however, a substitute for active citizen involvement in planning. The network is not inherently democratic, as Barney (2000) point out. Rather, how the network is employed and accepted by a citizenry will determine the level of democratic activity within which the new infrastructures operate. The reliance, however, upon the democratic promise of technology is bringing about a time fetish in

the planning profession. The pragmatics of public involvement in planning have, for a large part, been ignored. The director of planning in Saint John points out that while the province is making large expenditures upon new GIS resources, the *Community Planning Act* has not been altered substantially since its approval in the 1970s. As a result, while municipalities have changed, the legal parameters within which they must operate have not. Similarly, Saskatchewan's *Planning and Development Act* assumes a hegemonic vision of agrarian life within the province. The *Act* ensures decision-making and resources are consolidated at a provincial level in order to manage a largely rural population. In the meantime, municipal planning departments in the province's cities have amassed vast expertise both in human resources and technical apparatus, making the province's involvement in planning cumbersome. The development of information networks does not address the actual legal construct within which the city exists, nor does it change the nature of the city away from being primarily a point of economic growth and profit generation. As has been shown, this purpose is, generally, only reinforced.

5.7 Conclusion

The trends of land management from the fifteen-year time period indicate a perspective whereby efficiency is recognized as a particular benefit to the well being of a population, given the availability of complete information at a given time. As such, ownership of land and the necessary administration to manage and guarantee titles is recognized as an end in itself, following from MacPherson's (1979) concept of property as an institutionally legislated right. While landed property is ultimately employed for the further benefit of the owner in the quest for accumulating additional property by use of the initial property holdings, the role of governance employed by legislative bodies is that of facilitator of property sale and guarantor of

property rights. Moreover, if, as MacPherson suggests, basic collective or individual rights are in fact equivalent to property rights, in an age where the market is understood as the guarantor of property rights previously assured by governments, then any right is more likely to come with a price attached. In practical terms, the administration of landed property titles is increasingly being removed from the institutional realm of the government and being assigned to a class of individuals using the administration of landed and information property as a profit mechanism in itself (Finley 2000). Ability to participate in planning requires an ability to participate financially in the market.

As the cost of maintaining geographic and demographic database resources increases alongside the cost and accessibility of information itself, the municipal planner is in a position whereby the very nature of social planning becomes secondary to information management for private developers. The corporate municipality has become the administrative wing of provincial and federal governments in many instances across Canada. As a result, coping with downloaded social and economic responsibilities is becoming increasingly burdensome while the ability to deal with unique social considerations of municipal citizenries is not necessarily a primary concern. The public good is recognized quantitatively in building permit issuances, real estate prices and commercial retail space development, all managed through complex networks of data exchange. The democratic promise of networked information resources are only proving to be an added social service municipalities and provinces are expected to provide for private and public interests. The less-costly and bothersome option in the operation of such systems is to divest the operations to private or public for-profit bodies.

Finally, while municipal planning departments witness the divestiture of social obligations in favour of zoning and development management tasks, the responsibilities for considering the socio-economic urban form of Canadian cities is being taken up by a new body

of private interests – the economic development corporation. These organizations, operating under the auspices of arm's-length municipal organizations or public-private partnerships have increased in importance within Canadian cities. The city efficient movement becomes all-important in the realm of economic management left to the realm of market speculation and private profit. This phenomenon and its impact on the institutional role of the municipal planner are the subjects of the next chapter.

Chapter 6

The Increasing Influence of the Economic Development Corporation:

New Forms of Market Governance Translated Into the Municipal Level

One of the most prominent administrative changes in Canadian cities, having a distinct impact on the very nature of planning in the later 20th century was the introduction and rise of economic development organizations. Since the early- to mid-1990s many municipalities have established economic development corporations, operating at arm's length from the city governments, with the primary purpose of increasing the number and size of businesses operating in the city. Economic development corporations (EDC) represent a new concept of planning in many cities. As actual planning departments struggle with shifts in their operations toward information provision and developer facilitation amidst decreasing budgets and increasing technological costs, the EDC presents a streamlined version of municipal development. More importantly, the rise of the EDC represents a fundamental reinforcement of traditional corporate urban models, civic boosterism and city-efficient mentalities as the entrepreneurial city vies for market share in the international space of flows. Within these functions, the city becomes an important medium through which a corporate elite is designing, communicating and executing its vision of the purpose and functions of the city as a social system.

This chapter examines the rise of the EDC and the accompanying privatization of planning. Three areas of analysis will constitute this discussion. First, the nature of governance by business groups in Canadian cities will be compared to the EDC and its functions in each of the four cities analyzed, in light of telecommunication networks and global economic trends. Second, common focuses of each city's EDC in generating economic activity as part of global information and production networks and the ways in which they approach such areas of

interest will be compared to traditional municipal planning models. Finally, the manner in which these corporations facilitate the privatization of planning and the subversion of participatory democracy will be outlined. This will be considered at the conclusion of the chapter in light of the concept recognizing the city as a communicative medium that is experiencing processes of convergence with other media under increasingly hegemonic corporate.

6.1 The Nature of Municipal Governance by Business Organizations

Rather than singling out the EDC as a profound development in private systems of municipal governance, a broader perspective of historical trends in business ascendancy in the urban context must be established. As outlined in chapter 3, the “corporate city” concept is a fundamental element in the legal establishment, physical form and socio-economic growth of the Canadian city throughout the country’s earlier history of European colonization. As such, some academic attention has been lent to the phenomenon of business governance in the economy of the corporate city (Nozick 1991, Todd 1996b, Isin 1992, 1996b), although the body of work is not extensive.

In the history of Canadian urban centres, many cities were established by and around a corporate body. This includes the establishment of forts for the protection and storage of European economic interests during the fur trades (Stelter 1984), the rise of the mining town where the entire physical form was constructed and owned by and around the mining company (Grant 2000), the industrialization of the Maritimes (Acheson 1984), the opening of the west wherein cities were built around rail lines and police detachments (Artibise 1984, Nader 1976), and the construction of the post-WWII corporate city, built around Canada’s manufacturing sector in edge cities at the peripheries of traditional urban centres (Reid 1991). Commercial bodies have, in significant part, shaped Canadian cities to their present form and, under the

nationalist federal government policies, created an economic system of urban interdependence (Simmons 1979). Such a situation has led to a federal policy whereby “The major forces influencing cities do not lie within their control, and policy that assumes the opposite – that individual cities can solve their own problems – is destined to be ineffectual,” (Lithwick 1970:55). Cities in Canada are, nonetheless, constitutionally creatures of the province, and often left to vie for funds and account for their own economic sustainability. This separation of cities from any federal jurisdiction has created a gap in urban policy and governance (Calligan-Yano and Norton 1996) whereby the country’s only urban strategy has come through the Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation (Lithwick 1970, 1973). This had a significant impact upon the form of Canadian cities, as much of the present urban form was constructed over the last 30 years of the 20th century (See Appendix A).

6.2 The Post-Industrial Society, Commercial Governance and Influences Upon the Canadian City

Following the Second World War, private developers came to control significant amounts of the urban planning processes throughout North America. Across North America, planning was viewed sceptically as a socialist program, threatening the post-war Western state (Purdy 1997, Baxandall and Ewen 2000). During the 1970s and 1980s between 38 and 53 per cent of all homes in the four cities examined were built (Statistics Canada 1996). This two-decade period of urban growth signalled significant changes in urban forms, during which the developer-designed suburb became the primary choice of residence and, increasingly, of work while inner cities were often left empty and in need of repair. While larger Canadian cities often witnessed a resurgence of interest in inner-city habitation by young residents during the 1980s (Ley 1996), this was not generally the case with small- to medium-size cities. Many cities struggled to diversify their

economies following the collapse of traditional heavy industry and a shift to a service-oriented economy. The phenomenon of inner-city devaluation was common across North America as unused, crumbling infrastructure marked a crisis of sorts amongst owners demanding return on the value of their capital invested in such buildings (Harvey 1987, 2000). Amidst large – and largely disastrous – downtown renewal programs through the 1980s (Isin 1996a) a new more enduring institution of business governance arose: the Business Improvement Association. Ontario established legislation allowing BIAs in 1970 following a request for some legislative framework by businesses in the Bloor and Jane Street area in Toronto. The BIA governance model allows for the establishment of a decision-making board to administer funding collected through a levy on either businesses or property owners in a particular area (Ontario 2001). Funded projects generally include aesthetic infrastructure repairs, events to attract customers, business studies and various security measures. Municipal governments often leave maintenance of public spaces within a BIA's jurisdiction to the BIA's Board of Directors.

Provincial, state and municipal governments across North America have since adopted the BIA example. Saskatchewan instituted enabling legislation in 1979, New Brunswick established BIA legislation in 1985 and British Columbia's legislation allowing BIAs passed in 1988. The establishment of BIAs across North America marked a distinct turn to the creation of private governance bodies to administer public spaces in the names of historical preservation, economic development and public safety. At the same time, the failures of many downtown revitalization schemes of the 1980s, the overall economic downturn of the late 1980s and early 1990s across Canada and the advent of unprecedented international free trade agreements meant the nature of employment across the country would change dramatically.

The nature of employment changes in Canada through the later 20th century can be better understood in light of increases in service-oriented industries. Coffey (2000) documents

how many cities with specialized economic systems witnessed significant reductions in their economic productivity and ability to cope with the changing global flows of capital. Moreover, from 1989 to 1986 big box retail stores, generally located in suburban areas, increased their market share in the electronics retail sector from just over 10 per cent in 1989 to 35 per cent in 1986 while their share of the music retail market increased from 29 per cent to 35 per cent over the same period (Genest-Laplane 2000). Similar trends, although to a lesser degree were also witnessed in the clothing retail sector.

Hamdani (1998a) reports that service-producing industries generally experience a higher degree of volatility than goods producing sectors such as manufacturing (9). This translates into less stable employment opportunities and greater social and economic upheaval as these industries experience increased technological change and geographic mobility. As the business, communication, accommodation, transportation and food services sectors were the largest-growing economic areas in Canada between 1991 and 1994 (6), cities came under increased pressure to compete as service centres, and providers of subsidies to firms seeking both reduced volatility and expenditures. Through 1984 to 1995, both areas of economic sector activity witnessed decreases in volatility through to 1990, and, again, a further decrease to 1995. This is largely attributed to a national economic slowdown in the early 1990s (Hamdani 1998b). The lack of employment volatility in this case meant a lack of employment overall. In general, though, the service sector in Canada witnessed gross annual job reallocations of between 27 and 32 per cent throughout the period between 1984 and 1995⁴ (6). This indicates a significant

⁴ Hamdani explains the methodology of determining employment volatility by sector: "the estimates of job gains and job losses are gross (rather than net) concepts; that is, job creation, for example, is the total number of jobs created in the economy before job losses are accounted for. Job creation is calculated by adding the increase in jobs contributed by growing firms and by new start-up firms. Similarly, gross job loss is the loss in employment due to retrenchment in declining firms plus jobs lost because of firm closures during the reference period. The difference between the two components gives the net change in employment. The sum of the absolute values of the two components yields an estimate of job reallocation. All of these magnitudes are

instability in employment for large portions of the population as well as an overall weakness in a region's ability to maintain a stable economic system.

Finnie (2000) identifies migration variables for Canadian provinces indicating a higher likelihood of migration away from smaller provinces with higher rates of unemployment and overall job volatility as indicated by one's reliance upon unemployment assistance. These indicators remained consistent throughout the period of analysis for this study. These results are particularly important for Saskatoon and Saint John, given their low provincial populations and increasing reliance upon service sector employment.

In addition to – and in conjunction with – the employment and industry changes of the late 20th century, planners were faced with new challenges in fulfilling apparent urban necessities. These necessities came about in light of changing political circumstances and new requirements for cities to remain competitive. Internationally, the demise of Cold War policies in the early 1990s brought about resurgence in the preservation of historically significant cities as a renewed interest in “heritage planning” arose (Ashworth and Tunbridge 1999). As the international political focus moved away from the Cold War economy and its accompanied industrial activity and national protectionism, new avenues to the exploration of markets arose along with an increase in international mobility of capital. With the shift to a service sector economy and the exodus of traditional heavy industrial and manufacturing activities based on primary resource production and manufacturing from Canadian cities, new planning models centred on aesthetically pleasing urban spaces were required. As waterfronts previously housed the most valuable industries within cities, decrepit, abandoned buildings were left as a reminder of previous industrial activity and rotting capital investments, devaluing with every falling brick and broken window. Some cities made the waterfront home to freeway systems in the 1960s,

expressed as percentages by dividing them by the number of jobs that existed at the beginning of the reference period.”

mirroring previous decades of marine transportation. As medium-size cities began to sprawl with their largest growth periods through the 1970s and 1980s, distinct problems with the priorities of developers and planners became apparent: economic change and the attempts to generate growth were not always aesthetically appealing. At a time when the public ideal of urban space was being influenced by the artificial beauty and safety in the image of the perfect Disney city of American mythology, a greater understanding of urban aesthetics amidst competitions for citizens and tourists became paramount. During the failure of urban renewal schemes of the 1980s to generate any significant economic or social revitalization, historical conservation in urban inner cities became important (Tunbridge 1986). Municipal groups debated the manner in which cities represent history and whose history should be represented in renewal schemes (Tunbridge 1984). Entering the 1990s, similar debates arose, as waterfronts became the focus of urban revitalization plans (Mann 1988, Daigle et. al. 1989, Corbin 1996, Hoyle 1994). How communities should be involved in planning redevelopments (Hoyle 1999, 2000), the government role in waterfront management (Proudfoot 1996) and the nature of waterfront developments as an international trend in an increasingly important service-oriented economy (Ingrassia 2000, Gordon 1999) emerged as important topics.

This reintroduced a new urban dilemma as municipal governments searched for new avenues through which to maintain economic growth. Zoning and land use designations, encompassing much of the urban planning processes following WWII and the early 1980s did not necessarily account for the quality of life demands of an increasingly mobile population. Value was recognized in developing waterfronts into aesthetically pleasing sites, but the method by which such developments should be orchestrated was not clear. An answer to this was found in the potential of existing economic development departments within municipal administrations. By incorporating the departments into separate entities, the EDC became a

citywide planner of economic growth by acting as a facilitator between business and government interests, promoting the municipality to various corporate entities interested in relocating operations. The EDC achieved this by advocating an overall image of how the city should be represented and perceived both by residents and external bodies. The idea behind such a body is not new. Municipalities have had elite civic boosters through the history of Canadian urban development (Artibise 1979). The legal construction and legitimation of such bodies as economic development corporations, however, is a stark example of the privatization of municipal decision-making processes.

6.3 The establishment of EDCs in the study's cities

Departments of economic development in the four cities studied existed prior to 1985. Each of the cities, except Kelowna, moved to establish separately incorporated EDCs in the 1990s following periods of stagnant economic activity, indicated by high unemployment rates and low value of new construction or the plateau of real estate markets (See Appendix B). Saskatoon was the first to form an EDC with the establishment of the Saskatoon Regional Economic Authority (SREDA) in 1993, following five years of a six year decline in housing prices and a five year drop in construction value. The following year, Saint John created Enterprise Saint John. To that point the city had experienced six years of stagnant real estate prices and a significant decline in the value of construction in the region. London's EDC was not established as an incorporated entity until 1998, although the organization had been active in its previous form as a municipal department. The incorporation of the London Economic Development Corporation followed a long decline in overall construction value in the area and a real estate market with prices relatively stable, but with no growth over the previous six years. The establishment of EDCs following downturns in local economic activities is characteristic of government involvement in

attempting to induce economic activity amidst a changing role of traditional governance regimes at the end of the welfare state (Todd 1996b).

Kelowna's EDC has remained under the auspices of the Central Okanagan Regional District's since its creation in 1978. The city, however, was the only example in this study of rapid growth in construction value, real estate prices and overall population through large parts of the study's scope. While the municipal governance bodies have had to deal with specific issues in regard to growth management, the city has not had an "urban crisis" in having to deal with the abandonment of downtown infrastructure investment in the form of buildings as have the other municipalities. Still, the last years of the 1990s witnessed a significant drop in construction value in the city. In attempting to market a small high technology sector in the city, a private-sector consortium emerged in 1998: the Okanagan High Tech Council (OHTC). This council, with funding from public and private sources, is similar to many other EDCs across Canada. It works "to facilitate the development and implementation of initiatives that support the growth and recognition of the high technology sector as a strategic asset for economic development in the Okanagan Valley," (OHTC 2001). The OHTC's creation followed a period of economic settlement following a decade of rapid growth in the city and the emergence of a variety of new businesses as well as funding programs from the British Columbia government for high technology development.

The creation of EDCs matches a national trend in which 15 of the country's 16 largest Census Metropolitan Areas established independent or "arm's length" economic development agencies (see Appendix J). Nine of these CMAs fall into the "medium-size" category of populations between 100,000 and 500,000. The notion of economic development has attained a status of municipal necessity in many Canadian cities, as the public good is increasingly associated with economic well-being. While EDCs have grown in number over the 1990s, they

have done so within a unique framework of professional legitimacy that has evolved since the origins of economic development as a recognized professional activity in the late 1960s. In 1968 a group of private developers, with the financial backing of the then-Department of Industry, established the Canadian Industrial Developers Association, later to become the Economic Development Association of Canada (EDAC). Acting as a professional information and lobbying group, the EDAC established an Economic Development Program with the University of Waterloo. A certificate program began in 1985 and a Masters program in Local Economic Development began accepting students in 1988 (EDAC 2001). By the end of the 1980s, economic development professionals had established an entire academic accreditation system, including a French program in coordination with the University of Quebec in Montreal (*ibid*). This marks a significant turning point in municipal development as economic development came to be understood as a controllable process of growth and change, given careful consideration by trained professionals.

6.4 The neo-liberal governance model

The rise of the EDC in Canadian cities was not simply a local response to perceived changes in international markets. Indeed, in each city the EDC filled a particular gap in the business community's ability to effectively manage the public planning and development agenda. The BIAs, while having tapped historical reconstruction monies and established new autonomy in decision-making abilities within their jurisdiction, were limited by spatial designations within which they must operate. The BIA focus was restricted from a scope of development within their own street and thus left them unable to develop larger economic development strategies. At the same time, each of the provinces in which the four cities are located, had developed economic development departments and strategies that fundamentally changed the way funding

was distributed for local projects. With the creation of provincial government organizations such as the Saskatchewan Opportunities Corporation, Business New Brunswick and the British Columbia Information, Science and Technology Agency, funding became project oriented rather than transfer oriented. Project areas were determined at a provincial level and municipalities were left to compete for project funds. Federal programs were also limited to economic diversification program funding under Industry Canada's organizations such as Western Economic Diversification Canada (WD), the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency (ACOA) and the Business Development Bank of Canada (BDC). Even tourism was privatized with the creation of the Canadian Tourism Commission (CTC) in 1995, "in order to capitalize on one of the fastest-growing international industries," (CTC 2001). Tourism became an "industry led and market driven" (ibid) initiative. As the provincial and federal levels of government had changed funding programs away from social development to economic initiatives, the cities have required a new approach to remaining competitive in attracting funding. The local EDC provided an outlet for the development of economic strategies to work within the confines of upper-level government requirements, while assuring traditionally troublesome social planning concerns such as homelessness strategies and poverty prevention programs did not create impediments to economic growth strategies.

Funding for EDC implementation has caused a shift in municipal expenditures over the period of the 1990s. As planning departments have changed in function from social planning bodies to administrative facilitators for the development industry (as discussed in chapter 5), a cost recovery budget model has been implemented in many cities. As a result, municipalities expect to spend more on planning as a gross municipal expenditure, while net expenditures decrease. For example, Kelowna's gross expenditure on planning for 2000 was budgeted at \$5 million. The city's net expenditure after factoring service charges was expected to be \$2.6 million

(Kelowna 2000). London's Planning and Development Department's budget showed gross expenditures for 2001 were budgeted at \$23.1 million, while the net budget line figured at \$18.7 million. The department's budget includes social housing expenditures. As well, building control figures in the budget constitute the largest portion of cost recovery, providing a \$308,000 surplus for the budget line (London 2001). Over ten years of this study's scope, Saint John's expenditures on Environmental Planning Services, including building and technical services, real estate management and planning, decreased from 8.05 per cent of the city's total expenditures in 1991 to 7.78 per cent in 2000 (Saint John 2000).

At the same time as municipalities are decreasing gross expenditures on planning while expecting increases in user fees, overall spending on economic development initiatives is increasing. While London's expenditures on its EDC equalled \$948,000 in 1999, the figure rose 37 per cent to \$1.3 million in 2000. Similar results are evident in Saint John and Saskatoon. In 2000, Enterprise Saint John operated on a \$986,500 budget, \$600,000 of which came from the municipalities of Grand Bay-Westfield, Quispamsis, Rothesay, and Saint John. The bulk of the remaining funds, \$238,000, were contributed by the province of New Brunswick and ACOA. In comparison, the city of Saint John's entire municipal planning budget in 2000 was \$845,500. In Saskatoon, SREDA received \$390,300 from the city of Saskatoon in 2000, bringing its budget to \$887,045 (Saskatoon 2001). In comparison, the city's Planning Department had expenditures of \$638,600 and revenues of \$189,700 for a net expenditure of \$442,900 the same year. A net amount of \$47,400 was spent on urban design. Gross operating costs for the Design Department equalled \$275,000. Planning as a municipal activity with a scope of ensuring social services are accounted for in physical design for the municipal population's well-being is becoming valued less by many municipalities than purely economic development functions.

6.5 Functions of the EDC in Canadian cities

Each of the EDCs examined in this study approached their initial tasks upon incorporation (or, as in Kelowna's case, within a general shift toward an emphasis on a technology-oriented economy amidst the previous EDC structure as part of a regional government), as establishing themselves as a nodal point in their cities' business community. Enterprise Saint John staff recognized that "the community didn't have its act together" to take advantage of infrastructure, financing programs and commercial opportunities in the city and province (Carson 2001). While Saskatoon's EDC acts with an "industry focus" as an "advocate of business" (Christ 2001), the general focus of each organization is to provide an apparatus of funding and support in the city that will attract business, provide support for expanding businesses, and establish a forum for entrepreneurs to discuss needs and directions for the economic direction of the city. Differing from traditional Chambers of Commerce and Boards of Trade, the EDCs do not lobby for particular interests of member organizations, but act as facilitators and advocates of overall business growth in the region.

As part of ongoing efforts by each EDC to identify areas of growth, potential development and overall economic diversification, each divides its focuses into sector-related activities. This generally includes construction, automotive and manufacturing, biotechnology, information technology, tourism, transportation and communication and primary resource industries such as mining, agriculture and forestry. Each EDC prioritizes its efforts to one or two specific areas where the greatest results may be anticipated. From this, each EDC developed a marketing campaign concentrating on specific areas identified as significant from a business perspective in order to attract interest and public support.

It is within each EDC's branding exercises that a more complete picture of economic development initiatives and the positioning of the city as a competitive entity in the business

environment. Three of the four cities studied had undergone or were undergoing specific branding activities over the course of EDC development. In Saskatoon, SREDA branded itself as “Business First” in the city. In early 2001, the organization began working with a large group of public and commercial organizations calling themselves “Team Saskatoon”. The group’s goal is to brand the city and increase its marketability through a marketing and communication strategy (Saskatoon 2 April 2001). In Kelowna, the Okanagan High Tech Council branded their city as Silicon Vineyard to emphasize the emerging high technology sector amidst the city’s winery aesthetics and quality of life features. Saint John, while not having been branded, is set to undergo a similar marketing venture as Enterprise Saint John representatives say the process is important to future development of the city’s profile (Carson 2001). This follows a national trend of municipal branding with recent phrases such as “Calgary: The Heart of the New West” and “Ottawa: Technically Beautiful” becoming marketing tools for municipalities attempting to attract the interest of external companies and investors. Each EDC promotes specific qualities that comprise the city’s brand experience, which will be more attractive to businesses considering relocating to the particular area while garnering local support towards their municipal pride and vision.

The brand also diverts attention from other less palatable marketing techniques used in each city. The availability of a stationary and low-cost workforce is a primary attraction emphasized by all EDCs. Kelowna, Saskatoon Saint John and London all emphasize consistent unemployment rates between 5 and 12 per cent as an advantage in providing an available workforce. The province of New Brunswick emphasizes low rates of unionization as advantages to many companies requiring flexible labour pools for lower-income wages, particularly for call centre industries. Each EDC highlights tax incentives and wage subsidization programs offered by various government institutions. All EDC representatives interviewed identified government

subsidies and tax breaks as crucial elements in attracting new corporate data processing centres, particularly where back-end corporate functions are concerned.

Aside from marketing their cities, each EDC perceives itself as a crucial element in facilitating a potential business's relocation to the city and in actual municipal planning decisions for future growth in their respective cities. In Saskatoon, SREDA has a chair on the city's planning committee. Enterprise Saint John's director calls his working relationship with the city's planning staff, mayor and councillors "close". London's EDC board of directors includes the mayor, a city councillor, the city manager and the deputy mayor. The Central Okanagan EDC includes city councillors from Kelowna and the surrounding municipalities as well as a regional representative. All EDC representatives interviewed cited intricate knowledge of zoning and building bylaws, available land and building space and overall close ties with municipal planning and building departments as very important elements of their work in order to facilitate the expansion or relocation of companies in the area.

As part of its marketing strategy each EDC produces sector directories, resembling phone books, for particular areas of related commercial activity. Generally containing contact information, historical background and activity profiles, the directories act as business profiles of the cities they represent. All cities studied produce directories and publications for businesses they classify as high technology, including telecommunication, biotechnology research, software development and general "research intensive" industries. These publications serve two purposes: first, they are a tally of the community's business resources or a list of achievements for those within the community and second, they are a promotional item for external businesses and funding agencies to promote the advantages of locating or investing in an area of agglomerate research and production in specialized sectors.

All EDC representatives interviewed for this study pointed out that prior to the creation of their respective organizations, no marketing resources existed for the city outside of some tourism brochures. Directories, such as those above, were some of the first items developed for promotional purposes. These have since been followed by a variety of marketing publications, market studies, community profiles and infrastructure check lists of resources available in the community. Some municipal EDCs and other provincial ministries in charge of economic development offer free market comparison studies for companies considering relocating. These studies compared cost of business in a variety of markets throughout North America and around the world where similar productive functions occur.

A focal point in marketing materials produced by each EDC is the quality of life offered by each city through recreation, cultural and aesthetic qualities in the area. The Central Okanagan EDC explains, "Music, theatre, art galleries, festival and countless heritage sights are just *some* of the qualities that make the Central Okanagan *richly intriguing!*" (2001). London's EDC states, "There are more than 10 cultural associations and a variety of language schools. The City of London, in partnership with local businesses, is an active sponsor of community events that pay tribute to this rich tapestry," (2001). In Saskatoon, SREDA includes in promotional materials, "Opportunities for recreation abound in the city's abundant leisure facilities, parks, golf courses, and nearby lakes," (2001). Recreational and aesthetic qualities are emphasized and promoted, both as attractions for a tourism market and the local population. Cultural and recreational amenities denote well-being and luxury in a city. These necessarily equate to quality of life standards in the eyes of the EDC.

6.6 Trends in EDC Marketing Priorities: Finding a Niche in the Space of Flows

To this point a number of areas of priority in the development of telecommunication infrastructure in the repositioning of the medium-size Canadian city as part of a planning process have become apparent. First, the presence of a physical infrastructure is viewed in many cities as important to the economic viability and sustainability of a given region. At the same time as this infrastructure is important, it alone is commonly recognized as one element in the economic development of communities. Second, effective administration of land and public records through complex databases operated over networks is recognized as a new element of effective municipal planning in these cities. These functions are still subject to debate and discussion as to what information will be stored, how the information will be accessible and how it will be used. These two areas of focus have developed amidst a multitude of hype around the commercialization of the Internet, the delegitimation of governance in the welfare state and the liberalization of markets around the world. The EDC has emerged in this situation as part practicality in playing the neo-liberal game of capital flows and part necessity in positioning the city in the increasingly liberalized regime of market governance. Finally, it is part cheerleader or civic booster, exclaiming that there is still a role for smaller urban centres, operating in support of the global network of power, concentrated in the global urban hubs.

Following the tradition of civic boosterism, the EDC offers municipal pride in many regions for an elite group of individuals controlling the economic functions of the city. At the same time, the EDC's role is actually to undercut the value of their respective cities in order to attract the greatest number of corporate bodies, willing to relocate in the area for as long as a lower cost of business is not more beneficial elsewhere. As a result, despite the promises apparent in a municipality becoming part of the "network society" or, as the Canadian

government proclaims, a “smart community”, most EDCs are left to compete for the grunt work of the digital economy. EDC and municipal planning representatives from Saint John, London, Saskatoon and Saskatoon all identified manufacturing, processing and service sector employment as the primary occupation groups in their cities and the foremost priority sectors for attracting future business activity to the area. High technology research and development activities may be present and provide significant work in their areas within the cities studied. At the same time, all representatives except for the EDC representative in Saint John identified information technology sectors as minor influences in their overall urban economic environment. In Saint John, the information technology influence is found in grey collar positions of data processing in call centres. The primary focus in all cities is economic and municipal planning for industrial space to accommodate future manufacturing and processing activities.

While technology and research parks play an increasingly important role in centring political and marketing attention on a community, the majority of employment positions are found in manufacturing and service industry forms of work. In 1996, each of Kelowna, Saskatoon, London and Saint John had between 65 and 68 per cent of their total populations employed in administrative, finance, sales, service, equipment operation, trades, processing and manufacturing occupations (Statistics Canada 1996). In relation, no city had more than 9.2 per cent of its population employed in management occupations. Between 3.4 and 4.6 per cent of the cities’ populations were employed in natural and applied sciences-related fields and only 2.1 to 2.7 per cent of the populations were employed in art, culture, sport or recreation oriented occupations. Within this employment situation, 65 to 72 per cent of each city’s population falls within the lowest two income quartiles (see Appendix C). Between 17.3 per cent (Kelowna) and

21.4 per cent (Saskatoon) of the household populations in the cities studied fall within “low income” classification by Statistics Canada (1996).

Considering these statistics and the reality of the EDC’s focus on manufacturing and processing expansion in each city, a significant contradiction in the reality of low-wage employment opposed to the marketing of high technology work in each city becomes apparent. The stability and naturalization of governance – local, national or otherwise – is reliant upon a perception of normality and well-being in the daily circumstances of a citizenry. Quality of life, represented through cultural events and recreational activities, is thus used as a selling point in the promotion of each city by the EDC to both the local population as well as external investors. The fact that approximately 20 per cent of the urban household population examined in this study live in “low income” categories signifies a difficulty to meet even basic daily sustenance needs. Yet, the low wage characteristics of a given area are used as selling points by the local EDC trying to attract business relocations. The promise to the local population is economic growth resulting in an increased quality of life while between 60 to 70 per cent of the population continue to work in blue, grey and pink collar occupations and occupy the lowest two quartiles of income in their cities. If the income levels of these workers were to improve, the EDC would lose one of its best selling points for attracting new business activity. As a result, quality of life as measured by the EDC includes cultural activities available on an affordability basis rather than traditional indicators such as employment levels, poverty indices, pay equity or security of housing.

The research into unofficial economies (Sassen 1996) is not only as relevant in small cities as it is in the global urban hubs, but so to is research done into cultural trends (Schiller 1989, Zukin 1995, Mosco 1999) as the medium of the cultural city is transformed into a commodified space, implicit in the neo-liberal regime of market control. The form of the

aesthetically pleasing, culture- and recreation-oriented urban centre advocated by the EDC communicates a social representation of a minority of the population consisting of the social and economic elite in a given city. While some studies have analyzed the trends in corporate urban design principals in larger urban centres such as those in Asia competing for economic status on the world stage (Olds 2001), this phenomenon is not foreign to Canadian cities. The Canadian Institute of Planners (CIP), the professional accreditation organization for Canadian urban planners, lists 29 private design and consulting firms amongst its membership (Canadian Institute of Planners 2001). The actualization of cultural- and aesthetic-oriented planning values have been made apparent in the cities this study examined.

Beginning in 1990, Saskatoon included an urban design line of \$10,000 in its budget to account for special projects to revitalize its “south downtown” district. This is an area along the South Saskatchewan riverbank, divided by the city’s freeway and encompassing empty lots that once housed the city’s power plant and civic arena. A proposed development considered in the 1990s involved a casino, theatre, seniors’ housing complex and a waterfront recreation access site. Across the street from the undeveloped site is the city’s poorest neighbourhood, housing the highest ratio of Aboriginal people and the lowest ratio of post-secondary education graduates (Youngberg 1999). When conflict over the reliance upon a casino as the economic development strategy came to a head in a municipal referendum, the project was defeated. The site remains vacant, except for one seniors’ high-rise, over one decade following initial development plans. Saint John began discussion of a harbour front rejuvenation project in 2000 following the collapse of the city’s shipbuilding and marine shipping industries. An urban revitalization plan from the 1980s saw the building of a tourism-oriented water front shopping centre and a luxury Hotel. The harbour front has been recognized as a potential waterfront development to attract cruise ships as well as retiring people willing to invest in waterfront

condominiums (Baird 2001). Kelowna continues to emphasize attention to the aesthetic qualities of its city along the waterfront, having seen the construction of a luxury hotel and conference centre in the early 1990s. Each of these cities has placed a large degree of trust in their ability to develop some degree of social stability through catering to the demands and desires of a small proportion of the population that retains the majority of economic control throughout society. Social factors and quality of life provisions are not so much a focus or a goal in planning anymore, but a desirable by-product of market processes.

6.7 Conclusion

As a clear transfer of authority from traditional municipal planning models and social planning principals to economic development initiatives took place through the 1990s, a transfer from transparent municipal governance to private decision-making processes also happened. The EDC, operating as an incorporated body outside of municipal governance models yet funded by traditionally public revenues, is able to operate without restriction impeding its speed and priorities. Issues such as public consultations and geographical limits that are imposed on municipal planning departments and BIAs through provincial legislation are not relevant to the EDC. Board of Director members and EDC staff are not elected, apart from token city council representatives offered seats in some places. Yet, EDC directors and staff often have direct access to planning resources and municipal services, as would an actual department in city hall.

From this discussion, the EDC appears as one of the most apparent examples of the privatization of planning at the municipal level. Yet, it is only one element of a larger change in international governance trends as market factors are used on an increasingly frequent basis to lend legitimacy to the liberalization of government regulatory restrictions on capital flows. Focus upon telecommunication infrastructure, as discussed in chapter 4, has been a regular focus of

discussion on international market and governance transitions. Yet the determinist nature of much public discussion in political and industry forums has naturalized the presence and commercial nature of many new infrastructures and the software technologies operating within these new constructs, as discussed in chapter 5. Moreover, the Canadian city's positioning within the international network of infrastructure and the "space of flows" present within represents a powerful example of the media operating over telecommunication infrastructures increasingly being understood as synonymous with the medium of urban form. The convergence and corporate control of these media represent a powerful usurpation of values and rights previously recognized as inherently public necessities for the fulfillment of basic needs and providing a forum for a diversity of opinions and perspectives in the shaping of community priorities and basic tenants of social cohesion. The following chapter will conclude this discussion with an analysis of the impacts of privatized planning of the urban medium in a Canadian context and suggestions for future perspectives in studying this phenomenon.

Chapter 7

Planning, Social Functions and Economic Priorities:

Perspectives on the Canadian City

"The most conservative areas are rural areas, but the strongest support for SaskTel as a crown corporation is in rural Saskatchewan. . . . We are reliant upon the Saskatchewan-SaskTel love affair so the company can retain capacity to do what it needs for the province. . . . It's not a matter of Saskatchewan residents as Communists. It's a socialist manifestation of the crown corporation but supported by very conservative people. . . . There were drivers toward collectivist attitudes in the province that brought about the socialist left political philosophy. Collectivism isn't a left wing thing, but a product of our society in general."

"The first thing we saw at Enterprise Saint John was that the community didn't have its act together to take advantage of the opportunities out there. . . . After only a few years we have created 8,000 new jobs, over the past decade we have brought in companies that actually attract young people. We have a technology park."

"Public hearings are spectator sports here. NIMBYism is an art form in Kelowna, and you can quote me on that. The department tries to balance both community interests and planning principals. While the view is that development is good, it is very difficult for department planners to be protectors of quality of life while the community believe the government should be helpful. Democratically made decisions are a reality in planning. As planners we aren't crusaders."

Each of these quotes outlines a particular individual's perspective and relation to their work as a professional in their given city. The comments, from a Telco CEO, an economic development strategist and a municipal planner, respectively, each represent the attitudes of three people within their daily lives and communities. Given the authority to act within their professional designations though, each comment portrays a more dominant perspective of individuals acting within a prescribed system of power, governance and social management. Each person understands their role as providing for the public good of their given community, each through a set of functions available to them within their profession. To this point an attempt has been made in the previous chapters to provide empirical evidence from four medium-size Canadian cities in order to demonstrate the processes of privatization of planning occurring in each. Further, the theoretical perspective used in each example is that the city itself is a communication medium undergoing processes of convergence and privatization of

telecommunication infrastructure. This, in turn, raises issues around the social uses and end content disseminated through the city similar to and in tandem with other media in contemporary society. As such, the city must be viewed not only as a place in which social actions take place, but also as a space over which conflict ensues, as a spatial construct of these struggles and as a reflection of the prevailing power regimes in a given society. Following this understanding of the urban system, control over the design, representations and uses of this space becomes a powerful element in the structuring and reinforcement of regimes in the urban society. Through the twentieth century, amidst rapid urbanization, the powerful influences of modern production and the apparent post-modern crisis of post-production restructuring, the city was the location and object of intense struggle between an elite ruling class and a citizenry coming to terms with the power connotations of the Canadian metropolis. This recognition of the city as a medium in itself arises from a specific series of theoretical discussions and sets a basis for future research into the urban situation from a communication standpoint.

This chapter will review the status of urban and communicative theory in light of the findings discussed in previous chapters in an effort to assess the ability of contemporary theoretical perspectives to extend into avenues of future research. This will be done in three areas. First, a discussion of agency within the city's form will explain why it is important to employ a political economic perspective that reaches beyond a study of socio-economic institutions into an area of social interaction. This will be compared against the "crisis" of planning in recognizing a role for the planner within the realigned urban centre in a global network of economic interdependencies. The dangers of employing critical theory reliant upon a space versus time dialectic will be outlined. An alternative perspective of recognizing time and space as mutually constituting concepts will be suggested. In the second part, an outline of contemporary planning's role in society against assumed myths of social interaction in the late

20th century will be examined. This leads in to the discussion in part three, whereby the city efficient theory of the radical modernists in the early 20th century will be reassessed in light of current trends in the alignment of urban centres in an international production and consumption system. The institutions of property that, the market maintains, should mediate human interaction in the urban and global environment will be explained. The manner in which property contributes to the system of capital flows is being designed and controlled by an international class of corporate interests will be compared to the alignment of cities as centres of accumulation. Finally, the chapter will conclude with a suggestion for a theoretical perspective that adequately applies to the Canadian city in the context of global neo-liberal systems of governance.

7.1 Recognizing agency in the city's form

In constituting an approach to political economic studies in communication, Mosco (1996) outlines three “entry points” for analysis: commodification, spatialization and structuration. These areas of examination are particularly useful in pursuing a study of urban planning privatization. In particular, commodification, as used throughout this study to examine the “process of transforming use values into exchange values” (141) and spatialization as “the process of overcoming the constraints of space and time in social life,” (173) have been useful to this point. These two concepts provide a basis upon which the privatization of the city and the connection of the urban medium to an international network of capital flows in a market system have been examined. At this point, structuration must be introduced in concluding this discussion in order to recognize the importance of agency within the societal institutions established. In looking at the city, the definition of structuration adds particular relevance to a study of the urban environment as the concept “describes a process by which structures are

constituted out of human agency, even as they provide the very “medium” of that constitution,” (212). The city, as a medium constructed by people over time, is the constant form of physical space within which people live and to which each person contributes each day in some way, whether consciously or unaware, voluntarily or under a state of force.

In an examination of the city at the close of the 20th century, Harvey (2000) attempts to come to terms with the nature of globalization in increasingly interdependent markets and systems of capital flow. He recognizes that “capitalism is under the impulsion to eliminate all spatial barriers, to ‘annihilate space through time’ as Marx puts it, but it can do so only through the production of a fixed space,” such that “the effect is to make the geographical landscape of capitalism more and more sclerotic with time, thus creating a major contradiction with the increasing liberty of movement,” (59). Given the capital investment into the physical form of the city, the resulting increased ability for an uprising from the under-classes agglomerated in the city and thus the inherent interest for the ruling class to control the social flows of the urban environment, Harvey discusses past efforts to politically position the city into the interests of an elite class by centralizing power at the level of state governance (76). In the global marketplace, this is also now being done at the transnational level of governance through institutions such as the World Bank, the World Trade Organization and the International Monetary Fund. Thus, as the ability of the majority to mobilize becomes greater with the continued agglomeration of populations in urban areas, the actual form of the city and concentration of power in the hands of a small governing body make it more and more difficult to organize meaningful opposition against the dominant market regime.

While Harvey brings together an important perspective on the state of the urban construct as the city remains a focal point for protest and social justice, he does not, however, provide a suitable groundwork through which the city may be understood as anything other than

a tool of oppression against the majority of people. Indeed, Harvey's perspective removes much of the agency from the institution of the city, denying much of the humanity present in the urban environment. In speculating on the reason for this blind spot, it would appear as though Harvey's own geographical perspective is too rigid in its spatial deterministic nature. If the city is not recognized as a tool of communicative practice, both across time and space, then what avenues exist for reconstituting the agency within the physical form of space to thus create a place of existence? While Harvey allocates scant attention to this factor, his contribution to establishing the city as a focal point in the processes of capitalist growth in the previous 30 years is especially notable. Moreover, the converse perspective of recognizing the geographic spatial institutions as part of a communicative framework is only slowly emerging within the context of critical communication theory.

In constructing a position for an investigation into Canadian urban studies from a communication perspective in light of the research presented in this project, it is thus necessary to return to the work of the variety of communication and geographic scholars discussed in earlier chapters. A particular dilemma exists within the context of theoretical perspectives extolling the arrival of a post-modern situation in the global psyche. Ley establishes a framework through empirical research from a geographical perspective in which the North American city finds itself in a particularly distinct state of post-industrialism, post-fordism and postmodernity at once. Indeed, given the nature of urban economics, following a period of rapid growth and the corresponding construction, a continuous series of crises arise as cities shift from economies of urban form production to sustainable means of production within the established form. The crisis of physical degeneration in the aging urban centres paralleled by the increasingly service-sector employment trends in North American society indicates a particular change in the social patterns of the present society. As a result, each city encounters unique situations in the

restructuring of economic and social systems. Yet, these regions are not distinct from the ever-increasingly interdependence of the global market. Indeed, Canadian cities were established not as independent, sustainable centres, but as part of an interdependent network, ultimately reliant upon the authority of a centralized federal power. This places concerns such as those proposed by Warf for a postmodern geography – complexity, contextuality, contingency and criticality – in an awkwardly obvious light. There is little in this framework that offers any compelling perspective for reconsidering the critical analysis of geographic and communication enquiry and does less to explore the state of academic thought given the current situation.

Rather, emerging from the political economic perspective of investigation understood in this study, there emerges a framework in which agency may be studied within and against the historical and contemporary institutional societal apparatus in existence. It is the concept of this apparatus, as used by Denning from the work of C. Wright Mills, that lends particular relevance to the city as a medium, both sclerotic and in the process of ongoing changes through social uses and perceptions of space, that allows for an adequate study of the urban situation, within which the institutions of planning come to be understood. The institutions of communication are not understood as deterministic in nature. Indeed, the planners of the early 1900s had little tangible evidence as to how the development and creation of all spaces would be perceived and used one hundred years later. Mansell's observations of the "complex social processes that emerge from continuous negotiations," are particularly relevant in examining the ongoing interactions of individuals with each other, their technologies and the spaces they embody and occupy (Mansell 1996). As Barney points out, the networks that are increasingly constituting and mediating our social interactions are not inherently democratic (2000). Rather, they are contested spaces where conflict and negotiation determine physical and social uses as well as imaginative perceptions of the medium.

Therefore, the city itself is more than a “space of flows” as characterized by Castells. While the “space of flows” perspective is useful in establishing the city as a medium in society, it does not adequately account for the socially engaged nature of the city and its constantly renegotiated position in contemporary society. While asserting that “space organizes time in the network society,” (376) one must question Castells’ understanding of the city as an extension of social interaction, constituted by the agency acting within and upon the institution. In this context, it becomes difficult to necessarily separate space and time as independent variables acting upon each other. Rather, the two appear as mutually constituting variables, both the products of human action and interpretation of their external environment with which they must cope while acting as a part of that state of existence.

The intention at this time is not to attempt a complete re-examination of the time versus space categories in communication theory. Indeed, in mapping the field of Canadian communication thought, Babe (2000) identifies time and space as key categorical factors of analysis and understanding of the state of intellectual inquiry (4-5). It is the very myth of the dialectic of space in regard to Canada’s physical presence and dispersed population against that of time in the communicatory infrastructure imposed that lend the country its existence (23). Yet, by virtue of the national assumptions made about a time and space dialectic in Canadian communication study, the validity of such a theoretical construct must be questioned given the emerging state of urban efficiency movements against the backdrop of increasing poverty and consolidation of wealth in the country. It is, nonetheless, by falling into a time versus space diametric within critical thought that it becomes increasingly difficult to properly critique the state of hegemonic systems in contemporary society.

Graham and Marvin (1996) outline various problems with traditional time and space models of communicative theories. For example, “There was an objective ‘Euclidean’ geometry

to space which could be observed and drawn, and which acted as the empty area within which the spatial relations and spatial processes that shaped cities were enacted,” (55). Concerning temporal constructs of examination, “the importance of time in social life was seen to echo classical Newtonian Physics, to be a simple, invariant container for urban and social life,” (55). It thus comes to pass that breaking down an examination into time versus space constructs is not as valuable as attempting an analysis of the state in which a society’s very understanding of space and time as socially constructed dimensions are recognized. The social constructs of these dimensions come through cultural perceptions and fundamental beliefs in the ordering of the natural world. It is through the entry point of structuration that the cultural elements of a society’s understanding of order and control may be better understood. And, it is through the entry point of commodification that we can understand how power regimes are reinforced under capitalism and with contemporary Canadian urban centres.

7.2 Urban myths and reflexive observation of the planner’s role in a crisis society

In this study, there has been a concerted effort to draw out examples of cultural assumptions – primarily around institutes of property and planning – and the manner in which these understandings influence the day-to-day operations of institutions of social management. Moreover, the effects of the cultural apparatus inherent in the current city reflected against the drive to divide as many artefacts into divisible pieces of titled property create particularly challenging situations for planners attempting to maintain an established role in society, given their history as an established institution in Canada. The three quotes opening this chapter are used to outline some of the prominent assumptions and qualifications held by those competing interests that influence municipal form and social systems of interaction on a daily basis. At the same time, the comments are reflexive in nature with each person assessing his or her role within

an institution of society. The attitudes present three dominant myths of Canadian urban society at the close of the 20th century: the communicative network infrastructure as necessity for community sustainability; the developer as necessity for urban sustainability; and the planner as necessity for mediation amidst competing options.

Each of these myths relies upon the dialectic of space versus time as part of constitutive rationale. The network overcomes space to link communities together; the economic developer competes to attain a position for the community within the global network of capital and productive flows; and the planner administers a framework by which conflict is mediated and consensus is achieved in a liberal democracy. All three act as social planners. The role of planners as social agents in Canadian society is derived from an initial compromise between the radicals, reformers and conservatives of the early part of the century. The city efficient movement behind the institutionalization of planning as a positive role in society provided for a social actor role in providing a basic level of sustenance and, as a result, dignity for all citizens in society. With the rise of the welfare state and subsequent socialist municipal and provincial governments amidst a capitalist system of market governance in Canada, the private market developer subsumed the role of the planner. In the post-war industrial period, the drive to efficiency meant more than establishing a planned society overseeing a controlled market. Rather, planning became synonymous with the market. Efficiency equated not to prudence, but to excess, as mediated by the myth of progress and superiority. The understanding behind this drive was largely possible due to the state of the “other” represented in the Cold War by the Soviet Union and the enemy of Communism. The city was one element, yet encompassing of the Western mentality of modernity and the drive to a greater future in which the “planner” – whether the actual planner, developer, architect or other authoritative individual – planned a material vision of society, to be embedded in urban form. Now, the inefficient waste inherent in

urban sprawl amidst the consumer society is viewed as the most efficient route to the accumulation of profit. This is not, of course without problems, even within the capitalist state as environmental debates of the last 30 years have demonstrated.

The post-war urban vision came into crisis, however, as the objectives and rationale behind grand projects came into question. In opening her 1961 book *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, Jane Jacobs brought voice to a culmination of doubts about the North American urban project. She explained:

This book is an attack on current city planning and rebuilding. It is also, and mostly, an attempt to introduce new principles of city planning and rebuilding, different and even opposite from those now taught in everything from schools of architecture and planning to the Sunday supplements and Women's magazines. My attack is not based on quibbles and rebuilding methods or hairsplitting about fashions in design. It is an attack, rather, on the principles and aims that have shaped modern, orthodox city planning and rebuilding. (5)

Jacobs shattered the myths around urban planning. In providing legitimacy to the voices against such projects as the doomed Spadina Expressway in Toronto, she opposed dominant market rationale that stated:

... if only we had enough money to spend ... we could wipe out all our slums in ten years, reverse decay in the great, dull, gray belts that were yesterday's and day-before-yesterday's suburbs, anchor the wandering middle class and its wandering tax money, and perhaps even solve the traffic problems. (5-6).

It is from this shattered vision of the city that the urban crisis – the turning point into postmodernity in Harvey's perspective – that planning first entered its crisis of purpose.

Isin (1996), rather than getting into a modernity versus postmodernity debate, takes a "metropolis unbound" perspective, outlining the conundrum of contemporary planners against the initial institutionalization of planning in the early 20th century. The early planners were in a position where "knowledge is one of mastery over its objects" such that "knowledge is useful only insofar as it makes prediction and control possible," (101). The contemporary urban intellectuals are interpreters of the city as a text and such a position is inevitably relative. But

when one's perspective is relative in regard to another's the only activity left for the planner is to further observe. It is within the context of the planner as interpreter and the resulting lack of authoritative influence in taking a definitive role in the urban system that the planner has been removed from society as an engaged individual, able to take part in the formation of society. At the same time, it would be a mistake to believe the planner's removed position as observer and administrator in the Canadian city does not have greater effects within the urban system. In fact, this position more and more facilitates the ongoing privatization of governance regimes, removing decisions from the realm of open democratic participation to "efficient" non-bureaucratic boardrooms.

7.3 Learning from the Canadian city in late 20th century realignments

The rebirth of the efficiency movement in the medium-size Canadian city is obvious in the transfer of authority from the planner to the economic development professional, from the public records administrator to the private data processor and from the public good aspect of utility and social service provisions to the market-based design of the contemporary network society. The general perspective of each planner in this study was that of a facilitator and administrator, providing the guidelines for municipal growth and management. Any action to protect the quality of life is limited to zoning and development plan guidelines, not through active social engagement with individuals and agencies in the community. The nature of planning at the close of the 20th century recognizes the agency within society – at least the agency within particular classes – but assigned an overly generous role to spatial constructions and the subsequent interaction of the market in mediating human interactions. Whether by intention or as a matter of circumstance, the planners identify their roles not as engaged

individuals with regard for specific social principles in their communities, but as professional managers of property and development.

In the meantime, the Economic Development professional acts as a problem solver to the crises proposed by the neo-liberal governance models of the last 15 years. In positioning the city within a global network of capital flows, the economic developer promises a renewed sense of purpose for the medium-size city in the information society. This promise is ripe with insistence that employment, environmental and social problems will be solved, given the right amount of investment. The resulting leisure will ensure attention is allocated to further problem solving initiatives. While there remains no federal policy in regard to urban planning, housing or municipal governance, there is extensive attention allocated to media infrastructure and the content carried over these systems. At the same time, any lack of attention to a medium such as the city does not mean policy does not exist in another form. As Isin points out, often a variety of social and economic policies have much greater influence upon the form and functions urban areas take than any planning department alone. In regard to this factor, the policies employed by all federal departments over the 15-year period of analysis in this study may be understood as urban policy. For example, Industry Canada's urban programs and economic development funding schemes promote a privatized planning process through the emphasis placed on urban economic development programs. In addition, the *Telecommunications Act* of 1993 led the way to a liberalized regulatory scheme, allocating more market regulation to the Telcos in the name of "public interest" and to meet Canadian responsibilities under new international trade pacts such as the GATS. Within the market myth of efficiency, the government has divested its own administrative and regulatory functions to the private sector. This has contributed to the underlying myth of the Canadian city, that allowing for market "efficiency" will create the opportunities for further planning around more fundamental social concerns.

The market imperative has not been absent from traditionally progressive institutions of Canadian society. The labour movement, for example, has not been immune from the myths of the network society. Whether the technology myths have been embraced by unions or not, the market trends of their industry have nonetheless forced labour groups to align their priorities with those of telecommunication companies. Canadian telecommunication workers allowed companies to increase their assets while decreasing their workforce assuming healthier companies would equate to security in the labour force. Instead, the recent bargaining trends only indicate a more vigorous drive to maximize profits while further decreasing and destabilizing the workforce. The market model governing network development only secures the position of the Telco as the upholder of the public interest. The free-flow of capital through the circuits of the “global” network is of utmost importance in assuring a fair playing ground for the municipal corporation to compete for subcontract work of the transnational elite.

At the same time as “‘Governing the metropolis’ became one of the most complex questions in modern democratic societies,” (Isin 1996a:114), a critical perspective developed charging that the later 20th century urban form “is a result of markets in which consumers and producers enter into exchange relationships,” (116). This would appear to set up a particularly determinist perspective in approaching the city’s nature in the network. Of utmost importance in this discussion then is recognizing that the physical city does not hold a particular controlling factor over people in it than does any other medium present in the throes of contemporary society. Rather, the city is part of the cultural apparatus used in power relationships between classes and individuals striving to reappropriate power into their own domain of social participation in the design of social institutions. In focusing on the roles of the planner in society Isin points out problems in recognizing greater issues at hand:

Both legislators and interpreters are conveniently oblivious to relationships of power at work in producing specific urban forms in different societies – power

relations in which both interpreters and legislators are involved but who conceal their own positions in different ways. (118-9)

The underlying discussion in the rise of the network society is not an analysis of how cities are regulating the introduction of fibre cables or how individuals are adapting new technologies into their everyday lives. Instead these situations may provide empirical evidence to the larger phenomenon of capitalism's adjustments in the late 20th century in order to reintroduce its myths of space and time into the fabric of social relations. The quest to pit these two categories of analysis against each other as opposing phenomena is real in the discourse of contemporary society, but also acts as a constraint in addressing avenues for further action in addressing opportunities to move beyond a space versus time discourse of disjuncture.

Citizens in post-industrial and industrial societies alike are being asked to reconsider their own perceptions around the nature of the public good and property. Where the protection of basic rights was allocated as a responsibility of national governments through the post-WWII institutional structures such as the United Nations' Declaration of Human Rights, these responsibilities are now being transferred to the international corporate sector. Governments have made concerted efforts to transfer their authorities even away from the protection of private property through the introduction of private security forces and the transfer of regulatory functions in many industries to the private sector through agreements such as the GATS. An initial struggle existed through the century to have governments recognize social needs as fundamental rights. Now citizens are asked to divest these fundamental rights to the private sector as well. The right to a basic quality of life, security of person and even to exercise one's own labour are questioned in light of the neo-liberal agenda to dismantle state functions from a door to active agency in society to that of institutional enforcer of social ideology.

As a result of this divestiture of personal human rights, the city's capacity to govern is further alienated from society's cultural apparatus. Unemployment figures are not the fulcrum of

social action by a disillusioned workforce as much as they are a market incentive for a company to relocate operations for a subsidized period of time. It is, as Babe (2000) asserts, MacPherson's contribution to recognizing property rights as communicative institutions in their mediating role in social relationships that constitute much of how social democracy in Canada was understood earlier in the century. The cautiously conservative approach to social democracy in the Canadian context of free market systems came to be an appropriation of MacPherson's own vision that "Socialism is not intended to put people on a level, it is to remove the system which prevents people from finding their own level," (quoted by Babe 2000: 144). In the pluralist liberal democracy of North America, this has become a dominant myth of social and economic planning in general. The assumption is that municipal planning is sufficient in its mere presence as a municipal body of governance to mediate the social relations inherent in landed property on a day-to-day administrative level. This is, of course, complicated when additional property rights enter the equation.

Human rights as property rights rely on a position whereby property is an end in itself, and guaranteed by the assurance of uninhibited market systems. This perspective anticipates that time will overcome the physical parameters of space to provide physical and social fulfillment to people. It is, however, in recognizing time and space as mutually constituted components of physical and social reality that property may be reconstituted as a means to an end in providing assurance of basic rights and provisions amongst a people and the myth of the market may be questioned. In this turn, a position for the planner may be reconstituted whereby active participation in a social forum is recognized not only as desirable but necessary for democratic social planning. While this does not revert to the modern position of the planner as master of a trade, it does allocate a position for the planner as advocate for the citizenry in assuring rights of the social being are identified and related to rights of sustenance.

This intentionally avoids prescribing a vision for the city in any context. Rather, it proposes that given the failures of management initiatives concerning urban form, a focus may be repositioned upon the social agency of Canadian society. This agency is embedded within a perspective of international solidarity with a global people in respect of their humanity as opposed to their productive market capacity. An admission of the presence of struggle and conflict and the recognition that the nature of the social agency constitutes the shape of the urban form is required to identify the city's uses as a medium for social communication. Through this, a perspective whereby people strive to tackle their own problems and address their own social needs as an autonomous group in a democratic context may be approached.

7.4 Conclusion

In reflecting upon medium-size Canadian cities at the end of the 20th century, we can see that the phenomenon of privatized planning is part of a larger process of change in governance. In this, principals of social organization and management are moving away from publicly oriented spheres of participation in decision-making at local levels to a consolidated process of decision making at an international level. As a result, rather than determining local directions for community sustainability, local governance bodies are realigning their efforts in a fashion that best allows them to respond to the centralized decisions determining commodity and capital values and their corresponding flows. This process is best identified as the expansion of market systems to form a new speculative version of regulation around technologies amidst a particularly distinct form of social management.

While these processes of privatized social management increase in their ubiquity across the Canadian urban governance spectrum, current critical research and theoretical perspectives offer many opportunities for assessing the degree to which changes occur and what impact the

process has on society in general. At the same time, communication and geographic studies must look beyond traditional time versus space categorizations of social and institutional change processes in order to better outline new avenues for social change. While postmodernity as proposed by some, having arisen as a concept of relative perceptions across regional geographies, purports to provide a theoretical solution to an urban studies “problem” of subjective relativity, it remains in a situation whereby it only serves to open new avenues for dialogue rather than any new directions for a theoretical basis that may account for social flows. Moreover, the social flows present within the network society are necessarily embedded within a hierarchy of network designs, controlled by a multitude of individuals and groups, yet subject to the regulatory orders of an increasingly homogenous corporate agenda. As such, the city can no longer be recognized as a spatially defined parameter for particular action. Rather, the city is a medium over which action takes place, struggle ensues and social systems are regulated. The corporate management of this medium and the efforts to align municipal form with both the real and virtual maps of networks and the virtual space within, represent a stage of media convergence under a system of capitalism not previously witnessed, yet particularly necessary to the system of federal governance in the post-welfare nation state.

Appendices

Appendix A: Periods of Housing Construction

	<1946	1946-1960	1961-1970	1971-1980	1981-1990	1991-1996
Saint John	24.71	14.94	15.19	23.30	15.63	6.23
London	19.07	15.93	17.73	21.45	18.70	7.11
Saskatoon	10.87	16.30	19.11	27.33	22.76	3.63
Kelowna	4.53	7.13	13.41	29.31	24.14	21.49

*Source: Statistics Canada. (1996). *Profile of Census Tracts*. Catalogues 95-196-XPB, 95-204-XPB, 95-208-XPB, 95-212-XPB.

Appendix B: Housing Prices and Total Construction Value, 1985 – 2000 Compared

Executive Detached Two-Story Housing Prices

* Source: *Royal LePage Survey of Canadian House Prices*, 1985-2000 series.

** 1996 Data unavailable

Total Construction Value Chart

* Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 64-203: *Building Permits: Annual Summary*, Series 1985-1997; Statistics Canada, Catalogue 64-001: *Building Permits: Monthly Summary*, Series 1998-2000.

** 1996 Data unavailable

Appendix C: 1996 Income, Adjusted to equal income variable groupings

96 Income compared

	Saint John	London	Saskatoon	Kelowna
<\$1000	6.28	4.98	5.2	4.36
\$1000-\$4999	10.35	8.71	10.14	8.35
\$5000-\$9999	13.77	11.56	13.22	13.22
\$10000-\$14999	15.29	12.8	14.12	16.03
\$15000-\$19999	10.04	10.01	10.02	11.47
\$20000-\$24999	8.65	8.86	8.93	9.37
\$25000-\$29999	7.10	8.17	7.8	7.29
\$30000-\$34999	6.23	7.49	7.04	7.1
\$35000-\$39999	4.50	5.51	5.34	5.39
\$40000-\$44999	4.21	5.03	4.77	4.37
\$45000-\$49999	3.72	3.87	3.45	2.99
\$50000-\$59999	4.65	5.51	4.51	4.37
>\$60000	5.19	7.5	5.46	5.68

*Source: Statistics Canada. (1996). *Profile of Census Tracts*. Catalogues 95-196-XPB, 95-204-XPB, 95-208-XPB, 95-212-XPB.

Appendix D: 1986 Income, Adjusted to equal income variable groupings

86 Incomes Compared

	Saint John	Saskatoon	London	Kelowna
<\$1000	5.68	4.98	1.4	5.19
\$1000-\$4999	16.25	14.64	14.7	14.63
\$5000-\$9999	21.21	18.35	15.87	24.06
\$10000-\$14999	14.12	13.97	13.96	15.35
\$15000-\$19999	11.56	11.08	11.44	10.54
\$20000-\$24999	8.6	9.9	9.91	8.94
\$25000-\$29999	6.95	8.04	7.92	6.27
\$30000-\$34999	5.26	6.32	6.23	5.51
>\$35000	10.38	12.72	12.78	9.51

*Source: Statistics Canada. (1986). *Profile of Census Tracts*. Catalogues 95-117, 95-118, 95-125, 95-126, 95-145, 95-146, 95-153, 95-154.

Appendix E: 1996 Income, Statistics Canada Income Grouping Variables

1996 income trends compared, Statistics Canada variables

	Saint John	London	Saskatoon	Kelowna
<\$1000	6.28	4.98	5.2	4.36
\$1000-\$2999	5.71	4.65	5.48	4.5
\$3000-\$4999	4.64	4.06	4.66	3.85
\$5000-\$6999	6.08	4.74	5.75	4.98
\$7000-\$9999	7.69	6.82	7.47	8.24
\$10000-\$11999	6.79	5.49	5.89	6.48
\$12000-\$14999	8.50	7.31	8.23	9.55
\$15000-\$19999	10.04	10.01	10.02	11.47
\$20000-\$24999	8.65	8.86	8.93	9.37
\$25000-\$29999	7.10	8.17	7.8	7.29
\$30000-\$34999	6.23	7.49	7.04	7.1
\$35000-\$39999	4.50	5.51	5.34	5.39
\$40000-\$44999	4.21	5.03	4.77	4.37
\$45000-\$49999	3.72	3.87	3.45	2.99
\$50000-\$59999	4.65	5.51	4.51	4.37
>\$60000	5.19	7.5	5.46	5.68

*Source: Statistics Canada. (1996). *Profile of Census Tracts*. Catalogues 95-196-XPB, 95-204-XPB, 95-208-XPB, 95-212-XPB.

Appendix F: Percentage of mobile population over the previous five years by city

	1986	1991	1996
Saint John non-migrants	26.61%	26.77%	26.15%
Saint John Intraprovincial migrants	3.78%	10.19%	7.93%
Saint John Interprovincial migrants	5.26%	5.53%	4.15%
Saint John External migrants	0.67%	0.71%	0.38%
Percentage of population	36.32%	43.20%	38.61%

	1986	1991	1996
London non-migrants	29.23%	30.58%	30.71%
London Intraprovincial migrants	11.38%	15.24%	12.03%
London Interprovincial migrants	2.83%	2.79%	1.69%
London External migrants	1.83%	4.21%	2.62%
Percentage of population	45.26%	52.82%	47.04%

	1986	1991	1996
Kelowna non-migrants	24.66%	25.89%	26.42%
Kelowna Intraprovincial migrants	12.92%	18.40%	17.68%
Kelowna Interprovincial migrants	9.26%	15.60%	12.70%
Kelowna External migrants	1.33%	1.96%	1.73%
Percentage of population	48.17%	61.85%	58.53%

	1986	1991	1996
Saskatoon non-migrants	29.57%	30.77%	29.83%
Saskatoon Intraprovincial migrants	10.44%	13.64%	11.08%
Saskatoon Interprovincial migrants	8.62%	5.53%	6.48%
Saskatoon External migrants	1.69%	1.82%	2.03%
Percentage of population	50.32%	51.76%	49.42%

Appendix G: Telco revenue, 1995-1996**Telephone service revenue**

Appendix H: Telco employees, 1995-1996

Telecommunication Employees

Appendix I: Populations of Canada's 26 largest Census Metropolitan Areas

City	2000 Population
Toronto	4,751,400
Montreal	3,480,300
Vancouver	2,048,800
Ottawa-Hull	1,081,000
Calgary	953,000
Edmonton	944,200
Quebec	689,700
Winnipeg	681,100
Hamilton (Ontario)	671,700
London	421,300
Kitchener	421,800
St. Catharines-Niagra	390,000
Halifax (Nova Scotia)	356,000
Victoria	317,500
Windsor	304,400
Oshawa	297,900
Saskatoon	232,600
Regina	200,500
St. John's	175,100
Chicoutimi-Jonquiere	160,100
Sudbury	157,100
Sherbrooke	152,900
Trois-Rivières	141,800
Thunder Bay	126,300
Saint John	127,700

Statistics Canada, Population of Census Metropolitan Areas, Catalogue 91-213-XIB,
<http://www.statcan.ca/english/Pgdb/People/Population/demo05.htm>.

Appendix J: Incorporation of Economic Development Corporations Across Canada

City	Status of Organization	Date of Incorporation / Creation
Vancouver BC	Independent	1996
Victoria BC	Independent	1994
Kelowna BC	Regional Department	1978
Calgary AB	Independent	1999
Edmonton AB	City-owned Corporation	1993
Regina SK	Independent	1989
Saskatoon SK	Independent	1993
Winnipeg MB	Arm's Length	1991
Toronto ON	Independent	1986
Waterloo/Guelph ON	Independent	2001
Ottawa ON	Regional Department, Private partnership in 2001	1962, redefined in 2001
London ON	Independent	1996
Montreal QC	Independent	1996
Saint John NB	Independent	1994
Fredericton NB	Independent	1995
Halifax NS	Independent	1996
St. John's NF	City Department (includes Tourism)	1996 (Tourism Department established in mid 1970s)

Appendix K: Total planning expenditures by all governments as a percentage of total expenditures and total deficit, 1993/94-1997/98

Total Planning Expenditures as a Percentage of Government Expenditures and Deficit

	1993/94	1994/95	1995/96	1996/97	1997/98
Planning	1514500000	1563800000	1557800000	1527300000	1543800000
Total Expenditures	3.68752E+11	3.7376E+11	3.81158E+11	3.71693E+11	3.72874E+11
Percentage of Total Expenditures	0.410709525	0.418396832	0.408701903	0.410904175	0.414027592
Deficit	63647000000	52687200000	43289000000	20233700000	
Percentage of Total Deficit	2.37953085	2.96808333	3.598604726	7.548298136	

* From Statistics Canada, *Public Finance Data 1965/66-1991/92*, Catalogue 68-512; *Public Sector Finance 1995/96*, Catalogue 68-212-XPB; *Public Sector Statistics: Financial Management System 1999-2000*, Catalogue 68-213-X1B.

Appendix L: Consolidated federal, provincial and local government planning expenditures, 1993/94-1997/98

* From Statistics Canada, *Public Finance Data 1965/66-1991/92*, Catalogue 68-512; *Public Sector Finance 1995/96*, Catalogue 68-212-XPB; *Public Sector Statistics: Financial Management System 1999-2000*, Catalogue 68-213-XIB.

** Data sets on previous page

Appendix M: Total Canadian local government planning expenditures, 1985-1998

	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992
Canada	358096000	391053000	464240000	571979000	614117000	733277000	692639000	701800000
	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998		
	662300000	624732000	693551000	608773000	636131000	673112000		

* From Statistics Canada, *Public Finance Data 1965/66-1991/92*, Catalogue 68-512; *Public Sector Finance 1995/96*, Catalogue 68-212-XPB; *Public Sector Statistics: Financial Management System 1999-2000*, Catalogue 68-213-XIB.

Appendix N: Local government planning expenditures by province, 1985-1993

	1985	1986	1987	1988
Canada	358096000	391053000	464240000	571979000
New Brunswick	3893000	4054000	4773000	5175000
Ontario	116143000	130964000	127825000	221553000
Saskatchewan	7478000	7134000	10863000	21188000
British Columbia	43298000	42482000	54615000	62205000

	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993
Canada	614117000	753277000	692639000	701800000	662300000
New Brunswick	5309000	6660000	10672000	7463000	6706000
Ontario	241392000	322902000	269022000	189931000	197002000
Saskatchewan	13544000	14158000	13000000	12854000	13097000
British Columbia	44208000	55106000	61185000	68901000	76105000

* From Statistics Canada, *Public Finance Data 1965/66-1991/92*, Catalogue 68-512; *Public Sector Finance 1995/96*, Catalogue 68-212-XPB; *Public Sector Statistics: Financial Management System 1999-2000*, Catalogue 68-213-XIB.

Appendix O: Transfer payments by federal and provincial governments to planning initiatives, 1994-98

	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
Fed. Contribution	0.95272853	0.846224719	0.563592669	0.277930175	0.212148944
Prov. Contribution	5.607044301	7.19918218	4.816245136	3.915074096	3.41919324
Federal	5952000	5869000	3431000	1768000	1428000
Provincial	35029000	49930000	29320000	24905000	23015000
Total Planning Expenditures	624732000	693551000	608773000	636131000	673112000
Fed. Contribution	0.95272853	0.846224719	0.563592669	0.277930175	0.212148944
Prov. Contribution	5.607044301	7.19918218	4.816245136	3.915074096	3.41919324

* From Statistics Canada, *Public Finance Data 1965/66-1991/92*, Catalogue 68-512; *Public Sector Finance 1995/96*, Catalogue 68-212-XPB; *Public Sector Statistics: Financial Management System 1999-2000*, Catalogue 68-213-XIB.

Appendix P: Demographic age shifts from 1986 to 1996

*Source: Statistics Canada. (1996). *Profile of Census Tracts*. Catalogues 95-196-XPB, 95-204-XPB, 95-208-XPB, 95-212-XPB.

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