Architects and Planners' Approaches to Urban Design: A Comparative Study

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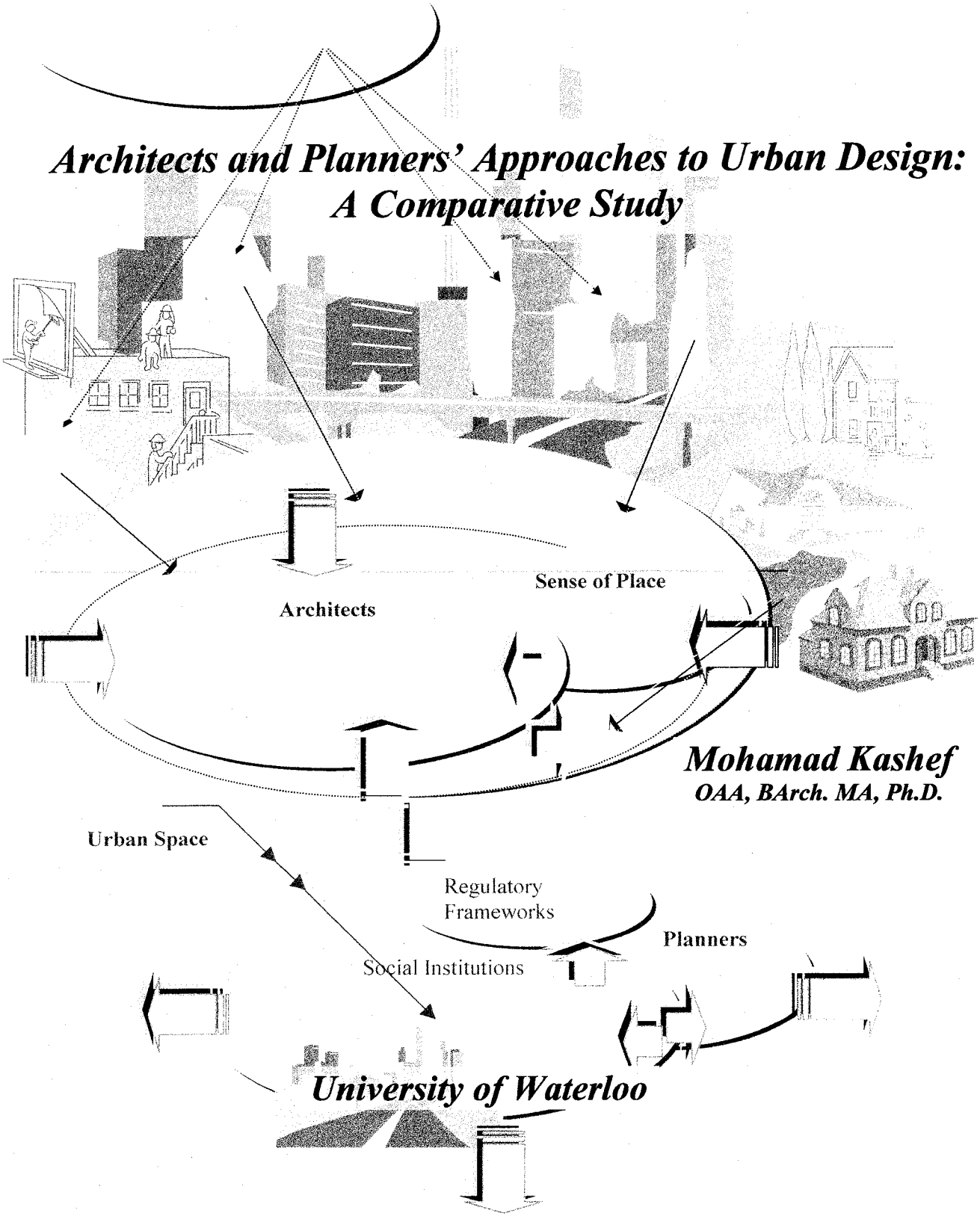

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Thesis Abstract

Architects and Planners' Approaches to Urban Design: A Comparative Study

This is a praxis-oriented study that compares architects and planners' approaches to understanding and dealing with built environments. It examines the underlying issues regarding the conception of 'good' built forms, which contributes to the current intellectual divide between architecture and planning professions. While planners generally deal with urban form as a by-product of socioeconomic relations and good planning processes, architects perceive urban form as determinative of the urban experience and quality of life. The study ultimately aims to develop a nuanced understanding of urban design concerns within a North American context.

Planners and architects are profoundly involved with community issues, politics, and public decision making and hence face-to-face dialogues with practitioners is an effective tool to build informed urban design knowledge. The researcher elected the urban region of Toronto as the locale to interview practitioners due to its economic and cultural centrality within Canada (in particular) and North America (in general). Toronto region is home to an array of planners, architects, landscape architects and other professionals who deal with local, regional, and global issues affecting urban design and related practices. Urban design involves partnership and interaction on many levels; as such, the research methodology is rooted within a constructivist interactive paradigm predicated on achieving pluralistic understanding of urban issues. More emphasis is placed on inductive approaches, contextual analyses, and mutual learning informed by explanatory social, architectural, and planning models. This approach not only links theory and practice but potentially transcends singular and biased understandings of city-building processes.

This study is neither attempting to delineate a 'good city form' nor developing a grand theoretical urban design scheme. It develops an understanding of theoretical and pragmatic concerns within design professions (architecture/landscape architecture) and social science professions (planning at large) and extends an interdisciplinary urban design perspective. The researcher perceives built forms as both the incubator and product of social processes. In other words, although social and economic relations presuppose urban space, they are also conditioned by the physical attributes of urban space. Social, economic, and physical configurations on local and regional development levels exhibit evolving properties through which they interact and transform each other. This study takes a balanced position that urban form is the embodiment of local and regional actions shaped by the interdependent dynamics of instrumental and structural forces. It deals with urban form as a communal product and urban design as the social discourse of a consensus-building process.

Thesis Purpose and Structure

The purpose of this study is to analyze the differences between architects and planners' understandings of city building processes as well as the mechanisms, tools, and actions required for guiding future urban developments within a North American context. This study provides an intellectual platform to understand such variations and lay the foundation for an interdiscplinary understanding of urban design. The study is based on the premise that integrating architecture and planning perspectives of urban form and development processes is crucial to develop socially and culturally responsive urban design discourse. It is a challenging task to question the strong biases and long-entrenched worldviews of such apparently different professions. Yet, tackling this issue is essential to achieve integrated development strategies and successful planning and design initiatives in urban and suburban environments. The current urban design approach tends to be dominated by architectural analyses and generally emphasizes visual aesthetics, physical, and symbolic attributes of streets and buildings to the exclusion of fundamental social, economic, and cultural concerns (Alexander 1977, 1987; Cullen 1971; Duany 1991; Krier 1979; Lynch 1960; Rossi 1982; Rowe and Koetter 1978). The research aims to integrate architectural and planning knowledge into an interdisciplinary urban design logic that reflects a wider range of issues that affect the quality of life in cities.

This thesis is divided into Five chapters. The **First Chapter** sets out the context from which the study has emerged. It outlines the thesis rationale and provides a preliminary investigation into the intellectual gap between architectural and planning professions. The underlying assumptions of architectural and planning approaches to modern urban form and design issues will be examined. Chapter 1 concludes with a discussion of thesis contributions and provides preliminary highlights from the interviews with Toronto architects and planners.

The **Second Chapter** is divided into two parts. The first part incorporates a multidisciplinary theoretical survey tracing the historical evolution of ideas that describe and explain the spatial and social configurations of urban landscapes. A variety of theories from different fields such as urban sociology, planning, architecture, urban design, and urban political economy are incorporated in this review. The purpose is to build a nuanced understanding of city-building processes. The theoretical analyses contained in the first part are employed in the second part to establish the study theoretical models (including 'Sociospatial', 'Configurational', and 'Planning' Models) that generate pertinent discussion themes for subsequent interviews with research participants. The theory quest culminates with the 'Critical Social Praxis Model' that epitomizes substantive and procedural issues embodied in this urban design inquiry and the interview protocol.

The **Third Chapter** addresses the methodological considerations of this study and is divided into two parts. The first part sets out the methodological framework of this study, provides a transition between the theoretical quest and the research interview survey, and sets out the modus operandi for data gathering and other groundwork preceding the interviews with Toronto professionals. This includes interviews' protocol and context, selection methods of research participants, and a brief survey of governance, planning, and urban design models accompanying the urban development of Toronto region over the last fifty years. The second part of Chapter 3 discusses specific data gathering and analysis techniques. It provides a detailed discussion of methodological issues pursuant to conducting the interviews. The second part also includes an overview of research premises, profiles of interviewees, and transcription and analysis techniques. It discusses the research validity and contextulaizes this study within a qualitative paradigm recognizing the multidimensionality of urban form and the need to stretch the urban design discourse across various theories and disciplines.

The **Fourth Chapter** provides a detailed analysis and qualitative interpretation of interview data. Various measures were used to validate the data analysis and research findings. For example, the interpretation of interview data adapts Kidder's "Negative Case analysis" (Kidder 1981) and Neuman's "Successive Approximation" techniques (Neuman 1997). The researcher advances a series of hypotheses, which are subjected to iterative revisions and refinements until the different patterns within the transcribed text of all fifteen interviews are fully accounted for. The study also extends a supplementary technique referred to as **'Theme Descriptors'** to further validate participants' narratives and account for gaps and ambiguities in their responses. Chapter 4 concludes with the consolidated narratives of research participants that express the deep intellectual divide between architects and planners in understanding development processes and the potential role of urban design in shaping built environments.

The **Fifth Chapter** is a final discussion of the thesis construct and a concluding analysis of participants' characterizations of urban form and development processes. Concluding remarks consist primarily of detailed interpretations of architects and planners' views. This analysis highlights the implications of architects and planners' positions regarding North American urban environments. The concluding analysis generally aims to uncover gaps and underlying structures encumbering the development of an interdisciplinary understanding of urban form and/or an integrated urban design theory. Chapter 5 contextualizes the understanding of urban design within theoretical and pragmatic knowledge developed through the merger of architecture and planning theory as well as interview data. This research concludes with an interdisciplinary perspective of urban design that lays the foundation for further studies aimed at developing integrative urban design visions.

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I must also acknowledge the support and responsiveness of the planners and architects that I interviewed and talked with in length about my research. The enthusiasm and helpfulness of this highly educated and experienced group of professionals revealed areas of knowledge hitherto unknown to me and provided the basis for a nuanced understanding of urban design. In spite of having a considerable number of responsibilities towards their practices and duties, these experts found the time to contribute to research development and understanding of urban design. It speaks of the great learning tradition and professionalism of Toronto architects and planners.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge the support of my wife, Sheirfa. Not only she provided me with unfailing encouragement, constant loving support, and perosonal validation, but also embraced our lovely kids Yasmeen, Omar, and Shehab with the much-needed care throughout my studies. My wife and kids shared the frustrations and joys of my studies and overwhelmed me with love, energy, and drive to accomplish this work and I heartily thank them all.

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1.1 Thesis Rationale

Urban design is a complex and rich discipline concerned with the shaping of built forms in relation to various cultural, social, economic and environmental contexts. The focus of this study is the distinction between the architectural and planning approaches to urban design. The study examines the differences between architects and planners' understandings of city building processes as well as the mechanisms, tools, and actions required for guiding future urban developments within a North American context. By investigating theoretical and pragmatic concerns within architecture and planning, this study achieves a significant step towards laying a foundation for an interdisciplinary understanding of urban design and potentially encouraging further research aimed at developing integrative urban design theories and development strategies. This study extends a praxis-grounded comparative analysis between architects and Planners' views regarding cities and the forces that shape them. The term 'praxis' refers to continually evolving intellectual variations among architects and planners. Such variations have been entrenched by differences in architectural and planning educational curricula and subsequent professional practices and scope of involvement in dealing with built environments.

As an area of specialization, urban design has been customarily associated with architectural education and practice (and occasionally landscape architecture). Most of the so-called urban design programs in North American Universities have been generally conceived as extensions from such design disciplines (Kreditor 1990). These programs have significantly impacted the teaching and research of urban design and have also developed extensive technical vocabularies dealing with urban issues. They have commonly tended to emphasize the visual aesthetics, physical, and symbolic attributes of streets and buildings to the exclusion of core environmental, social, economic, and political concerns that shape the built form and affect the quality of life in cities (Schurch 1999). As a result, this approach has caused various planning schools and practices to sidetrack urban design and concentrate on environmental, social, political, and economic issues that have a direct bearing on the development of responsive urban theories and strategies. Planning education and practice has generally dealt with urban design as an afterthought or a by-product of good planning process and free market dynamics (Madanipour 1997).

These circumstances produced a substantial theoretical and professional void and urban planning and design interests were developed in isolation. Being at the junction of design and planning based professions, urban design should reflect the diversity and richness of these disciplines. A balanced urban design vision would account for environmental, socioeconomic and built form concerns. Though urban design may consider visual dynamics and aesthetics of streets and buildings, it should also be concerned with the totality of urban form; the interplay of public and private realms; the interface between natural,

built, and cultural environments; and the political and socioeconomic forces driving the production and consumption of urban spaces. Urban form is what we experience and see where we walk, bike, or drive, where we shop, study, or recreate, and where we live, work, and interact with other people in the city. This urban form perspective includes buildings, houses, streets, highways, office and industrial parks, suburbs, strip malls, commercial and recreational facilities, open spaces, parks, etc. Within this understanding, urban form is the result of the work of a multitude of engineers, planners, architects, economists, sociologists, industrialists, traders, lay people, etc. Engineers may design highways and traffic networks, and economists establish trade and exchange polices that might affect spatial patterns of commercial operations, but it is typically planners and architects who engage in theorizing urban form and devising urban design strategies.

Planners and architects are commonly responsible for incorporating the concerns of other occupations, professions, and people at large into urban planning and design schemes. It is ironic that while attempting to include concerns from such disparate occupations, architects and planners over the last several decades have neglected opportunities to align their interests and conceptions of built forms (Kreditor 1990). Architects and planners' contributions are integral to understanding city-building processes; as such, the current discrepancies in their analyses are real impediments to an integrative conception of good built forms. Very little research has queried the intellectual gap regarding urban form perspectives between architects and planners (Kreditor 1990; Schurch 1999; Madanipour 1997). However, much of published architectural and planning materials have indirectly revealed such contrarieties through their theoretical propositions.

1.2 The Intellectual Gap: A Preliminary Investigation

Architectural theories and analyses (Sitte 1945; Lynch 1960; Rapoport 1990; Newman 1972; Rossi 1982; Bacon 1967; Krier 1998; Alexander 1977, 1987; Cullen 1961, 1971; Rowe and Koetter 1979) which emphasize perceptual, typological, and morphological aspects of built forms are crucial to comprehending urban dynamics. By understanding the evolution of built and spatial typologies over an extended period of time we can identify models of potential application in contemporary urban environments. For example, understanding the social, cultural, and form dynamics of street-based environments in traditional cities can provide models for designing walkable and pedestrian friendly urban spaces. Traditional street-based urban spaces are commonly supportive of communal living by mixing and integrating residential, commercial, and employment activities. Such environments are spatially defined, well enclosed, and generally permeated with well-articulated relationships between

buildings, sidewalks, squares, and streets (Rapoport 1990; Rossi 1982; Krier 1998; Alexander 1977, 1987; Cullen 1961, 1971; Rowe and Koetter 1979). Thus, understanding traditional street-based environments and tracing them to their underlying socioeconomic processes provides a useful basis for urban design analysis. This understanding uncovers the relationship between people and built forms and subsequently establishes a link between urban spaces and agents of change and adaptation i.e. individuals, communities, and political structures. Architectural studies provide another major contribution by Investigating how people perceive urban configurations and cope with their surroundings (Lynch 1960; Canter 1977; Rapoport 1990; Newman 1972; Lang 1994). Architectural studies reveal the perceptual and psychological dynamics underlying human behaviour in urban areas and hence afford urban designers opportunities to reflect such understanding in design and planning decisions. For example, maximizing alternative routes between city spaces and linking them with easily identifiable networks of streets enhances the sense of orientation and ease of movement through space. Furthermore, accentuating major urban nodes with contextually designed landmarks augments the image of the city and provides people with clear mental maps of their surroundings. Rich visual dynamics play an important role in enhancing the image of the city. This is achieved by introducing a variety of enclosures, buildings, textures, scales, exposures, heights, colours, and so on. The image of the city is synonymous with urban legibility i.e. the ease at which people can recognize spatial and urban form relations (Canter 1977; Rapoport 1990).

The urban evolutionary process has been characterized over time by marked changes in built and spatial morphologies. Successive generations of city builders have often attempted to clear out portions of older cities to accommodate newer and inherently different building patterns. The renaissance builders demolished parts of medieval cities to build rectangular and classic squares, which flagrantly contrasted the organic rambling layout of medieval cities. Cities were subsequently transformed and partially obliterated by Baroque radiating and asterisk spatial layouts (Mumford 1961). Yet, this did not compare to the impact of the industrial and technological revolution on the development of twentieth century cities. Traditional building types as well as civic, commercial, and residential forms were transformed and stretched out to cover a much larger region with complex networks of economic and social interdependencies. The latter transformations diluted the traditional model and created a new urban landscape (Hise 1997, Gottdiener 1994). The modern city precipitated locational changes of residences, businesses, and industries, and created socially, economically, and spatially dispersed landscapes.

The architecturally grounded and previously noted urban design analyses could not explain let alone deal with the new urban landscape. The sophisticated economic and social linkages of the dispersed metropolis are not dependent on traditional city centres. The new urban form is not an expansion of the mono-centric model or a compounded development of the traditional city. It is rather a decentralized

settlement space that is governed by regional economic, social, and political mechanisms and could not be foreseen as a multiplied urban structure of older towns. Subsequently, architectural concepts and assumptions associated with current urban design theories need to be updated to reflect the new urban reality. Prompted by the apparent dreariness and blandness of modern urban/suburban forms, current urban design theories remain occupied with micro-scale built forms and tend to emphasize the creation of places similar to those of traditional city neighbourhoods.

Planning and urban geography studies as well as critical social theory debates explain current urban transformations and extend a larger intellectual and professional platform for understanding urban morphologies and societal formations (Vance 1977; Green 1980; Conzen 1983; Van Den Berg 1987; Gottdiener 1994; O'Sullivan 1996; Cullingworth 1997; Soja 1989, 2000). Also planning theory emphasizes social learning through participatory models and communication that has the potential of recontextualizing the politically laden urban design activity within a collaborative praxis framework (Arnstein 1969; Friedmann 1987; Habermas 1984; Forester 1989). In contrast to the architectural approach to urban design as a cognitive, typological, and historical search activity, planning extends a communal framework for understanding. Planning studies and praxes potentially provide for a socially embodied, culturally conditioned, and pragmatically bound design process through which understanding and intervention in the urban context are inextricably linked and coterminous (Forester 1989).

Nonetheless, planning studies and praxes generally manifest a degree of disinterest in examining the interdependent dynamics of social and physical configurations (Bentley 1999). Social and economic relations are perceived as occupying a physical space that by itself cannot shape social action. The physical and spatial configurations of the built environment are often dealt with as an afterthought or a by-product of market workings (Lefebvre 1991). For example, planning praxes over the last half century generally revolved around land use allocations that regarded the city as patches of two-dimensional and isolated functions sliced by a complex system of highway and regional road networks. The interstitial urban geography between urban and suburban uses has been regulated by traffic and engineering requisites and mostly relegated to private development practices. An overall urban design vision is lacking; the idea of 'design' is assumed to be outside planning's purview or probably an 'antithesis' to planning (Taylor 1998). In this sense, planning studies and praxes deal with urban space as a negative locus for social and economic institutions, which precipitate inevitable built transformations. Though planning studies allow for an understanding of metropolitan formations, they stop short of providing guidelines for directing urban developments especially on a micro or neighbourhood/street level.

This study perceives urban design as an intellectual and praxis bridge between architecture and planning. Architectural knowledge embodies the social, economic, and cultural dynamics of designing and building livable neighbourhoods and street environments. It has the ability to correlate societal and economic functions into workable built forms, integrated private and public realms, and ecologically benign settlement patterns. Planning, on the other hand, incorporates an understanding of overarching social, economic, environmental, and cultural dynamics. It embodies the perception of the city as a collective growing entity that requires the participation and continuous efforts of the urban population to achieve societal consensus on contentious urban issues. Urban design should be able to translate architectural and planning knowledge into integrative urban development strategies.

1.3 Thesis Contributions and Highlights

This research examines the meaning of urban design within a North American context and establishes a framework for understanding disparate views among architects and planners regarding urban form and developments processes. A multitude of theoretical constructs of crucial significance to understanding urban social and spatial structures are brought together in this dissertation. Critical questions are raised regarding the dialectics of human agency and societal structures on the one hand and built forms, social and cultural conventions on the other. The research ultimately provides an interdisciplinary perspective of urban design both as a discipline and an area of practice.

The researcher has opted to undertake in-depth interviews with practicing architects and planners to empirically verify the extent to which intellectual disparities were reflected in urban design praxes. To a great extent, intellectual variations among architectural and planning writings have translated into identifiable and hardened views of urban development as well as the scope of urban form and design. Planners tackled the critical and pragmatic economic, social, and urban form changes that accompanied the development of the modern city yet viewed the urban form as a neutral backdrop or a mere container for social and economic institutions. They tended to give more weight to agency or individuals' actions in shaping development patterns, which were mostly perceived as an inevitable by-product of societal and cultural conventions. Architects' descriptions, on the other hand, focused on elements that affect daily living e.g. the neighbourhood, the street, public spaces, and buildings and how these elements are implicated in a person's sense of place and belonging to a social system or community. Their conceptions of urban form were generally structured around the traditional compact mixed-use neighbourhood, which they viewed as the microcosm of a good city. Urban transformations over the last several decades did not figure in architects' narratives as warranting a new science of design.

The research interviews revealed a growing intellectual and professional divide among architects and planners regarding the built environment. The interface between the two professions has evolved, on the one hand, into planning development controls that architects resent and, on the other hand, in architectural drawings and conceptions that planners perceived as impractical and divorced from urban reality. There has been very little effort over the last several decades to integrate the real concerns of both professions, outlined in subsequent parts of this thesis, which could potentially ignite an integrative urban design understanding. By overlaying varied theoretical and pragmatic concerns from architecture and planning, this research highlights discrepancies precipitating conflicting concepts of urban space and extends an interdisciplinary framework for urban design that reckons with the dialectical relationships between form and function, agency and structure, and local and regional development dynamics.

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Chapter 2, Part 1:

2.1.1 Introduction to Theory Quest

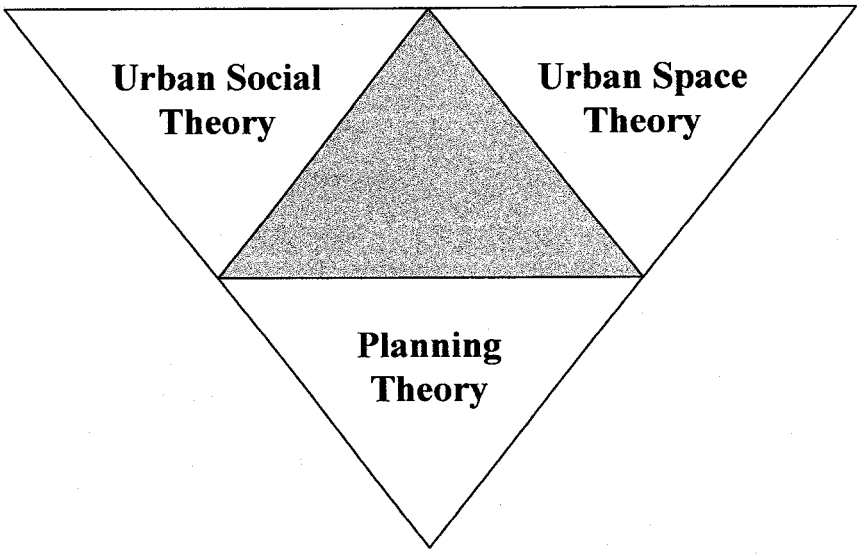
Part 1 of this chapter traces the historical evolution of theoretical constructs that describe and explain the spatial configurations of urban landscapes. Various theories from different fields such as urban sociology, planning, architecture, urban design, and urban political economy inform the study. Theoretical analyses generate study themes that are subsequently utilized in part 2 to establish theoretical models and interview questions. The main objective of the theoretical quest is to raise a variety of critical issues that examine the current understanding and praxes of urban design.

This research adopts a rich and complex theoretical mosaic aimed at generating an interdisciplinary understanding of urban form and design issues. Consistent with various qualitative studies, the research uses theories as patterns and explanatory frameworks for guiding subsequent research processes (Creswell 1994; Lincoln and Guba 1985; Neuman 1994). Theories are used inductively to develop relevant interview discussion themes and enhance data interpretation rather than as hypotheses-generating mechanisms that confine data gathering and analysis. Theories and data are dialectically integrated in this study to achieve what Richardson calls data "crystallization". He explains that crystallization is part of the postmodern project that recognizes the multidimensionality of the social world and the need to widen social research methods across various theories, paradigms, and disciplines (Richardson 1994 - Denzin & Lincoln, eds. 2000, 516-29). Neuman identifies pattern theories as follows:

> "Pattern theory does not emphasize logical deductive reasoning. Like causal theory, it contains an interconnected set of concepts and relationships, but it does not require causal statements. Instead, pattern theory uses metaphor or analogies so that relationship "makes sense". Pattern theories are systems of ideas that inform. The concepts and relations within them form a mutually reinforcing, closed system. They specify a sequence of phases or link parts to a whole" (qtd. in Creswell 1994, 94)

Theories from different disciplines are introduced and used within a comparative framework to highlight gaps and develop a nuanced perspective of urban form and design processes. The intent is to avoid being constrained by one theory to the exclusion of others in order to build an inclusive understanding of current urban form issues and extract valid questions to ask research participants. In this study, theories are neither used to generate hypotheses to be tested by interview data nor employed as containers into which interview data must be poured (Creswell 1994, 95; Lather 1986, 267). As opposed to quantitative and/or deductive inquiries, interview data will be allowed to generate research

hypotheses that will be used as a basis for comparing architects and planners' views of urban form and design. Subsequently, theoretical discussions and interview data will be dialectically interrelated to pinpoint discrepancies and/or differences between planners' and architects' conceptions of built forms and development processes. This chapter categorizes urban theories into three major groups, urban social theory, urban space theory, and planning theory. It should be noted that theory clusters or groups are not mutually exclusive. Some urban space constructs cut across different theory groups such as urban social theory or planning theory (including urban economic and geographic theories). Urban social theory and urban space theory are utilized to generate substantive questions regarding the object that urban design deals with, namely, the city. The literature of urban studies is thoroughly surveyed for conceptual constructs of potential relevance to understanding city-building processes. The research aims to use diverse concepts from different backgrounds and disciplines, which will create a broader understanding of current urban issues and produce valid discussion themes to be exercised with interviewees. The study uses terms such as 'theory' and 'paradigm' interchangeably to indicate systems of concepts and analytical tools used to understand city-building processes and provide guidance for future urban developments. However, 'paradigm' is often used to denote more established theoretical constructs that may also be characterized as 'worldview' and is being held by intellectuals across various disciplines and professions and tends to catalyze more research and theoretical debates.



The term 'planning theory' is used here to denote procedural planning theory or as Friedmann maintains a theory regarding "good practice." Planning theory provides a context for integrating diverse and contradictory knowledge and setting the modus operandi for subsequent interviews and analysis. It is a normative theory whose primary object is to improve the practice of planning and promote systematic thinking concerning what planners do (Friedmann 1995, 157). From a procedural perspective, this research is an exercise in the communicative planning theory (Forester 1989; Innes 1995; Healey 1999).

2.1.2 Modern versus Postmodern

Over the last two or three decades, there has been a change in western thought and culture, or so claimed by some theorists, from 'modernism' to 'postmodernism'. A change that precipitated conflicts and heated debates in most intellectual circles including philosophy, social and political sciences, economics, arts, architecture, and planning. The researcher does not subscribe to the idea that such changes were reflected in praxes especially for as pragmatic a field and touching peoples' daily lives as urban design. So, before indulging into the theoretical journey, the intellectual juncture of modern/postmodern will be tackled.

A. Modern Epistemology

Jurgen Habermas related modernism as a historical period of western culture to the 18th century enlightenment philosophers, who sought to develop objective science, universal morality and law, and autonomous art according to reason and inner logic (Habermas 1983). Albert Borgmann suggested that modernism proceeded from events such as the discovery of the New World, the Copernican revolution, and the Lutheran reformation. He marked the beginning of modernism by the transition from the locally bounded, cosmically centred, and divinely constituted world of the Middle ages to an objectively constituted universe that is governed by scientific reasoning (Borgmann 1992). As a way of knowing, modernism precipitated an empirical tradition known as 'positivism'. Roy Bhasker noted that the term 'positivism' was introduced by Saint-Simon and Auguste Compte who used it methodically to express the ideas that "the world consists of phenomena which are real, useful, certain, and precise" (Bhasker 1986, 225). The attribute most closely related to positivism is its 'realist' perspective. Ted Palys notes:

> "...Realism implies adhering to the notion that there is reality out there that awaits our discovery. Positivists aim to uncover the facts and to understand the laws or principles that account for those facts. Positivists maintain that we need only think of the right theoretical concepts and develop techniques that are sufficiently precise to measure and test them" (Palys 1979, 13).

The positivists' reliance on a natural science model and a realist perspective precipitated a host of scientific methods and deductive models that shaped the modern understanding of the world including social and art realms. The underlying principle that seems to have united positivists/modernists' thinkers is a commitment to the concept of an absolute reality and the notion that social facts exist regardless of the idiosyncrasies of observers or researchers (Faulconer 1985; Bruner 1986; Borgmann 1992; Nelly 1993; Palys 1997).

B. **Postmodern Epistemology**

According to David Harvey, The Western intellectual landscape over the last two or three decades has shifted from a reliance on realist and positivist paradigms of modernism to constructionist and diversified paradigms of postmodernism (Harvey 1989). Albrecht Wellmer noted that postmodernism marked a rupture, break, or secession from modernism dominant themes, forms, and modes of thought. He stated that postmodernism emerged from a sentiment that the unifying assumptions of modernity had been 'blown to pieces' (Wellmer 1985, 338).

Postmodernists challenged the modernist faith in reason and science as a basis for human emancipation and progress. They argued that rationality of the enlightenment age was ill formed, and hence should be resisted (Taylor 1998, 164). Postmodernists' epistemological assumptions have been diametrically opposite to those of positivists. They reject the 'realist' perspective that seeks to uncover universal truths and social facts. Postmodernists perceive knowledge and truth as ephemeral and fragmented (Harvey 1989, 44). They generally embrace a constructionist perspective that is described by Thomas A. Schwandt as:

> "Constructivists are deeply committed to the view that what we take to be objective knowledge and truth is actually the result of perspective. Knowledge and truth are created, not discovered by mind. They emphasize the pluralistic and plastic character of reality. Pluralistic in the sense that reality is expressible in a variety of symbol and language systems; plastic in the sense that reality is stretched and shaped to fit purposeful acts of intentional human agents" (Cited in Palys 1997, 19).

Within a consructivist framework, the positivist claim to a neutral and transcendent perspective is essentially fraudulent. Constructivists maintain that humans are cognitive beings who actively perceive and make sense of their environment, and they generally ascribe meanings and interpretations to the world around them. Jerome S. Bruner states that constructivists endorse the claim that "contrary to common sense, there is no unique 'real world' that pre-exists and is independent of human mental activity and human symbolic language" (Bruner 1986, 95). In terms of acquiring knowledge, constructivists use various techniques that emphasize process and diversity of worldviews. They endorse phenomenology, ethnography, and idiographic analysis as a basis for understanding the world (Palys 1997; Denzin 1994).

C. Research Position on Modern/Postmodern debate and urban form

Postmodernists offer by no means a unified critique. The underlying issue that seems to unite them is the rejection of modernism's totality and reliance on quantitative measures. Among postmodernists, there are rational, contextual, romantic, liberal, Marxist, and even radical leagues as well as sub-leagues within each one of them, and they are not necessarily congruous with each other. The debate on urban form is heightened by the fact that postmodernism coexists within a modern planning framework and built form whose proponents still see the viability of its paradigms and methods. Modern City proponents note that the achievements of modern planning should not be underestimated. Modern planning played a fundamental role in controlling and containing twentieth century urban growth. Suburban landscapes that accompanied the development of the modern city are still the preferred built form and continue to shape the urban dynamics of North American cities. Although some projects failed to address social and cultural problems, others were successful in providing healthful and livable environments, especially when compared with the degenerate conditions to which they were reacting. Though acknowledging and actually adopting a postmodern view in the undertaking of this study, the researcher is not ruling out the significance of integrating modern and postmodern theories in order to develop an interdisciplinary urban design understanding.

2.1.3 Urban Social Theory (Sociospatial Themes)

By the wake of modernity, urban theories and intellectual debates were generally divided between emphasizing technology, human agency, and/or social structures. Mainstream analysts maintained that technological and transportation advances (like the automobile, the truck, the highway, and telecommunication devices) were accompanied by restructured demographic, social, and economic relations that transpired dispersed metropolitan regions. Recently, some social theorists refer to the impact of information and digital technology in furthering the geographic and socioeconomic divide among urban and suburban communities. They anticipate further spatial dispersion and socioeconomic fragmentation due to increased reliance on information-based economies and well-developed telecommunication systems.

Political economists (neo-marxists and structuralists) criticized mainstream analyses and referred to the role of the state and capital accumulation process in creating and sustaining societal structures that perpetuate economic and social disparities. Recently, some theorists have forged links between mainstream and structuralist analyses and proposed a cumulative worldview referred to as 'structuration' theory. As opposed to political economists' views, structurationists emphasized the role of individuals and community groups in shaping and reshaping the urban condition. The following account will briefly discuss the evolution of these theoretical streams, which produce the **'Sociospatial Model'** (p. 38) and sociospatial interview **discussion themes and premises** used in this study (p. 37-42).

A. Mainstream

Mainstream urban theorists who witnessed the fragmentation and dispersion of urban functions, took the view that the structure, density, and propinquity relationships in cities are governed by competition for the best locations, compatibility of uses, and economic and transportation patterns (Flanagan 1993, 45). They explained urban dispersion and the thinning of living densities largely in terms of innovations in transportation and communication technologies such as the automobile, the truck, highway, and telephone. Dispersed and socially segregated modern growth patterns were seen as reflecting efficient adjustment processes involving demographic changes, economic reorganization, and technological advancements (Shevky and Bell: *Social Area Analysis 1955*; Duncan: *Ecological Complex (POET) 1959*; Hawley: *Urban Sociology, An Ecological Approach 1980*) (Flanagan 1993; Gottdiener 1994). Mainstream analysts related the early expansion of modern cities to the use of commuter railways, and later, the automobile, which further spread the urban form and fragmented housing from business and commercial activities. They also referred to territorial dispersion and displacement of urban

communities as a natural evolution due to ease of commuting. Affluent classes chose to move to sprawling low-density suburban locations while the poorer stratum of population remained around the city centre. Industrial suburbanization was mainly viewed as a result of lowering transport and communication costs and the availability of vast, development-ready lands on the urban periphery. Mainstream analyses generally ascribe a great deal of autonomy and capacity to individuals, families, and consumers at large in leading the reorganization of the built environment. The modern urban arena in the mainstream model is dominated by a more or less self-regulating market process involving large numbers of relatively equal actors whose interaction precipitates inevitable spatial transformations (Van den Berg 1987; Gottdiener 1994).

Though heavily criticized by subsequent generations of urban theorists, particularly neo-marxists and structuralists, mainstream paradigms continue to affect current urban theory and heighten the debate surrounding socioeconomic patterns and modern spatial configurations. Recent mainstream analysts maintain that urban configurations and living densities in North American cities are an offshoot of efficient free market driven policies. Suburbanization is explained in terms of economic rent theory within a free market economy and bid-rent curves, which show how the 'highest' and 'best' use of land is determined. Mainstream arguments refute the notion that suburbanization was promoted by policies such as the preferential income tax treatment of home mortgage interest, auto-subsidy, the expressway, and land use regulations. These theories maintain that zoning bylaws and land use regulations do not have as much effect on decentralizing American cities as consumer preferences for low-density housing patterns and open green areas. As well mainstream theories explain that urban dispersal is a result of the work of market-conscious developers who do not usually risk building unacceptable products (Gordon et al 1997; Staley 1998).

The rapid evolution of information and telecommunications technology has caused some mainstream theorists to cast doubts on the future viability of the city's social and physical institutions. They point to the potential of new telecommunications technology in replacing many physically bound social and economic functions (Mitchell 1995; Graham et al 1996; Kellerman 1993; Blais 1998). Some urban analysts maintain that localized urban spaces today are made contingent by the overwhelming logic of a global economy backed by extensive telecommunications and information networks. Multinational corporations actively engage in organizing local urban spaces according to their structural and management needs. They are now afforded the opportunity to split their operations into two distinct functions: standardized activities that can be performed efficiently by automated procedures and creative activities that demand a dynamic human interface. The cost-effectiveness of building a real time communication link between both functions without the need for physical adjacency provided corporations with ample freedom to relocate parts of their facilities where each function may achieve

economy of scale and use different market characteristics. Thus, manufacturing facilities, administrative offices, and other routine operations are relocated to regions that offer cheap real estate and labour while management headquarters, design centres, and similar functions are physically anchored in 'mega' cities where diversified and highly skilled workers exist. These structural transformations occur locally, regionally, and globally with the attendant consequence of perpetuating certain occupational profiles of individual communities (Sassen 1991; Blais 1996; Mitchell et al 2000).

Cities with higher concentrations of cheap and unskilled labour will be vulnerable to employment fluctuations while cities with higher-skilled labour pool will experience growth. As a result, communities will become less occupationally and socially diverse and will perpetually attract narrower ranges of occupations leading to extreme social, economic, and physical differentiation within and amongst cites both locally and globally (Sassen 1991; Blais 1996). The use of information technology has the potential of creating what might be called a 'space-less job market.' A proportion of workers will be accommodated not in the traditional workspaces such as downtown offices or suburban business parks, but rather through 'hotelling', shared workspaces, mobile offices, 'telecentres', or simply in private residences. These work arrangements shift the demand for workspace away from the traditional employment environments, reducing the need for conventional, centralized workspaces (Blais 1996). People preferring rural or natural settings will be afforded the opportunity to live and work from remote, digitally connected, country houses or "electronic cottages" (Mitchell 1995, 120). "Electronic shopping malls" will allow retail establishments, particularly those for non-perishable items, to decentralize at a few regional, national, and in some cases international centres located at convenient air transportation hubs (Mitchell 1995, 86-92; Mitchell et al (Eds.) 2000, 1-6).

B. **Urban Political Economy**

The 1970s witnessed the introduction of neo-marxist and structural analyses into urban sociology. Neo-marxists cast doubts on the validity of mainstream analyses that explained urban developments as if the state and private capitalist interests did not exist. Neo-marxists refer to the existence of deep structural forces within modern society that help produce and reproduce distinctive spatial and social aggregations that express the workings of capitalism and class conflict. Spatial configurations of the modern city are described as much a product of the state as they are of the private sector (Castells 1977; Harvey 1985). Manuel Castells pointed out that "space is not a reflection of society, it is society" and hence spatial forms express the interests of the dominant class according to a given mode of production and to specific property relationships. Spatial forms "will express and implement the power relationships of the state in a historically defined society. They will be realized and shaped by the process of gender domination and by state-informed family life." In his collective consumption theory, Castells

emphasizes the intersection between the provision of social services by government and the reproduction of labour force according to capital requisites thereby engendering fragmented and spatially dispersed metropolitan patterns (Castells 1983, 4). David Harvey states that a "capitalist society must of necessity create a physical landscape - a mass of humanly constructed physical resources - in its own image, broadly appropriate to the purposes of production and reproduction" (Harvey 1985, 3). The capitalist urban landscape, Harvey maintains, is generally conceived to accelerate the circulation of capital. Capitalist spatial development "has to negotiate a knife-edge path between preserving the exchange values of past capitalist investments in the built environment and destroying the value of these investments in order to open up fresh room for accumulation" (Harvey 1987, 124). Harvey recognized that the expeditious growth of home ownership took place as a result of the effective social control exerted by the state. The enormous public expenditures on extensive highway networks and the enactment of zoning and tax incentives for homebuyers have divided citizens into those who do and those who do not own homes. He likened the building and rebuilding of urban space under capitalism to a machine that is created and modified to optimize the workings of capital (Harvey 1985).

Structuralists generally maintain that the state plays an important role in urban development processes by enacting land use regulations, guaranteeing mortgages, and investing in highway construction and infrastructure deployment. The articulation of surplus capital and state policies has coalesced to transform the urban environment, creating a glaring distinction between living standards in the central city and suburbs (Downs 1973; Flanagan 1993). As will be shown next, neo-marxists and structuralists' views were heavily criticized by mainstream analysts and 'structurationists' as being economically deterministic and indifferent to social and cultural issues that impact on the built environment. Structuralists and neo-marxists generally portray people as passive agents incapable of choosing or influencing their living conditions. However, their views left a clear imprint on subsequent critical theories of urban space.

C. Structuration and Critical Theory

Most neo-marxists and structuralists narrowed down the complex sociospatial system of modern cities to a matter of two-class struggle between capitalists and workers. In the fervour of crafting a political and economic analysis of the deep and hidden structures that organize life, neo-marxists and structuralists slighted the role of cultural and social movements, local histories, and human agency in shaping and reshaping the sociospatial relationships in cities. Structural political economy, Gottdiener stated, "remains a limited means of grasping the complex range of political interests in the city. Sociospatial concerns about territoriality, race, neighbourhood culture, and housing are more

complicated than the Marxian two-class model of capitalism leads us to believe" (Gottdiener 1994, 170). Structurationists question the validity of neo-marxists' claims by referring to the differences among cities within the same region. They argue that local as well as structural factors determine the fate of cities. Structurationists move away from grand theoretical premises and provide a less-structured understanding of urban change. They adopt a case-by-case empirical approach that recognizes the roles of interest groups, urban coalitions, gender relationships, and national movements in commanding urban social change (Giddens 1984; Gottdiener 1994; Flanagan 1993).

Anthony Giddens's structuration theory (1984) irrevocably changed the landscape of urban studies. It reflects more emphasis on the sociocultural creation of space and the individual instrumentality in shaping urban regions. Giddens's structuration theory explains social formations in terms of the interdependent dynamics of 'Agency' and 'Structure.' The agency component refers to the impact of specific local cultural circumstances and the action of individuals in shaping and reshaping human living conditions. The structure component refers to existing class and economic hierarchies that produce and reproduce analogous and predictable social processes. Giddens argues that social systems are produced through the dialectical interaction of individual actions, existing societal rules and hierarchies, where none take precedence. As much as economic resources and existing social rules frame or constrain decisions, individuals have the capacity to change these rules through their deliberate actions. Social formations and individual actions exhibit emergent properties shaped and reshaped by the reciprocal and evolving impact of each upon the other (Giddens 1984).

Subsequent structurationists such as Gottdiener (1994), Feagin (1988), and Logan and Molotch (1987) did not completely discard structural interpretations but they rejected the primacy of societal structures over individual autonomy in choosing living conditions. **Of particular relevance to this study is Gottdiener's urban social agenda, which was very much influenced by Giddens's structuration theory and extended an interpretation of structuration hypotheses within a metropolitan development context (The Social Production of Urban Space). Gottdiener advanced a conceptual framework of city-based spatial forms reflecting "the interdependent dynamics of economic, political, and cultural processes as they connect with the region-wide geography of metropolitan areas." He asserts that spatial and metropolitan formations are contingent products of the dialectic between action (agency theory) and structure and not simply a pure manifestation of deep-level social forces (Gottdiener 1994, 199).**

Gottdiener's structuration approach can be used as a viable conceptual bridge between urban design theory and predicted social action. Whether expressed privately in patterns of consumption, or publicly in popular grass roots movements, individual actions may guide the implementation of design strategies and also modify and in a sense reconstitute urban design theory to accommodate individual and collective choices. For example, highway construction, infrastructure projects, and home mortgage guarantees can not totally dictate consumer behaviour. An individual's purchasing decisions affect the system in some fashion and may support or thwart corporate and state social engineering efforts. The latest shifts in some real estate investments to inner city areas point to the dialectic between gentrifiers and established real estate practices. The industry responded to marginal demographic shifts in family or social composition that included later marriages, fewer or no children, and dual-career households with notably urban cultural aspirations. These changes spawned a lifestyle preference for city living and generated a corresponding change in government, real estate, and banking policies towards inner city investments thereby adjusting the mutual relationship between human agency, however marginal, and political economic structures of the city.

Some theorists continue to refer to the impact of existing social structures in constraining individuals choices. Only the economically and information advantaged have some leverage in making their choices count. Feminist scholars, for example, argue that current metropolitan structures, especially the separation of workplace/home and city/suburb has led to a male dominated public sphere in the city and a constrained female environment in the suburb (Hayden 1984). They view the metropolitan form as consisting of "gendered spaces" that restrict women's choices and exclude them from being agents of action in the built environment (Spain 1995). Similarly, other scholars argue that the structural division of the modern metropolis into urban and suburban worlds is largely based on class, race, and ethnicity producing and reproducing distinct structures that perpetuate social inequalities and rigidly demarcate the choices of economically strained individuals (Thomson 1989). The latter round of arguments epitomizes what today is called "critical urban study" and subsumes an array of theorists with diversified backgrounds and areas of emphases that tend to selectively avail of mainstream analyses, political economy, and structuration theories (Soja 2000).

Critical urban theorists portray land markets and land use regulations as fraught with imperfections that entice sprawl and facilitate social and spatial polarization between urban communities. They explain that properly functioning markets require many buyers and sellers, good information about prices and quality, homogeneous products in each market, and no external costs or benefits. Critical theorists assert that current land markets conform to none of these basics. The rate of land appreciation is nebulous, causing land speculation and sprawl; detached single-family housing is subsidized through the

tax system; utility rates are equally distributed regardless of the distance of development from utility facilities (Ewing 1997; Worth 1997). Over the last three or four decades the overwhelming majority of new houses were built in the suburbs because the federal agencies followed business practices in relation to mortgages. This included favouring "economically sound" locations over more-doubtful inner city areas, privately-owned instead of rental houses, and racially homogeneous white districts. The private market (including real estate industry and banks) perpetuates attitudes such as these which public agencies share and support by enacting land use policies and building highways, roads, and outlying infrastructure facilities (Worth 1997, 29; Ewing 1997).

Several studies refer to the suburban exploitation of central city goods and services. They assumed that suburban commuters do not pay their "fair share" of central city public services. Suburbanites who commute from their suburban homes use city services (roads, fire protection, police protection, maintenance, etc.), but they usually pay all their property taxes to a suburban government. This kind of unbalanced taxation is perceived by various analysts as perpetuating market inefficiencies and causing an artificially sustained movement to the suburbs. Referring to congestion and pollution externalities caused by commuting, Arthur O'Sullivan maintained that the private cost of commuting has always been less than the social cost. The internalization of these externalities would increase the relative cost of suburban living and encourage a more compact mixed-use type of urban development. Governments in North American cities have perpetuated market problems by not internalizing suburban externalities (O'Sullivan 1996, 458-66).

As a façade of planning and state control, zoning has often been criticized as being inflexible and historically unjustified. Various analysts argue that zoning has basically fulfilled elite social objectives of living in low-density environments and seceding from poorer stratums of urban population. Although zoning regulates property values, separates incompatible uses, and provides a measure of certainty and predictability in the built environment, zoning has been frequently thought of as responsible for thinning urban densities, isolating land uses and social classes, and engendering a pronounced spatial mismatch between residential, employment, and commercial uses.

The critique of traditional zoning is predicated on the assumption that it intercedes with private property rights. By interfering with the operation of private land markets and/or restricting market options, critical analysts maintain that zoning creates disorders that result in economic inefficiencies in land use. These economic difficulties can hardly be mitigated by the reduction of negative externalities promised by such a socially restrictive and spatially divisive regulatory framework (Pogodzinski et al 1990; Ewing 1997).

2.1.4 Urban Space Theories (Configurational Themes)

This section surveys the evolution of urban space theory over the last several decades. Theories will be grouped according to their urban form disposition and main scales of development, particularly as they relate to **local**, **regional**, or **global** issues. These include various architectural, planning, urban design, and social theories that mainly attempt to define a 'good' city form. The majority of theories grouped under the rubric of 'local urban space theory' belong to architectural studies. Theories tackling regional and global aspects are dominated by planning analyses. The following account will briefly discuss the intent and objectives of these urban paradigms, which eventually culminate in the **'Configurational Model'** (p. 43) and related interview **discussion themes and premises** (p. 43-7).

A. Local Urban Space Theory (Architectural Theory: Micro or Neighbourhood Scale)

Jane Jacobs's "Death and Life of Great American Cities" denounced modernist architectural and planning themes typical of urban renewal plans of the fifties and sixties and advanced a set of urban design guidelines for maintaining the quality of life in cities. Jacobs's formula is very simple and reflected her observations regarding life in Greenwich Village, New York, in reference to fine-grained gridiron urban blocks, high densities, and a mix of residential and commercial uses (Jacobs 1960). Though her vision was largely an extension of established European and North American urban patterns of the mid-twentieth century, Jacobs's book coincided with failed urban renewal policies and cultural protests of the 1960s and had a colossal impact on urban design thought over the past four decades. Many subsequent urban designers have relied on her observations to revive and establish a traditional urban vocabulary and built form aesthetic.

Prior to Jacobs's publication, Kevin Lynch had been studying how people perceive and construct a mental picture of their environment. Based on interviews with lay people, Lynch outlined in "The Image of the City" five major components (paths, districts, edges, landmarks, and nodes) by which people identify with and construct clear mental maps of their surroundings (Lynch 1960). Christopher Alexander critiqued modernist views of the city. Alexander offered various new ways to look at the urban pattern. He refused the way modernists have separated city functions and consequently removed overlaps and interactions indispensable for creating community life (Alexander 1977). The early 1970s was characterized by the emergence and articulation of various philosophical movements that denounced modernist approaches and catalyzed the evolution of postmodern culture.

Postmodern Urbanism

The underlying issue that seems to unite intellectuals and professionals within this group is the rejection of modernism and a romantic return to the past. **Architects form a majority** within postmodern urban intellectuals and professionals. However, postmodernists tend to cross intellectual disciplinary boundaries in a way that defies classifying them according to professional affiliations as architects or planners. Most recently, many have referred to themselves as simply 'urbanists.' In terms of temporal classification, Charles Jencks dates the eclipse of modernist architectural and planning ideologies as of July 15, 1972. This is the date when the Pruitt-Igoe housing estate in St. Louis, which had earlier won architectural and planning awards, was literally dynamited by the local city authority (Taylor 1998, 163). However, Jencks tended to dramatize the situation in an attempt to give a clear-cut date for the emergence of postmodernism. It is hard to provide a time-line for this transition since proponents of modernism continue to exert an influence on the current planning thought and practice. Also, the current intellectual landscape is cluttered with theories that tend to occupy the 'middle ground' in an attempt to take advantage of both views. Thus, any division between modernists and postmodernists is bound to be arbitrary. Due to the multitude of ideas and trends of postmodern urbanists, the following account groups them under the rubrics of 'Contextualism' and 'Traditionalism'. Some views amassed here under contextualism and traditionalism are presented in other sources as 'neo-empiricism', 'neo-classicism', 'neo-rationalism', or 'neo-traditionalism'.

Contextualism

The essence of contextualism lies in understanding the cultural and human characteristics of physical space. Contextualists oppose the functionalist landscape, the dreariness of modern spaces, which are usually a consequence of centralized corporate decision-making. They criticize the commodification and standardization trends of modern architecture and planning, which generated a loss of both human scale and sense of place. Contextualists call for more diversity, more emphasis on local context and mixed land uses, urban regeneration, and piecemeal decision-making process that cope with contradictions (Ravetz 1980; Goodchild 1990; Venturi 1966). They aim to be sensitive to vernacular traditions, local histories, and the contested nature of public space. There is no single overarching public interest but diverse values and perceptions that should be considered in designing the urban space. 'Design' rather than 'plan' is emphasized to denote the importance of customizing and personalizing urban forms. Practitioners and theorists are reinstating the built environment as the object of action and inquiry (Harvey 1989, 66-98).

Rob Krier pointed that cities cannot grow in terms of width and height, as perceived by modernists, but through multiplication of integral and finite urban communities (Krier 1979). Aldo Rossi rejected functionalism as a primary determinant of form because of the relative permanence of urban forms, which tend to outlive certain functions and be adapted to a variety of uses (Rossi 1966). The desire to make cities legible, imageable, and enhance urban safety and livability led contextualists to call for the revival of the social and symbolic functions of streets and other public spaces (Ellin 1995; Jacobs 1961; Lynch 1981).

Central for contextualists is the celebration of diversity and pluralism in city life. Implicit in this direction is a revival of interest in the way urban space elicits meaning and affects perception (Colquhoun 1989, 223-4; Madanipour 1996, 3-30; Taylor 1998). Colin Rowe criticizes the modernist inclination to eradicate older cities. He urges architects not to disregard the street, the square, and the role of building mass as a definer of urban space. He also emphasizes the multivalent nature of urban form and calls designers to use the existing urban fabric and integrate it with the new elements of the city to create a cohesive whole; a 'collage city' (Rowe 1978).

In "Pattern Language," Christopher Alexander attempts to layout hundreds of patterns that people have intuitively created and developed in order to enjoy their physical environment (Alexander 1977). He also studies many historic buildings and town forms that most people seem to enjoy regardless of their personal biases and preconditioning. He argues that lay people may naturally and unconsciously build successful and enjoyable environments in what he termed "the timeless way of building" (Alexander 1979). In general, contextualists criticize the modernist architects' inclination to conceptulaize buildings as sculptures imposed on the surrounding context. Contextualists recognize the individual building as a fragment of a larger 'whole', which is the urban fabric in its historical and physical dimensions (Ellin 1995; Alexander 1987; Krier 1979; Rowe 1978; Trancik 1986).

Traditionalism

This heading denotes the new urbanism movement sparked by the efforts of Andre Duany and Peter Calthorpe (Duany 1991, Calthorpe 1994), and a multitude of urban designers, mostly from the architectural tradition, who renounced the modern functional paradigm. The new urbanists expressed a renewed interest in traditional urban forms and enthusiastically affirmed the relevancy and capacity of traditional urbanity to cope with current urban imperatives (Duany 1991; Katz 1994; Kelbauogh 1997; Gratz 1998). They generally call for a return to traditional built forms and urban space typologies as a way to remedy the loss of human scale and sense of place that accompanied the development of the

modern city. They contend that a combination of spatial and visual play as well as architectural details can help rectify the problems of the modern city and restore the cultural and human dimensions of urban space.

Though lacking analytical constructs for substantiating their claims, traditionalists bring together an extensive vocabulary from European medieval, renaissance, and baroque cities as well as nostalgic paraphernalia from the early small-town America and propound them as a way to improve the quality of urban living. Of particular significance to this study is the traditionalist interest in reviving the morphology of street and civic architecture and how user perceptions and sense of community is affected. Traditionalists pay particular attention to the building mass including heights, lines, and decorative details, streetscapes and platting, mix of uses, and fine grain urban blocks. They use such elements to build an image of community and a spatially-grounded rhetoric of civic pride and cognizance. Physical elements such as vistas and porches figure prominently in their vocabulary as a way to organize urban space and provoke a communal demeanour. The presumption is that technological advancements and functional imperatives of the modern metropolis did not change the basic human desire for a compact and fine grain structure of neighbourhoods that are capable of providing residents' daily needs within a maximum of five-minute walking distance. 'Neighbourhood' and/or 'community' is the ultimate objective of urban dwellers. It is also presumed that the architectural and spatial intervention on the neighbourhood scale as a finite component of the city would be effective and capable of solving spatial and functional problems permeating metropolitan regions.

B. **Regional Urban Space Theory (Planning Theory: Metropolitan-Urban/Suburban)**

The dominant model of the urban economy until the mid-twentieth century was the so-called mono-centric city, in which all employment was assumed to be concentrated in the downtown with the remainder of the land devoted to housing. Over the second half of the twentieth century polycentric city models thrived by reflecting a multitude of changes in urban structure and economy. William Bogart points out that polycentric city models allow for a variety of employment centres throughout a metropolitan area, including the downtown, office parks, suburban malls, and industrial districts. In a polycentric urban region, different parts of the metropolitan area will specialize in certain activities and trade with other parts for other activities (Bogart 1998).

In a mono-centric urban model, the downtown provides jobs and other services in exchange for housing provided by residential areas. The polycentric model allows for a richer and more diversified set of social and economic exchanges. The basic economic model of polycentric urban regions revolves around the idea of specialization and trade by a variety of different sized and 'open' economies. Bogart defines "open economy" as a market that is not self-sufficient, but dependent on trading goods and services with other open economies (Bogart 1998, 4). In polycentric urban regions, some of the peripheral suburbs are so large and specialized in employment and services as to be indistinguishable from any reasonable definition of a "downtown." Joel Garreau indicates that there are now 181 suburban edge cities in the United States, with at least five million square feet of office space, or 600,000 square feet of retail space and 25,000 jobs. He also indicates that there are only 45 downtowns of comparable or larger size in the United States (Garreau 1995, 16).

By the early 1960s the suburbs in the United States held more than 50 percent of the country's urban population; by 1980 they accounted for 50 percent of total metropolitan employment and by 1990 more than one-half of the entire U.S. national population (Table 1, p. 26). The overall indicators of growth, consumption and suburbanization in the U.S. over the period from 1930-1990 are summarized in Table 2 (p. 26). It is evident from the tables the continuing trends of population and employment migration to the suburbs. Even if one takes into account the quite steady national population growth from 1960 till 1990, the numbers of automobiles and regional shopping centres are staggering and point to highly dispersed population. Inner cities in the U.S. have been experiencing a continuous decline in population and employment since the 1950s. In 1954, downtown retail sales accounted for nearly 20 percent of the nationwide metropolitan total; by 1977, only 4 percent of metropolitan sales took place in downtown areas (Robertson 1983).

The Canadian experience is somewhat different. Many of the larger cities have become major business service centres. Some cities have also managed to retain relatively high use of their inner districts as places for both to work and live. However, there is a significant counter trend: the pace of low-density suburban development has expanded markedly over the past 25 years. As of 1991, 19 percent of Canadians lived on the fringes of Canada's 25 "Census Metropolitan Areas" compared to 2 percent in 1966. While CMA populations rose 62 percent during this period, their land base expanded to four-fold (Patterson 1993, 21). The suburbs in North America have now grown to dominate the metropolitan landscapes or rather the entire urban system. They have developed from residential, commercial, or industrial enclaves into super-burbs or "Edge Cities" (Garreau 1991). The geography of work-residence linkages in this new decentralized metropolis has changed from being nested within the commuter sheds of the city centres to increasingly diverse and highly 'open' economic structures.

Table 1. The transition to a suburban society: changing population and employment distributions, U.S., 1950-1990

Census year	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990
Central cities as % of:					
Metro population	57	49	43	40	37
Metro employment	70	63	55	50	45
Suburbs as % of :					
Metro population	43	51	57	60	63
Metro employment	30	37	45	50	55

Metro refers to the Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) as defined by the U.S. Census at each census date. Source: Bourne 1996

Table 2. Indicators of growth, consumption, and suburbanization, the U.S., 1930-1990

Year	1930	1960	1970	1980	1990
National population (millions)	127.3	179.3	203.9	226.5	248.2
Metro population (millions)	72.6	132.9	155.7	171.1	192.7
Population change (millions)	-	27.9	23.9	23.2	22.1
Automobiles (millions)	27	62	83	117	157
Regional shopping centress	32	2000	12,170	22,000	35,000
Housing starts (000s)	100	1400	1700	1200	1500
Autos / 1000 pop.	211	361	408	517	631
Shopping centress / 1000 pop.	0.30	1.20	5.90	9.70	14.10
Housing starts /1000 population Change	-	5.00	7.50	7.30	7.30

Source: Bourne 1996

Michael Conzen maintains that the "Edge City" phenomenon affords an opportunity to introduce a new regional approach to manage the metropolitan growth (Conzen 1983, 272-92). Eric Monkkonen concurs and indicates that the municipal fragmentation can be thought of as a promise of diversity. Although he concedes that municipal fragmentation can perpetuate wrongs such as racial or social and economic exclusion, Monkkonen contends that small governmental units and dispersed land uses have been a part of the American city for a long time and their benefits may outweigh the social problems associated with them (Monkkonen 1988, 242-44).

Garreau disaffirms that the "Edge City" warrants the status of an urban stress that is fraught with fundamental problems. He argues that "Edge Cities" mirror modern needs and evolution in transportation and communications. Garreau also contend that the dispersed-city challenges the very existence of the traditional city centres, which has now become an anachronism. Sprawling suburbs have financed 80 percent of the economic growth in the United States over the past decade (Garreau 1991, 546). William Sharpe, on the other hand, asserts that suburban expansion is exclusionary and could perpetuate racial and economic unrest. Suburban "migration" trends have contributed to inner city poverty and despoiled outlying areas. He also challenges the assumption that the "Edge City" has supplanted the city core or should do so. Sharpe does not foresee that the ultimate course of metropolitan development will be further de-concentration (Sharpe et al 1992, 393-95).

Of particular significance to this dissertation is Gottdiener's urban space theory. It introduces a theory of metropolitan space based on extensive empirical studies of several American cities. Gottdiener's regional approach deserves special attention because it builds upon the work of many geographers, political economists, and sociologists as well as urban planners. As mentioned earlier Gottdiener's urban theory adopts a more or less balanced perspective in terms of instrumental agency and structural concerns. By adopting a structurationist understanding to urban development processes, Gottdiener's regional approach provides an integral and culturally based framework for understanding modern urban landscapes. Gottdiener does not discard structural interpretations of the modern metropolis but emphasizes the role of urban coalitions, cultural movements, community groups and individuals at large in shaping and reshaping the urban condition (Gottdiener 1994). Gottdiener calls his approach "*The Social Production of Urban Space*" and claims that it transcends the limitations of the mainstream model, structuralist model, and the neo-marxist political economy.

Political economists including but not limited to Lefebvre (1991), Castells (1977), and Harvey (1978) associate the metropolitan spatial structure with the multinational corporation as capitalism's phenomenal form. However, Gottdiener relates present urban formations in North America to residential 'deconcentration' that produces a distinctive form of space that he calls 'the polynucleated region.' Gottdiener asserts that "the vast bulk of suburbanization was produced by locational changes of residences rather than businesses; that is postwar suburbanization took place with housing construction independent of changes in industrial location." (Gottdiener 1994, 199)

Gottdiener refers to the growth of real estate and construction industries in supplying massive amounts of single-family housing and the state's active intervention in the mortgage and infrastructure provision augmented by the middle-class preference for a new lifestyle as the major impetus for shaping dispersed metropolitan regions (Gottdiener 1994, 241-7). In describing the emergent urban form, Gottdiener indicates that suburbanization results in an entirely new form of settlement space:

> "Individuals are sheltered from others with different socioeconomic statuses by residential exclusivity and spatial distance. The social space of the city's public life has been broken up and reinstated within the framework of commercial expropriation. On the one hand, everyday life transpires inside the individual suburban home, where only family members and select friends meet. On the other hand, public activities no longer take place in a ludic village centre, with its particular social space and civility. They occur increasingly in the large malls or shopping centres under the auspices of the property owners" (Gottdiener 1994, 249).

Gottdiener maintains that phases of capitalist development are not directly reflected in urban forms but in the articulation between the mode of production and space. Both structural system forces and autonomous modes of behaviour shape the morphological features of urban space. This process contributes to the formation of a dynamic "spatiotemporal" matrix with spatial forms and structural forces proceeding in interaction with the other, rather than through a positivist link of social cause and spatial effect. Thus, Gottdiener remarks:

> "If late Capitalism has produced a space for itself, the deconcentrated region, then the historical process of deconcentration has helped produce Late Capitalism...The forms which emerge from this process are not inexorably fated - they are social products open to enlightened redirection and better design (268)."

Unlike Gottdiener who attributes the suburbanization to the change in housing locational choices, Greg Hise views the decentralization of industrial production and employment as the driving force behind the new urban form. He attributes suburban movement to the shift of industrial operations from downtown to suburban locations, which was then followed by a major exodus of residential and other service employment activities (Hise 1997). However, both Gottdiener and Hise challenge the distinction that many social theorists establish between urban and suburban locations as part of a bounded city form dependent upon central city agglomerations. They refer to metropolitan formations as a new urban space that is intrinsically different from traditional city formations and subsequently warrants the development of different interpretations and urban social theories.

Whether shaped by housing (Gottdiener) and/or industrial suburbanization (Hise), it is clear that North American cities are experiencing a totally new form of settlement space. Urban and suburban developments are now part of a process of dispersed nucleation or city building right from the start. The development of these multiple nuclei depends less upon horizontal relations shown by concentric zone development theories and more upon inextricably linked and hierarchical relationships between local, regional and global capital processes. These polynucleated and/or decentralized urban formations are no longer organized by the sociospatial and urban logic of traditional cities.

C. Globalization and Urban Space

The structural changes that North American cities experience today are as much the result of the new global economy as of local and regional events (Sassen 1991; Castells 2000; Marcuse et al 2000). With vehement competition amongst cities to attract business investments, corporations are gaining the upper hand in dictating the spatial make up of large tracts of land across urban areas, making urban environments much more vulnerable to their whims. The shifting of production from one geographical space to another has become a recurring event. As William Flanagan indicates, this international force of investment becomes a colonizing force with spatial dictates for its facilities and a managerial elite. Local interests may end up having little power to resist international trends and directives of powerful global corporations. However, Flanagan maintains that cities contain a great deal of heterogeneity and may be able to thwart corporate demands. This is an empirical question that has yet to be answered in cities and regions around the world (Flanagan 1993, 162).

Harvey equates 'globalization' with 'uneven geographical development' and hints that our political and social theories need to be reviewed in order to reflect the qualitative shift in urban formations both locally and globally (Harvey 2000, 68). He maintains that the reduced cost and time in moving commodities and people has liberated all sorts of activities from former spatial constraints. Harvey surmises that information technology on its own would have been meaningless without the greater ease of transporting commodities and people around the world. To achieve this spatial freedom, the institutions of the 'second wave' industrial society (e.g. government regulation, the welfare state, collective institutions of wage bargaining) have to be dismantled or drastically reduced to little more than social rhetoric (Harvey 2000).

Globalization theorists generally maintain that cities will develop self-enclosed activity nodes that take their functional imperative from connections within the global economy. These spaces will be as heterogeneous and differentiated as the global forces residing within them. They will acquire their symbolic attraction from visually entertaining, aesthetic, and marketable design features that identify them within an imaginary global geography (Liggett et al 1995 (Eds), Boyer, 81-109). Cities will reach out and connect to global structures that dilute the degree to which cityspace represents the culmination of local territorial cultures. The new postmodern urban geography is thus seen as the product of a continuing sprawl and intensified urban nucleation accompanied by a process of sociospatial integration and disintegration (Soja 2000).

2.1.5 **Planning Theory**

Planning discourse has shifted from an emphasis on instrumental rationality and technical reason, represented in the social reform and scientific analysis models, to social learning and mobilization paradigms that have challenged the validity of a central planning authority in a democratic society (Friedmann 1987). These Postmodern planning paradigms such as 'Transactive', 'Democracy', 'Equity', 'Radical', and 'Communicative' denounce the planners' role as "god-like" experts and call for a less authoritarian and more overtly political function for planning with the goal of empowering communities to control and improve their living conditions. Planning practice is no longer perceived as value-free and planners need to take on the role of facilitators or communicators in a highly politicized practice (Innes 1995, Healey 1992).

The transformation in planning theory did not happen in a vacuum; it was generated by the transition from the hegemonic social and scientific ideologies of modernity to the diversified and value-centred paradigms of postmodernity. Unlike the modernism's positivist and realist disposition, postmodernism perceives the world as ephemeral, transient, and fragmented (Harvey 1989, 44). Postmodernists generally embrace a constructionist perspective that emphasizes contextual analyses and human-centred methodologies with the assumption that knowledge and truth are largely a cultural creation rather than discovered by the mind. While modernism's quantitative and deductive methods of planning and research still reign, many social scientists are shifting to qualitative and/or inductive paradigms that endorse mutual learning through communication as a basis for understanding the world (Denzin 2000).

This dissertation predominantly uses the postmodernist inductive approach that emphasizes the socioeconomic and spatial processes of producing the built environment. It proposes an interdisciplinary communicative model that integrates theory and practice within a social learning paradigm. It is a dissertation that attempts to understand urban design through synthesizing knowledge from different and pertinent fields of study as well as praxis-grounded knowledge that facilitates bridging the gap between knowledge and action (Friedmann 1987). While using social learning as the overarching paradigm, this study is also guided by the communicative action and critical theory that originated in Habermas's work and then recontextualized later by John Forester in a theory of interactive practice. Friedmann grounds the social learning paradigm in the philosophical pragmatism of John Dewey that advocated "learning by doing" and regarded social policy as a quasi-scientific experiment. He perceives social learning as a communication process among small task-oriented groups that takes place primarily through face-to-face dialogues. Implicit in the social learning paradigm is the concept of an active society that is self reflexive and capable of employing that self-knowledge to direct its own development and transform

knowledge into a consensus of community action. This is the essence of Friedmann's 'Transactive Planning' which calls for decentralized institutions so that communities can assume control over socioeconomic processes that affect their living conditions (Friedmann 1973; 1987).

Habermas argues that public life is cognitively as well as socially constructed and through "reflexive dialogue" people can arrive at what is "true" and what is "right". Implicit in the idea of reflexive and reciprocal dialogue is a concerted effort by collaborators to avoid structural distortions and one-sided conversations as well as bureaucratic and "system world" jargon (Habermas 1984, Healy 1999, 111-21). He also contends that the potentiality of consensus lies in the process of communication itself providing that structural distortions are identified and individual speeches meet certain conditions of comprehensibility, integrity, legitimacy, and veracity. Habermas relates the problems of modernity to the overzealous lenience towards a scientific mode of practice and inquiry that disguise existing power relations and hamper the potential of human intersubjectivity (Habermas 1989).

Forester depicts social and political economic processes as systematic patterns of practical communication. He describes what planners do as attention shaping, communicative action rather than an instrumental action connecting means to particular ends. He points out that by conceiving of planning practice as communicative interaction and attention shaping, planners are given a conceptual bridge from abstract analysis to implementation, from knowledge to action, and eventually from armchair theorizing to a pragmatic assessment of practical professional activity (Forester 1989, 137-62). Forester refers to the elemental role of planners in informing and shaping the attention of parties involved in the planning process. Planners' intentions may be good but by failing to recognize the subtleties of communicative activities, they end up creating dependencies, unfulfilled expectations, and counterproductive processes. Forester does not view these problems as inevitable and they can be avoided if planners are equipped with organizational and communicative strategies through which they can recognize political and cultural sensitivities when interacting with the public (Forester 1989). In order to get things done "right", Forester says, planners have to be effective communicators. He advances a "Critical Theory of Planning Practice" that focuses attention on the distorted nature of communicative exchanges. Forester maintains that such distortions occur when politicians and administrators present political problems as technical ones thereby misrepresenting costs and benefits to the public. It is the role of planners to reframe such problems to show their political nature and pool the required technical, argumentative, and communicative resources to guide both informal and formal consultation processes (Forester 1989). Friedmann advocates planning as an emancipating and radical practice in the tradition of social mobilization. He theorizes a total restructuring of the state and political economic system in order to establish the economic and political power within communities (Friedmann

1987). Planning theorists have criticized the communicative rationality for failing to grasp the nuances and complicated politics of public debates and established planning frameworks (Faludi 1996, Alexander 1996). Openness of communication is instrumental but not sufficient, by itself, to eliminate disabling power and structural distortions of communication. Public consensus on an openly debated issue is not a clear indication of power-free communicative practice. Public debates are multifaceted with discursive and nondiscursive practices that tend to carefully disguise power relations that reside in logical and historical social assumptions (Fischler 2000, 358-68).

The very possibility of absolute clarity, openness, and transparency as conditions for intersubjective understanding among individuals outlined by Habermas is problematic. Margo Huxley points out that setting power distortions aside, intersubjective comprehension is dependent on cultural customs, traditions, and histories, and is, therefore contingent. These variables are, for the most part, beyond individual will and often hampers the idealistic speech situations essential for achieving the Habermasian communicative consensus. Huxsley also criticizes Habermas's reduction of the notion of power to the 'system world', which are the hierarchical powers of the state and bureaucracy. The discourses and practices of power extend to a whole range of social concerns in the public sphere including but not limited to gender, race, and class. Social, economic, and cultural inequalities in the 'life world', that is non-state institutions such as the family, community organizations, religious establishments, and professions are inextricably linked with disabling power relations in the state. This creates a complex web of structural distortions reducing the potential of communicative action for accomplishing professed social and cultural transformations (Huxley 2000, 369-77).

Forester is correct to surmise that under the current circumstances, some power distortion is inevitable, and is even justified if it empowers citizens: "if planners ignore those in power, they assure their own powerlessness. Alternatively if planners understand how relations of power shape the planning process, they can improve the quality of their analyses and empower citizen and community action" (Forester 1989, 27). By focussing on the practical issues of information control, misinformation, and distorted communications, planners can chart a pragmatic and progressive role for practice (Forester 1989, 27-9). Forester believes that planners can create the conditions that permit citizens to participate effectively in deliberations and act collectively on issues affecting their living conditions. More often than not, planners have access to information that can identify the structural, organizational, and political hurdles that fragmentize communal understanding and actions (Forester 1989, 28-31). In essence, Forester charts a theory of 'critical pragmatism' that provides for good planning practice and arranges for social critiques and learning to empower communities (Sager 1995, 166-72).

Raphael Fischler views the praxis-oriented approach of current communicative theorists as closer to Foucault's practical historicism more than Habermas's philosophical abstractions. Unlike Habermas who foresees viable communicative practices only through power-free human relations, Forester and subsequent theorists strive to achieve undistorted communication interactions within existing power imbalances: "they generally refrain from making categorical statements on a golden age of power-free communication" (Fischler 2000, 361). Charles Hoch contends that "instead of striving to be experts on truth, planning theorists may be better off becoming storytellers of practice. Their goal should not be to build grand theories but to uncover examples of planning that are both competent and democratic" (Hoch qtd in Fischler 2000, 361).

Chapter 2, Part 2:

2.2.1 Introduction to Theoretical Models

Part 2 of this chapter utilizes the knowledge generated from previous theoretical analyses to generate the study theroetical models. It establishes linked networks among social, political, and planning and design aspects of potential significance to successful urban design practice and education. Theories discussed earlier have a direct bearing on framing interview themes and questions presented throughout this part.

As will be shown next, theories are clustered or grouped in order to generate conceptual triads of themes that drive this study. These 'clusters' include the **'Sociospatial Model'** (p. 38), the **'Configurational Model'** (p. 43), and the **'Planning Model'** (p. 48). The sociospatial and configurational models are used to frame the discussion themes used with interviewees. The planning model is the navigation tool of this study. It guides the operating procedure of the dissertation and largely stems from Friedmann's "Knowledge - Planning - Action" social learning paradigm (Friedmann 1987). This study attempts to gain an urban design understanding through synthesizing knowledge from different and conceivably pertinent fields of study as well as praxis-grounded knowledge that in the Friedmann's sense facilitates bridging the gap between knowledge and action (Friedmann 1987). The theoretical journey culminates in the development of the **'Critical Social Praxis Model'** (p. 51), which encapsulates the major ideas and conceptual constructs used to guide subsequent research interviews and analyses. The following diagram (Fig. 1, p. 36) graphically illustrates how each cluster of urban theories contributes to the creation of sociospatial, configurational, and planning models.

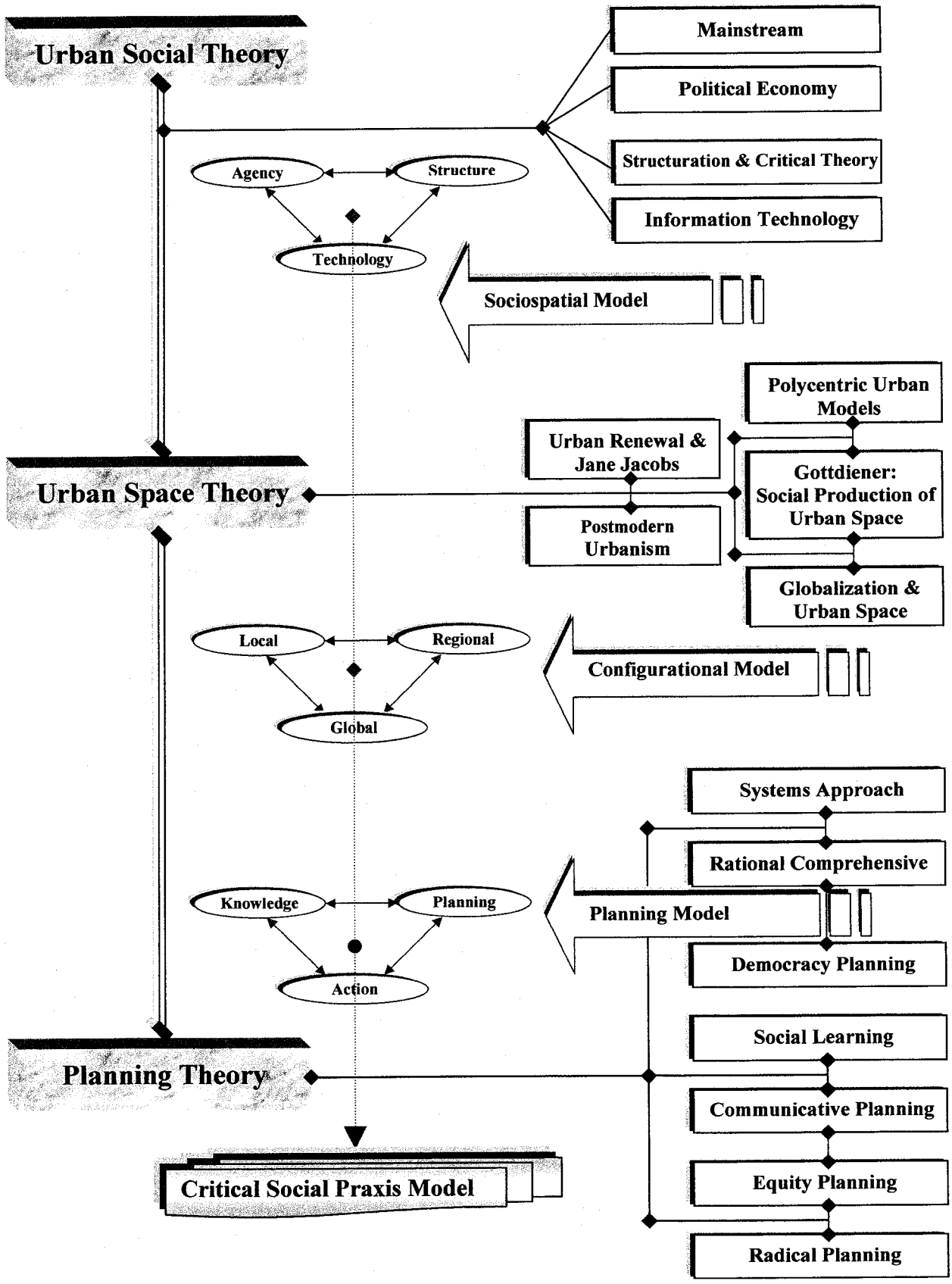


Fig. 1 Theory Quest Diagram

2.2.2 Sociospatial Theme Questions and Premises

The previous review of major social theoretical streams points to a triangular conceptual model that informs today's urban studies (Agency, Structure, and Technology) (Fig. 2, p. 38). Mainstream analyses and economic theories continue to emphasize the role of individuals and families as consumers of urban commodities including real estate and the physical and spatial characteristics of metropolitan formations. They generally depict public policies such as tax incentives, auto-subsidies, and regulatory frameworks as lagging behind free market forces, cultural choices and demographic changes that precipitate inevitable spatial and physical transformations.

Technology is embedded in mainstream analyses (p. 14-16), which refer to the role of the automobile, the truck, highway, and telephone in aiding and abetting the spatial distribution of the modern metropolis. For mainstream analyses, the economic and social institutions of the modern city develop hand in hand with transportation and technological advancements. Recent developments in telecommunications and digital technologies create a locational flexibility in housing, employment, industrial, and business operations. This has led some urban analysts to theorize a state of urban stress and duality within cities and regions resulting in ever widening economic and social gaps. A few theorists went even further and predicted the disappearance of urban institutions as we have known them over the last several centuries and put forth futuristic scenarios of a dematerialized and digitally based human existence.

Thus, mainstream analyses combine **agency** (though elite driven) and **technology** in debating the shape and arrangements of urban land uses. Structuralists explain modern urban developments in terms of **structures** that produce and reproduce distinctive spatial and social aggregations that express the interests of dominant classes. These interests include accelerating capital circulation and isolating the rich from the poor. Structuralists view dispersed and zoned urban landscapes as economically and politically driven by capitalism, which is supported by state-enacted policies and regulatory procedures (i.e. tax abatements, mortgages, auto-subsidies, highway construction, and land use regulations) that are essentially promoting business and financial interests (p. 16-17).

Structurationists question the overly deterministic approach of structuralist analyses and point to the primacy of human agency in shaping the urban condition. They generally attempt to forge links between agency and structure and propose a cumulative worldview that manages to combine an understanding of the structural aspects of modern capitalist societies and the sociocultural process inherent in the creation of urban space. Structutration theory is concerned with the dialectical dynamics between **agency and structure** that produces and reproduces social systems. Subsequent critical urban theories express concerns regarding structural forces such as race, ethnicity, gender, and class and how such forces perpetuate social inequalities and limit individual's ability to participate in urban action (p. 17-20).

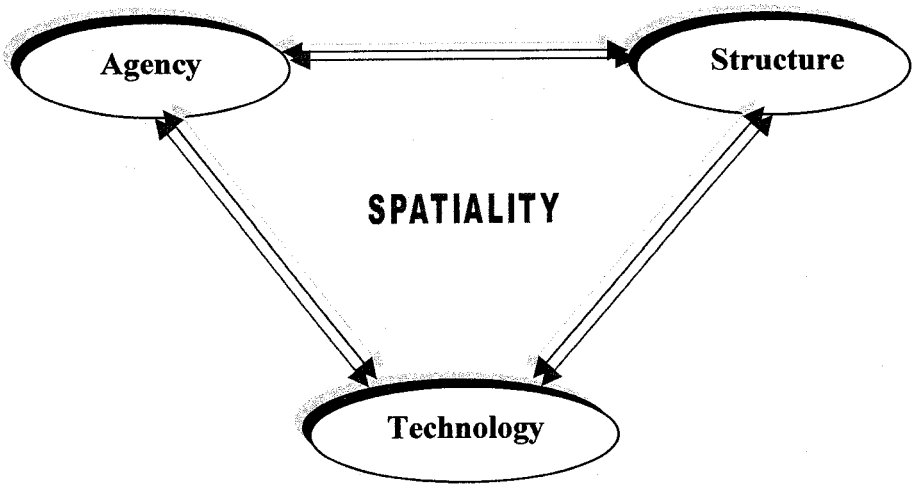


Fig. 2 The Sociospatial Model

This study takes a recombinant position as depicted by the above sociospatial model. A recombinant position entails recognition of the multidimensionality of urban form and design issues. Emphasis is placed on the need to expand and crossover the current thinking regarding urban design with various theories and disciplines. A multivalent approach such as this would identify the dialectics of human agency, societal structures, and technology in shaping built forms and urban spatial formations and potentially precipitates an integrative urban design discourse.

The proposed discussion themes with research participants emanate from the theoretical review in Part 1 of Chapter 2 and are generally designed to allow for rich responses that reflect on agency, structure, and technological concerns. Much of the previous social theory discussed has concentrated on debates related to spatial formations in the modern city, which is relevant to urban design concerns. Several issues were raised including *market dynamics, transportation,* ***land use regulations****, public policies (e.g. private home taxation and mortgage incentives and auto subsidies), and class, race, and gender* tensions within the modern metropolis. A discussion of such issues is crucial to a comprehensive understanding of urban landscapes and successful urban design interventions in spatial and built forms. As mentioned earlier, this study does not aim to develop a grand theoretical urban design scheme and is certainly not set up as such. This dissertation does identify the distinction between the architectural and planning approaches in understanding and intervening in urban landscapes.

Due to its prime importance to architectural and planning debates and praxes, there is a distinct focus on zoning (land use regulations). Zoning bylaws identify urban land use patterns and determine development densities within zoned areas. From this perspective, zoning is highly relevant to the spatial and physical distribution of urban developments, which is a major concern for urban design studies and praxes. Zoning is the embodiment of many issues raised by social theory discussions including transportation, private home and auto subsidies, race, gender, and class conflicts within modern cities. As an urban control instrument, zoning regulates spatial relations, allocation of uses, and deployment of urban densities. Zoning regulations were enacted in the 1920s across North America and continue to coerce urban growth patterns into exclusionary social and physical enclaves. Zoning was rationalized as a strategic tool to promote public health, safety, and welfare in order to mitigate the perceived negative repercussions of industrial development on cities in the early twentieth century. It aimed to prevent or alleviate the negative external effects associated with the proximity of incompatible uses and promoted a type of low-density housing presumably preferred by a large segment of population. Zoning provisions have the potential of achieving other social goals with regard to housing and density patterns, separation of uses, isolation of classes, and preferred modes of transport.

Structuralists cast doubt on the historical justification for zoning regulations. They maintain that land use controls not only contribute to the physical separation of industrial from housing or commercial uses, but also stratify housing zones into single-family, multiple-family and rental areas. Zoning is perceived by structuralists as a façade for capital accumulation and class domination. It represents both the private sector financial interests and an elite dominated state system that legitimizes the exercise of zoning controls within a planning framework encouraging dispersed and socially segregated urban growth patterns.

Thus, as a primary area of concern to both architects and planners, the zoning issue has the potential of eliciting rich responses from research participants that reflect on **agency** and social **structure** concerns. A discussion of zoning issues invariably brings forth ideas regarding transportation, transit, lifestyle preferences, and social structures. To encourage participants to elaborate on their positions, two sets of interview discussion themes are proposed (p. 40-1). The first set of interview questions (shown below) invites participants to discuss the impact of zoning on spatial formations and on the division of uses. The questions encourage participants to suggest alternative urban controls that may foster better living environments.

The second set of questions (p. 41) tackles urban/suburban densities. They elicit responses regarding public preferences for housing densities and configurations as well as professional attitudes towards urban and suburban densities. Discussion themes, as shown below, will invariably reveal interviewees' positions regarding the balance of agency and structural issues in shaping built forms. Zoning discussion themes are phrased to stimulate elucidating narratives from research participants. Various methodological issues have been considered in presenting these questions and will be explained in detail in Chapter 3 (p. 56-8). Though largely emanating from social theory analyses, the discussion themes shown below have also been enhanced by architectural and urban design theory. This is manifested in the imbedded assumptions within the preliminary hypothesis and questions of the density theme, which assume that high densities and mixed uses offer a more livable urban form. Zoning discussion themes have been presented to interviewees as follows:

THEME 1: ZONING

The issue of zoning has been intensely debated over the last three or four decades.

- How do you perceive the impact of zoning on shaping the North American built form?
- If zoning could be justified for containing twentieth century urban growth, what would you suggest as an alternative urban control instrument that may foster a better living environment in the twenty-first century?
- How do you think zoning affected the development of Toronto's built form?

THEME 2: DENSITY

High densities and mixed uses are currently touted as conducive to achieving a livable built environment.

- What aspects of density and use do you think may promote a better urban experience?
- How would you reconcile a high density-mixed use strategy with the current low-density development norm in North American cities?
- How would you describe the public preference within each socioeconomic group? What has been Toronto's experience?

Zoning discussion themes are not necessarily designed to build a substantive knowledge regarding zoning and its impact on North American cities. The main objective is to engage participants in rich dialogues that can reveal their positions regarding agency and structural dynamics in shaping the built environment. To avoid leading participants' responses, discussion themes address substantive zoning issues and thus allow participants' agency and structural perspectives to be revealed during the interpretation process.

The third component of the sociospatial model is concerned with the impact of technology on shaping built forms. While mainstream analysts refer to the role of transportation means and channels in shaping cities and towns, futurists profess the demise of the city as an economic and social institution and portrayed a dematerialized human existence in which the city would be an anachronism. It seems rather unlikely that any amount of digital technological advancements could lead to the demise of the city as a form of human settlement. In fact, some theorists have indicated counter trends of recentralization as a result of telecommunication advancements. They also refer to a state of socioeconomic stress and duality that may threaten the social and economic balance of urban life. While such theoretical observations were partly manifested in some cities over the last decade probably due to technology and other globalization issues, the urban condition continues to organize social and economic activities around the globe more than ever.

Cities seem to be feeding on technology and utilizing the rapid progress of telecommunications in enhancing socioeconomic functions and expanding their global reach. Information technology is abetting urban concentrations rather than threatening their very existence. Cities may experience spatial and configurational changes to adapt to the global economic and social restructuring processes but will continue to organize human life. That said, it is more important than ever to study the impact of technology on shaping urban developments. Urban designers and planners need to harness technological

advancements in ways that enhance quality of life in cities. The technology discussion theme has been presented to interviewees as follows:

THEME 3: TECHNOLOGY

Communication and transportation technologies have accompanied and abetted urban sprawl over the last several decades. It is predicted that recent developments in digital information technology might cause further dispersion of built forms and urban functions and in a sense would lead to the demise of the city as a social form of human settlement.

- How do you perceive the impact of new information and communication technologies on the future built form?

Study Premises (Socispatial Themes)

Based on previous theory and research discussion, two distinct approaches are presumed to emerge through the interview proceedings:

- **Structural Approach:** professionals who take this approach tend to emphasize structural aspects of urban form and development processes and generally overplay the need for massive state reform and intervention practices. This approach marginalizes the role of individuals, people preferences, and cultural movements in shaping built environments.

- **Agency Approach:** professionals who take this approach generally ignore structural considerations in shaping built environments. This approach calls for a more or less laissez faire perspective to urban development. It potentially entrenches evolving social inequalities in the modern metropolis and deals with current built forms as inevitable corollaries to demographic shifts and technological advancements.

Investigating the balance of agency and structural issues in the participants' narratives is crucial to identifying their conceptual understanding of urban form and development processes. This study emphasizes the need for considering both instrumental agency and structural issues in order to develop more integrative approaches to urban design.

2.2.3 Configurational Theme Questions & Premises

Another conceptual triad emerges from the previous review of urban space theory. The configurational model shown below identifies three interdependent scales of urban development that interact to produce and reproduce the spatial and physical aspects of today's social and cultural conventions. Generally, theorists tend to selectively tackle one or more of these development scales. This study recognizes the instrumentality of debating the social and spatial dynamics resulting from local, regional, and global imperatives and promotes an inclusive urban design perspective. Current urban design theory, which predominantly originates from architectural studies, has a renewed interest in traditional urban forms and narrows the intellectual domain of urban design to the physical characteristics of buildings, streetscapes, and visual dynamics of micro-level built forms. Planning and social theories, on the other hand, are divided between an emphasis on the regional characteristics of spatial formations and the impact of a global economic restructuring process on the modern metropolis.

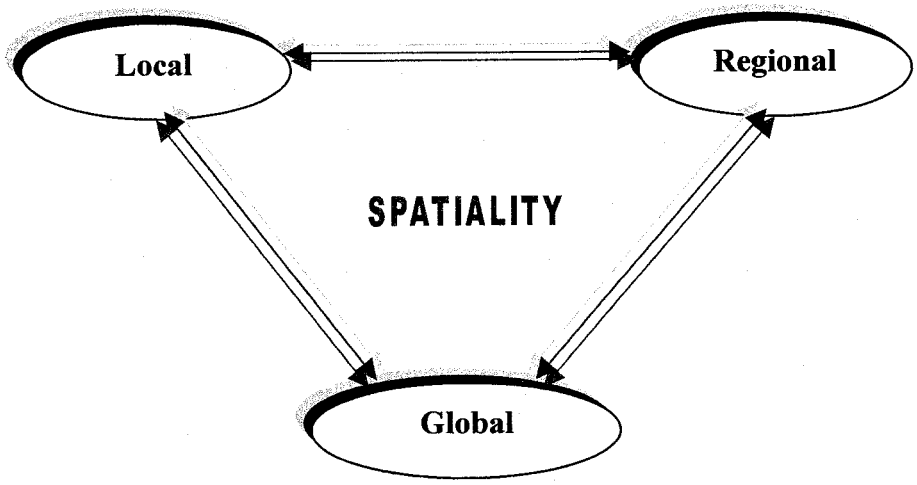


Fig. 3 The Configurational Model

Metropolitan economic theories and regional space analyses (p. 25-29) generate a very pertinent discussion theme for this study. The urban/suburban dynamics over the coming decades will determine the shape and character of human settlements in North America. Along this line of reasoning, there are generally two contrasting theoretical streams: one advocating economic and spatial deconcentration and leading to further suburbanization and the other predicting and/or arguing for a shift in current

development trends towards more centralized urban and spatial formations. The **'Urban Form'** discussion theme (shown below) largely stems from regional space analyses and inquires about present and predictive situations where participants are encouraged to correlate their responses with examples from the local context (Toronto).

Notable among metropolitan analyses is Gottdiener's paradigm (p. 27-8) which articulates an inextricably linked process that projects built forms as a reflection of social and cultural practices. Urban space is not only a material backdrop for social action, but also a social possibility for engagement in such action. In other words, social space and physical space are dynamically interdependent, each shapes the other. Gottdiener's theoretical discussion is injected with a measure of empiricism and dynamism that depicts an evolving reciprocal relationship between spatial and social practices. There are constant and simultaneous interactions between the social and the spatial relations that negate the structural linear interpretation of social cause and spatial effect. He refers to the current urban/suburban dynamics as a new form of settlement space that radically departs from the bounded city form. The new form warrants a review of current urban theory in order to understand the 'polynucleated region' and potentially chart a more enlightened future (Gottdiener 1994).

The 'Urban Form' questions invite participants to elabourate on current and future urban/suburban dynamics and also to deliberate on potential alternative growth patterns. The questions are open-ended and generally designed to obtain nuanced descriptions by participants regarding the future of metropolitan developments. Various methodological issues have been considered in presenting these questions and will be explained in detail in Chapter 3 (p. 56-8). The 'Urban Form' theme was presented to interviewees as follows:

THEME 4: URBAN FORM

Over the twentieth century, parts of the North American city have been described as urban or suburban based on their geographic location and/or physical characteristics. While suburban precincts have thrived over the last four decades, urban cores have relatively declined.

- How do you perceive the urban/suburban dynamics in the twenty-first century?
- If you were to visualize a different and conceivably more livable growth pattern, how would you describe the new mix and what would be its major characteristics?
- How do you see Toronto in the light of the proposed vision?

Postmodern urbanists (p. 22-4) view the neighbourhood as the definer of the regional and metropolitan structures. They emphasize the role of physical design, architectural details, and streetscapes in sustaining communal practices and prescribe a specific configurational makeup for successful urban spaces. Their work has been well received by a host of users and professionals and seems to have been able to foster a revolutionary revival of building aesthetics, which were previously suppressed by the modern movement. Unlike regional space theorists who refer to metropolitan polynucleated formations as radically different from the bounded city form, postmodern urbanists, who form the bulk of current urban design theorists, champion a strategy aimed at reviving traditional building and urban typologies as a more livable alternative to the modern metropolis. They contend that well-defined streets and visually stimulating built environments, commonly on a neighbourhood scale, would help restore the cultural and human dimensions of modern urban space. Their urban design repertoire is generally confined to building mass, building heights, façade lines, streetscapes, vistas, and fine grain urban blocks. By concentrating on such elements, postmodern urbanists aim to rectify the spatial and physical problems of the modern city and reconfigure its urban fabric according to predetermined building and spatial typologies that more or less conform to traditional European and early twentieth century American cities. Physical attributes of urban space are generally portrayed as determinants of social and behavioural norms of urban residents. Though physically deterministic, postmodern urbanists' views touched on crucial aspects of built forms, especially as they relate to the direct interface between the building, the street, the neighbourhood, urban residents, and daily routines.

Postmodern urban design theory generates a critical discussion theme for this study referred to as **'Architectonics.'** The questions within this theme elicit participants' views regarding the dialectics between physical characteristics of urban space and the behavioural and communal practices of urban residents. The 'Architectonics' theme was presented to interviewees as follows:

THEME 5: ARCHITECTONICS

There is a continuous debate on the relationship between the physical characteristics of urban space (e.g. street width, building heights, building lines, architectural details, entrance porches, streetscapes, etc.), and the behavioural and social norms of urban residents. Some professionals have prescribed detailed design guidelines for successful urban spaces.

- How do you see this relationship?
- What physical contexts do you think may be conducive to a more livable urban experience?
- How would you explain Toronto's success and desirability compared to other North American cities?

Some theorists believe that the structural changes North American cities experience today are as much the result of the new global economy as of local and regional events (p. 30). There is a belief that multinational corporations are building global networks that will create cities with polarized social groups and fragmented local politics. However, other theorists have commented that the impact of the globalized economy on local urban structures is overrated and may not have such far-reaching effects. Urban design theory should address the impact of globalization on shaping the physical and spatial arrangements of the city. The paradox is that cities need to attract global investments to boost their economies but at the same time they must study ways to minimize the resulting spatial disruption to local and regional structures. Can urban design play an active role in that regard? What measures and/or strategies should planners and designers consider in order to sustain the city as a place of residence, work, and entertainment in the face of global forces at work in their local and regional areas? These are among the questions communicated to research participants in discussing the **'Globalization'** theme, which was presented to interviewees as follows:

THEME 6: GLOBALIZATION

"Globalization" is a term that is frequently used in recent urban planning publications to denote the changes in the spatial patterns of modern and future cities. It refers to economic and social forces that enable cities to compete or rather function in a highly interconnected world.

- How do you perceive the impact of globalization on the urban form of North American cities (particularly Toronto) over the coming twenty or thirty years?

- What are the measures and/or strategies needed to sustain the livability and desirability of the city as a place for residence, work and entertainment?

Study Premises (Configurational Themes)

Based on the previous theory and research discussion, two distinct approaches are presumed to emerge from the interview proceedings:

- **Macro Regional & Global Approach:** professionals who use this approach tend to emphasize regional and global issues at the expense of the physical characteristics of urban space especially on a micro or neighbourhood level. Within this approach, urban design is dealt with as an afterthought or a window dressing exercise to embellish urban space. Urban form is perceived as an offshoot of social and economic functions but not vice versa. Built forms and architectural details have no impact on attitudes and cultural behaviours (a majority of planners are expected to dominate this group).

- **Micro Local Approach:** professionals who use this approach tend to emphasize local idiosyncrasies and public place dynamics. They deconstruct cities into finite structural units or neighbourhoods and conceive livable cities as made of well designed public spaces, good streetscapes, walkable and well defined built enclosures, and human scaled urban spaces. Within this approach, professionals tend to ignore the dialectics of local, regional, and global development issues and perceive built forms as determinative of the urban experience (a majority of architects are expected to dominate this group).

This study takes a balanced position that perceives urban form as shaped by the interrelated and inextricably linked dynamics of local, regional, and global investment and development decisions. Neighbourhoods, streets, and buildings envelop daily life and provide a context for the living, shopping, working, and recreational experiences of urban residents. However, the urban form cannot be simply understood as being composed of finite elements or multiplied structural units (neighbourhoods). Metropolitan developments have created a new urban logic with highly decentralized and open economic systems within which local areas cannot be viably isolated from their regional surroundings. Global economic restructuring also impacts local and regional development decisions. In that sense, the modern urban form must be understood as the embodiment of local, regional, and global actions.

2.2.4 Planning Theory (the Urban Design Question)

Unlike the sociospatial and configurational models, which were mainly presented as a vehicle for generating interview themes, the planning model is actually the embodiment of this study's methodology. The planning model suggested here is largely a navigation tool that reveals the researcher's understanding of the nature of planning and urban design. This study recognizes planning and urban design as a constructionist interactive communal process and practitioners as profoundly involved with community issues, politics, and public decision making. This view is central to this dissertation that aims to gain an interdisciplinary understanding of urban design through enlightening dialogues with planning and architecture professionals. This procedure is grounded within the social learning paradigm and communicative planning theory (p. 31-4). Using in-depth interviews with professionals, this study attempts to understand the distinction between architects and planners approaches to urban design. In terms of this study, the process of communication is essential in every aspect of the planning model: **"Knowledge - Planning - Action"**.

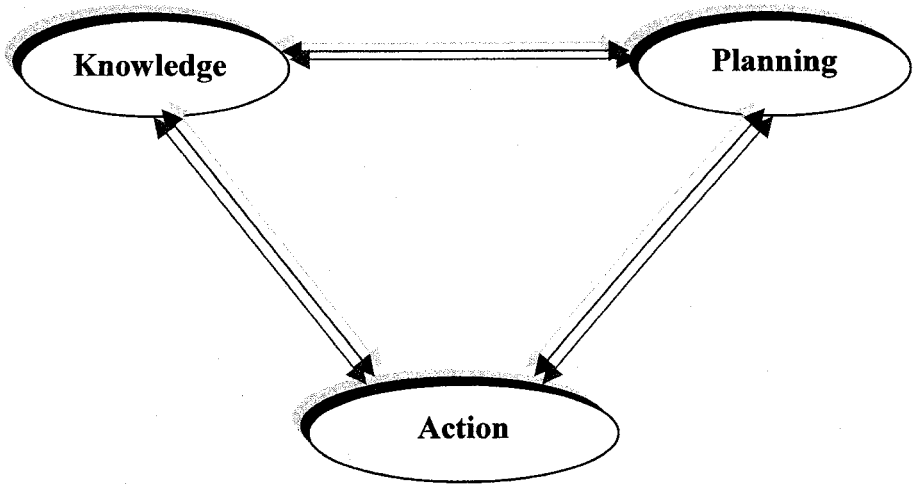


Fig. 4 The Planning Model

Social Learning Paradigm and Communicative Theory

Of particular significance to this dissertation is Forester's idea about design activity as a collective communicative process: "using practical conversation as its medium, design is a deeply social process of making sense together" (Forester 1989, 119). Forester finds the idea of urban design as an activity separate from the community highly problematic and he uses an ethnographic analysis of community meetings organized to discuss the design of a neighbourhood park as support. People not only refuted the particular design of the park presented by the architects but also questioned the logic and necessity of adding a park to their neighbourhood. Through interactive communication between the community and designers, the meeting was as much a search for a definition of the problem as it was a search for the alternative solutions. Attention shifted from discussing the fixed parameters of a proposed design to defining problems within the neighbourhood and effective ways to deal with them. A neighbourhood context cannot be entirely known and it takes more than a designer's skills to define it. Reading a neighbourhood's social, economic, and physical context is actually more of a communal, investigative, and conversational proceeding than a technical or creative process. Once the values and evaluative positions of community members are elicited through communication, designers can proceed with a search process leading to satisfactory solutions. Viewing the designing process as making sense together "will be recognizable as more than a cognitive search process and rather as a fully embodied, institutionally located, practically constrained, politically contingent, ambiguity-resolving process - as a social process of making sense together, in which giving form and making sense are profoundly coterminous" (Forester 1989, 118-33).

According to Nigel Taylor, the communicative planning theorists are generally interested in the problems of action and implementation. They place a high premium on an effective planning process that leads to 'achieving' and 'doing' things within the existing political economy (Taylor 1998, 123). In contrast to structuralism, which trivializes the role of human agency, the essence of communicative planning is that individual planners make a difference and their actions and constructions of reality should be studied and comprehended (Huxley 2000, 369). Critical and communicative theorists contend that scientific methods embedded within the rationality paradigm have the potential of distorting or concealing the truth. While there may be pertinent facts in scientific constructions, they are normally dressed in the jargon of abstract and mystifying texts that camouflage other structural and political dimensions. They have the potential of blinding people to the deeper reality of a highly politicized and economically structured social experience. In that regard, communicative theorists emphasize the significance of a praxis-oriented approach to planning. In the communicative approach, academic and practical knowledge is linked in order to eliminate the gap between theory and practice. Judith Innes states that "Theory only makes sense through practice and vice versa" (Innes 1995, 183-89). Furthering this idea Forester states:

> "Planning theory cannot offer general answers to be used independent of specific practical settings - but planning theory can be expected to pose significant questions, to point attention selectively and insightfully, so that actors in their own settings can find their own answers. Theory asks, Practice answers (qtd. in Fischler 2000, 361).

The interview questions will conclude with a discussion theme geared to interpret participants' positions on urban design as an intellectual activity and practice. Being such an amorphously categorized area of practice, there are aspects of urban design that need to be defined from a pragmatic perspective by professionals with extensive experience and exposure to various projects that included the urban design activity in one form or another. The 'Urban Design' theme was presented to interviewees as follows:

THEME 7: URBAN DESIGN

'Urban design' is a profession that is commonly involved in the conception of city-scale built forms. However, there is no clear definition for either the boundaries of the term or the qualifications required to practice it.

- What do you think are the professional and intellectual provisions required for urban design practice?

- How would you describe an educational program that would prepare professionals to successfully engage in urban design endeavours?

2.2.5 The Conceptual Framework of the Study

While sociospatial and configurational models frame the majority of discussion themes used with research participants, planning theory is mainly utilized as a procedural and methodological framework for carrying out the entire research. As will be shown in Chapter 3, methodology and research techniques are embedded within the social learning and communicative planning paradigms. The theoretical review in chapters two and three culminates in the **'Critical Social Praxis Model,'** which integrates the ideas and theoretical constructs defined earlier into sociospatial, configurational, and planning models. The conceptual model shown below indicates the scope of urban design activity used in this study. This study understands urban forms as the embodiment of local, regional, and global actions shaped by the interdependent dynamics of instrumental and structural forces. Further, city building is viewed as a collective action and urban design as a social discourse of consensus building process.

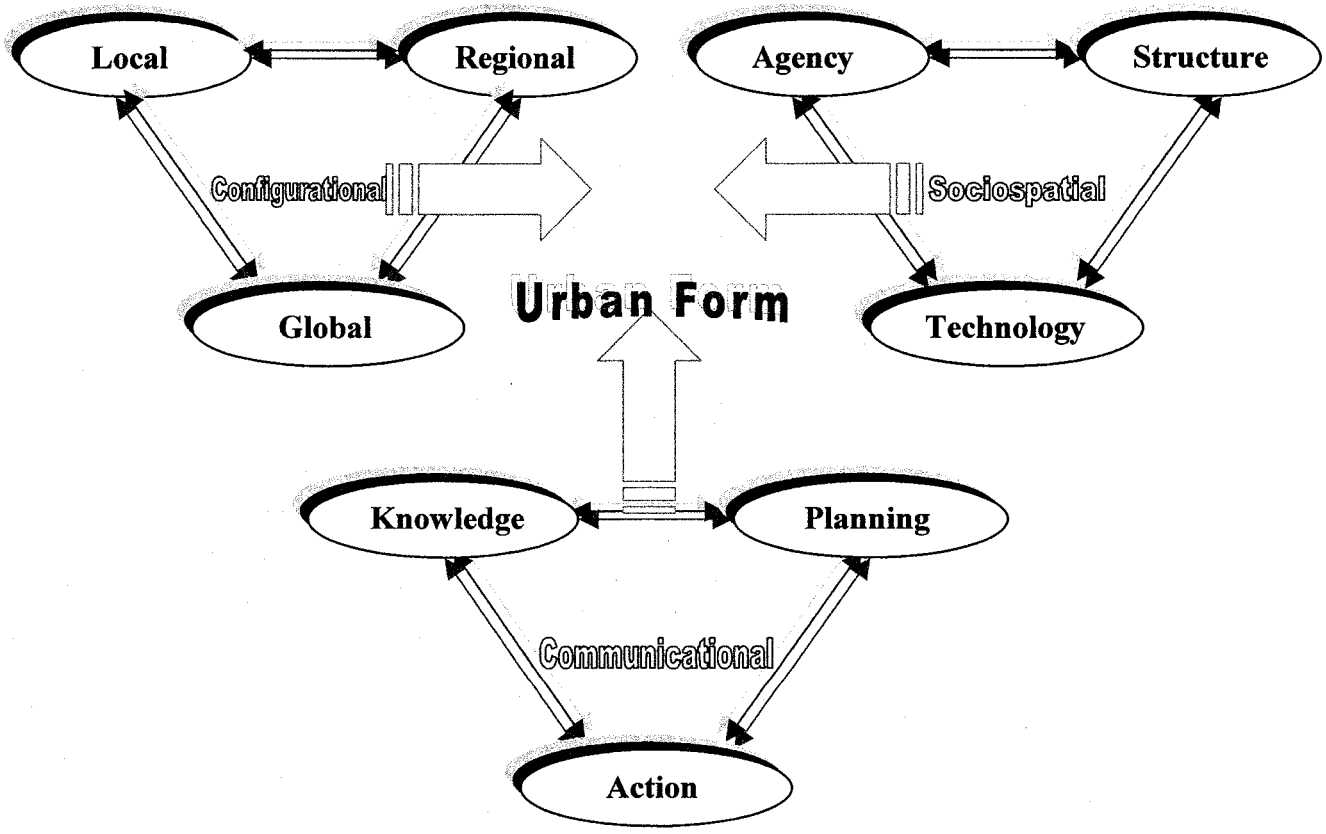


Fig. 5 Critical Social Praxis Model

Chapter 1
Thesis Introduction
Rationale, Contributions, and Highlights

Chapter 2

Part 1
Theory Quest: Urban Social Theory, Urban Space Theory, And Planning Theory

Part 2
Theoretical Models

Chapter 3

Part 1
Methodology: Gathering Data, Interviews, Protocol, Sampling, and Study Context

Part 2
Methodological Setting: Interviewees' Profiles, Data Transcription and Analysis Techniques

Chapter 4
Interview Data Analysis and Interpretation

Chapter 5
Discussion and Concluding Remarks

Chapter 3, Part 1

3.1.1 Introduction to Methodology

The methodology used to carry out this study is embedded within the planning framework of social learning and communicative practice. Hence, a face-to-face dialogue with practitioners is deemed to be an effective mechanism to study the distinction between the architectural and planning approaches to urban design. While this study is grounded within a qualitative postmodern worldview that emphasizes inductive approaches, contextual analyses and mutual learning through communication, it also recognizes the valuable role of explanatory social and economic theories in understanding the world. **The methodological considerations of this research are divided into two parts. Part 1 introduces research methods and data gathering techniques and provides the groundwork preceding the interviews with Toronto professionals. Part 2 provides an overview of methodological issues pursuant to conducting interviews and subsequent interview data analyses.**

The substantive knowledge found within the theories discussed earlier is largely created by communication between theorists and intellectuals and should be integrated with planning studies. In this respect, this study uses Wallace's wheel, which depicts science as an iterative process involving both inductive and deductive methods of knowledge building. Wallace indicates that there is an ongoing circular dialectic between deductive and inductive approaches involving both theory and data (Fig. 6, p. 54). The question of "which comes first, theory or data?" is perceived by Wallace as insignificant because both are intertwined in an ongoing process that makes the decision of "where to start counting?" subjective. A researcher cannot start investigating the world with either a 'blank slate mind', devoid of any theoretical organization about how the world works, or with 'pure theory', devoid of any informal knowledge gained from earlier observations and human interactions (Wallace 197; Palys 1997). The qualitative approach that emphasizes the use of literature and theory at the outset of the study is not unique to this study. Ethnographic studies from cultural anthropology, for example, include a strong cultural theory at the beginning of the study (Creswell 1994, 44; Spradley 1979).

This study uses diverse political, socioeconomic, and architectural and urban design theories to frame the questions posed to practitioners. However, these theories are not used in a deductive mode of inquiry typically found in causal constructs. They are generally used as pattern theories with interconnected sets of concepts and relationships (Lincoln & Guba 1985; Neuman 1994). Theoretical frameworks are neither used as containers into which the data must be poured, or as unidirectional tools to chart the research course. Thus, theory and data in this study are used in a dialectical praxis context in which theory does not become something to test, but rather to develop and be shaped through the process of research (Lather 1986; Creswell 1994).

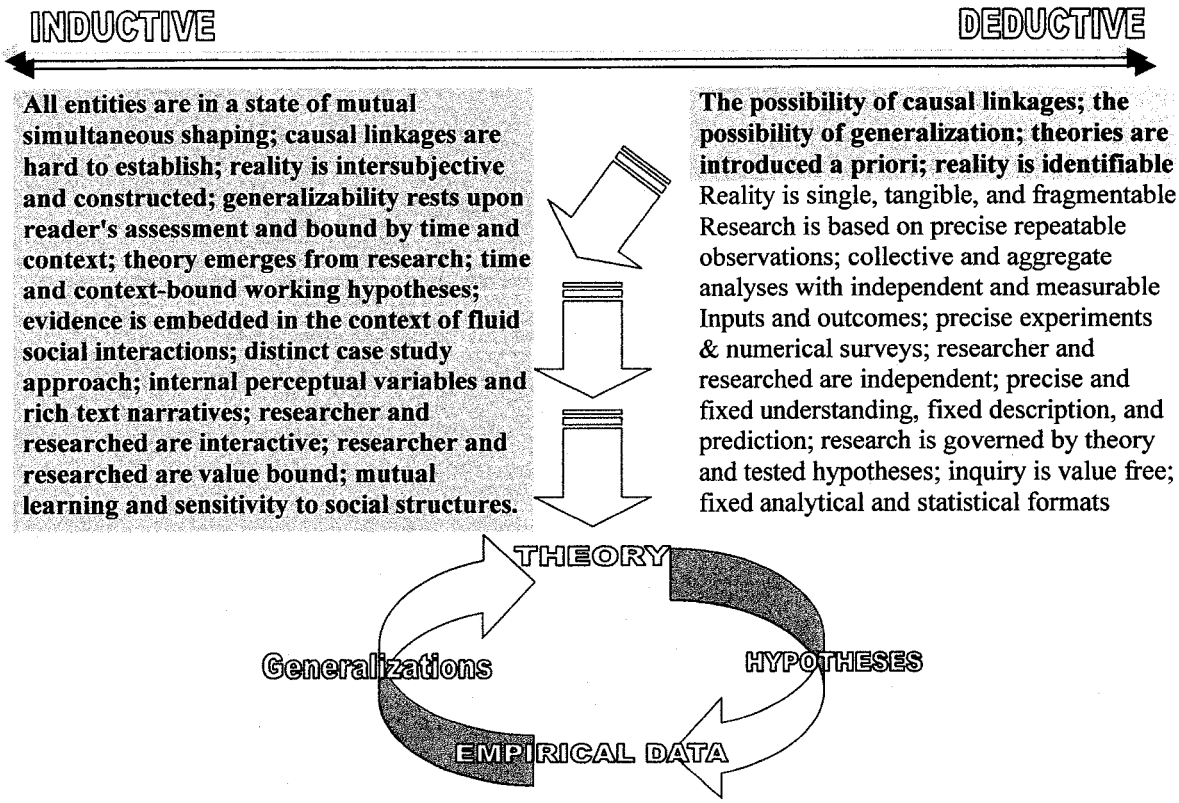


Fig. 6 Methodology Chart

Sources: Wallace 1971; Creswell 1994; Neuman 1997; Wolcott 1994; Palys 1997

Objective truth and knowledge is not concrete and absolute but a product of cultural contexts and values. The highlighted text represents the methodological bias of this study and indicates how the knowledge is generated and used throughout the study. However, this study does not fully advocate a constructivist approach, which is contrary to common sense, denies the pre-existence of cultural structures and/or reality (Schwandt 1994). While embracing reality as a human constructed and shaped entity, this dissertation does support a quasi-realist mode of thinking and endorses the view that there is a unique 'real world' that pre-exists and is independent of human mental activity and symbolic language. Embedded social and cultural structures act as screening filters allowing only a partial understanding of reality. This distorts human perceptions of the world. Reality is dependent on preconditioning factors. Therefore different people see different aspects of reality and through communication a consensus on reality can be reached (Friedmann 1987; Habermas 1984). This explains the highlighted right-hand portion of the deductive segment in the above methodology chart. It refers to the possibility of establishing causal linkages. Reality is viewed as a quasi-identifiable construct and/or an entity recognizable through consensus building.

Unlike the disengaged deductive approach seen in the non-highlighted portion of the methodology chart, this study perceives research as interactive and value bound. This study aims to acquire a holistic rather than an objective, positivistic and ultimately fragmented understanding of the world. Dialogue, mutual learning, and sensitivity to social structures are cornerstones for attaining research objectives. As indicated in the methodology chart, this study generally agrees with Wallace's wheel, which depicts science as an iterative process involving both inductive and deductive methods of knowledge building. This dissertation's method is built on an ongoing circular dialectic between primarily inductive and secondarily deductive study processes that involve both data and theory (Wallace 1971; Palys 1997).

3.1.2 **Gathering Data**

This study characterizes planning as a socially interactive process and not a value free scientific experiment. Communication with planners and architects is the focus of this study and rather than using scientifically sought instrumental decisions, the materials of this study are practitioners' narrative statements. That said, there are pitfalls to conducting qualitative inquiries, which vary from gaps in the internal and external validity of research findings (Bromley 1986) to a rambling incoherent narrative that in Silverman's words would be more akin to "anecdotalism" than social research (Silverman 2000, 10).

There are substantial efforts made to ensure coherence, logic, and consistency in this research process. Following the 'Critical Social Praxis Model' (Fig. 5, p. 51), communication with practitioners will be achieved via semi-structured interviews that allow architects and planners to engage in theoretically grounded planning and design issues. All interviews are governed by a unified, preconceived protocol containing questions developed through a detailed investigation of established urban and social theory. Interview questions (p. 59-60) are developed in an open-ended format to induce rich and in-depth analyses of communicated issues. The marriage between theory and interview questions achieved in this study enhances both the internal and external validity of research data. The context through which the data is gathered and analyzed will be discussed next.

3.1.3 Interviewing

Steinar Kvale dismisses the notion of qualitative interviewing as 'soft technology' that augments 'hard-core' quantitative and experimental methods. He views qualitative interviewing as an alternative conception and interpretation of social knowledge. Metaphorically speaking, Kvale depicts the difference between quantitative and qualitative approaches as a transition from the miner mode of interviewing which aims to unearth nuggets of meaningful data to a traveller narrative that reveals interconnected stories. Nevertheless, he does comment on the general lack of theoretical discussions in current qualitative research. In a similar vein, Tom Wengraf indicates that qualitative research interviewing tends to under-theorize data and deal with an interview narrative as a non-questionable source for social realities. Some qualitative researchers accept the 'information' that interviewees provide at face value and often quote interview data as objective and impartial (Wengraf 2001).

In concurrence with Kvale and Wengraf, this study adopts an interdisciplinary theoretical framework and consistent analytical tools to enhance the reliability and validity of qualitative data gathering and interpretation. The objective is to bring a deeper and more meaningful understanding of urban form and design issues. The mode of understanding and learning that governs the design of the interview protocol used in this research has been partially guided by Kvale's interpersonal model of qualitative research interviewing (Kvale 1996, 29-36). The following concepts are adapted from Kvale's model for the purpose of this urban design study:

- *Meaning.* In this dissertation the interview process seeks to interpret the meaning of central themes in the professional world of the research participants. Questions focus on central issues affecting technical, procedural, and perceptual aspects of a participant's professional practice. For example, interview protocol includes themes inquiring about regulatory as well as intellectual and professional frameworks governing the practice of urban design (Zoning, Urban Form, and Urban Design Themes) (p. 59-60).

- *Qualitative.* The interviews seek professional perspectives, ideas, and knowledge expressed in non-technical language with little quantification. Questions are designed to stimulate rich and detailed narrative statements. Protocol questions seek participants' views on social and cultural issues affecting not only their professional practices but also broad societal and political structures of particular bearing on built forms and quality of life in cities (Density, Technology, Urban Form, Architectonics, and Globalization Themes) (p. 59-60).

- *Descriptive.* The interviews attempt to obtain nuanced descriptions of different aspects of the participants' professional world. The interview protocol includes themes inquiring about historical, present, and predictive situations in which participants are encouraged to contextulize their ideas in order to enhance the validity of responses. For example, participants are asked about the historical evolution of built forms and urban controls as well as other themes that seek participants' visions for the future of the city (Zoning and Urban Form themes) (p. 59-60).

- *Specificity.* A degree of specificity regarding context and action is elicited rather than simply general views. Interview protocol inquires about specific local issues (in the region of Toronto) affecting participants' professional world (Zoning, Density, Urban Form, and Architectonics themes) (p. 59-60).

- *Focused.* Interviews are focused on particular themes generated by a detailed review of relevant research. The interview process is neither strictly structured with closed-ended questions and predefined response categories, nor loosely defined and entirely non-directive.

- *Ambiguity.* Due to the complexity and breadth of interview questions, a degree of ambiguity is expected in interviewees' statements that reflect contradictions in their professional world. To mitigate such ambiguity, the protocol is designed to allow for a degree of overlap and/or redundancy among discussed themes. Allowing participants to paraphrase or reiterate previous responses as part of new ones enhances the validity of their statements. For example, Zoning and Density can be discussed as one theme, but they are separated into two themes to allow participants to establish connections and allow for clarification and overlap. A similar process was followed in Urban Form and Architectonics Themes (p. 59-60).

- *Change.* The interview process may open new knowledge venues and bring more awareness to specific areas outside the purview of the research participant. Again, overlap in some questions allows the interviewee to see issues from different perspectives providing an occasion to qualify his or her previous statements.

- *Interpersonal Situation.* Successful interpersonal communication during the interview is a major step towards engaging the research participant in constructive dialogues. The interview protocol is sent to every participant in advance of the interview to allow familiarization with the themes of discussion. The interview setup, time, and place is entirely the choice of research participant who is also assured complete confidentiality.

Interview questions (p. 59-60) are designed with respect to both thematic and dynamic dimensions: thematically with regard to their relevance to the "Critical Social Praxis Model" (Fig. 5, p. 51) and dynamically with regard to Kvale's interpersonal model of qualitative interviewing. This has had a significant impact on posing the "how," "why," and "what" questions of the interview. The protocol is designed to generate rich dialogues with participants rather than test related hypotheses. A list of things to do and/or avoid in designing interview protocols (Robson 1993, 228-41) is also taken into consideration including:

- Put questions in a straightforward, clear and non-threatening way.
- Eliminate cues, which lead interviewees to respond in a particular way. Sometime interviewees are inclined to try and please the interviewer.
- Avoid long questions that invoke truncated responses thereby leaving important aspects of questions unanswered.
- Avoid multi-barrelled questions with complicated and nested themes that make it difficult for respondents to decipher the intent of the questions much less to answer them.
- Avoid questions involving jargon that is not in the purview of the audience.
- Add probing questions to allow the interviewee to expand on specific responses deemed important for the research construct. This is enacted by the 'theme descriptor' technique, which is explained in Chapter 4 (p. 85-6).

3.1.4 Interview Protocol

THEME 1: ZONING

The issue of zoning has been intensely debated over the last three or four decades.

- How do you perceive the impact of zoning on shaping the North American built form?
- If zoning could be justified for containing twentieth century urban growth, what would you suggest as an alternative urban control instrument that may foster a better living environment in the twenty-first century?
- How do you think zoning affected the development of Toronto's built form?

THEME 2: DENSITY

High densities and mixed uses are currently touted as conducive to achieving a livable built environment.

- What aspects of density and use do you think may promote a better urban experience?
- How would you reconcile a high density-mixed use strategy with the current low-density development norm in North American cities?
- How would you describe the public preference within each socioeconomic group? What has been Toronto's experience?

THEME 3: TECHNOLOGY

Communication and transportation technologies have accompanied and abetted urban sprawl over the last several decades. It is predicted that recent developments in digital information technology might cause further dispersion of built forms and urban functions and in a sense would lead to the demise of the city as a social form of human settlement.

- How do you perceive the impact of new information and communication technologies on the future built form?

THEME 4: URBAN FORM

Over the twentieth century, parts of the North American city have been described as urban or suburban based on their geographic location and/or physical characteristics. While suburban precincts have thrived over the last four decades, urban cores have relatively declined.

- How do you perceive the urban/suburban dynamics in the twenty-first century?
- If you were to visualize a different and conceivably more livable growth pattern, how would you describe the new mix and what would be its major characteristics?
- How do you see Toronto in the light of the proposed vision?

THEME 5: ARCHITECTONICS

There is a continuous debate on the relationship between the physical characteristics of urban space (e.g. street width, building heights, building lines, architectural details, entrance porches, streetscapes, etc.), and the behavioural and social norms of urban residents. Some professionals have prescribed detailed design guidelines for successful urban spaces.

- How do you see this relationship?
- What physical contexts do you think may be conducive to a more livable urban experience?
- How would you explain Toronto's success and desirability compared to other North American cities?

THEME 6: GLOBALIZATION

"Globalization" is a term that is frequently used in recent urban planning publications to denote the changes in the spatial patterns of modern and future cities. It refers to economic and social forces that enable cities to compete or rather function in a highly interconnected world.

- How do you perceive the impact of globalization on the urban form of North American cities (particularly Toronto) over the coming twenty or thirty years?
- What are the measures and/or needed to sustain the livability and desirability of the city as a place for residence, work and entertainment?

THEME 7: URBAN DESIGN

'Urban design' is a profession that is commonly involved in the conception of city-scale built forms. However, there is no clear definition for either the boundaries of the term or the qualifications required to practice it.

- What do you think are the professional and intellectual provisions required for urban design practice?
- How would you describe an educational program that would prepare professionals to successfully engage in urban design endeavours?

3.1.5 Selection of Research Participants (Sampling)

The main task of this research is to explore various experiential and intellectual insights regarding urban design using in-depth interviews with Toronto practitioners. There are two measures at work in order to enhance research validity. First, there is a merger between established urban theory and the themes of discussion. Second, connections and links are formed based on the experiences of research participants that reveal common themes and patterns leading to a sort of contextual generality that is common to North American cities.

This research employs a variation of "purposive" sampling and "snowball" sampling. Purposive or judgmental sampling, as referred to by W.L. Neuman, depends on the researcher's judgement as to defining the target population and a representative-sampling ratio. The target population selected for this study fulfils the criteria identified by Neuman as germane for purposive sampling. The interviews are held with very experienced and respected professionals practicing in Toronto. Interviewees are a difficult-to-reach specialized population, and are, in some measure, unique cases that are particularly important for this study (Neuman 1997, 206). Another important aspect that makes purposive sampling an appropriate fit for this research is that professionals who have extensive and high profile involvement with urban design projects in Toronto are intentionally sought in order to benefit this study. Their views are useful in describing the interactions between architects and planners in practice and in distinguishing the role of each profession in shaping the urban design process, especially in regard to how plans are conceptualized and eventually implemented. It is true that sampling is always "purposive" to some degree, since identifying the target population invariably expresses the researcher's interests, objectives, and understanding of the phenomena being studied (Palys 1997).

The "target population" for this research has been identified as professionals who have dealt with urban design related issues and have also interacted in a senior capacity with architects and planners. Among those professionals are planners, architects, and to a lesser extent landscape architects. The reason for choosing experienced professionals to interview is that urban design is an emerging domain of practice with less than forty years or so in the making. Urban design is neither intellectually nor professionally claimed by a specific group of professionals and has tended to straddle the divide between the aforementioned practices. Due to urban design's peculiar position as neither an independent discipline nor a unified profession, it was decided that the list of potential interviewees for this study must include not only experienced but also widely acclaimed professionals. This ensures that research informants have a wide exposure and extensive involvement in various architectural and planning endeavours, which, in combination, constitute the intellectual and professional body of urban design.

Another important consideration for choosing experienced professionals is that they partially conform to the definition of "insider/outsider" informants who generally have a good grasp of the area of concern (Palys 1997, 136-39). It means that at some point in their career they have been engaged on a tactical level in architectural and/or planning endeavours. As well, due to their professional distinction and seniority, they have supervised other practitioners and have generally been able to see things from a much wider perspective. Finally, the magnitude and complexity of most urban design proposals and developments demands supervision by senior level government professionals or experienced and well-known professionals who retain the services of a large, diversified, and skilled pool of professionals. Hence (from a purposive sampling perspective) the "sampling frame" for this research is composed of primarily senior level practitioners in private practices or senior government professionals working in the interview region (GTA).

Upon extensive review of planning, architecture, and urban design literature, it was alluded to in the study introduction that there is an intellectual variation among those professionals with a social science-based education and experience (namely planners), and those with a design-based education and experience (e.g. architects and landscape architects). Thus, from a purposive sampling point of view, there must be a balanced sampling from these two major camps of professionals who inform urban design practice. Without balanced sampling, the study might place too much emphasis on the views of one camp to the exclusion of the other thereby forfeiting inclusivity and, therefore, lose the opportunity to reach a nuanced understanding of current urban design concerns.

Snowball sampling is used as a complementary tool to purposive sampling. It involves using research participants to identify other people relevant to the study and so on. Initially selected participants are encouraged during the interviews to recommend other participants whose professional insights are thought to be of critical importance to the study. This sampling strategy benefits the research on two levels. First, the list of potential interviewees obtained can enhance the initial sampling frame and also compensate for gaps in the researcher's sampling method. Second, the potential overlap between recommended participants and the initial sampling frame can affirm the validity of the researcher's sampling procedure. As will be explained next, the number of interviewees for this study was not determined a priori in the initial research design. The number of research participants evolved contextually through correlating interview results with research and theoretical investigation.

3.1.6 Identifying the 'Right' Number of Participants

Following E.I. Seidman's selection process (Seidman 1998, 47), there are three major criteria set for identifying the 'right' number of participants. The first criterion is 'sufficiency', which entails interviewing 'enough' participants to reflect each background variation previously identified including **those professionals with social science grounding, from now on referred to as 'planners', and those professionals with design training and experience, from now on referred to as 'architects.'** The sufficiency threshold is identified as the number of participants whose narratives tackle the majority of issues and debates pertinent to this study. The extensive literature review and urban theory analyses incorporated in the second chapter of this study have generally guided the determination of the sufficiency threshold.

The second criterion is saturation of information. This is the stage in the interviewing process at which the interviewer begins to hear the same information being repeated several times with no significant new input (Seidman 1998, 48). Thus, both the sufficiency and saturation criteria rely primarily on the interactive relation between the researcher and participants during the interview process. The researcher maintained a flexible and receptive comportment while conducting the interviews to allow as much communicative input as possible thus enriching the final research findings. After conducting the interviews, it was clear both the sufficiency and saturation thresholds were validated by the twelfth's interview. To validate the researcher's judgement as to sufficiency and saturation thresholds, the number of interviews was set between twelve and eighteen interviews, a number deemed possible based on the third criterion which is the time and budget constraints of this research.

Long in-depth interviewing was a demanding task dependent on a group of highly regarded professionals with very busy schedules. Upon an arduous and extensive contact process with fifty to sixty professionals, the researcher was able to conduct a total of fifteen interviews. As mentioned earlier, the target population for interviewing has been identified as professionals who have dealt with urban design related issues and have also interacted in a senior capacity with architects and planners. Only professionals with extensive and widely known involvement in high profile urban design projects in Toronto were sought because they would be of great benefit to this study. Their views are very useful in describing the interactions between architects and planners in practice and distinguishing the role of each profession in shaping the urban design process. This ensures that research informants have a wide exposure and extensive involvement in various architectural and planning endeavours. Interviewing such an experienced and widely acclaimed group of professionals was difficult and required a tremendous amount of time and effort to set the interview sessions let alone carry out these discussions.

To maintain consistency of participants' selection criteria described above (p. 61-2) and retain a balance between the number of architects and planners in the interview pool, the researcher opted to base the empirical study on knowledge obtained from fifteen interviewees (8 architects and 7 planners). It was further affirmed by the fifteenth interview that sufficiency and saturation thresholds were reached or actually exceeded. Research participants interviewed for the purpose of this study have actually tackled almost all aspects raised by the literature and theory analyses relevant to this study.

3.1.7 **Interviews Context**

The empirical process of this study is to engage interviewees in comparative commentaries on local, regional, and global scales of urban development. As a measure of increasing transferability and generalizability over a wider urban context, this study integrates the interview discussion themes with empirically driven urban and social theories grounded in a North American-wide context. Selected interviewees are all practicing professionals within the city-region of Toronto, which is arguably the economic and cultural centre of Canada with professional communities renowned for their national and global reach. Furthermore, research participants for this study are selected from a slate of senior level practitioners with extensive involvement in a wide range and scales of urban developments throughout the North American continent and beyond. Discussions with such highly experienced professionals practicing within the city of Toronto and its surrounding municipalities will yield useful knowledge that might be pertinent to a much wider urban context. That said, this is not a claim that this study creates an all-encompassing approach to urban design practices that may be of relevance or applicable within a worldwide context.

Like most doctoral dissertations, this study is bound by geographical context, budget, and time constraints. As such, the city-region of Toronto was chosen as the locale within which practitioners were interviewed. Over the years, Toronto has earned a reputation as one of the most livable cities in the world. It is also known for its ethnic and multicultural diversity and was given first place in 1996 in Fortune Magazine's list of the best international cities both to live and work. Toronto's urban region encompasses a wide variety of urban settings ranging from compact mixed-use traditional centres and moderately dispersed nodes, to overly suburbanized and segregated zones. It also has a number of nodes with emerging new urbanist developments as well as derelict industrial and port lands with projected visions for revitalization and integration with the existing urban fabric. Thus, the city-region of Toronto boasts most, if not all, forms of urban, suburban, and exurban developments that are difficult to find within the boundaries of any single North American urban region.

Toronto has a healthy urban core with viable live/work and entertainment possibilities. Toronto's downtown and inner suburbs were not completely obliterated by urban renewal projects of the fifties and sixties. It combines highly contrasting urban forms that are within walking distance from each other. Small scale and fine grain residential fabric and retail streets coexist and share a grid street network with downtown high-rise commercial condominiums and office skyscrapers. The low-rise areas juxtapose different street and building typologies including three-story brick semi-detached housing units with small front, side, and rear lawns as well as main streets with two and three story shop front buildings constructed lot-line to lot-line creating continuous street walls. This tight urban fabric covers a large area surrounding the downtown and eventually fades away into a rapidly evolving urban edge with various suburban forms and density structures. Suburban expansion outside the city of Toronto has catalyzed the development of lower tier cores or suburban centres within the rapidly growing edge cities of North York, Scarborough, and Mississauga. These suburban downtowns primarily encompass auto-oriented commercial and office establishments with a limited amount of residential apartment towers.

Though manifesting the typically fragmented suburban structure of North American cities with exclusive commercial, residential, and office and industrial enclaves, Toronto suburbs are noted for their diversified spatial forms, densities, and social configurations. Some shopping mall areas are interspersed with residential apartment buildings and plaza-oriented retail activities. Toronto's residential suburbs include low-and-medium density neighbourhoods with six to twelve houses per acre containing a mix of single-detached, semi-detached, and townhouses. Like American cities, some peripheral Toronto suburbs boast very low densities of three houses per acre or less with only single-family dwellings. Though Toronto has one of the most efficient public transit systems in North America, the urban edge is sliced by expressways and strip commercial corridors that makes the automobile the dominant mode of transportation in the region.

The area forming the city-region of Toronto is currently referred to as the GTA (Greater Toronto Area), an estimated 7,200 square kilometres containing a total of thirty local municipalities, and includes many different types of urbanized and natural environments (GTCC Sep., 1992). The GTA's current population of almost five million (Census Canada, 2001) makes it one of the largest metropolitan areas in North America. It is also renowned as one of the fastest growing urban regions in North America with an average of 100,000 people being added annually both from immigration and local population growth. The GTA is considered one of the most dynamic and diversified financial centres in North America and is home to global insurance firms and major bank headquarters. The region is also renowned for having the most reliable telecommunications network and fibre optic systems in North America (GTA Task Force 1996). All of these attributes combine with various patterns of development and building typologies to make the city-region of Toronto a representative urban form of particular

significance to this study. As will be explained next in a brief historical survey of the Toronto region (P. 66-9), the planning and design efforts of Toronto professionals have contributed and/or been instrumental to creating such a diversified and multivalent urban form. As such, this validates the choice of Toronto professionals as very useful informants for this study.

Urban developments in the city-region of Toronto have generated a multitude of unique planning and design issues that are outside the purview of this study. Rather than concentrating on the unique aspects of Toronto as an urban region, this study seeks general issues that Toronto shares with most North American cities. Part of the uniqueness of the city-region of Toronto is its multifariousness and inclusiveness. The region manages to combine centralized and decentralized development patterns, high and low density structures, urban and suburban configurations, open spaces, ravines, and waterfronts. This is only a partial list of the features that probably make Toronto one of the most attractive city-regions in the world. This study is only after the issues that are of concern to planners and architects in most North American cities, such as regulatory frameworks, density, technology, urban/suburban dynamics, and generic urban design practices. The fact that Toronto professionals are constantly dealing with these issues and experiencing and possibly intervening in the process of shaping such a multivalent urban form makes them, again, useful sources. The issues raised through the interview protocol are mainly geared to reveal the differences and/or overlaps among planners and architects' conceptions regarding planning, design, and urban development processes. The interview discussions tackle many broad and involving issues with the purpose of understanding the distinction between planners and architects' constructions of city building processes, and consequently, how they define the role of urban design in shaping urban and suburban regions.

The Toronto Region and Practitioners: Looking Back

The provincial government of Ontario devised several plans to control urban expansion and counteract the negative effects of low-density developments, which were perceived as the major cause of congestion, pollution, and deterioration of inner city neighbourhoods and community life. Chief among these was the Toronto-Centred Region plan (TCR) released in the 1970 (McKeough 1974). The plan generally encouraged a compact built form that optimizes public spending on transit and other infrastructure services in order to maintain the Toronto region's urbanity. The TCR conceptualized a tight built form contained by a broad green belt, beyond which only selective and highly controlled growth would be permitted. Though it failed to catalyze enough political support for its implementation, it did spawn an environmental and urban cultural awareness that influenced subsequent development decisions (Sewell 1993, 208-14). Metro embarked on a series of studies during the 1970s, which

primarily called for a multi-centred urban structure placing Toronto proper as a central location for managerial, commercial, cultural, governmental, and recreational activity surrounded by a system of regional sub-centres in North York, Scarborough, Etobicoke, and Brampton. A key purpose of these plans was to coordinate transportation and land use patterns by creating regional employment and commercial nodes along rapid transit corridors. The regional centres would function as a social and economic alternative to the downtown and catalyze more concentrated development in suburban locations that grew further apart from the central city (Soberman 1975). These ideas were adopted in Toronto's Central Area Plan and partially guided redevelopment in surrounding municipalities, particularly in North York and Scarborough. John Sewell contends that by the early 1980s, the sub-centres policy was engrained in subsequent Metro Toronto plans (Sewell 1993).

While actual developments lacked preconceived land use-transit coordination and did not exactly create the compact pedestrian oriented urban form in regional centres, the sub-centres policy helped to temper the otherwise excessive urban fragmentation and social segregation typical of other North American cities. The sub-centres policy also earmarked the significance of maintaining the health and viability of the existing downtown and other mixed-use inner city nodes. Toronto's downtown witnessed an unprecedented building boom during the 1960s when the new City Hall and other characteristically modernist office towers were built. Toronto became home to many national and international banks and insurance companies and grew to have a spectacular skyline that lifted Toronto into the league of world-class cities (Lemon 1985, 160). Intense construction activity continued during the early 1970s but faded through the late 1970s and into the early 1980s. By that time, Toronto had many significant projects completed such as the Eaton's Centre and the waterfront apartment towers, the Harbourfront recreational and commercial centre, the St. Lawrence neighbourhood and downtown's most overwhelming architectural icon, the CN Tower that continues to hold the title of the highest structure on earth.

The Office for the Greater Toronto Area (OGTA) and the Greater Toronto Area Coordinating Committee (GTCC) are planning bodies formed to control urban expansion in the region and guide future growth. The Greater Toronto Area is defined as "the area comprised of Metropolitan Toronto and the four surrounding Regional Municipalities of Durham, Halton, Peel and York. This area of some 7,200 square kilometres contains a total of thirty local area municipalities, and includes many different types of natural environments" (GTCC Sep., 1992). The GTCC was a provincial initiative that came to fruition in 1988 to improve the coordination and collaboration amongst the municipalities of the GTA and the province of Ontario. The OGTA coordinates provincial policies and programs aimed at maintaining the environmental, economic, and social sustainability of the region.

The region population is projected to increase from the 1991 census of four and a half million to almost 6 million by the year 2021 (GTCC Sep., 1992). With urban development picking up again during the early 1990s, the majority of growth has been at the urban periphery adopting single-use, low-density development patterns. This has prompted the GTCC to commission a study to assess the impact of three different urban form concepts on the future growth of the GTA. These urban patterns were classified as Spread, Nodal, and Central. The final report echoed the conclusions of a previously published study by TCR maintaining that the best option would be a nodal structure with a series of compact mixed-use centres. The latter would be distributed over the GTA and connected via rapid transit corridors that allow for different levels of development along these corridors (GTCC June, 1990). During the 1990s, the provincial government commissioned a series of intensive studies and reports such as the "Kanter Report 1990," the "Sewell Commission 1991," the "GTA 2021, 1992," the Crombie waterfront report 1992, and the "GTA Task Force 1996." Notable among these was the Crombie report, which examined the entire Toronto region watershed including the derelict properties along the central Toronto waterfront. In the final report ("Regeneration"), Crombie lays out a preliminary framework for an ecosystem approach aimed at reviving and integrating the waterfront with the region natural and urban environments (Crombie 1992).

The provincial government reports and studies reflect an intellectual paradigm shift from isolated and independent economic, social, and environmental concerns to a comprehensive and holistic mode of analysis that is epitomized in such terms as "Sustainable Growth," "ecosystem approach," or the most recently coined expression "Smart Growth." These reports basically call for the maintenance of high quality of life, equitable distribution of regional resources, ecological awareness, participatory decision-making process, and synchronized socioeconomic and environmental approaches to urban development. While few of these reports can effectively translate into planning mechanisms or action blueprints, their basic principles are imbedded in the psyche of the region's professionals and population that in 2001 a ban on new urban developments in the Oak Ridges Moraine was enacted. The area has significant real estate potential as it is directly in the path of rapid urban development to the north of the region. However, professionals and the citizens of Toronto overwhelmingly recognize the Oak Ridges Moraine as an irreplaceable ecological and environmental resource; it is home to diverse biological species and also has an aquifer recharge for the region's underground water. Conservation efforts like these augment Toronto's reputation as one of the most livable cities in the world.

Toronto is also known for its ethnic and multicultural diversity. This reputation is often attributed to the success of metropolitan and regional governments in Toronto that, as previously noted, strive to devise regional policies to coordinate urban expansion and development challenges of the post WWII era. Toronto's noted success compared to other North American cities is exemplified by three major

achievements. First, a healthy and viable downtown core and inner residential areas; the downtown remains the primary employment centre in the region and houses a sizable middle class population living in older renovated homes as well as newly built condominium apartments. Second, there is a fairly balanced distribution of public goods and services including education and health facilities among the population. Third, a public transit system that is relatively efficient compared to its counterparts in most North American cities. In sum, the sociospatial mismatch and glaring social and economic distinction of suburban localities over core areas that is manifest in many North American cities is not the norm in Metropolitan Toronto (Frisken 1997).

In a suspect democratic political process, the newly elected conservative government revealed a plan in Dec. 1996 to amalgamate Metropolitan Toronto's six lower-tier municipalities (the borough of East York, and the cities of Etobicoke, North York, Scarborough, Toronto, and York) into a unified city. Despite much political and public opposition, the amalgamation plan went ahead and the once federated metropolitan area became the 'Mega City' of Toronto in January 1998. The amalgamation process was in fact part of an overall province-wide restructuring policy that aimed at shuffling social responsibilities between provincial and municipal governments. Public housing and other social services, formerly the responsibility of the province, have been "downloaded" to local governments. Although portrayed as a framework for maintaining and furthering the economic and social success of the region in a globalized economy, the amalgamation was actually an effort to reassign social responsibilities among Metropolitan Toronto's municipalities. It is yet to be seen how the restructured 'Mega City' will fare in a globalized world in which Toronto is projected to play a distinctive cultural and economic role. Despite initial opposition to the amalgamation plan, it seems that Toronto planners see positive aspects in a large unified city as there is less entanglement in the provision of services to Metropolitan Toronto and the GTA at large. Toronto's ability to have such a culturally diverse population and withstand a multitude of political changes is viewed by planners as indication of Toronto's urban resilience and potential for continued success (Isin 1999).

Chapter 3, Part 2

3.2.1 Methodological Setting

This part provides an overview of methodological issues pursuant to conducting interviews including interviewees' lists, profiles, and methods of data transcription and interpretation. The proposed interview discussion themes are all based on the inclusive theoretical review laid out in chapter two, which also provides a basis for the following study premises:

1. Some of the interviewed professionals are expected to adopt an agency approach that generally overemphasizes the role of individuals and cultural movements in shaping built environments. This approach calls for a fairly laissez faire perspective toward urban development. It potentially entrenches social inequalities in the modern metropolis and deals with current built forms as inevitable corollaries to demographic shifts and technological advancements (planners are expected to form a majority within this group).

2. Some of the interviewed professionals are expected to adopt a structural approach to explain current urban forms and development processes. This approach highlights economic, social, and overall property relationships and connects these elements with the currently dispersed and presumably unjust development patterns. It also overplays the need for state reform and intervention. This approach (structuralism) generally marginalizes the role of individuals and cultural movements in shaping modern cities (architects are a majority within this group).

3. Some of the interviewed professionals are expected to adopt an approach that emphasizes regional and global issues and ignores the physical characteristics of urban space especially on a micro or neighbourhood level. Within this approach, urban design is dealt with as an afterthought or as window dressing exercise for urban space. Urban form is perceived as an offshoot of social and economic functions and not vice versa. Built forms and architectural details have no impact on attitudes and cultural behaviours of urban residents (a majority of planners dominate this group).

4. Some of the interviewed professionals are expected to adopt an approach that emphasizes local idiosyncrasies and public place dynamics. They deconstruct cities into finite structural units or neighbourhoods. As a rule, these professionals believe that livable cities are made of well-designed public spaces, good streetscapes, walkable and defined built enclosures, and human scaled urban spaces. Within this approach, professionals tend to ignore the dialectics of local, regional, and global development issues and perceive built forms as determinative of the urban experience (architects dominate this group).

3.2.2 Composing Interviewees' List

Professional local journals and corresponding Internet websites from the interview region were primary sources for creating the list of potential interviewees. These sources include:

- **"Ontario Planning Journal"**: the Journal of Ontario Professional Planners Institute (OPPI) (www.ontarioplanners.on.ca)
- **"Perspectives"**: the journal of the Ontario Association of architects (OAA) (www.oaa.on.ca)
- **"TSA News"**: Toronto Society of Architects Newsletter
- **"OALA News"**: the Ontario Association of Landscape Architects Newsletter (OALA) (www.oala.on.ca)

Other major national publications used as a guide for the sampling frame are:

- **"Canada Plan"**: the Journal of the Canadian Institute of Planners (CIP) (www.cip-icu.ca)
- **"Canadian Architect"**: the National Review of Design and Practice (www.cdnarchitect.com

These professional journals provide good exposure to urban design activities in the region and report on major projects in the area. They often report the names and contact information for senior practitioners involved in major projects. The names and contact information of potential interviewees are culled from journals issued over the last three or four years, a period marked by a surge in urban design activity in the region. This conclusion is validated by these journals, which discuss various projects related to the Waterfront, gentrification, and major residential and office projects in the downtown as well as a wide range of other developments throughout the GTA. The criterion governing the selection of senior practitioners from the area has been the level of involvement in major projects and, to a lesser extent, the frequency of exposure in local journals. In addition to using the above-mentioned sources, the researcher has attended various local conferences, seminars, and exhibitions in the Greater Toronto Area, which have senior local practitioners in attendance from different backgrounds. The list was deemed complete once snowball-sampling (p. 62) began to replicate participants already on the initial list.

3.2.3 General Profile of Interviewees

A total of fifteen professionals were interviewed for the purpose of this study. This number was almost divided equally between those from a social science background (i.e. planners) and those with design training and experience (i.e. architects). The following profiles provide a brief summary of the members from each group. Anonymity was guaranteed by eliminating Information regarding specific projects, references to special reports or publications, affiliated businesses or governmental institutions, etc.

Architects:

A.1 Principal and senior practitioner of a mid-size architectural private consulting firm (25+ professionals and administrators) and is widely involved with architectural and planning projects in Canada and the US. Primarily educated and experienced in architecture and secondarily in engineering with extended professional affiliation in architecture, engineering, and planning professions. 30+ years of private practice experience with involvement in a wide range of architectural and planning commissions from both private and public agencies. These encompassed signature-building designs, construction management, and urban design schemes for streets and public spaces as well as small-town planning.

A.2 Principal and senior architect and planner employed by a large-size private consulting practice (70 + professionals and administrators). Educated and experienced in both architecture and landscape architecture and affiliated to architecture, landscape architecture, and planning professions. 25+ years of experience with extensive involvement in architectural and planning projects worldwide including commissions in North America, South America, Europe, Africa, and Asia. Well-known and highly experienced in designing public spaces and signature urban design projects. Commissioned by several governments to write regulatory frameworks and prepare policy reports for urban and rural developments.

A.3 Chief Urban Designer and Director of a large urban design department in a government agency. Educated and experienced in landscape architecture and has affiliations with both landscape architecture and planning professions. 25+ years of public service with extensive involvement in design, planning, and commissioning of large-scale urban projects, parks, public spaces, and streetscape and landscape projects. Unique experience with planning issues in rural areas and cultural landscapes and is professionally engaged with and directs the work of architects, landscape architects, planners, and engineers.

A.4 Senior architect and urban designer employed by an international firm (100 + professionals and administrators). Educated and experienced in architecture and has affiliations with both architecture and planning professions. 25+ years of international and local experience (Europe - US. - Canada). Designed various single buildings and carried out large-scale architectural and urban design interventions within traditional and modern city contexts. Wrote design guidelines and development codes for small-town and main-street projects and articles on the role of urban design in revitalizing blighted industrial properties.

A.5 Principal of large architectural consulting firm (100+ architects, planners, and engineers) with an international reputation and award winning projects all over the world. Educated and experienced in architectural education and affiliated with various national and international professional organizations. 35+ years of experience in design and planning buildings, mega-structures, and large-scale urban developments with signature design ideas that left a notable imprint on the evolution of modern architecture. Authored various architectural and planning articles and books.

A.6 Partner, senior architect and urban designer in a mid-size consulting firm (25+ architects and planners) with 25+ years of experience divided between public service and private practice in Canada and the US. Educated and experienced in both architecture and landscape architecture and has affiliations with architecture and planning professions. Designed and supervised construction works of various buildings and directed the urban design department of a major North American city. Participated in the preparation of official plans and urban development policy amendments for city governments and has unique experience in adaptive reuse of older buildings and urban revitalization projects.

A.7 Principal and senior designer of a mid-size private architectural practice (30+ professionals and administrators) and has 25+ years of experience in architectural and urban design and planning. Educated and experienced in architectural and affiliated with local and international architects' professional associations. Designed many buildings and public spaces and laid out conceptual designs and development programs for main streets, waterfronts, and public open spaces in various cities in Canada, the United States, and the Middle East.

A.8 Senior architect, urban designer, and planner with 25+ years of experience in designing, planning, and preparing official plans, zoning amendments, urban design guidelines, and development conceptual arrangements and codes for main streets, small towns and housing subdivisions in Canada. Educated and experienced in architectural education and has affiliations with both architecture and planning professions. Directed the urban design departments of small

and mid-size cities in Canada. A pioneer in reviving urban design as a contextual development tool to regenerate urban vitality in decayed urban centres and has unique expertise in coordinating and managing collabourative urban design workshops.

Planners:

P.1 Partner, senior planner, and urban designer of a large private planning consulting firm (80+ planners, architects, and administrators). Educated and experienced in planning and affiliated with local and international planning associations and has 25+ years of experience with large-scale planning projects in Canada, the United States, Europe, and the Caribbean. Consultant to various governments in respect to matters of writing official plans, urban design guidelines, development controls and other major policy documents. Widely acknowledged as one of the most pragmatic and innovative planners and urban designers in North America. Authored many papers and articles on integrating planning and urban design.

P.2 Partner and senior planner of a mid-size private consulting firm (35+ planners) and has 25+ years of experience in local and regional planning exercises. Educated and experienced in planning and affiliated with the planning profession. Prepared comprehensive plans for major urban and suburban developments in Canada and the United States. Coordinated large scale planning exercises between various stakeholders including public and private organizations. Widely acknowledged as an authority in the urban dynamics of alternative development regulatory systems. Commissioned by the governments of various cities to undertake pilot programs of alternative development control instruments and prepare predictive models to show their impacts on shaping spatial and physical formations.

P.3 Senior planner, educator, and chair of various environmental and planning policy boards and has 35+ years of primarily public service experience in senior capacities for governments, universities, and high profile planning research centres. Educated and experienced in planning and economics and affiliated with the planning profession. Authored major regional planning and environmental studies. Extensive local and international experience that includes planning assignments in Canada, Indonesia, Jamaica, India, Japan, and other parts of the world. Wrote several books, papers, monographs, reports, and planning and policy reviews.

P.4 Partner and senior planner in a mid-size private planning consulting firm (30+ planners). Educated and experienced in planning and economics and affiliated to the planning profession. 25+ years of experience in land use planning, economic and strategic planning. Commissioned by Canadian and American governments to prepare reports and studies of urban growth patterns, social and economic effects of transportation and transit policies, amalgamation and government restructuring, regional and municipal forecasting, property tax policy reform, and land annexations. Well known for studying urban growth alternatives and conducting housing preference surveys. Widely-accepted as one of the best urban development arbitrators and negotiators in Canada.

P.5 Senior planner and director of high profile research institution. Educated and experienced in planning and affiliated with the planning profession. 25+ years of public and private service experience in senior capacities in Canada, Europe, and South America. Senior member of various urban think-tank initiatives aimed at improving policy making and management of urban regions. Commissioned by governments, World Bank, and other international institutions to carry out specialized research on social housing, environment, infrastructure and economic development.

P.6 Senior planner, educator, and author of many books and articles on historical and contemporary urban planning and development issues. 25+ years of teaching and research experience in Canadian and American universities. Educated and experienced in urban sociology and planning and has affiliations with the planning profession, well known for studies about inner cities in North America, gentrification, and built heritage. Extensive involvement and scholarly publications in urban visual studies aided by archival and fieldwork photography of cities.

P.7 Senior planner and urban designer employed by a mid-size private planning practice (35+ planners, architects, and landscape architects). Educated and experienced in planning and affiliated with the planning profession. Has 25+ years of community planning and design experience in Canada with extensive involvement in neighbourhood planning, public surveys, and strategic planning. Planned and designed several small town communities and prepared development control instruments for city governments, well known for collaborative approaches to urban design. Organized various urban design workshops and conferences aimed at reviving the role of urban design in planning urban neighbourhoods.

3.2.4 **Conducting Interviews**

Interviews were arranged after sending formal letters to the offices of potential interviewees briefing them about the research context and purpose of the interview as well as the themes to be discussed. The researcher also clarified in the initial letters that interviews would be audiotaped upon receiving consent. Emails and/or telephone conversations followed within one week of sending initial letters in order to determine whether potential participants would be able to devote at least one hour for the actual interview. Participants were given the freedom to choose the time and location for the interviews.

Interviews were held in each participant's office and all fifteen participants permitted the interview to be audiotaped. With the exception of small number of participants who opted to limit the interview to one hour, the majority of participants showed an overwhelming interest in the study and were able to devote close to one and a half hours for the interview. Participants were assured of anonymity and confidentiality both in the initial letters and verbally before conducting the interview. All interviewees signed a consent form, which also indicated the anonymity, confidentiality, and participants' ability to withdraw or suspend their involvement at any time - before, during, or after the interviews. Prior to the initial mailing or setting up the interview sessions, prototypes of the informational and consent letters as well as themes of discussion (interview protocol), and the post-interview thank you letter were approved by the University of Waterloo "Research Ethics Review Office." Participants were informed of such processes and provided with contact information for the Research Ethics Review Office to verify, condition, or amend their consent for the interview proceedings. In-depth interviewing of such a highly educated and experienced group of professionals was not an easy task and required much preparation including substantial readings and research preceding the actual field interviews; the researcher's prior professional experience was also a valuable resource. Methodologists extend various recommendations for conducting successful interviews which were taken into consideration over the fieldwork portion of this study (Russell 2000, 195-204). These recommendations are as follows:

- Make a point of explaining how the participant was chosen and the importance of his/her contribution to the research

- Make sure to convey a genuine interest in what interviewees are saying, and they will be encouraged to provide more information.

- Let the respondent lead by carrying on non-threatening, self-controlled, supportive, polite, and cordial interaction.

- Keep the conversation focused on the topic, while giving the respondent enough latitude to define the content of the discussion. In other words, explain the context or theme of discussion and get out of the way to let the research participant provide his/her perspective.

- Learn how to probe effectively in a way that stimulates more input from the interviewee without injecting yourself so much into the interaction that you become the main subject in the data. One effective probe is the silent probe, which entails simply remaining quiet and waiting for the interviewee to continue. Nodding, "umm", "uh-huh", "tell me more", and other gestures convey attentiveness and are appreciated by many people, but there is no hard and fast rule to convey interest and recognition. Paraphrasing and repeating previous comments is also a good probing technique especially when a participant is making a distinctive or unique point.

- Learn how to tactfully and gracefully interrupt interviewees who are digressing and bring the topic back in focus or move to a subsequent theme by waiting for a suitable pause and injecting a comment like "can we go back to the point you were making regarding...?"; or "I wish you could elabourate on your earlier point of..."; "if I understand you correctly, you seem to be saying that...", etc.

Each interview was initiated with some grand tour, warm-up questions regarding the participant's practice and his/her involvement in relevant issues. This approach helped the interviewee to organize his/her thoughts and contributed to a relaxing takeoff for the rest of the session. The Interview was commonly paced with a gradual transition from general to specific questions that needed more concentration and deliberation on the part of the interviewee. Though protocol questions were arranged in a specific sequence, the researcher maintained flexibility regarding discussed subjects to allow for continued thoughts and important leads connecting different study themes.

Each interview was typically terminated with a summary of the salient points that the respondent made. This strategy conveyed a respect for and interest in the participants' narratives and encouraged participants to add further details of great value to the study (Lincoln and Guba 1985). The interviewer maintained a balance between attentiveness to respondents' answers and also ensuring that all protocol questions were covered. Centre stage was always left to the respondents and the interviewer avoided completing participant's responses or leading their thoughts in any way. Mind reading, filtering, and ruling out some information as irrelevant; premature evaluative judgements; arguing and debating to prove self-correctness; derailing and sudden changes between topics; placating in order to please interviewees were avoided to ensure the success and effectiveness of interviews (Wengraf 2001, 193-205).

Interviewees were provided with a context for the interview by a pre-interview briefing and a post-interview debriefing. The preliminary briefing was used to further inform the interviewee about the purpose of the interview and research, tape recorder use, and anonymity and confidentiality of interview proceedings, and so on. Debriefing at the end of the interview expressed appreciation for the respondent's time and allowed for another opportunity to assure participants of complete confidentiality and anonymity in any further data analysis. After the tape recorder was turned off, some interviewees felt at ease to add some valuable insights for the study, which were written down after leaving the interview situation. The researcher has generally attempted to embrace Kvale's qualification criteria for successful interviewing skills, which include the following tenets:

- *Knowledgeable:* extensive information regarding the interview theme.
- *Structured:* the ability to introduce, operationalize, and conclude the discussion.
- *Clear:* pose clear, concise, and non-threatening questions.
- *Gentle:* allow participants to finish their statements at their own pace.
- *Sensitive:* listen actively and probe for important details and convey interest.
- *Open:* the ability to control emotions and express a genuine desire for learning.
- *Steering:* the tactfulness to interrupt and focus conversations on the interview topic.
- *Critical:* question critically to test the reliability and validity of interviewee's stories.
- *Remembering:* retain important comments to bring them back for further probing.
- *Interpreting:* the ability to paraphrase and interpret the respondent's remarks to validate his/her understanding (Kvale 1996, 124-159).

As mentioned earlier, interviews were audiotaped in full and also ancillary notes were taken during and after the session to facilitate the listening exercise on the part of the interviewer and highlight particular information mentioned by interviewees. All interviews were conducted at the participants' personal offices or in closed conference rooms using high-quality equipment, which contributed to excellent recordings. Tapes were duplicated and the originals kept in a secured storage area to ensure security and confidentiality. A post-interview summary was systematically performed to facilitate later analyses and to identify problems to avoid in future interviews. This summary played a vital role as a mnemonic device for interview proceedings before embarking on the transcription. It simply set the stage for reliving each interview experience while transcribing it.

3.2.5 Transcribing Interviews

All fifteen interviews were transcribed without pre-coding or pre-interpreting the narratives. This sort of 'pre-interpretation' jeopardizes the integrity of the material and forces a premature mode of understanding and analysis. Meticulous and direct transcription was recognized as vital for a fuller understanding of the views of such exceptionally educated and experienced professionals interviewed for this study.

Full transcriptions and rich descriptions were preferred over abbreviated computerized versions of practitioners' thoughts and ideas. That said, full transcription does not mean a verbatim rehashing of interviewees' pauses, 'umms', and throat-clearings typical of some transcriptions in qualitative behavioural studies (Denzin and Lincoln 2000), but rather a complete narrative of practitioners' concepts and visualizations. The transcripts also included the full wording of the interviewer's questions to investigate if the way the questions were worded and posed had some influence on the interviewees' responses. The researcher has resisted any temptation to summarize or cut short some repeated descriptions and has aimed to maintain the flow of interviewees' thoughts to avoid short-circuiting potential semantics among narrated ideas and histories. No condensation techniques were used to convey the interviewees' intentions.

3.2.6 Data Analysis and the Qualitative Logic

Unlike quantitative research analysis, which presupposes fixed categories with qualifying variable counters designed by the researcher, qualitative research has a relatively liberal approach to analysis that aims to understand participants' constructions of the world. David Silverman contends that qualitative researchers are more concerned with the processes through which a text represents reality rather than the measurement of true and/or false statements typical of quantitative analyses (Silverman 2000, 128).

Although Colin Robson recommends a kind of scientific or systematic approach for interpreting and analyzing qualitative materials, he indicates that there are no clear and accepted conventions for qualitative data analysis. Renata Tesch classifies the different approaches to qualitative data analysis into: *a) the characteristics of language*, *b) the discovery of regularities*, *c) the comprehension of the meaning of text or action*, and *d) reflection* (qtd. in Robson 1993, 371-2; Tesch 1990). These classifications provide a succession from more to less systematic views of qualitative data analysis.

This study follows a social learning and communicative planning paradigm and, as such, is engaged in the analysis of interview data with the objective of finding regularities and/or irregularities in participants' narratives. The purpose is to pinpoint areas of agreement and disagreement that express variations in intellectual praxis among professionals (architects and planners) who are engaged in urban design related practices.

This study uses an integrated mode of analysis in order to achieve a balance between interpretative, analytic, and descriptive approaches. Emphasis is placed on interpretation through which the researcher identifies patterns and semantics in interview data. Broad categories or patterns of thought had been introduced in the interview protocol and were subsequently adhered to in carrying out the field interviews. These categories continue to organize and frame the ensuing analyses and identify related sub-themes or sub-categories that articulate practitioners' views and constructions of urbanity. The themes followed in presenting the findings emanate from the theoretical reviews (chapter two and three). These themes include sociospatial concerns (Zoning, Density, and Technology) and configurational concerns (Local, Regional, and Global development issues) as well as the urban design question that seeks professionals' views regarding the definition and scope of urban design practice.

Interpretations of the interview data go beyond the apparent meanings in an attempt to work out structures and relations not discernible from a simple reading of the text. This is achieved through distance and detachment from what is said and recontextualizing the data within a conceptual theoretical model (Kvale 1996, 201). The broad discussion themes used in the interview protocol remain the primary themes of analysis. The post-interview summary prepared shortly after conducting each interview has been amended in another summary sheet for each transcribed interview. Both summaries helped to formulate a list of sub-themes in addition to the primary themes running through all interviews. Thus, for each discussion theme in the interview protocol, there is a list of main ideas and sub-ideas culled from participants' narratives.

The analysis of main and sub-ideas uses Louise H. Kidder's "Negative Case Analysis" technique (1981). This technique involves advancing a series of hypotheses for both the main and sub-ideas and continually revising and refining them to account fully for the different patterns found within the transcribed text of the fifteen interviews. This type of analysis entails a complex and iterative process of reading the interview data, writing hypotheses, rereading the data, rewriting hypotheses, and so on until the proposed hypotheses fit the interview data. For example, one of the interview protocol themes deals with zoning. There was a glaring distinction between the views of architects and planners in regard to zoning. Most planners described zoning as **'historically justified'** and most architects described zoning as **'very restrictive.'** The process began by putting the highlighted descriptions as preliminary hypotheses. Then, the researcher initiated the iterative analysis process of reading interview data,

refining preliminary hypotheses, rereading the data, and modifying as well as adding more input to the hypotheses until they fully accounted for participants' narratives. The same process was followed to generate sub-hypotheses accounting for the sub-ideas presented by interviewees. For the zoning theme, interviewees partitioned their responses to the question by talking about social aspects, built form aspects, context, and alternatives. By using Kidder's technique it was apparent that each of these data patterns in participants' narratives defined a sub-hypothesis reflecting on a special aspect of zoning.

Kidder's analysis technique was used for generating major and sub-hypotheses for all interview themes. Robson comments that this kind of inductive analysis goes against the typical hypothesis-testing methodology in that instead of finding data to fit the hypotheses, Kidder's analysis technique is to form the hypotheses to fit the data. While Kidder assumes full compliance and zero exceptions with data-generated hypotheses, Robson concurs with Lincoln and Guba that hypotheses fitting the bulk of data are quite acceptable (Robson 1993, 380-1).

Neuman describes a similar process called "successive approximation" in which the researcher begins with a framework of assumptions and questions and then investigates the data against these initial assumptions. A cyclical iterative process of revising assumptions and investigating the data follows from writing down a set of hypotheses that closely approximate the empirical evidence (Neuman 1997, 427). In order to facilitate this type of analysis, conceptually clustered matrices as well as charts and/or diagrams are used. While such tools are primarily used in quantitative studies, condensing relevant data into conceptual matrices and diagrams is essential to drawing conclusions and displaying the data in a relatively comprehensible format. This study also makes use of Robson's qualitative data-analytical model (1993, 401), which includes patterning and clustering of recurring patterns and themes and developing chains or webs of linkages between themes and patterns as well as relating findings to general theoretical frameworks.

The open-ended questions of the protocol allowed interviewees to talk relatively freely and present their visions in more or less holistic terms without being subjected to pre-coded or pre-defined response categories. However, due to the complexity and contentious nature of discussed themes, ambiguities in participants' answers were anticipated before conducting the interviews. To mitigate such ambiguities, the researcher devised a supplementary series of quasi-closed ended questions relevant to discussed themes. Participants were invited to answer the questions by selecting 'generally agree', 'generally disagree', or use a 'prioritized list' of responses.' Thus, the basic analytical model of this research (Kidder's Negative Case Analysis) is augmented by a supplementary analysis technique unique to this study and referred to as **'Theme Descriptor Analysis.'** For each theme discussed, the researcher has prepared a set of definitions for urban phenomena discussed in scholarly and professional literature

(e.g. preferred urban densities, spatial characteristics, urban design guidelines, architectural control instruments, green belts, etc.). Theme descriptors were communicated to interviewees upon their free discussion on primary themes. More information on theme descriptors and the results of this type of analysis will be included with the data analysis in Chapter 4.

3.2.7 **Research Validation**

The researcher has employed theories inductively as pattern theories to develop relevant discussion themes and enhance data interpretation rather than as hypotheses-generating mechanisms that confine data gathering and analysis. Theories and data are dialectically integrated in this study to achieve what Richardson calls data "crystallization." He explains crystallization as part of the postmodern project that recognizes the multidimensionality of the social world and the need to expand social research methods across various theories, paradigms, and disciplines (Richardson 1994 - Denzin & Lincoln, eds. 516-29). The social world is so complex and diverse that researchers need not dismiss established theories as an important instrument for achieving credibility and contextual validity of qualitative data.

The credibility and validity of data interpretation in this study is enhanced by the use of Kidder's "Negative Case Analysis" which Lincoln and Guba describe as the "process of revising hypotheses with hindsight" and regard it as a substitute for statistical analyses in quantitative approaches (Lincoln and Guba 1985, 309-12). The proposed nested interpretation and analysis procedure creates overlaps and cross-references between data and theory that eventually contribute to the overall validity of the final research findings. Above all, this study reports in great length on the research rationale, theoretical framework, interview protocol, sampling methods, interview process, and data interpretation techniques; which will provide a clear and discernible framework for comparisons and transferability of the research conclusions.

Chapter 1
Thesis Introduction
Rationale, Contributions, and Highlights

Chapter 2

Part 1
Theory Quest: Urban Social Theory, Urban Space Theory, And Planning Theory

Part 2
Theoretical Models

Chapter 3

Part 1
Methodology: Gathering Data, Interviews, Protocol, Sampling, and Study Context

Part 2
Methodological Setting: Interviewees' Profiles, Data Transcription and Analysis Techniques

Chapter 4
Interview Data Analysis and Interpretation

Chapter 5
Discussion and Concluding Remarks

4.1 Introduction to Data Interpretation: General Analysis Objectives

This study uses an integrated mode of analysis to achieve a balance between interpretative, analytic, and descriptive approaches. Emphasis is placed on interpretation through which the researcher identifies patterns and semantics in the interview data. The findings are presented in terms of the themes that emanate from previous theoretical reviews discussed in chapter two and three that include sociospatial themes (Zoning, Density, and Technology) and configurational themes (Local, Regional, and Global development issues) as well as the urban design theme that seeks professionals' views as to the definition and scope of urban design practice. **Thus, the discussion themes of the interview protocol continue to organize and frame the ensuing analyses in addition to identifying related sub-themes or sub-categories that articulate practitioners' views and constructions of urbanity.** In that sense, the theory based interview questions also provide a context for interpreting the research findings and establishing dialectics between theory and data.

The researcher is engaged in the analysis of interview data with the objective of finding regularities and/or irregularities in participants' narratives. The purpose is to pinpoint areas of agreement and disagreement that express the intellectual and praxis variations among professionals (architects and planners) engaged in urban design related practices. Interpretations of the interviews go beyond the apparent meanings in an attempt to work out structures and relations not discernible from a simple reading of practitioners' narratives. This is accomplished by taking a distance from practitioners' narratives and recontextualizing them within the study theoretical framework (Kvale 1996, 201).

The analysis of major and sub-themes is largely predicated on Kidder's "Negative Case Analysis" method, (Kidder 1981) and Neuman's pattern matching process referred to as "Successive Approximation" (Neuman 1997). This involves advancing a series of hypotheses for both primary and sub-themes and continually revising and refining them to account fully for the different patterns within the transcribed text of the fifteen interviews. Following this analysis technique, the researcher was able to consolidate interviewees' responses into concise positional statements (hypotheses and sub-hypotheses) that express their understanding and views of discussed issues. This type of analysis entails a complex and iterative process of reading the interview data, writing hypotheses, rereading the data, rewriting hypotheses, and so on until the proposed hypotheses best fit the interview data. For example, one of the interview protocol themes deals with the physical characteristics of the public realm (Architectonics). There was a glaring distinction between the views of architects and planners in regard to this issue. Most architects hypothesized that **"there is a direct correlation between physical form and social behaviour."** Planners, on the other hand, hypothesized that **"there is no direct or**

discernible relationship between physical form and social behaviour." Such hypotheses were not generated prior to the interviews but emanated from data narratives; in other words, the interview data created the hypotheses. The analysis process began by positioning the highlighted descriptions as preliminary hypotheses. Then, the researcher initiated the iterative analysis process of reading interview data, refining preliminary hypotheses, rereading the data, and modifying as well as adding more input to the hypotheses until they fully accounted for participants' narratives. The same process was followed to generate sub-hypotheses accounting for the sub-ideas presented by interviewees. For the architectonics theme example, interviewees partitioned their responses to the question by talking about socioeconomics of urban space, local descriptions from the Toronto context, and overall perspective regarding the dialectics between physical space and the social and cultural conventions of the urban population. This analysis technique was used to generate all other data hypotheses, which formed the basis for presenting the final research findings.

Participants' narratives for most themes fit a general model of one or two major hypotheses and a set of sub-hypotheses. For a given theme, three sub-themes were identified in most participants' narratives. This included interviewees' overall ***Perspective*** of the discussed urban phenomena, narratives related to the urban ***Context*** (Toronto), and narratives aimed at describing ***Alternative*** measures to remedy or counteract the negative impacts of existing property systems and development practices. As will be shown, however, the data was allowed to generate the main and sub-hypotheses and not vice versa. Narratives dictated how the main and sub-hypotheses were labelled and finally presented. Hypotheses and sub-hypotheses are generally organized in the form of data charts with special margins for areas of contradiction and the qualifying statements of a few participants that did not fit into themes' hypotheses.

4.2 Theme Descriptor Analysis:

Upon accomplishing data semantics and exploring the nuances of practitioners' responses and views of urban design, the researcher will engage in a supplementary analysis method unique to this study and referred to as 'Theme Descriptors.' For some critical discussion themes, a set of definitions of related urban constructs was prepared. Theme descriptors were generally premeditated and based on the theoretical research in chapter two and three. These theme descriptors consist of concise definitions for urban phenomena discussed and contested in secondary sources (e.g. the historical justification of zoning and its role in generating specific social and physical arrangements as well as urban density and form related parameters including urban vitality, public transit, spatial characteristics, green belts, ecological limits, codes, cultural attributes, etc.). For example, the urban form discussion was augmented by a series of theme descriptors probing participants' views regarding potential re-urbanization strategies in North American cities; two of these were presented as follows:

Teeming Metropolis:
The re-urbanization strategies of North American cities should be geared to create vibrant and culturally diverse centralized metropolises akin to well-established European cities such as Paris and London. The intensified economic and physical presence of these centralized urban centres support effective public transit services and reduce the ecological footprint of an otherwise geographically dispersed and fragmented urban form.

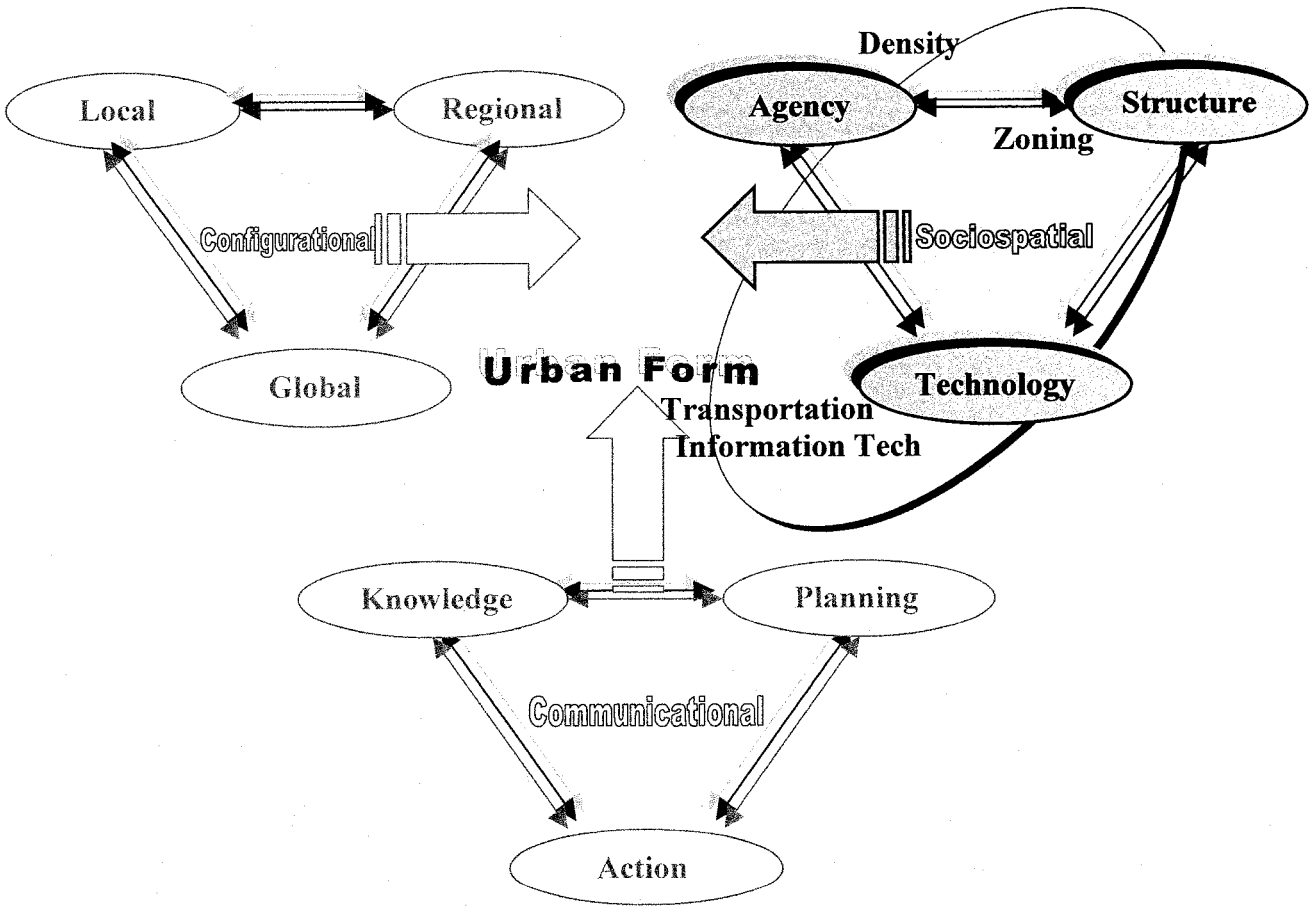
Nucleated Metropolis:
North American cities are inherently different from their European counterparts. The regional and geographic characteristics of the land provide for a relaxed development approach with less dense urban configurations. North American cities are better off with controlled decentralization urban strategies that permit car-oriented low-density suburban patterns to coexist with transit-served medium-density urban nodes.

Participants were invited to comment on theme descriptors by choosing 'generally agree,' 'generally disagree,' or to advance a 'prioritized list' of responses.' Most definitions or theme descriptors were addressed to interviewees during their free discussion on study themes. **The general purpose of the theme descriptors was to investigate and validate previous participants' responses and also allow them to qualify or amend any of their earlier positions.** During the interviews, the researcher noted the seemingly ambiguous responses and duly addressed corresponding descriptors. While responding to theme descriptors, some participants added significant information that enriched their previous narratives and pinpointed their position in terms of theme related issues. In a few cases, theme descriptors revealed some contradictions in participants' responses, which prompted the researcher to ask specific questions in order to understand participants' positions. During subsequent stages of data analysis, the researcher added more descriptors to each theme to accommodate some responses that did not entirely match any of the communicated definitions. Thus, the final set of descriptors that accompanied each theme was amassed by theoretical analyses, interview proceedings, and data semantics developed during the text analysis. Theme descriptors allowed the researcher to consolidate participants' narratives into short and easily comprehensible terms.

The nested processes of interpretation and theme qualifiers are designed to augment the reliability of research findings. These processes preclude the reduction of qualitative data into defined formulas and at the same time provide a measure of transferability of research findings to different platforms of research practice. As will be shown, the overlap in data analysis between theme hypotheses, sub-hypotheses and descriptors has proved to be a very effective strategy in validating participants' responses and producing better analysis indicators. In some cases, only theme descriptors revealed the striking difference in architects and planners' conceptions of urban space.

4.3 Sociospatial Themes: Analysis Objectives

The first triad of interview questions reflects on issues raised through the study of social theoretical streams including mainstream, urban political economy, and structuration. The first theme deals with the role of land use controls, namely zoning, and elicits practitioners' views on its historical and socioeconomic implications for the North American City. The second theme addresses urban and suburban densities as a subset of land use controls. Participants are encouraged to illustrate social and cultural preferences regarding patterns of living, mix of uses, and livable densities from a North American perspective. The third theme explores the possible role of technology in shaping future built forms.



Critical Social Praxis Model

Fig. 7 Sociospatial Themes

The analysis of sociospatial discussion themes is geared to identify variations among architects and planners' views regarding the role of land use regulations (zoning and density controls) and technological advancements in shaping built environments. Sociospatial discussion themes are not necessarily designed to build a substantive knowledge about zoning, density, and technological influences on North American cities. **The main objective of the sociospatial questions and subsequent analyses is to engage participants in rich dialogues that can reveal their positions regarding agency and structural dynamics in shaping the built environment and hence contextualize their positions within social theory.** Two general approaches are presumed to emerge from data analyses:

- **Structural Approach:** professionals who tend to emphasize structural aspects of urban form and development processes and generally overplay the need for massive state reform and intervention practices. This approach marginalizes the role of individuals, people preferences, and cultural movements in shaping built environments (a majority of architects).

- **Agency Approach:** professionals who generally ignore structural considerations in shaping built environments. This approach calls for a fairly laissez faire perspective to urban development. It potentially entrenches evolving social inequalities in the modern metropolis and deals with current built forms as inevitable corollaries to demographic shifts and technological advancements (a majority of planners).

For example, participants embracing an agency perspective generally referred to zoning as a cultural artefact that reflects individual preferences and aspirations for a suburban lifestyle. Other participants adopted a quasi-structuralist view that referred to zoning as a very restrictive land use mechanism that is imposed on people and did not necessarily reflect an outright preference for suburban living. Proponents of the agency approach did not see fundamental problems within modern development patterns and they recommended alternative development controls that mainly consider individual preferences and lifestyle choices. Those leaning towards structural interpretations called for sweeping changes and reforms to current development patterns in order to improve built forms and achieve social and spatial equality among urban/suburban communities. The balance between agency and structural interpretations in participants' narratives is crucial to identify their conceptual understanding of urban form and development processes. This study emphasizes the need for considering both instrumental agency and structural issues. This position is crucial to develop a balanced understanding of urban development processes. It may precipitate more integrative approaches to urban design that eventually lead to successful interventions in built environments.

4.3.1 Theme One: Zoning

The issue of zoning has been intensely debated over the last three or four decades:

- **How do you perceive the impact of zoning on shaping the North American built form?**
- **If zoning could be justified for containing twentieth century urban growth, what would you suggest as an alternative urban control instrument that may foster a better living environment in the twenty-first century?**
- **How do you think zoning affected the development of Toronto's built form?**

Theme Highlights:

There has been a glaring distinction between the views of the participants (i.e. planners and architects) in regard to zoning related issues. An overall consensus was out of the question and the researcher has opted for two major hypotheses that generally approximate the contrasting views of practitioners (p. 92-3). Upon extensive review of the narratives, these preliminary hypotheses were refined and sub-hypotheses generated. Participants' narratives encompassed a myriad of zoning aspects including its historical role, social and built form implications, and their views were often linked with descriptions from the local context. They also proposed alternative built form controls to enhance and add more flexibility to current zoning regulations or replace them altogether. Five sub-hypotheses were identified in participants' narratives including:

Perspective: A sub-hypothesis exemplifying participants' overall view of zoning's historical role in shaping built forms.

Sociality: A sub-hypothesis reflecting on the dialectics of land use regulations and social and economic arrangements.

Built Form: A sub-hypothesis reflecting on the dialectics of land use regulations and the resulting built forms.

Context: A sub-hypothesis linking zoning narratives with contextual descriptions from the interview region.

Alternative: A sub-hypothesis elaborating on alternative land use mechanisms.

The first chart (C-1) (p. 92) represents the views of most planners who described zoning as a cultural artefact that lagged behind other economic, technological, and political mechanisms and generally reflected social desires for attaining particular lifestyle patterns. Their views more or less coincided with mainstream urban theorists (Chapter 2, p. 14-16) who explain urban form and propinquity relationships in terms of competition for the best locations, compatibility of uses, economic and transportation advancements. Modern urban growth patterns were described as reflecting a benign and mostly efficient economic and social adjustment process involving demographic changes, individual preferences, and voluntaristic modes of behaviour. Most planners explained housing and industrial suburbanization as a result of neutral market processes and a natural urban evolution propelled by reduced transportation and communication costs and the availability of cheap and vast areas of lands on the urban periphery. They implicated current development practices, financial and banking policies, and land use regulations with societal aspiration for suburban lifestyle attributes.

In a similar vein to mainstream theories (Chapter 2, p. 14-16), planners emphasized instrumental aspects and the role of individuals in dictating socially and economically dispersed living patterns. Their narratives were relatively devoid of structural interpretations that link public policies with social polarization and territorial segregation among urban communities based on income and social classes. Planners indicated that zoning was an appropriate tool that helped to mitigate the detrimental effects of industry on urban settlements. While promoting public's health and safety, zoning was also upheld by most planners as a valid tool to maintain property values, encourage stable and congenial neighbourhoods, and regulate traffic flow particularly within housing subdivisions. Most planners, however, indicated the need for updating zoning to reflect current social and cultural changes.

The second chart (C-2) (p. 93) reflects the views of most participating architects who described zoning as a very restrictive land use mechanism that enforces exclusionary social and functional urban development criteria and essentially caused unvarying and dreary built forms. Zoning was viewed as the culprit behind social and physical segregation of urban communities reflecting the desire of primarily high-income classes to secede from the rest of the urban population. Architects contended that zoning removed functional overlaps and social interactions indispensable for creating community sentiment and enhancing the quality of life in cities. They generally echoed the intellectual position of postmodernists (Chapter 2, p. 22-4) calling for more diversity, more emphasis on local context and mixed land uses, urban regeneration, and building aesthetics.

'Design' rather than 'plan' was emphasized as the 'right' way to customize and personalize city spaces. Most architects basically adhered to a traditionalist approach that views pre-industrial civic typology as a potentially viable urban design lexicon for accommodating the social and economic institutions of post-industrial cities. This 'return to the past' included a desire to revive the social and symbolic functions of city streets and public spaces and the way they affect the overall urban experience (Krier R. 1979; Krier L. 1998; Jacobs 1961; Duany 1991; Gratz 1998). Resonating with structuralist interpretations and critical urban studies (Chapter 2, p. 16-20), architects pointed to the negative impacts of zoning particularly for lower income groups. They referred to the social and spatial mismatch between employment and housing locations, which left large segments of population without viable job prospects or even a chance to actively participate in the urban community.

Most architects blamed exclusionary zoning practices and the ensuing 'leapfrog' urban developments for the entrenchment of the private automobile as the only viable mode of transportation in the modern city. This has prevented urban residents without access to a vehicle (e.g. poor, youth and elderly) from engaging in many social and cultural experiences. The latter views coincided with the much-publicized arguments of the new urbanists who castigate the modern metropolis and call for reviving traditional built forms (Duany 1991; Gratz 1998; Calthorpe 1994; Kelbaugh 1997). Several participants attributed the success of the Kings initiative in Toronto and the renewed vitality in the area to the lifting of zoning regulations. They used this example to corroborate their views regarding the archaic nature of zoning and indicate that the North American city would have developed differently had zoning bylaws been duly updated or removed altogether as a tool to organize urban space.

Theme One: Zoning - 1

Data Analysis (C-1): Total No. Of Interviewees 15 (8 Architects – 7 Planners)

First Hypothesis:

Zoning is a reflection of societal choices and has a marginal effect on shaping the built form. While alternative mechanisms are needed to resonate with current economic, social and cultural transformations, land use controls must be sensitive to existing conditions and consider the spatial distinction between urban and suburban locations.

Sub-Categories: Approximations from Interviews

Perspective	Zoning was an appropriate tool until the 1960s. Currently outdated especially as it applies to density and separation of uses. Cannot be considered the generator of urban form. It is a cultural artefact that lags other things. Like many other tools and systems, it was enacted to deal with valid issues but hung around too long and failed to adapt or respond to subsequent social changes and environmental concerns.
Sociality	Economic and social forces within society created the zoning regulations. People continue to prefer living in isolated social spheres. Typical middle and upper middle class families will locate themselves outside established urban centres whether zoning exists or not. As a tool, zoning is a reflection of social attitudes and preferences of living styles. The majority of North Americans prefer mono-zoned socially segregated suburban environments.
Built Form	Built form results from various interrelated factors, which express economic, financial and social systems at work including the development industry practices, banking policies, land use regulations, and people preferences represented in purchasing decisions. Aesthetics, shapes, and architectural details are relative, personal issues and need to be balanced with other social requisites like home ownership and mobility objectives. There is a need to distinguish between spatial aspects of urban and suburban areas.
Context	Toronto was subject to similar social and economic forces shaping other North American cities. While exemplifying most of the urban characteristics of its neighbouring cities, it has retained a higher residential and commercial use of its downtown and some inner suburbs. Toronto is also taking initiatives to update its zoning tools (The Kings Initiative)
Alternative	Land use controls are a function of socioeconomic and cultural indicators. There should be a synergy between tools and individual preferences. Site-specific tools are much more suitable to current modes of urban development. These include a combination of development permits, urban design, and flexible zoning mechanisms. PUD is an example

General Remarks and Statistics

More than 50% (8) of the interviewed practitioners are in general agreement with the provisions of the first hypothesis and also the assumptions imbedded within the sub-categories. Among them, there're (7) planners and (1) architect

Only 40% (6) of the interviewed practitioners agree unequivocally with all the provisions and the assumptions of the first hypothesis and its sub-categories. Among them, there are (6) planners and no architects.

The participants (2) who qualified some of their comments have indicated that there is an evolving dialectic between social and cultural forces within urban communities and land use regulations; each being continuously shaped by the other in what could be likened to the chicken and egg syndrome. The urban control instrument in and of itself may influence societal choices and shape the consumers' decisions. Voiced by (1) architect and (1) planner.

Theme One: Zoning - 2

Data Analysis (C-2): Total No. Of Interviewees 15 (8 Architects – 7 Planners)

Second Hypothesis:

Since its inception in the 1920s and subsequent entrenchment in city bylaws by the 1950s, zoning has been very restrictive and forced a kind of exclusionary social and functional division of otherwise integrated urban components. People had limited options, which were, for the most part shaped, by the logistics of zoning and the development industry. While providing certainty, zoning stifles creativity and should be replaced by design-based performance controls expressing the collective vision of urban citizenry.

Sub-Categories: Approximations from Interviews

Perspective	Zoning had a definite impact on shaping the post WWII built form across North America. Zoning is highly restrictive and resulted in a near uniformity of building types, shapes and envelopes. It has been always divorced from local official plans and imposes a blanket and blunt treatment on very large and disparate regions.
Sociality	Zoning separates social classes based on homeownership: those who live in socially homogeneous suburban areas and those who live in deteriorating inner city districts or marginal rental areas. Zoning causes cities to be divided along clear geographical lines based on economic means. It codifies the relocation of commercial and office functions to suburbs causing a spatial mismatch between lower classes and employment locations.
Built Form	Zoning resulted in banal, uniform, and visually dull urban environments. It prescribed highly undefined street spaces, inflexible street network, and exaggerated building setbacks and parking requirements. Zoning helped to instate the private automobile as the one and only viable mode of transport within the city. The single-use areas prescribed by zoning resulted in sprawling urban patterns with unjustified distances and voids between related urban functions.
Context	Toronto has had its share of suburbanization due to zoning and development industry practices. However, the city has maintained vibrant downtown and inner city nodes with both business and residential uses. The 1990s Kings initiative accompanied by lifting of zoning restrictions boosted the urban vitality of two major intersections in the city and attested to the archaic and restrictive nature of zoning.
Alternative	Zoning should be replaced by design-based performance measures. Controls should be site-specific and accompanied by well thought out urban visions. While permitting flexibility and creativity, built form mechanisms should coordinate private and public space configurations.

General Remarks and Statistics

Almost 50% - (7) of the interviewed practitioners are in general agreement with the provisions of the second hypothesis and the assumptions of the sub-categories. Among them, there are (7) architects and no planners.

Only 40 % (6) of the interviewed practitioners agree unequivocally with all the provisions and the assumptions of the second hypothesis and its sub-categories. Among them, there're (6) architects and no planners.

Of all fifteen participants, only two have tended to occupy middle grounds and maintained that social and cultural forces as well as zoning tools have coalesced to shape the highly dispersed urban configuration of the North American City. They used the metaphor of chicken and egg to express their views of this relationship. These views were voiced by (1) planner and (1) architect

Zoning Theme Descriptors:

Most zoning theme descriptors were identified prior to conducting the interviews and communicated to participants during their free dialogue on zoning related issues. Descriptor definitions were typically based in scholarly sources and theoretical research and reflected various contentious issues such as the historical justification of zoning; the impact of zoning on suburban sprawl; social implications of zoning, and alternative built form controls. Participants were invited to comment by choosing to 'generally agree' or 'generally disagree' to communicated zoning descriptors. Some descriptors, however, were generated by areas of ambiguity in respondents' statements and were identified upon achieving data semantics and defining underlying positions and subtle differences among research participants. Most zoning descriptors were deliberately presented in dichotomous pairs to zero in on participants' positions and emphasize areas of agreement and/or disagreement in the narratives. While responding to zoning descriptors, several practitioners revised some of their previously stated views and added significant information that enriched the dialogue and facilitated subsequent data analysis. The most notable result from the zoning descriptor analysis was the overwhelming consensus among both architects and planners on the need to revise and change existing zoning tools, but there were equally divergent views on the mechanics and procedure required for accomplishing this change. Zoning descriptors were defined as follows:

Historically Justified:

Zoning provided an effective growth regulating mechanism for twentieth-century urban expansion. It was an essential tool to deal with the unprecedented urban growth that took place in almost all North American cities.

Overly Prescriptive:

Zoning restricted the options of individuals and communities to shape their living patterns. Large tracts of lands were pre-set as residential, commercial, industrial, or office uses and developers as well as communities had little room to manoeuvre and worked within the general guidelines of zoning tools.

Sprawl Generator:

Zoning caused and abetted the dispersion and fragmentation of the North American built form. Zoning provisions were part and parcel of overall infrastructure and road network schemas that facilitated and subsidized urban sprawl.

Sprawl Concomitant:

Zoning accompanied the urban dispersion of North American cities and was generally dependent on economic and social dynamics evident in the complex interactions between various factors including personal preferences, government infrastructure provisions and development industry practices.

Socially Stratifying:

Zoning played a major role in the social isolation of urban classes. The glaring social distinction between the suburbs and inner city may be rooted in the flight of middle class residents and employment centres to the suburbs, which was largely facilitated by zoning.

Socially Contingent:

Zoning was a reflection of the middle class preference to secede from the deteriorating conditions of inner city areas as well as a profound desire for the attributes and overall lifestyle afforded by suburbia.

To Be Replaced:

Zoning needs to be drastically changed and replaced by other built form controls that provide more options and create socially and physically integrated communities typical of well-established urban precincts.

To Be Amended:

Zoning bylaws need to be amended or enriched with more flexible mechanisms that permit various forms of development to occur within an organized and predictable framework of urban expansion.

Outdated:

Zoning is outdated and no longer reflects the economic, social and cultural dynamics in North American cities.

Design-Based Alternative:

Built form controls must include mechanisms to guide building lines, facades, streetscapes, and the three-dimensional volume of buildings. This encompasses site-specific and community-based visions to coordinate private and public realms and ensure the quality of public space configurations.

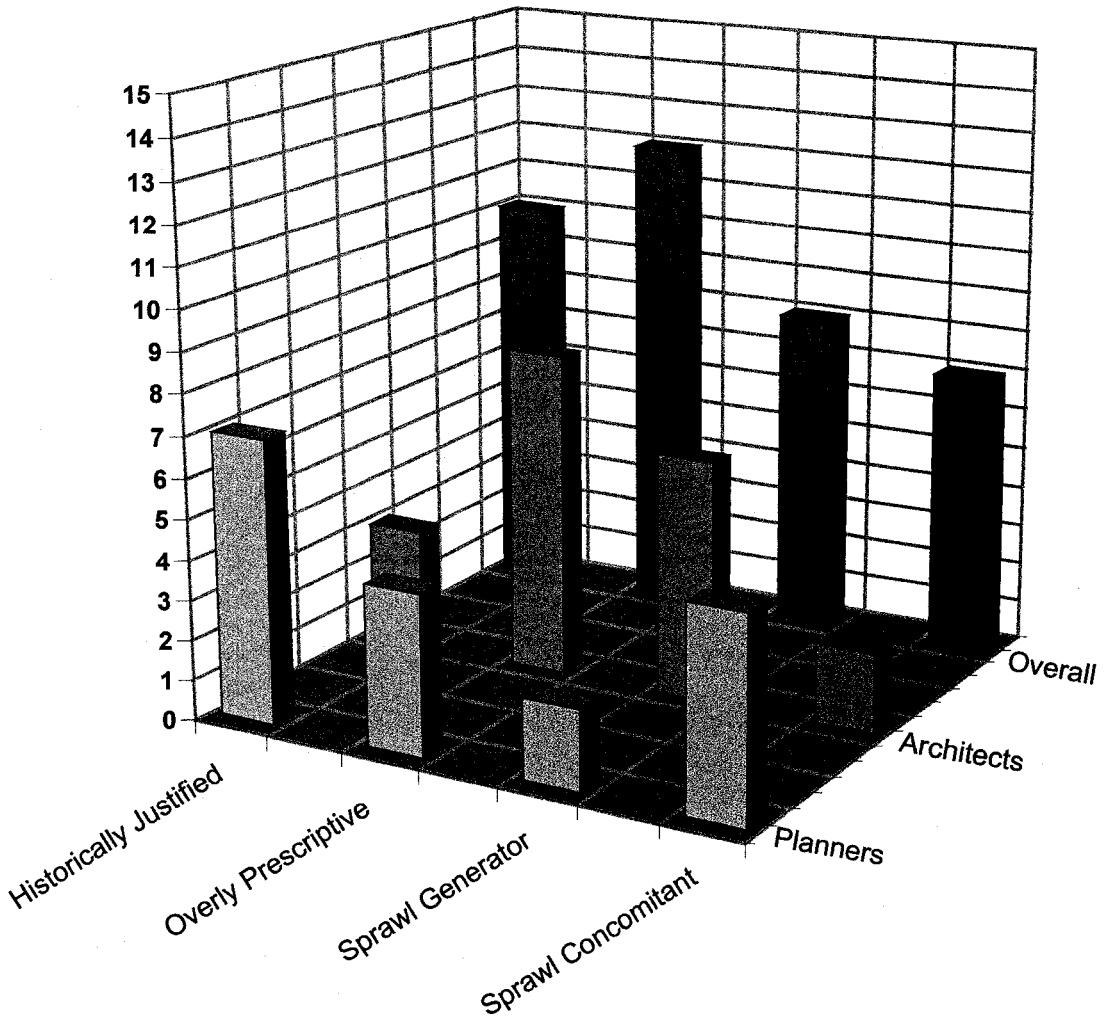
Liberal Alternative:

Land use controls should be rooted in the social and economic practices of localized communities. There should be broadly defined social and physical planning objectives to allow liberal or progressive patterns of development. Design aspects and physical space parameters should not be used as a restrictive container for future urban developments.

Descriptor graphs (G-1, G-2, and G-3) (p. 97-9) represent participants' views that generally matched descriptor definitions. Participants' views were almost equally divided along professional lines and each group had differentiated perspectives for the social and built form implications of zoning. While Planners described the North American city in terms of societal choices, cultural and economic forces with a marginal role for zoning tools, architects saw the built form as a reflection of the zoning exercise and described zoning bylaws as draconian rules that affirmed development industry practices. Planners alluded to the difficulty of singling out zoning as the generator of built forms, which generally results from various interrelated economic and social systems as well as individual preferences and development industry practices. They also indicated that aesthetics and the visual quality of built forms are subjective measures that must be balanced with social choices. Participating architects characterized zoning as a hindrance to good design and maintained that it has resulted in banal and visually dull urban environments. They also contended that zoning bylaws have been so entrenched in the development process that they have significantly influenced the built form.

Architects expressed an understanding of the predilection for home ownership and suburban life style attributes, but most architects blamed zoning for ratifying suburban environments by virtue of its exclusionary agenda. They maintained that zoning practices left no options for the economically disadvantaged and generally created uniform developments lacking the urban energy typical of traditional and more integrated nodes. Despite the noted divergence between architects and planners' views regarding the historical justification for zoning and its impact on existing built forms, there was an overwhelming consensus on the need to update zoning tools and incorporate flexible built form mechanisms that reflect the evolving changes in urban areas. Planners maintained that alternative land use controls should be grounded in the current social and cultural aspirations of urban communities with more flexibility for accommodating diverse urban forms (e.g. mixed uses and site-specific guidelines without destabilizing existing low-density suburbs). They recommended a kind of performance zoning

Planners emphasized the need for maintaining a measure of flexibly in any alternative control mechanism so as to sustain and further enhance current development patterns and practices. Architects, on the other hand, were adamant about replacing existing zoning regulations altogether and instituting design-based performance measures that insure the quality of public spaces and organize the relationship between private and public realms. Most architects indicated that future developments should be grounded in well thought out urban visions. A small number of participants did not generally agree or disagree with the provisions of descriptors and are accounted for under "Inapplicable Description" as shown in chart (C-3) (p. 100), which summarizes participants responses to zoning theme descriptors.



Zoning Descriptors - 1

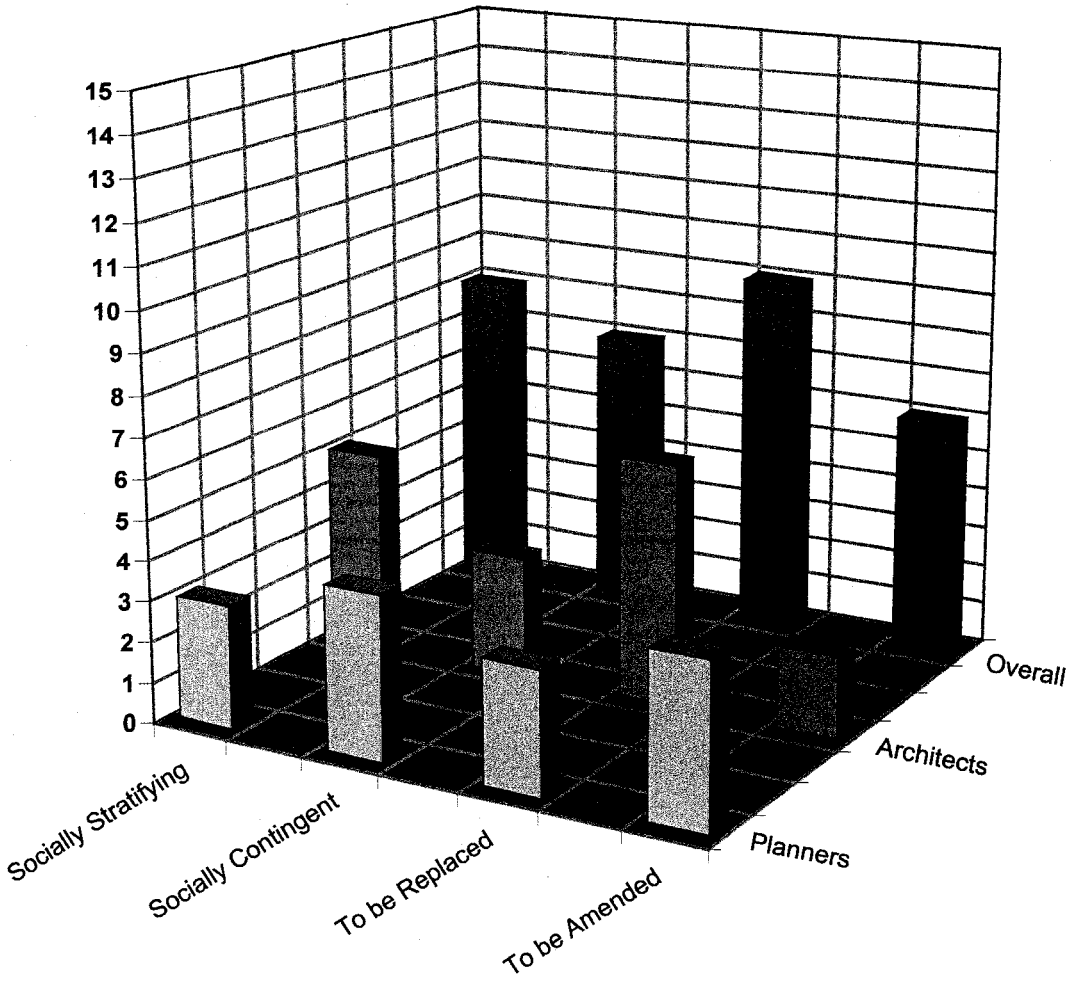
Data Analysis (G-1): Total No. Of Interviewees 15 (8 Architects – 7 Planners)

Historically Justified:
Zoning provided an effective growth regulating mechanism for twentieth-century urban expansion. It was an essential tool to deal with the unprecedented urban growth that took place in almost all North American cities.

Overly Prescriptive
Zoning restricted the options of individuals and communities to shape their living patterns. Large tracts of lands were pre-set as residential, commercial, industrial, or office uses and developers as well as communities had little room to manoeuvre and worked within the general guidelines of zoning tools.

Sprawl Generator:
Zoning caused and abetted the dispersion and fragmentation of the North American built form. Zoning provisions were part and parcel of overall infrastructure and road network schemas that facilitated and subsidized urban sprawl.

Sprawl Concomitant:
Zoning accompanied the urban dispersion of North American cities and was generally dependent on economic and social dynamics evident in the complex interactions between various factors including personal preferences, government infrastructure provisions and development industry practices.



Zoning Descriptors - 2

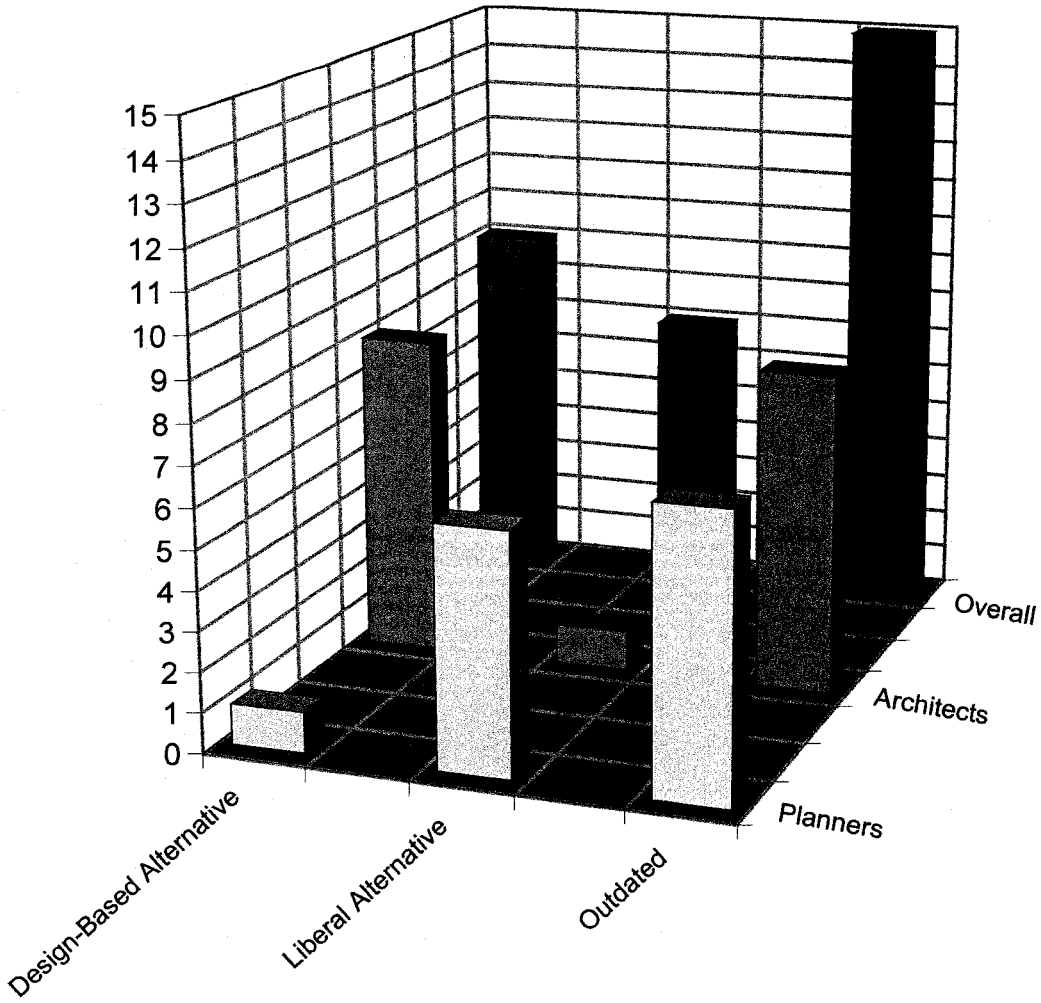
Data Analysis (G-2): Total No. Of Interviewees 15 (8 Architects – 7 Planners)

Socially Stratifying:
Zoning played a major role in the social isolation of urban classes. The glaring social distinction between the suburbs and inner city may be rooted in the flight of middle class residents and employment centres to the suburbs, which was largely facilitated by zoning.

Socially Contingent:
Zoning was a reflection of the middle class preference to secede from the deteriorating conditions of inner city areas as well as a profound desire for the attributes and overall living style afforded by suburban environments.

To Be Replaced:
Zoning needs to be drastically changed and replaced by other built form controls that provide more options and create socially and physically integrated communities typical of well-established urban precincts.

To Be Amended:
Zoning bylaws need to be amended or enriched with more flexible mechanisms that permit various forms of development to occur within an overall organized and predictable framework of urban expansion.



Zoning Descriptors - 3

Data Analysis (G-3): Total No. Of Interviewees 15 (8 Architects – 7 Planners)

Outdated:
Zoning is outdated and no longer reflects the economic, social and cultural dynamics in North American cities.

Design-Based Alternative:
Built form controls must include mechanisms to guide building lines, facades, streetscapes, and the three-dimensional volume of buildings. This encompasses Site-specific, community-based visions to coordinate private and public realms and ensure the quality of public space configurations.

Liberal Alternative:
Land use controls should be rooted in social and economic practices of localized communities. There should be broadly defined social and physical planning objectives to allow liberal or progressive patterns of development. Design aspects and physical space parameters should not be used as a restricting container for future urban developments.

Summary of Zoning Descriptors

Data Analysis (C-3): Total No. Of Interviewees 15 (8 Architects – 7 Planners)

Zoning Descriptors	Generally Agree			Generally Disagree			Inapplicable Description		
	Architects	Planners	Overall	Architects	Planners	Overall	Architects	Planners	Overall
Historically Justified	3	7	10	5	0	5	0	0	0
Overly Prescriptive	8	4	12	0	3	3	0	0	0
Sprawl Generator	6	2	8	1	4	5	1	1	2
Sprawl Concomitant	2	5	7	4	2	6	2	0	2
Socially Stratifying	5	3	8	2	3	5	1	1	2
Socially Contingent	3	4	7	5	2	7	0	1	1
To Be Replaced	6	2	8	2	5	7	0	0	0
To Be Amended	2	5	7	6	0	6	0	2	2
Liberal Alternative	1	6	7	5	0	5	2	1	3
Design-Based Alt.	7	1	8	1	6	7	0	0	0
Outdated	8	7	15	0	0	0	0	0	0

Zoning Theme Discussion:

Despite the overwhelming consensus among interviewed planners and architects on describing zoning as "outdated", there was an evident chasm in how professionals from each camp described the urban development and control process.

Architects referred to the exclusionary practices imbedded within zoning bylaws and indicated that these are imposed and do not necessarily reflect a social preference for suburban living environments. They tended to conceptually disentangle land use controls and their attendant bureaucratic apparatuses from the social and economic machinations within North American cities. Most of the interviewed architects emphatically asserted that metropolitan regions could have developed differently with more integrated social and physical configurations had zoning bylaws been duly updated to counteract the negative repercussions of Euclidean zoning. They generally depicted the medium-density mixed-use neighbourhood as the microcosm of the good metropolis within an extended region of integral and finite urban communities. The majority of interviewed architects took the view that future built form regulations must include mechanisms for controlling spatial and architectural relationships such as building lines, facades, heights, and public space configurations. They maintained that zoning engendered urban spaces are generally bland and pale in comparison to street-based traditional forms. Their contention was that single-use suburbs exhibit uniform spatial relations and lack the visual variety and legibility of mixed-use centres. However, architects' narratives did not advance a methodical approach for devising alternative built forms capable of mitigating the negative repercussions of zoning regulated city patterns. Rather, they resorted to nostalgic references to pre-industrial cities and maintained that traditional forms are capable of accommodating economic and social institutions of post-industrial cities.

Although they appreciate the value of properly designed urban spaces and precincts, planners alluded to the prevailing public preference for suburban life. They contended that people endear the openness, greenery, and the ease of mobility inherent in suburban built forms. Planners referred to the historical inevitability of zoning especially as it applied to separating incompatible uses and reducing nuisances and negative externalities of mixing industrial and residential uses; like many other control mechanisms, zoning exceeded its useful time and must be updated to reflect current cultural and environmental concerns. Most planners conceived of zoning as a cultural artefact that expresses social and economic dynamics within urban communities. They generally advocated a more liberal approach to land use that would maintain the integrity of existing suburban environments, yet allow diverse patterns of mixed use and higher density urban nodes to coexist with low density developments. Planners characterized zoning

as a social response to economic externalities resulting from the proximity of incompatible uses. Planners contended that zoning provided a measure of certainty and predictability for urban developments. While acknowledging the social and economic disparities inherent in suburban developments, planners indicated that suburbs have driven the North American economy over the last several decades.

Planners did not advocate radical transformations in current development patterns, and indicated that sustainability and livability in urban areas can only be achieved by working toward a balance among environmental, social, and economic objectives. They did not characterize dispersed city patterns and spatial hierarchies as necessarily precipitating social injustices. Social and economic relations were perceived as occupying a physical space, which by itself cannot shape social action. Planners believed that social and economic inequalities can be ameliorated by instating economic, social, taxation and welfare policies and programs that mitigate spatial hierarchies and allow the voices of disadvantaged groups to be heard by decision makers. Such policies, planners contended, might not require drastic changes in current spatial and physical patterns.

Planners and architects alike referred to the need for modifying zoning regulations and commented on the merits of mixed-use urban patterns. However, each group of professionals proposed contradictory perspectives for actualizing urban change. While architects aimed to impose design-based and more or less physically deterministic solutions, planners advocated a spaceless approach that divorced physical patterns from their corresponding social and economic institutions. While both descriptions by planners and architects are invaluable for explaining and potentially shaping the development process, planning and architectural concerns need to be reconciled into a more integrative urban design understanding. Such understanding would provide a balance between spatial and social concerns and potentially give rise to built form controls capable of dealing with current urban changes.

4.3.2 Theme Two: Density

High densities and mixed uses are currently touted as conducive to achieving a livable built environment:

- **What aspects of density and use do you think may promote a better urban experience?**
- **How would you reconcile a high density-mixed use strategy with the current low-density development norm in North American cities?**
- **How would you describe the public preference within each socioeconomic group? What has been Toronto's experience?**

Theme Highlights:

There was general agreement on the need to increase current living densities and also encourage a mix of functional uses and social classes. Most participants commented on the lack of urban vitality in North American cities, which some attributed to thinly populated suburban precincts and dominant single-use zoning practices. Some participants referred to specific studies and documents reporting on the detrimental impacts of sprawl (Real Estate Research Corporation: The Costs of Urban Sprawl, RERC 1974; Newman and Kenworthy 1989; Centres for Urban Policy Research, CUPR 1992; GTA Task Force 1996). The need for efficient and economically feasible public transit figured prominently as a reason for increasing urban densities. Most participants commented that low suburban densities as well as the extreme spatial fragmentation of the city makes the private automobile the best choice for transportation. Compact mixed-use centres were described as conducive to efficient public transit, more spatial and social integration, and better economic allocation of infrastructure utilities. Participants recommended intensification within existing urban boundaries and revitalization of abandoned industrial properties before extending development to green fields. Interview narratives were condensed into two data charts (p. 107-8) with representative hypotheses and sub-hypotheses highlighting different areas and semantics in participants' statements. As shown in the charts, practitioners' narratives encompassed different aspects of human settlement densities including operational perspectives, social and economic frames of reference and environmental implications. Participants generally concatenated their views with descriptions from the local context.

Data charts encompassed a primary hypothesis (p. 107) representing a majority view (67%, 7 architects and 3 planners) and a secondary hypothesis (p. 108) summarizing the views of remaining participants (33%, 1 architect and four planners). Four sub-hypotheses were identified in participants' narratives:

Density Perspective: An operational sub-hypothesis for the meanings and ranges of livable settlement densities held by participants.

Social Experience: A sub-hypothesis summarizing views regarding the relationship between settlement densities and social conventions.

Environment: A sub-hypothesis summarizing views regarding human settlement densities and environmental concerns.

Context: A sub-hypothesis linking density narratives with contextual descriptions from the interview region.

The density chart (C-4) (p. 107) represents the primary hypothesis representing the majority view regarding the merits of achieving higher urban and suburban densities. The primary hypothesis included the views of more architects than planners and these views generally related higher urban densities with overall sustainability and livability goals. Effective public-transit, enhanced social and cultural experiences, reduced energy costs, and environmental recovery were all cited as by-products of relatively higher densities and mixed-use development patterns. Resonating with views previously analyzed under the rubric of critical theory (Chapter 2, p. 17-20), this group of participants referred to the suburban exploitation of central city goods and services. They assumed that suburban commuters do not pay their 'fair share' for central city public services. While using city roads, fire and police protection, maintenance, and other services, suburbanites pay their property taxes to suburban municipal governments. This unbalanced taxation system, architects contended, is destabilizing the economy of urbanized areas and depopulating existing urban centres. Participants maintained that commuting creates staggering social costs that must be internalized through a fair urban/suburban taxation system. They added that governmental highway programs continue to threaten central cities, extend the urban perimeter, and exhaust utilities and environmental resources. This has guaranteed the private automobile primacy over all types of transport and has led to a severe decline in public transit services.

The majority of participants asserted that effective transit systems require a prescribed minimum for urban and suburban densities (four to six story buildings in cities and an average of fifteen to twenty five houses per acre in suburbs). Architects contended that increased densities must be accompanied by well thought out spatial relationships and activity patterns with appropriately designed street and public

spaces. Planners who agreed with the majority view warned that the 'leapfrog' patterns inherent in current suburban developments induces land speculation and results in developing prime agricultural lands. They also maintained that sparse and thinly distributed suburban densities damages the ecosystem and affects the lifecycles of many species. Most participants recommended a kind of greenbelt or environmental policy to contain suburban expansion and increase living densities within existing urban boundaries. Their narratives included references to the Toronto context that has a projected population increase of two million over the next twenty-five years. They referred to various governmental studies that reported considerable infrastructure cost savings by adopting compact, mixed-use growth policies (GTCC 1990; GTCC 1992; GTA Task Force 1996). Participants advocated intensification policies along thinly populated arterial roads as well as revitalization of blighted industrial lands within Toronto core and along the waterfront.

A few participants (4 planners and 1 architect), however, referred to the overwhelming preference for the suburban lifestyle by North Americans and doubted the economic and resource efficiency of compact and mixed-use growth. The density chart (C-5) (p. 108) depicts the views of the latter group, mostly planners, who simply indicated that, whether professionals like it or not, suburbia is the lifestyle choice of most North Americans. They invariably referred to the popular perception of suburbs being safer than the city core or generally higher-density areas. Suburban residents have invested huge amounts of money and effort to establish and maintain a coveted overall lifestyle. They strongly oppose any attempts (governmental or otherwise) to increase densities around their homes or even change the physical and spatial attributes of their surroundings.

The latter group of participants asserted that perhaps only ten percent of the total population would choose to live in higher densities like downtown areas. North Americans cherish all the amenities that come with the suburban package including openness, green areas, and ease of mobility within neighbourhoods, malls, and schools. They are generally willing to put up with daily work commutes to enjoy the suburban lifestyle with its distinct social and physical segregation from the rest of the urban populace. Despite rush-hour gridlock, participant planners contended that polycentric urban models typical of suburban developments still offer a much better choice than earlier mono-centric cities. Traditional cities, they asserted, would have certainly failed to meet the demands of modern economic and social transformations in North American society. In a similar vein to mainstream analysts (Chapter 2, p. 14-16), they maintained that the staggering increase in urban population, the advent of scale economies, and new information and communication technologies warranted the development of new deconcentrated urban models. Changes in physical and spatial patterns of urban settlements were inevitable, they contended, and what is needed are ways to enhance the quality of life in the evolving metropolis rather than looking backward at obsolete urban models.

This group of participants disputed the premise that compact mixed-use centres are more livable than dispersed patterns. Housing forms and densities express individual choices and professionals generally tend to overestimate the proportion of people who would willingly choose higher-density or downtown lifestyles. Participants referred to the thriving market for single-family detached housing which reflects an outright preference for low-density suburbs. Toronto was cited as a perfectly livable metropolis that successfully combines high-density nodes, a vibrant downtown with live/work uses combined with livable low-density suburbs within mere miles of the city core.

Theme Two: Density - 1

Data Analysis (C-4): Total No. Of Interviewees 15 (8 Architects – 7 Planners)

Primary Hypothesis:

Relatively high urban and suburban densities with a reasonable mix of compatible uses may create more livable and sustainable human settlements, enhance the social experience, decrease infrastructure and energy costs, protect prime agricultural lands, maintain bio-diversity, moderate pollution, and encourage the use of public transit. Low-density suburbs are heavily supported by the government policies that have created an artificial economy with uneven taxing system and an outright middle-class resolve for suburban lifestyle. The single-family detached house in a low-density suburb offers an unprecedented level of residential luxury and socioeconomic class distinction without a commensurate price tag all due to the unjustified public subsidies and the waved infrastructure, social, and environmental externalities characteristic of suburbia.

Sub-Categories: Approximations from Interviews

Density Perspective	Relatively high urban and suburban densities are in the range of 4 to 6 story-high buildings in cities and an average of 15 to 25 houses per acre in suburbs. Compatible uses include residential, commercial, employment, and light industry. Mixing of uses should be accompanied by well thought through spatial relationships and activity patterns. A suburban density of 1 to 6 houses per acre is not conducive to socially and environmentally sustainable living pattern.
Social Experience	The social experience in relatively high-density, mixed-use areas is enhanced due to increased sense of safety and vitality of street life. It is more conducive to locally driven business entrepreneurship and social support systems. Higher residential densities reduce the impact of class segregation and generally result in more integrated urban structures. Mixed uses provide more flexibility and allow cities to recycle obsolete built and functional arrangements.
Environment	Higher living densities would decrease urban development pressures on farming lands on the periphery of metropolitan centres. This must be accompanied by a sort of green belt policy and protection of susceptible natural environments and wildlife areas. Higher living densities are vital for efficient operation of public transit and encouraging a better modal split to reduce use and emissions of private cars.
Context	Toronto region should accommodate the forecasted increase in urban population over the coming twenty-five years by infill or intensification of thinly populated areas, especially along arterial roads, as well as revitalization of blighted industrial properties on the central waterfront. Stable and/or characteristic residential neighbourhoods such as Rosedale, Forest Hill, and others should be maintained.

General Remarks and Statistics

Almost 67 % (10) of interviewed practitioners are in general agreement with the provisions and assumptions of primary hypothesis and its sub-categories. Among them, there're (7) architects and (3) planners.

Few practitioners have qualified their definition of urban livability being related to income, lifestyle and a multitude of cultural related phenomena. They generally contend that even with a more balanced urban / suburban taxation and paying full cost, some people would still choose low-density suburbs.

Theme Two: Density - 2

Data Analysis (C-5): Total No. Of Interviewees 15 (8 Architects – 7 Planners)

Secondary Hypothesis:

The economic and resource efficiency of high-density developments is doubtful, and public transit use is encouraged by improving the quality of service rather than deliberate and planned intensification. There is a sustained perception among suburbanites that increasing densities around their homes would diminish livability of suburban settings and reduce their property values. Low-density suburbs and detached single-family homes are by far the most preferred pattern of living among North Americans, more so in the United States than Canada. Livable densities are a function of social and lifestyle choices rather than being a professional construct that could be defined by academic arguments. The proportion of people who would choose to live in high density and mixed use lifestyle does not exceed 10% of urban population of North America.

Sub-Categories: Approximations from Interviews	
Density Perspective	Density is a function of lifestyle and cultural values. Most North Americans prefer to live in densities ranging from 1 to 8 housing units per acre. The suburban resolve is also rooted in various factors such as social status and sense of safety and security inherent in suburban living being isolated from the typically publicized city vile. Almost all families with children in North America would choose to live in low-density suburbs.
Social Experience	North Americans endear their suburban environments and they invest heavily in maintaining their homes and enjoy all the amenities that come with the suburban package including openness, green areas, and ease of mobility within neighbourhoods, malls, schools, and most daily services. Middle class North Americans are generally willing to take the brunt of rush hour, long daily commutes to work in order to maintain this lifestyle and its attendant social distinction.
Environment	Over-concentrating of urban densities may have a detrimental effect on the ecological stability and interrupt wildlife and environmentally sensitive regions. Thinning out densities in some areas may allow a better environmental integration and reduce the impact of human settlements. Farmlands are not under a major threat of urban expansion and new technologies may reduce car and related emissions.
Context	Unlike most North American cities, Toronto boasts a better mix of uses and less social segregation among urban communities. There is a great deal of urban integration with townhouses, semis, and detached houses sharing the same neighbourhood. Toronto has never had its centres evacuated and it always had various social strata living within property sharing systems (rented or owned condominiums).

General Remarks and Statistics

Almost 33% (5) of the interviewed practitioners are in general agreement with the provisions of the secondary as well as sub-hypotheses. Among them, there are (4) planners and (1) architect.

While asserting that they personally prefer vibrant mixed-use urban settings, this group of practitioners dispute the premise that a compact mixed-use setting is a better alternative or even more livable than mono-zoned low-density suburbs. They view this as more of a personal choice and that the professional and academic community generally overestimate the proportion of people who would willingly live in high-density areas. The market of suburban homes is thriving and reflects an outright preference for the arrangements offered by low-density suburbs.

Density Theme Descriptors:

Density descriptors were determined prior to conducting the interviews and communicated to participants during their free discussion on the theme issues. Descriptor definitions resulted from research into professional, scholarly, and theoretical sources that generally reflect an ever-growing debate over impacts of suburban sprawl and the merits and disadvantages of compact urban centres. These debates include but are not limited to issues related to public transit, urban vitality, spatial characteristics, and individual preferences. Participants were asked to prioritize density descriptors based on their relevance and impact on urban well-being. Deliberations on density descriptors unravelled ambiguities found in previous statements by participants and allowed them to qualify or amend their positions. Descriptors were defined and communicated to participants as follows:

Urban Vitality:

Residential densities should be determined by the level of urban vitality or energy achieved by a well thought out mix of live, work, and commercial arrangements.

Public Transit:

Densities should be determined by the requirements of an efficient and feasible public transit service. Urban configurations can be allocated around transit nodes and corridors to decrease dependence on private autos and achieve a more sustainable built form.

Spatial Characteristics:

Densities should be guided by achieving appropriate relationships between private and public realms including spatial distances between live, work, and commercial functions, built and natural settings, and physical configurations of streets and public spaces.

Ecological Limits:

Urban and/or suburban densities should be determined by local and regional ecological limits including but not limited to, water resources, susceptible natural features, wild life, and overall ecosystem considerations.

Economic Efficiency:

Urban and suburban densities should be guided by the economic and efficient operation of roads and utility networks as well as available energy and other regional resources including farmlands, forest cover, and human resources.

Individual Preferences:

Lifestyle and cultural considerations should guide urban and/or suburban densities. Livability is a relative construct and density configurations must stem from individual perceptions and choices.

Market Dynamics:

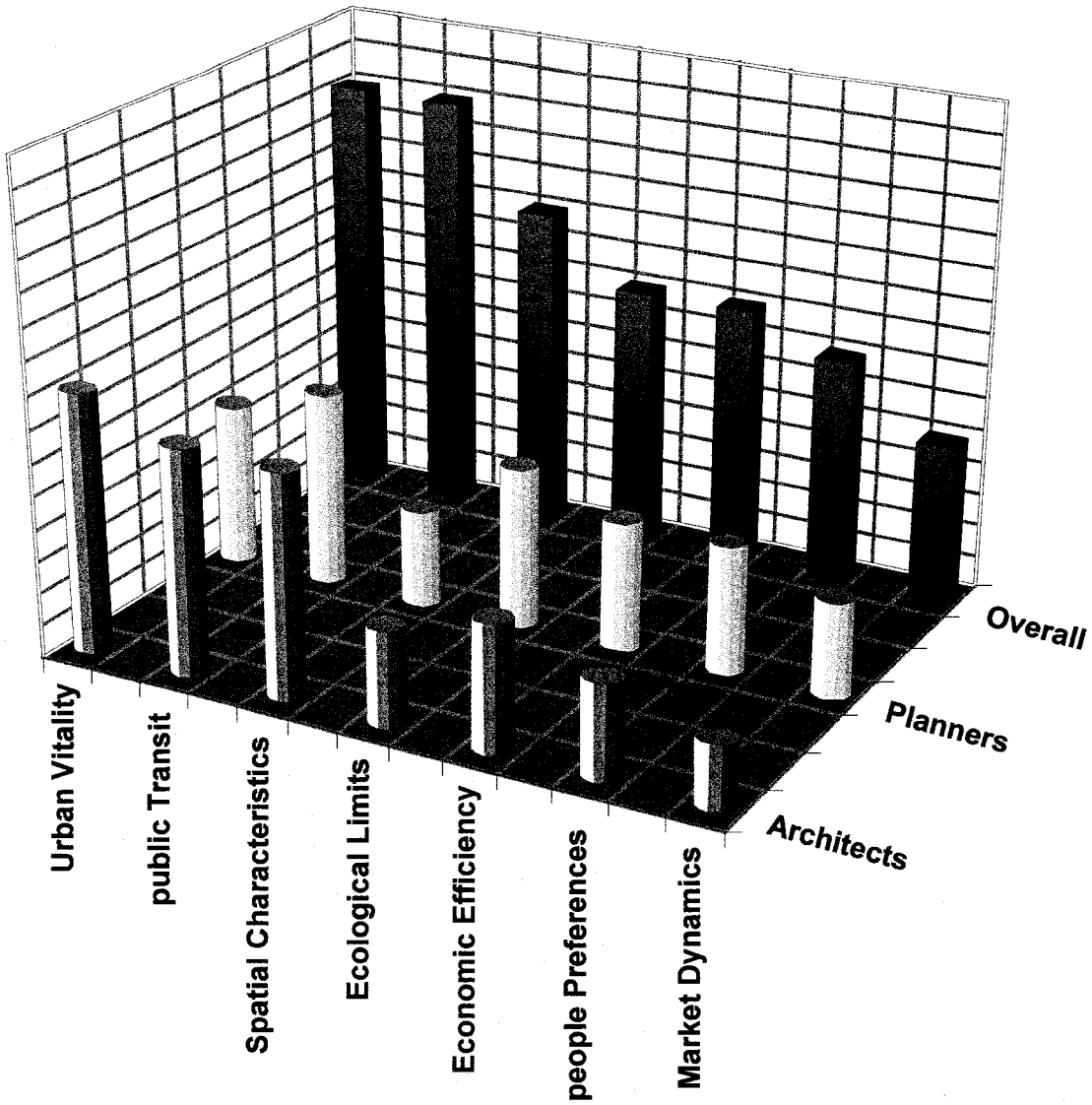
Urban and suburban density is a function of the free market dynamic represented by supply and demand factors. Real estate is a self-adjusting market with developers building only what consumers will buy.

The graph (G-4) (p. 112) and chart (C-6) (p. 113) indicate the participants' priority list of the seven density descriptors that revealed subtle differences in architects and planners' views regarding density related issues. Urban vitality denoting the mix of living, working, and commercial arrangements and accompanied by healthy economic and social environs was highly rated by both architects and planners. Despite an overall agreement on the merits of urban vitality, there was a disagreement on how to describe it much less to achieve it. Architects saw urban vitality in terms of spatial and architectural characteristics and described well-defined public spaces and connected street environments as indispensable measures for achieving vitality. They generally recommended an overall intensification strategy of low-density suburban areas particularly along strip commercial corridors. Planners, on the other hand, gave a less priority to spatial and architectural characteristics and emphasized the need to balance vitality objectives with individual preferences and ecological concerns. They also noted the importance of maintaining the integrity of existing low-density housing patterns surrounding commercial strips. Several planners argued that transit could not be promoted by simply increasing densities. Transit needs coordinated locational policies aimed at optimizing traffic movement between housing, employment, and entertainment locations. They referred to Toronto's GO transit with at least twenty five percent of its ridership coming from suburban locations along the train and bus corridor. They asserted that quality of service and locational fit rather than density per se that makes or breaks an effective transit service.

Participants tended to conceptually entangle individual preferences and market dynamics with land use and development policies and there was a general disagreement as to what people would choose if they have other options besides the severely limiting ones conceivably imposed by current development practices. Overlaying participants' narratives onto their responses to theme descriptors revealed a subtle communication gap between professionals of both camps on how to understand and actualize density objectives. Architects placed spatial characteristics at a premium and generally viewed well-coordinated public and private physical configurations as inevitable for successfully accommodating higher urban densities. Planners, on the other hand, configured the compact metropolis as a chain of mixed-use,

higher density transportation nodes connected via thinly populated transit corridors. They noted that this would provide for a measure of coexistence between present low-density patterns and more concentrated developments in the future. While both views may be conceived as complementary, each group of professionals tended to have different emphases and prioritized their respective views as shown in the descriptor chart (C-6) (p. 113).

Most architects referred to the various economic and ecological benefits as a by-product of compact, well designed, and transit oriented urban developments. Most planners, however, viewed ecological limits and economic parameters as a priori determinants of urban densities and configurations. Again those views are not necessarily contradictory but they express a rather intricate and distinct understanding of urban and ecological relationships. A closer look at the descriptor graph (G-4) reveals a gradual distribution of density objectives, but a striking split between architects and planners on strategies needed to enhance urban well-being.



Density Descriptors

Data Analysis (G-4): Total No. Of Interviewees 15 (8 Architects – 7 Planners)

Urban Vitality:
Residential densities should be determined by the level of urban vitality or energy achieved by a well thought out mix of live, work, and commercial arrangements.

Public Transit:
Densities should be determined by the requirements of an efficient and feasible public transit service. Urban configurations can be allocated around transit nodes and corridors to decrease dependence on private autos and achieve a more sustainable built form.

Spatial Characteristics:
Densities should be guided by achieving appropriate relationships between private and public realms including spatial distances between live, work, and commercial functions, built and natural settings, and physical configurations of streets and public spaces.

Density Descriptors - Continued

Data Analysis (G-4): Total No. Of Interviewees 15 (8 Architects - 7Planners)

Ecological Limits:
Urban and/or suburban densities should be determined by local and regional ecological limits including but not limited to, water resources, susceptible natural features, wild life, and overall ecosystem considerations.

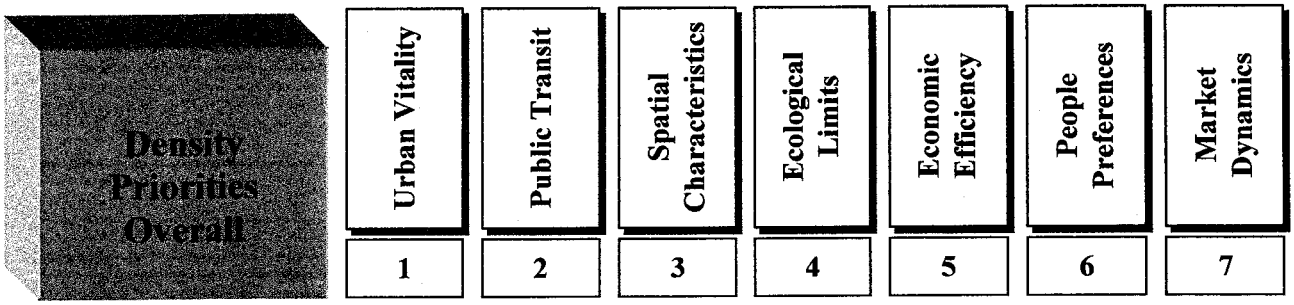
Economic Efficiency:
Urban and suburban densities should be guided by the economic and efficient operation of roads and utility networks as well as available energy and other regional resources including farmlands, forest cover, and human resources.

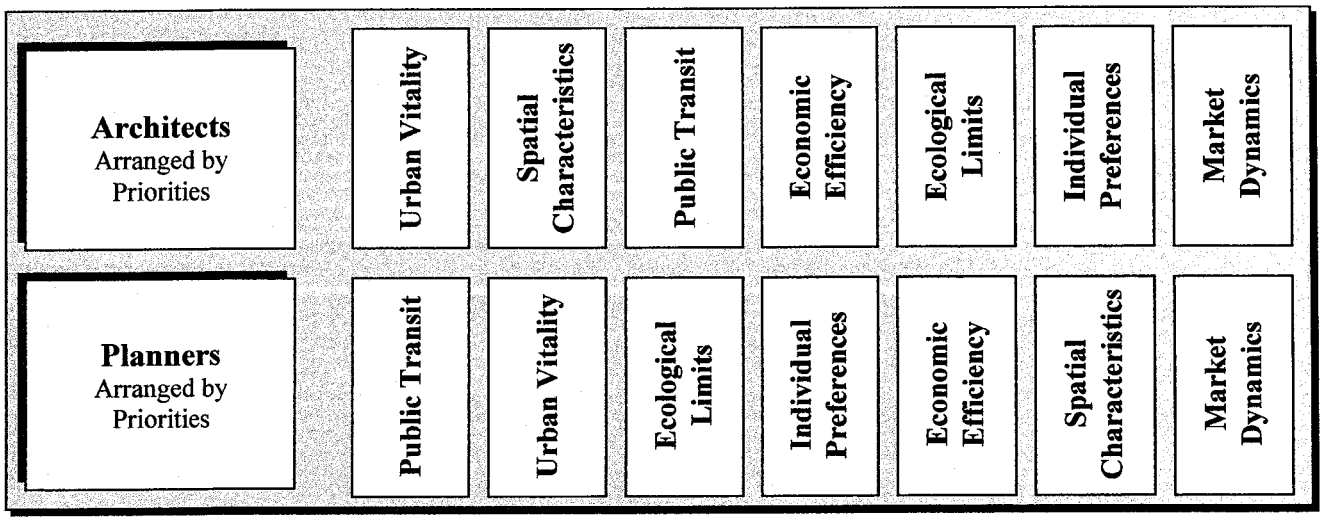
Individual Preferences:
Lifestyle and cultural considerations should guide urban and/or suburban densities. Livability is a relative construct and density configurations must stem from individual perceptions and choices.

Market Dynamics:
Urban and suburban density is a function of the free market dynamic represented by supply and demand factors. Real estate is a self-adjusting market with developers building only what consumers will buy.

Summary of Density Descriptors

Data Analysis (C-6): Total No. Of Interviewees 15 (8 Architects – 7 Planners)





Density Theme Discussion:

Participants talked at length about the benefits of higher densities and linked the cultural, economic, and social aspects of development patterns. There was a recurring reference to vibrant parts of cities in Europe and North America such as London, New York, and Toronto, for their noted success and ability to attract people for living, working, or tourism purposes. While admiring these cities, participants acknowledged that attaining European densities in most North American cities is neither possible nor appropriate, and they generally advocated a medium range of four to six stories in urban centres, and fifteen to twenty five units per acre in the suburbs.

Upon achieving data semantics and a close examination of responses to density descriptors, subtle differences and contrasting positions among architects and planners in regard to urban densities, compact and dispersed development patterns and overall strategies to enhance the quality of life in cities were discovered. While opinions in each of the following participant clusters are not mutually exclusive, each group or cluster was characterized by a considerable majority of either planners or architects and will be referred to as such.

Planners echoed and occasionally referred to writings by Conzen, Garreau and others, which refer to 'Edge Cities' as new urban phenomena that requires innovative regional approaches and fresh ways of viewing urban densities and structures (Conzen 1983; Garreau 1991). Despite racial, economic, and social disparities currently present in the North American metropolis, some planners contended that small governmental units and dispersed uses hold the potential of a more democratic decision making process. They also indicated that low-density suburbs and the newly evolving 'Edge Cities' do not warrant the status of an urban stress. On the contrary, these developments mirror modern needs and the evolution in transportation and communications generally respond to social aspirations for low-density suburban lifestyles. They argued that suburban developments challenge the very existence of bounded city centres and offer more sophisticated and superior urban economic relationships that afford people a level of residential luxury unprecedented in the history of urban civilizations. Planners maintained that a strategy aimed at ameliorating social polarization should encompass much more than mere spatial relations and suburban intensification through greenbelt and congestion tax policies. Containment policies like those in Britain are not appropriate within a North American context, which has a completely different geography and an abundant supply of lands. Such policies force land into low valued uses and inflate the prices of urban space. Planners indicated that neither governments nor professionals could force people to live in higher densities. Effective transit requires optimal spatial and locational strategies as well as enhancement of the quality of service rather than merely increasing

densities and coercing people into housing and lifestyle patterns they resent. Most planners contended that the North American population, particularly, families continue to choose single-family detached housing over collective housing forms typical of downtown and inner city living. Reports referring to economic and resource efficiency of compact developments were challenged by other studies arguing that public service costs for transportation management, waste processing, and crime control might actually increase with higher densities. Within a globalized world economy, planners commented, if governments fail to provide a variety of built forms and environments for residence and business, North American cities will not be able to maintain their competitiveness. Suburbanization and its attendant low-density living patterns transpired as a result of healthy economic and social process that allowed people to exercise choice regarding the quality of their life and housing. Suburbs still function as the economic engine of growth in North American cities. Many suburban developments in Toronto and elsewhere across North America are gradually becoming larger urban centres or 'Edge Cities' with economically and socially diverse communities. This transformation, some planners indicated, is generating jobs, new business and commercial facilities, information processing centres, and prosperity for urban regions. While increasing urban densities and achieving vitality in cities is an important objective, governments should not enact laws or implement planning strategies that may demarcate individual choices or reduce the potential of devising innovative built forms.

The other cluster of participants, mostly architects, argued that many North American cities are spatially undefined and generally inhospitable to modes of transport other than automobiles including transit, walking, or biking. Unless urban environments are designed with the human scale in mind and with physical configurations conducive to walking as well as urban densities supportive of transit use, people will always resort to the private automobile with its attendant pollution and congestion problems. Social and cultural conventions are contingent by urban densities, physical configurations, and street environments. If the latter are not carefully designed to include visual stimuli and varied psychological experiences, they simply cease to attract people to walk or engage in particular social and cultural endeavours. Architect's propositions are corroborated by various literary sources, notably those of the new urbanism and other urban design theories attempting to revive traditional built forms (Chapter 2, p. 22-4) (Duany 1991; Gratz 1998; Calthorpe 1994; Kelbaugh 1997; Alexander 1977, 1987; Jacobs 1961).

Architects favoured traditional cities with vibrant downtowns over the car-dependent 'Edge City' centres. They generally attributed the dreary nature of 'Edge City' centres, especially after working hours and during weekends, to the lack of residential densities around 'Edge City' centres that could ignite after-work social activities. The ensuing urban structure, architects commented, is fraught with social inequalities and spatial mismatches. People live in socially and spatially isolated spheres and the role of streets and public squares is being eroded and replaced by shopping malls, business parks, and

private backyards. The latter forms are socially and economically disenfranchising to poor segments of population. The spaces between buildings and developments are growing larger and living densities are getting thinner. Under these conditions, architects argued, public spaces become feared spaces and the potential of creating and/or reviving collective forms of urban life would be hard if not impossible.

Architects argued that low-density fringe developments are generally induced by government policies and do not necessarily express a public preference for suburban living. Suburban Infrastructure including utilities and roads networks are heavily supported by federal and provincial funding and very little is done in the way of recovering that cost from suburbanites. This results in an artificial economy that substantially reduces the cost of single-family detached housing and creates a supra-optimal demand for land and public goods and services. Some architects referred to recently published reports about the Greater Toronto Area that revealed significant economic variations among the extremes of urban sprawl and city-centred developments for the GTA. An estimated four to five billion dollars a year could be saved in infrastructure money if Toronto enacted policies supporting compact developments such as greenbelts, congestion taxes, and transit subsidies.

While participants established plausible arguments and raised important issues, each group presented an alarmingly singular vision for understanding urban development and control processes. Planners noted the new metropolitan transformations in North American cities and their narratives embodied an impressive array of social and economic concerns including governance, demographic changes, urban market dynamics, transit, and housing. However, they generally ignored the social and spatial dialectics involved in shaping and reshaping urban regions. Physical space was conceived of as a negative locus for social relations with no links between urban objectives and built configurations or function and form. Their narratives complied with the linear modernist formula 'form follows function' and were generally characterized by missing connections between socioeconomic objectives and physical configurations that are required for achieving such objectives. In essence, space was seen as a backdrop or a neutral container for urban activities. Architects, on the other hand, seemed to have a somewhat concrete vision for the physical characteristics of a livable metropolis. To some extent this vision was divorced from the current transformations in the North American urban geography. Their narratives were filled with a sense of nostalgia and a sentimental return to traditional forms. A methodical approach for comparing current urban and social changes including urban densities, individual preferences, market dynamics, and political economy was lacking. Some of their descriptions adhered to a somewhat postmodernist attitude in which function is dominated by form.

4.3.3 Theme Three: Technology

Communication and transportation technologies have accompanied and abetted urban sprawl over the last several decades. It is predicted that recent developments in digital information technology might cause further dispersion of built forms and urban functions and in a sense would lead to the demise of the city as a social form of human settlement.

- How do you perceive the impact of new information and communication technologies on the future built form?

Theme Highlights:

Participants generally referred to the impact of transportation technologies on the shape of the city. Some participants indicated that the advent of the electric street railway facilitated the first wave of suburbnization. They contended that the gradual replacement of streetcars with private automobiles and trucks around the mid- twentieth century marked a turning point in the history of urban and suburban expansion for residential and industrial uses. While referring to the impact of such transportation and technological advancements, several participants maintained that suburbanization was caused by extensive highway programs that opened urban frontiers and provided an access to vast and cheap lands on the urban periphery. They indicated that this was a social choice for suburban living; employment followed industrial and residential migration from city centres and the suburbs grew phenomenally forming 'Edge Cities.' Participants asserted that such technological innovations are essentially man-made tools developed and created by people to achieve predetermined social goals and aspirations. These innovations in and of themselves cannot change social organizations unless empowered by people. They generally commented that cars, trucks, elevators, steel frames, telephone, or the Internet for that matter cannot solely change lifestyles and only the interaction of social context with technology will determine how cities are shaped in the future.

Participants' narratives generated a consensus hypothesis and three sub-hypotheses as shown in data chart (C-7) (p. 119). There was an overwhelming consensus among interviewees that urban residents would oppose trends leading to the demise of the city and its related economic and social establishments. Unlike technology theorists who predicted the disappearance of cities as a result of telecommunication advancements (Chapter 2, p. 15-16), participants asserted that face-to-face contact is still necessary to run most businesses. They added that negotiating and bargaining in business

transactions are still as valid today as they were in the past. Participants maintained that shopping has become a form of cultural entertainment and people like a tactile experience that cannot be replicated by data gloves and other technology gizmos.

As for the trend of people working from home, most practitioners disputed the technological premise of a future spaceless job economy (Chapter 2, p. 15-16). They indicated that telecommuting may have been facilitated by technology but was mainly generated by the recession in the early 1990s as well as the worldwide industrial and business deregulation process. In good economic times, the overwhelming majority of people would rather put up with long commutes and rush hour traffic to work within collective office or industrial environments. Although technology has contributed to improving the quality of research, marketing, medical, engineering, advertizement, and many other services, participants commented that this has not in any way reduced the need for active social contact afforded by urban institutions. High-tech or alternatively fuelled cars would not reduce traffic externalities caused by the ever-increasing congestion on highways. Further, peak traffic hours are extended by heightened mobility needs and the flexible time schedules associated with the use of electronic communications.

Theme Three: Technology

Data Analysis (C-7): Total No. Of Interviewees 15 (8 Architects - 7Planners)

Hypothesis:

The proliferation of the private automobile and communication networks had facilitated a dispersed form of urban settlement. However, cars and communication technologies on their own could not have catalyzed and sustained urban dispersion without highways and the intensive road and utility networks backed by development regulations and financial as well as political apparatuses and most of all societal proclivity for dispersed settlement configurations. Recent developments in electronic and communication technologies have the potential of stimulating further dispersion of settlement patterns. Nevertheless, communication technologies have not yet achieved the level of sophistication, ease, and economics supportive of a dematerialized urban space. More importantly, people naturally opposed such trends to maintain an acceptable level of social contact and face-to-face interaction needed to maintain the integrity of employment and other commercial and economic functions as well as collective forms of cultural enjoyment.

Sub-Categories: Approximations from Interviews

Perspective	Transportation and communication tools by themselves could not shape societies or their settlement patterns, but are rather developed and harnessed by societies to achieve desired ends. People are social animals. Even if afforded effective electronic communication facilities at their homes or remote country cottages, most people would rather enjoy the cultural experience of collective working, shopping, and other forms of social contact. Work related activities, buying deliberations, and other social contingencies require a degree of face-to-face interchange that cannot be replaced for most people by electronic gadgets.
Context	Toronto is a centralized city with a strong and vibrant core and inner city neighbourhoods that continue to attract employment, residential, and entertainment facilities. Other cities across North America are also appreciating as economic and cultural centres with a high degree of corporate concentration and residential as well as commercial activities. It's inconceivable and never empirically proven that the existence of such desirable and vibrant urban centres could be threatened by advancements in communication technology. Established urban centres have actually benefited from electronic communications and were able to intensify and extend their socioeconomic reach to include local, regional, and global areas of exchange.
Counter Trends	New communication technologies seem to precipitate counter trends of urban development. Some cities and urban cores currently witness increased concentration of business and residential use. Suburban areas, on the other hand, diffuse and occasionally exhibit extreme dispersion on the outer edges. Although facilitated by the progress in telecommunications and automobiles, extreme dispersion trends are perpetuated by the existing development controls, the real estate practices, lack of transit, and absence of environmental accountability measures.

General Remarks and Statistics

Almost 100 % (15) of interviewed practitioners are in general agreement with the provisions of the main and sub-hypotheses.

Only 80 % (12) of the interviewed practitioners agree unequivocally with all the provisions and the assumptions of primary hypothesis and its sub-categories.

While agreeing to most of the provisions mentioned, three interviewees indicate that digital technologies will definitely have social and economic impacts on the future built form and may cause extreme spatial fragmentation of urban settlements. Nevertheless, they point that societal context interacting with technology will determine such impact and societies can set controls to regulate or balance the pros and cons of technology.

Technology Theme Discussion:

Even though interviewees echoed mainstream and technological theories referring to the impact of transportation and telecommunication technologies on dispersing the North American built form (Chapter 2 p. 14-16), they disputed the premise that recent advancements in telecommunications may lead to the demise of the city as a form of human settlement. Some practitioners made a counterargument that recent technological advancements may have helped to revitalize some derelict downtown properties due to the noted preference of some high-tech employers and employees for the urban vitality characteristic to older cities. Over the last two or three decades, some "Dot Com" industrial and business facilities have located themselves in city centres where collective cultural and entertainment opportunities are available.

Some participants commented that the number of technology professionals is growing and developing a much greater interest in the vibrant and active lifestyle of downtown areas. Due to the varied time schedules and increased leisure time by virtue of using technology in work and business transactions, many people seek to spend time in active social and cultural experiences. The whole idea of 'loft living' and mixed live/work arrangements transpired as a result of high-tech companies moving to urban cores. Some practitioners commented that this is corroborated by the competition among North American cities to attract high-tech businesses and the regeneration projects in older downtown areas. Mixed-use higher-density centres were developed even amidst otherwise sedentary low-density suburban environments. Contrary to discussions in professional and scholarly literature, some practitioners argued that suburban home-based workers may in the future prefer to live in dynamic small town centres with a myriad of cultural experiences to mitigate the social passiveness associated with machine operation.

Resonating with various scholarly opinions (Chapter 2, p. 15-16), research participants generally described contradictory processes as a result of increased dependence on telecommunications. For example, established urban centres may witness increased business, industrial, and residential use combined with diverse forms of cultural and social entertainment; 'Edge Cities' might experience increased development and some urban centres may be established to service older rings of suburban areas. Contrarily, a form of exurbia with extreme dispersion of settlement pattern could ensue as some people might choose to locate in country or mountain estates and use the efficient and real-time global communicative capacity of future telecommunication networks. They indicated that this will be manifested differently among North American communities. To conclude, it is therefore the social context interacting with technology that determines ensuing built forms.

4.4 Highlights from the Sociospatial Analyses

Initially conceived by some participants as a façade of state power relations and an unyielding bureaucratic tool to control built form, zoning has been characterized by other participants as much the creation of individuals and their preferences as it has been the creation of the state and its planning apparatus. Almost half of interviewees (mostly planners) described zoning as historically justified. They favoured the quality of life produced by zoning practices in North American cities over what they considered dreadful circumstances in the early twentieth century with its industrial and residential hodgepodge and disease riddled environments. Planners also indicated that suburbanization has been a social choice that transpired even before zoning regulations were enacted. They pictured zoning as a cultural artefact expressing and actualizing social desires and lifestyle choices.

Planners' descriptions of built forms pinpointed the significance of cultural and social movements, local histories, interest groups and coalitions, and human agency in shaping urban regions. They tended to slight the role of land use controls and placed more emphasis on urban economics and growth processes without explicit conceptual links with eventual built forms. Planners did allude to the lack of policies and measures aimed at improving public transit, rental and social housing and other services that primarily benefit the poor versus the substantial subsidies directed to highway and infrastructure projects promoting the interests of middle and higher classes. Most planners, however, did not view zoning as inextricably linked to such policies and pointed out that North American built forms would have developed in their present forms whether or not zoning was in place. A few planners actually likened the current development process to an autopilot situation that cannot be swayed by the marginal issues of land use controls.

Most architects, on the other hand, viewed the spatial and social geography of North American cities as a direct outcome of the zoning exercise. They generally favoured the tight traditional urban fabric of early twentieth century cities over what they considered a zoning-engendered metropolis with socially and spatially segregated communities. Architects' statements emphasized the instrumentality of political, economic, and bureaucratic apparatuses in coercing urban development into secluded and stratified physical and social enclaves. They characterized suburbs as dull and uniform built forms dictated by zoning and development industry practices. Living options were curtailed by such practices and the middle classes opted for heavily publicized and artificially sustained suburban environments with the consequent social and cultural marginality of low-income segments of the urban population. Most architects called for a substantial review of zoning regulations and replacing them with design-based tools capable of restoring lost urbanity and reconfiguring streets, public spaces, and neighbourhoods

into more vital and livable built forms. They described urban livability and vitality as a function of the physical configuration of urban space. Human agency, individual choices, and cultural movements were generally overshadowed by architectonic and spatial concerns. Successful urban spaces were featured as well-defined and historically proven urban rooms suited to preconceived patterns of social and cultural exchange.

The intellectual constructs generated by the study of theoretical streams (mainstream, political economy, structuration and critical theory) and participants' narratives can be represented by two major continuums: one that relates modern development patterns to agency and structural means, and one that relates modern development patterns to socioeconomic and physical ends (Fig. 8, p. 123). Mainstream views occupied the upper right quadrant of the platform denoting an emphasis on the role of modern socioeconomic arrangements including demographic and economic parameters as well as transportation advancements in regulating metropolitan markets and shaping urban space. Political economists refer to the existence of deep structural forces within modern society that help produce and reproduce distinctive spatial and social arrangements that express the workings of capital and class conflict. Their views (political economy) are located in the lower right quadrant of the proposed platform. Structuration theory occupied a somewhat central location with a tendency to overemphasize individuals' decisions and cultural movements in configuring urban space. Architects and planners' views were split as shown below (p. 123) along the proposed theoretical continuums. Physical characteristics figured prominently in architects' narratives as conducive to specific forms of social and economic exchange. Architects' narratives also included structural interpretations that implicate zoning and current development practices, economic policies, and financial mechanisms in entrenching social inequalities and dispersed built forms. Planners' narratives emphasized the role of socioeconomic institutions, human agency, and cultural forces in creating modern built forms. Planners' views included an amalgam of mainstream and structuration rationale and therefore refer to modern development patterns as expressing individual choices, technological advancements, and demographic and economic restructuring processes.

The technology component was sidetracked in the latter analyses to reduce the potential for confusion and also due to the overwhelming consensus among interviewees that technology is a dependent variable conditioned by cultural and social attributes. Most participants indicated that transportation and communication technologies cannot shape societies or their settlements but rather are used as means to accomplish preconceived social and economic ends. They were generally skeptical about the publicized far-reaching impacts of technology on cities. Participants did allude to the evolving contradictory trends of urban development, which they partially attributed to technology, yet rejected the idea that technology has the potential of superseding present urban regions or dislodging the city as a form of human settlement.

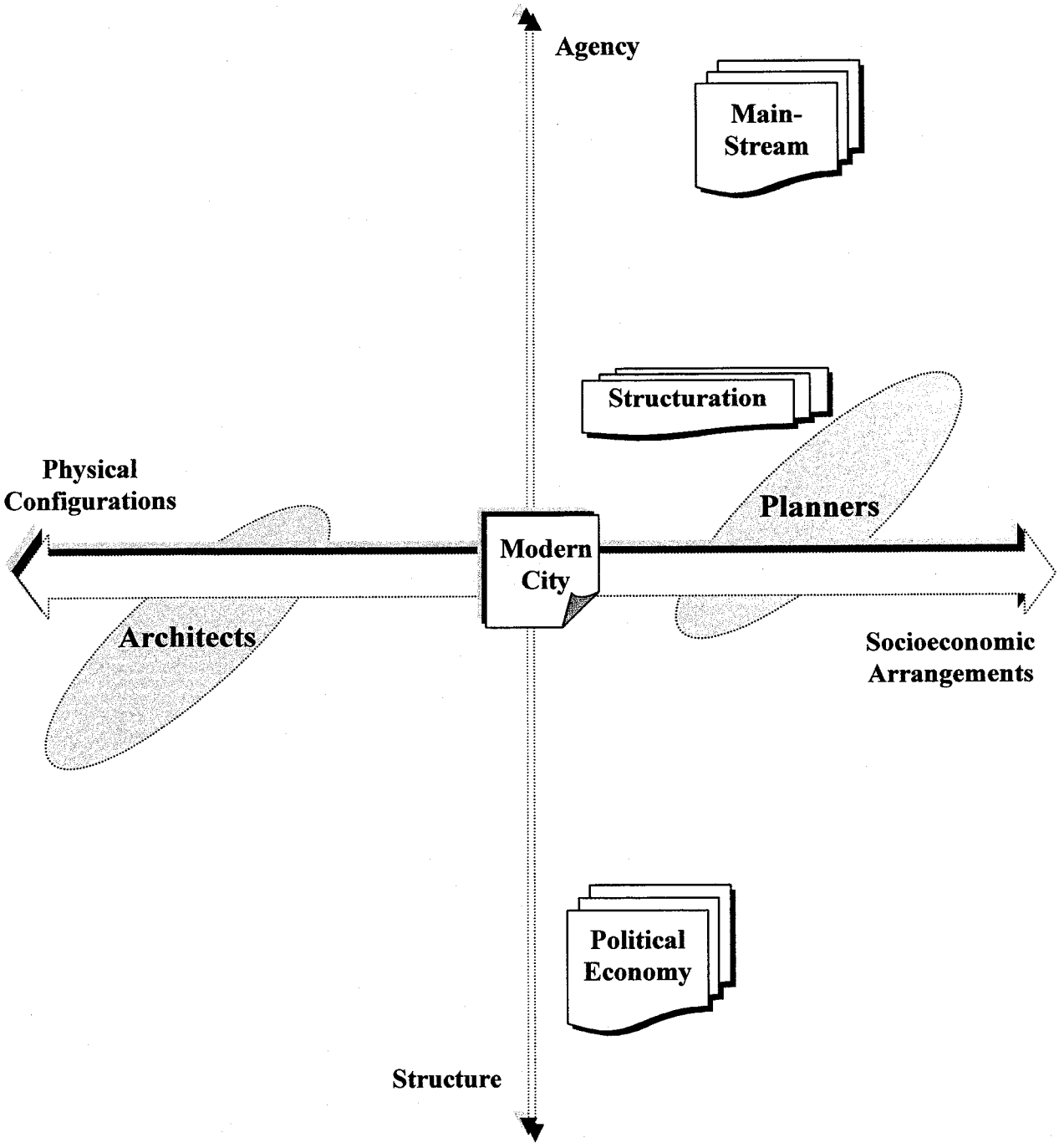


Fig. 8 An Overlay of Social Theory & Participants' Narratives

4.5 Configurational Themes: Analysis Objectives

The second triad of interview questions emerged from the study is concerned with architecture and urban design theories, regional urban structure theories, and globalization theories. The fourth theme looks at regional levels of development and the contrast in built forms and social dynamics between urban and suburban areas. The fifth theme addresses physical configurations on neighbourhood or a micro-level of development scale and surveys participants' views on the impact of space morphology on the social and cultural behaviour of users. The sixth theme explores the potential influences of globalization on the urban structure and built configurations of North American cities.

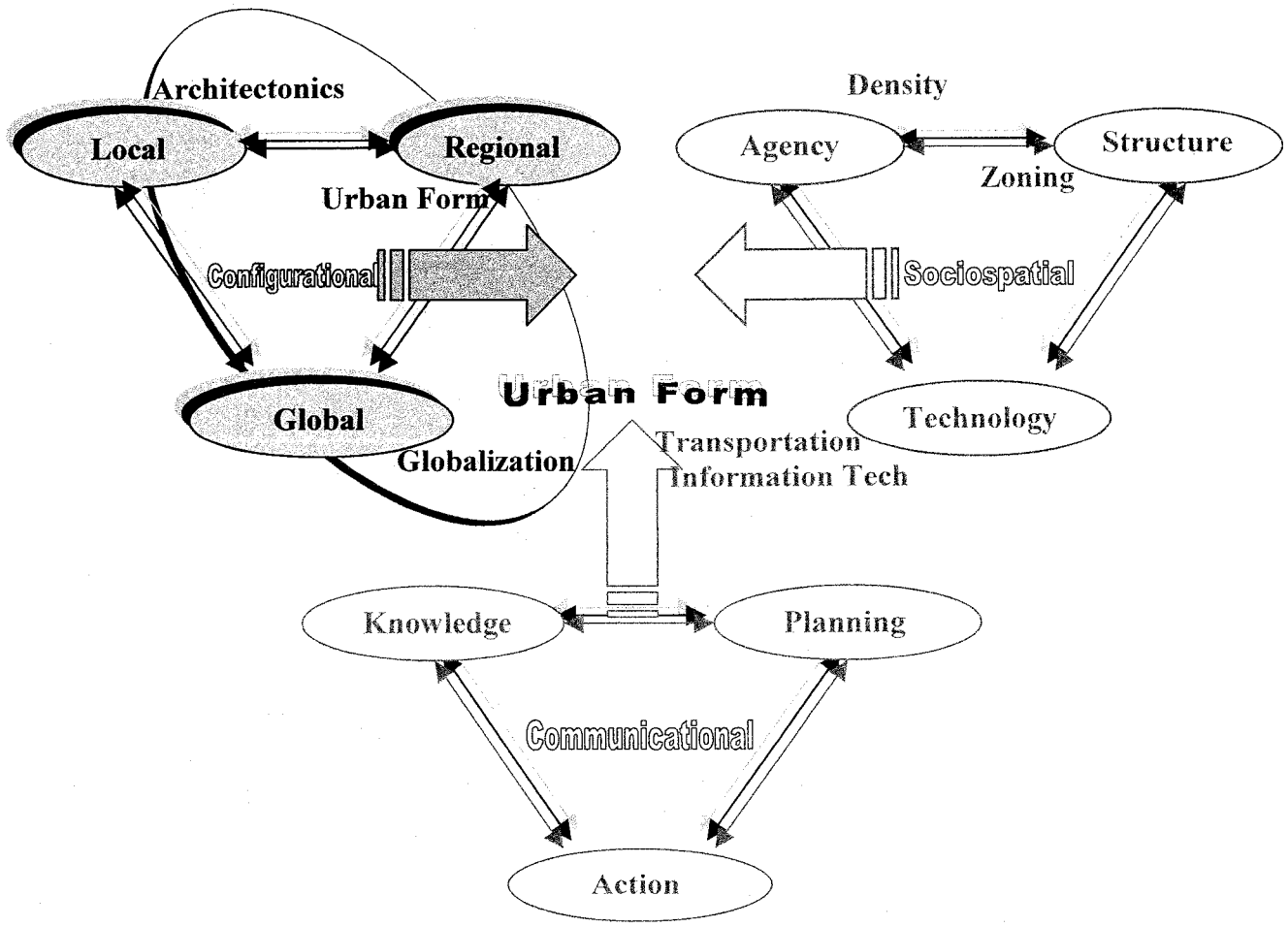


Fig. 9 Configurational Themes

The analysis of configurational themes is geared to identify variations among planners and architects' views regarding urban/suburban form dynamics, dialectics of physical and social space, and the potential impact of globalization on the future of metropolitan development patterns. **The main objective of configurational questions and subsequent analyses is to engage participants in rich dialogues that may reveal their positions regarding urban form dynamics and development scales most relevant to their alternative future visions.** Two general approaches are premised to emerge from data analyses:

- **Macro Regional & Global Approach:** professionals who use this approach tend to emphasize regional and global issues at the expense of the physical characteristics of urban space especially on a micro or neighbourhood level. Within this approach, urban design is dealt with as an afterthought or a window dressing exercise to embellish urban space. Urban form is perceived as an offshoot of social and economic functions but not vice versa. Built forms and architectural details have no impact on attitudes and cultural behaviours (a majority of planners are expected to dominate this group).

- **Micro Local Approach:** professionals who use this approach tend to emphasize local idiosyncrasies and public place dynamics. They deconstruct cities into finite structural units or neighbourhoods and conceive livable cities as made of well designed public spaces, good streetscapes, walkable and defined built enclosures, and human scaled urban spaces. Within this approach, professionals tend to ignore the dialectics of local, regional, and global development issues and perceive built forms as definers of the urban experience (a majority of architects are expected to dominate this group).

This research takes a balanced position that perceives urban form as shaped by the interrelated and inextricably linked dynamics of local, regional, and global investment and development decisions. Neighbourhoods, streets, and buildings envelop daily life and provide a context for living, shopping, working, and recreational experiences. However, the urban form cannot be simply understood as composed of finite elements or multiplied structural units (neighbourhoods). Metropolitan developments have created a new urban logic with highly decentralized and open economic systems within which local areas cannot be viably isolated from their regional surroundings. Global economic restructuring also impacts local and regional development decisions. In that sense, the modern urban form must be understood as the embodiment of local, regional, and global actions that need be integrated to enhance urban well-being.

4.5.1 Theme Four: Urban Form

Over the twentieth century, parts of the North American city have been described as urban or suburban based on their geographic location and/or physical characteristics. While suburban precincts have thrived over the last four decades, urban cores have relatively declined.

- **How do you perceive the urban/suburban dynamics in the twenty-first century?**
- **If you were to visualize a different and conceivably more livable growth pattern, how would you describe the new mix and what would be its major characteristics?**
- **How do you see Toronto in the light of the proposed vision?**

Theme Highlights:

Although not intended as the primary focus of the urban form theme, the new urbanism was discussed as research participants described their opinions in relation to new urbanist practices, developments, and claims of engendering a more socially palatable and ecologically innocuous urban growth alternative. Participants were generally divided into two camps with a majority (67%, 6 planners and 4 architects) opposing new urbanist ideas and practices and a smaller group (33%, 4 architects and 1 planner) embracing the new urbanism discourse and embracing its principles as a framework to enhance urban living. Participants' narratives touched on critical aspects and connected physical, social, and economic measures in assessing current urban and suburban patterns and proposing future alternative developments.

Data semantics generated two hypotheses. The primary hypothesis (p. 130) presented a majority view that described urban development processes in terms of individual preferences, existing infrastructure networks, regional dynamics, and real estate conventions. Participants indicated that North American cities require environmental and resource coordination on a regional scale of development. Development patterns should stem from an understanding of societal and cultural forces, political processes, and lifestyle options rather than a rigid system of abstract tools and static urban images. The secondary hypothesis (p. 131) summarized the views of a few participants who saw great promise in new urbanist principles and referred to the overwhelming public acceptance of developed new urbanist communities. Three sub-hypotheses can be identified in participants' narratives including:

Perspective: A sub-hypothesis exemplifying participants' understanding of city building processes and an assessment of current development patterns.

Context: A sub-hypothesis linking participants' elaboration on built form dynamics and the interview region (Toronto).

Alternative: A sub-hypothesis delineating participants' visions for the future of urban developments and measures to maintain and enhance the quality of life in North American cites.

Data chart (C-8) (p. 130) represents the views of practitioners who made a strong point of refuting the new urbanist pronouncement of being able to provide a real alternative to suburbia. Many commented that density in such developments tends to be similar or slightly higher than in regular suburbs especially within a Canadian context. They also referred to the very limited scope within new urbanist developments with respect to a mix of functions and more importantly a fusion of social strata. Some new urbanist communities lack commercial and other cultural components, and eventually ended up escalating the number of quintessential 'green field' suburban developments. Practitioners indicated that new urbanist developments were either victims of their own success, which bolstered their property values and made them prohibitively expensive for even some middle class segments, or they were already geared to higher income bracket population. Moreover, new urbanist developments were viewed as entirely dependent on the private automobile; the major difference between regular suburbs and new urbanist developments was manifested in the concealment of garages from house fronts to back lanes. Several practitioners characterized ornamental gestures and front porches as "lip service" to good urban design or communal practices. Some even went further and dubbed the architectural and planning codes generally incorporated in new urbanist communities as dogmatic and potentially adding to the restrictions that exist in zoning regulations. Participants commented that cities grow and change over time and defy the static vision of new urbanism that more or less resembles zoning, albeit with slightly different outcomes. New urbanist canons, many participants commented, typically result in frozen built forms with a limited potential for future adaptations.

Participants generally viewed Toronto as an exceptional case that does not represent the common state of affairs in many North American cities. The sociospatial mismatch and glaring social and economic disparities between suburban localities and core areas in many North American cities is not the norm in Toronto. Well known for its ethnic and multicultural diversity, Toronto's downtown, suburbs and 'Edge Cities' are more socially and spatially integrated with a relative mix of residential tenures and social classes. Toronto did not have its core evacuated and the downtown area continues to attract people to work, live, and enjoy diverse forms of cultural entertainment. Participants also commented that

downtown Toronto remains the primary employment centre in the region and houses a sizable middle class population living in older renovated homes as well as newly built condominium apartments. The region also boasts a somewhat unvarying distribution of public goods and services including education and health facilities. Despite the recently declining quality of transit service and ridership in the region, many participants indicated that Toronto has one of the most efficient public transit facilities in North America. They particularly referred to the high quality of service provided by the GO train that secures about twenty five percent of its daily ridership from suburban locations along the train corridor. Most participants endorsed the enactment of an urban development ban in environmentally sensitive areas such as the Oak Ridges Moraine and the naturally distinct terrain of the Niagara escarpment. Some also contended that some form of contextual greenbelt policy would be instrumental to encourage urban intensification within existing urban areas. Alternative urban scenarios included a kind of nucleated urban form with a chain of high-density urban nodes permeated by a hierarchical distribution of low to medium density suburban environments. This urban form was characterized as a nodal metropolis with transportation hubs at high-density centres connected by transit corridors along which a mix of car-oriented and transit-based suburbs could grow.

A few participants, on the other hand, supported new urbanism and attributed the lack of transit and commercial facilities in some of the new urbanist communities to the archaic nature of zoning regulations and development apparatuses. Current property and development systems, participants claimed, are geared to maintaining the status quo and sustaining low-density suburban housing and strip commercial corridors. With respect to market dynamics, they indicated that people were never offered a full range of housing options thus artificially creating a preference for low-density suburban living. Participants referred to the dynamic visual and spatial aspects of new urbanist communities with well designed public squares, open spaces, and connected street environments. Despite the lack of transit facilities in most of these developments, they maintained that the walkable environment of new urbanist communities coupled with higher densities could support viable transit services in the future. Throughout the interviews, a few participants referred to cities such as London, Paris, and New York as teeming metropolises with vibrant and interesting urban centres. Nevertheless, they indicated that attaining such extreme densities is neither possible nor desired and most North American cities could benefit from a more relaxed approach with medium-density urban developments.

Data chart (C-9) (p. 131) summarizes the views of the latter group of participants, mostly architects, who equated new urbanism with good architectural and planning practices. Central to the culture of new urbanists, participants commented, is an emphasis on local context and mixed uses, urban regeneration, and the revival of the social and symbolic function of streets and public squares. They maintained that the morphology and perceptual dynamic of the urban environment is crucial to cultivate a sense of

belonging and spatial legibility: new urbanism pays particular attention to the street, the square, and building mass as determinative of urban space. This explains why the new urbanism has a renewed interest in traditional urban and building typologies, which encompasses an impressive array of historically proven and livable built forms. Participants contended that elements such as building mass, building lines, streetscapes, vistas, ornaments, and the street grid have contributed to livability and vitality of traditional cities. They referred to the success of new urbanist communities around Toronto such as Cornell and Ingis Glen in Markham as well as Oakpark in Oakville. These communities embody many of the new urbanist principles including a mix of live/work arrangements, well-designed public spaces and walkable enclosures, and higher densities as well as retail activities within a walkable distance from residential areas. Participants contended that such developments have catalyzed a sense of community and civic pride that is generally missing from typical suburban developments. They promote new urbanism as a very promising alternative to prevailing suburban developments.

Participant architects maintained that the entrenchment of urban/suburban social and cultural disparities is a formula for urban stress and decay. In that respect, the new urbanism represents a fresh perspective and a favourable alternative for re-urbanizing North American cities. Architects contended that by reviving the morphology of street and civic architecture and reinstating the value of good design, new urbanism may contribute to restoring the lost sense of place and reviving many long-gone communal practices.

The central theme in the new urbanism vision is that 'good' cities are generally composed of clusters of neighbourhoods that give residents quick access to their daily needs within a maximum five-minute walking distance. A neighbourhood should be designed with a fine-grain urban grid with well-defined and visually stimulating streets and public spaces. The neighbourhood is the finite component of the city and the backbone of the urban community. Despite technological and transportation advancements, human imperatives are more or less the same. People generally need to participate in socially and culturally enriching communal experiences. Street and public space social encounters as well as cultural festivities make substantive contributions to a sense of personal wellbeing and belonging. Such experiences do not happen in a vacuum and require human-scaled blocks, usable public spaces, and visually dynamic built forms. At present, suburban patterns are completely dependent on the private automobile and lack the basic ingredients conducive to collective social and cultural dynamics. People increasingly resort to the privacy of their cars, homes, shopping malls, clubs, and so on, which tends to be elitist and disenfranchises large segments of the population and separates citizens along the lines of home ownership and social class (Chapter 2, p. 23-4) (Duany 1991; Calthorpe 1994, 2001; Gratz 1998; Kelbaugh 1997; Katz 1994).

Theme Four: Urban Form - 1

Data Analysis (C-8): Total No. Of Interviewees 15 (8 Architects – 7 Planners)

Primary Hypothesis:

Suburbanization has created a new urban geography that requires innovative regional policies of integration rather than antiquated and potentially irrelevant urban controls. The infrastructure supporting current development patterns including highways and road networks, financial systems, real estate conventions, public policies and above all continued preferences for low-density housing will propel and bolster suburbanization for several decades to come. Despite the evolving marginal public acceptance of mixed-use higher density urban configurations such as residential condominiums and multifamily dwellings, it will take more than a 'faddish' celebration of city life, and porch to porch communication to cultivate a social consensus on living in more socially integrated and transit-oriented communities. Coordinated socioeconomic, transportation, and ecological policies are indispensable for maintaining and enhancing quality of life in North American cities. Sprawling North American cities can be reintegrated with a mix of high-and-low-density developments responding to differing needs and aspirations of urban communities.

Sub-Categories: Approximations from Interviews

Perspective	Built forms stem from very sophisticated and inextricably linked systems of house building, transportation, marketing, state policies and lifestyle choices that still revolve around low-density suburbs. Regional expectations and plans for intensification should be tempered by an understanding of social and economic forces underlying the current development patterns. Public transit is an important backbone for integrated built forms and must be in place prior to full-scale urban developments.
Context	Toronto is not a typical North American city. The core districts continue to appreciate as desirable places to live and work. GO is currently subsidized, but it draws about 25% of its capture rate from suburban areas along the train corridor and holds the potential of catalyzing more concentrated developments if backed by a green belt policy preventing urban growth over the Oak Ridges Moraine and encouraging intensification within existing urban areas. Although Toronto suburbs bear a morphological semblance to their American counterparts, Toronto suburbs are more socially and spatially integrated.
Alternative	Good urban form is more than just manicured site planning practices and ornate houses with porches such as those espoused by the new urbanism. It entails environmental and resource coordination on a regional scale of development. It requires an understanding of social and cultural forces, development and political processes, and lifestyle options and individual preferences. For any alternative to succeed, it should consider both satisfying current aspirations for suburban life attributes, and planned intensification within existing urban boundaries. Revitalized derelict inner city properties, small town configurations, and low-density suburbs as well as street adapted mid-and-high-rise structures framing well articulated urban boulevards could all be part of an overall vibrant, transit oriented and ecologically benign metropolis.

General Remarks and Statistics

Almost 70 % (10) of interviewed practitioners are in general agreement with the provisions of the primary as well as sub-hypotheses. Among them, there are (4) architects and (6) planners.

While agreeing to most of the provisions mentioned, two interviewees showed a keen interest in setting urban form controls and guidelines that may ensure "good" visual and spatial relationships and endorsed design-based and specific site planning principles as conducive to more livable and sustainable built form. (1 architect & 1 planner)

Theme Four: Urban Form - 2

Data Analysis (C-9): Total No. Of Interviewees 15 (8 Architects – 7 Planners)

Secondary Hypothesis:

North American cities are witnessing structural changes in terms of housing choices and overall live/work arrangements. Recent consumer surveys and market indicators suggest a shift in preferences towards more vibrant urban and mixed-use communities and away from the socially secluded and culturally sterile suburban environs. This trend is validated by the success of new urbanist communities that offer higher densities and mixed-use live/work and shopping facilities within an integrated walkable and potentially transit connected small town fabric. The new urbanist tectonic and planning principles provide for a physically and socially integrated urban form through multiplying well-designed urban neighbourhoods capable of reviving community sentiments and achieving a functional mix and cultural diversity as well as a better modal split between walking and biking, public transit, and the private automobile.

Sub-Categories: Approximations from Interviews

Perspective

Current development patterns are not economically, socially, or environmentally sustainable. Unremittingly developed low-density suburbs on the urban periphery continue to extend the utility chord, increase congestion on highways, and further the social fragmentation of urban communities. People do not have access to a full range of housing options thus creating an outright preference for the suburban home over the dense, crowded, and presumably unsafe conditions of inner city areas. The new urbanism provides medium-density mixed-use urban communities that are gaining public preference over mono-zoned low-density suburbs and commercial strips.

Context

New urbanist communities are sprouting in Toronto and various Ontario cities. Notable among them are Cornell and Ingis Glen in Markham as well as Oakpark in Oakville. They generally offer a mix of live/work arrangements, and daily retail needs within a walking distance. While not yet connected to transit lines, they hold the potential of supporting viable transit service because of their relatively higher densities and pleasant walkable environment. Cornell delivers a much higher quality public and open spaces compared to other low-density suburbs and many people continue to demand a similar quality of living.

Alternative

Over the last four decades, North American growth patterns have followed the single-use suburban mode of development with its visually dull commercial strips and complete reliance on the private automobile. The fundamental physical design attributes of early twentieth century traditional neighbourhoods signified in walkable streets, human-scaled blocks, usable public spaces, and visually dynamic built forms seemed to have escaped the imagination of modern builders. While considering the current societal and economic changes in North American cities, new urbanism is reviving the morphology of street and civic architecture and reinstating the role of good urban design in creating a sense of place and encouraging communal practices. New urbanist developments place a premium on carefully designed and well-connected public squares and street networks.

General Remarks and Statistics

One third of interviewed practitioners (5) agree generally with provisions of secondary hypothesis and its sub-categories. Among them, there are (4) architects and (1) planner.

These respondents were generally supportive and optimistic regarding the prospects of the new urbanism and the positive influence it could have on the future growth of North American cities. Yet, they have tended to temper their support with doubts as to the viability of such bound community projects without the corresponding regional planning schemas and transit facilities.

Urban Form Theme Descriptors:

Urban form descriptors are instrumental in highlighting the differences between architects and planners' perceptions on the future of urbanity. Descriptor definitions were generally grounded in professional and scholarly literature and theoretical research in chapter two and three. Urban form descriptors encompass a variety of issues including the future of urban/suburban dynamics, livable growth patterns, and the kinds of policies and built form controls required to achieve such visions. Descriptors were communicated to participants subsequent to their free dialogue on issues related to the urban form theme. Participants were generally invited to select the descriptors that closely approximated their views. To pinpoint participants' positions, descriptors were deliberately defined and communicated in dichotomous terms.

However, a few participants expressed ideas that fall in between descriptor constructs, which warranted the addition of a 'middle ground' definition for two major sets of communicated descriptors. When participants were faced with a choice between architecturally oriented controls like the new urbanism codes, or laissez faire consumer-driven codes, some contended that a combined or middle ground approach would come closer to their views. A middle ground descriptor was also needed to meet with participants' responses to the choice between green belt policies and ecologically driven urban boundaries. Middle ground descriptors were also justified by data semantics since some participants qualified their answers to urban form descriptors and their views did not quite match descriptor definitions.

Descriptor discussions have substantially enriched these dialogues and added significant information that highlight discrepancies among architects and planners regarding the understanding of city-building processes. There was an overwhelming consensus among research participants on favouring nucleated or nodal urban forms with a hierarchical mix of low, medium, and high-density configurations over teeming metropolitan formations similar to European cities such as London or Paris. Such a consensus was later shattered by the evident chasm between planners and architects' views regarding strategies and controls required for realizing an essentially unified urban vision. This is attributed to the deep and entrenched divide between architects and planners' intellectual and professional experiences as well as the level of engagement in urban development activities. Graphs G-5, G-6, and G-7 (p. 135-37) and summary chart C-10 (p. 138) graphically illustrate the results of urban form descriptor analyses. Urban form theme descriptors were defined as follows:

Teeming Metropolis:

The re-urbanization strategies of North American cities should be geared to create vibrant and culturally diverse centralized metropolises akin to well-established European cities such as Paris and London. The intensified economic and physical presence of these centralized urban centres support effective public transit services and reduce the ecological footprint of an otherwise geographically dispersed and fragmented urban form.

Nucleated Metropolis:

North American cities are inherently different from their European counterparts. The regional and geographic characteristics of the land provide for a relaxed development approach with less dense urban configurations. North American cities are better off with controlled decentralization urban strategies that permit car-oriented low-density suburban patterns to coexist with transit-served medium-density urban nodes

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Urban Growth Boundary:

North American cities should put a cap on suburban sprawl through defining clear urban boundaries or green belts beyond which urban growth would be severely limited or permitted only under very stringent conditions. Publicly enforced growth boundaries are indispensable measures for promoting intensification within existing urban areas and encouraging transit-based developments. This should be accompanied by a variable tax system rewarding higher densities and shorter distances to existing utility networks.

Environmental Boundary:

Urban configurations and densities should be rooted in the potential impacts and relationships of human settlements to surrounding natural and environmentally sensitive regions. Studies for different territories would point to the most ecologically benign relationships between built forms and natural and wild life areas. While some regions may benefit from an intensified and compact urban presence, others may actually warrant dispersed and widely distributed settlement pattern.

Middle Ground:

North American cities should apply development measures such as green belts and variable tax systems to reduce suburban sprawl and encourage intensification within existing urban areas. This policy must also be accompanied by a thorough understanding of the ecological specifics of the local areas and surrounding regions.

New Urbanism Codes:

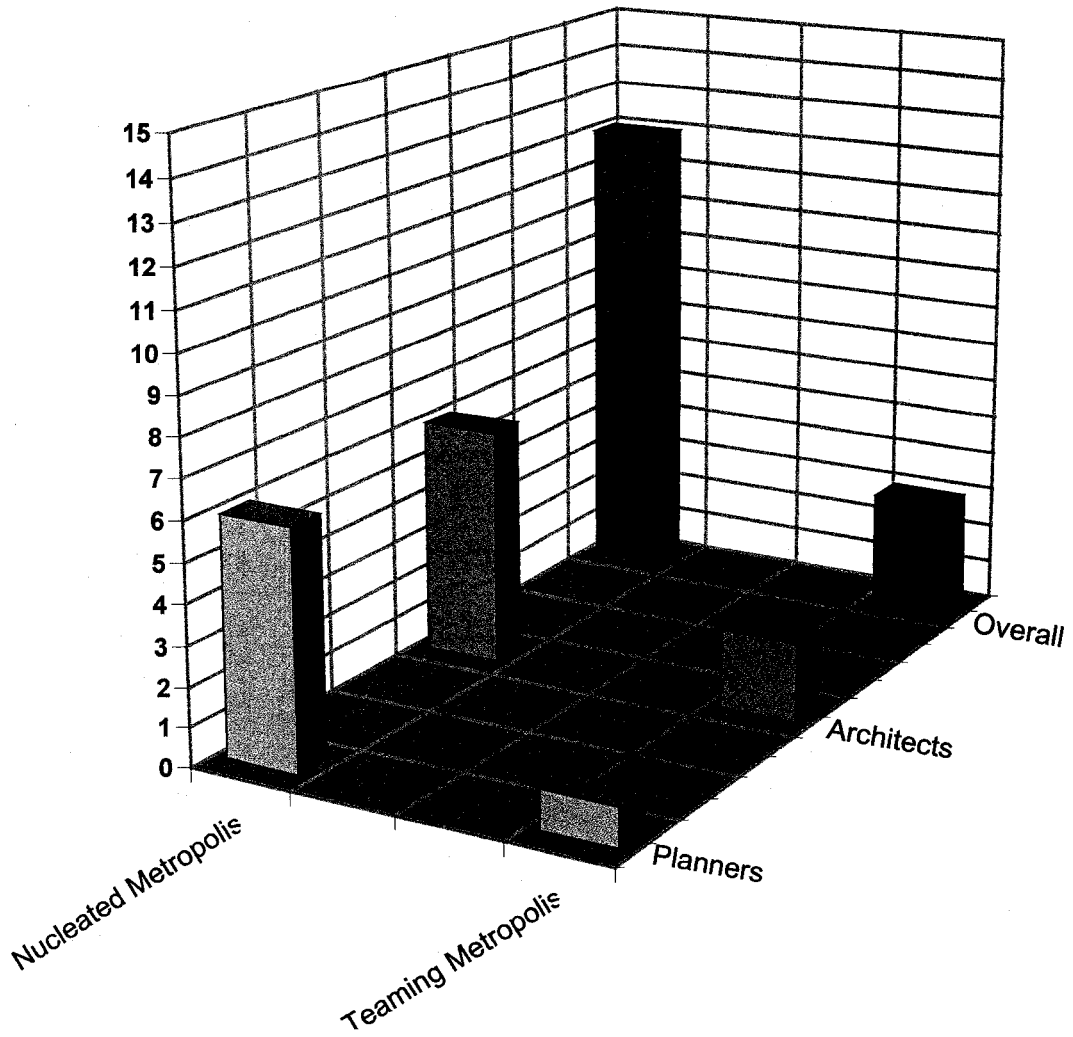
North American cities should replace the laissez-faire attitude towards visual and spatial characteristics of urban developments with a set of guidelines and strategies that ensure the quality of public squares, open spaces, and streets. The new urbanism codes have generally encouraged visually rich and spatially coordinated built forms. The codes that are imbedded within new urbanist development schemes play an important role in improving the visual dynamics and creating a pleasantly walkable living environment.

Consumer Codes:

Urban developments should follow a set of broadly defined guidelines to manage the interrelationships between private and public realms without constraining individual preferences and confining choices into right or wrong types of environments. Cities as well as individual dispositions should be allowed to change and grow over time reflecting social and cultural transformations. Within a flexible development control process, consumers' choices, purchasing decisions and property values coupled with general and permitting site planning principles have the potential of generating culturally grounded and livable built forms.

Middle Ground:

There should be a mix of broadly defined and flexible development measures that permit diverse built forms and patterns to coexist and also specific site planning guidelines to ensure the quality of the public realm.

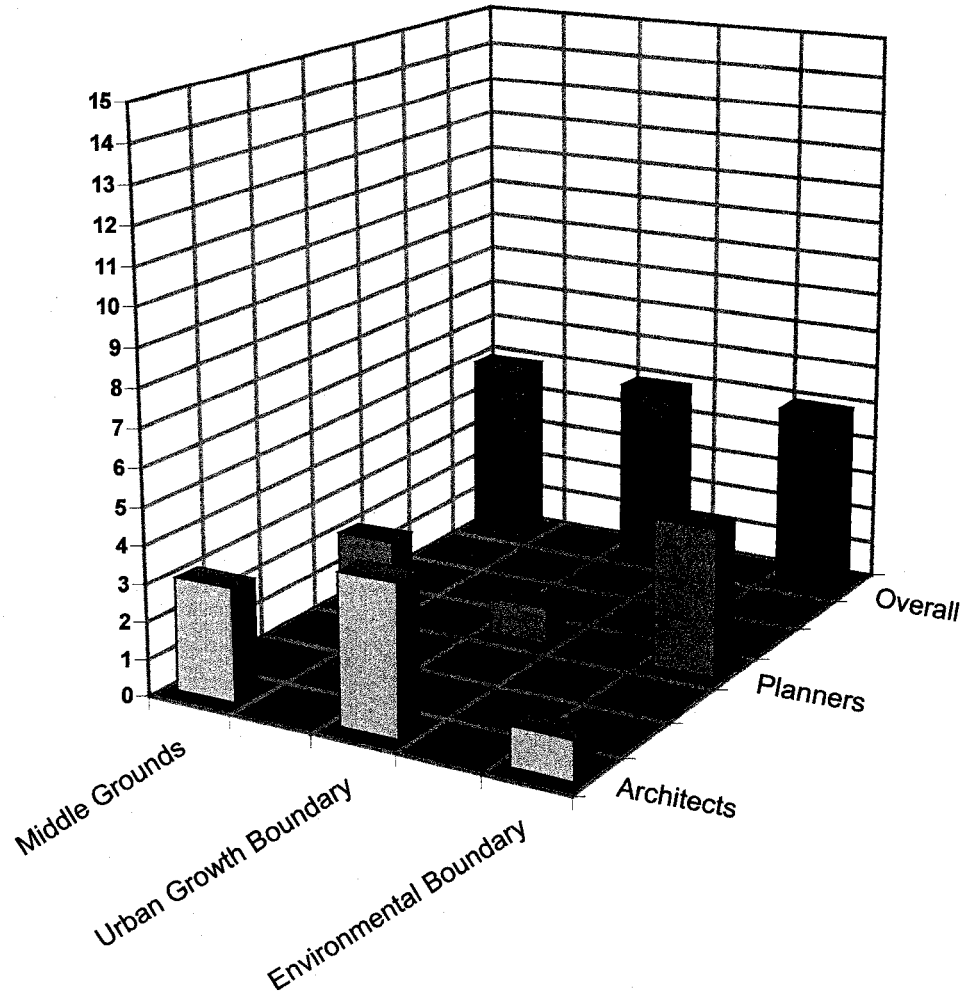


Urban Form Descriptors - 1

Data Analysis (G-5): Total No. Of Interviewees 15 (8 Architects – 7 Planners)

Teeming Metropolis:
The re-urbanization strategies of North American cities should be geared to create vibrant and culturally diverse centralized metropolises akin to well-established European cities such as Paris and London. The intensified economic and physical presence of these centralized urban centres support effective public transit services and reduce the ecological footprint of an otherwise geographically dispersed and fragmented urban form.

Nucleated Metropolis:
North American cities are inherently different from their European counterparts. The regional and geographic characteristics of the land provide for a relaxed development approach with less dense urban configurations. North American cities are better off with controlled decentralization urban strategies that permit car-oriented low-density suburban patterns to coexist with transit-served medium-density urban nodes



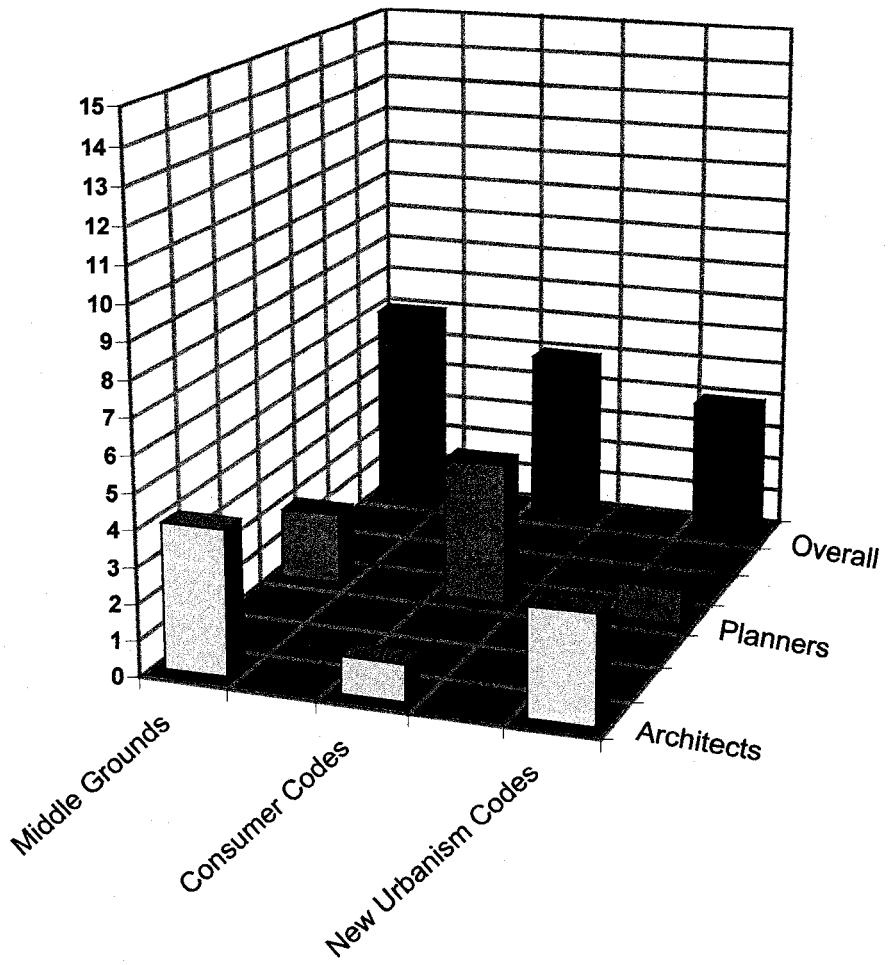
Urban Form Descriptors - 2

Data Analysis (G-6): Total No. Of Interviewees 15 (8 Architects – 7 Planners)

Urban Growth Boundary:
North American cities should put a cap on suburban sprawl through defining clear urban boundaries or green belts beyond which urban growth would be severely limited or permitted only under very stringent conditions. Publicly enforced growth boundaries are indispensable measures for promoting intensification within existing urban areas and encouraging transit-based developments. This should be accompanied by a variable tax system rewarding higher densities and shorter distances to existing utility networks.

Environmental Boundary:
Urban configurations and densities should be rooted in the potential impacts and relationships of human settlements to surrounding natural and environmentally sensitive regions. Studies for different territories would point to the most ecologically benign relationships between built forms and natural and wild life areas. While some regions may benefit from an intensified and compact urban presence, others may actually warrant a dispersed and widely distributed settlement pattern.

Middle Ground:
North American cities should apply development measures such as green belts and variable tax systems to reduce suburban sprawl and encourage intensification within existing urban areas. This policy must also be accompanied by a thorough understanding of the ecological specifics of the local areas and surrounding regions.



Urban Form Descriptors - 3

Data Analysis (G-7): Total No. Of Interviewees 15 (8 Architects – 7 Planners)

New Urbanism Codes:
North American cities should replace the laissez-faire attitude towards visual and spatial characteristics of urban developments with a set of guidelines and strategies that ensure the quality of public squares, open spaces, and streets. The new urbanism codes have generally encouraged visually rich and spatially coordinated built forms. The codes that are imbedded within new urbanist development schemes play an important role in improving the visual dynamics and creating a pleasantly walkable living environment.

Consumer Codes:
Urban developments should follow a set of broadly defined guidelines to manage the interrelationships between private and public realms without constraining individual preferences and confining choices into right or wrong types of environments. Cities as well as individual dispositions should be allowed to change and grow over time reflecting social and cultural transformations. Within a flexible development control process, consumers' choices, purchasing decisions and property values coupled with general and permitting site planning principles have the potential of generating culturally grounded and livable built forms.

Middle Ground:
There should be a mix of broadly defined and flexible development measures that permit diverse built forms and patterns to coexist and also specific site planning guidelines to ensure the quality of the public realm.

Summary of Urban Form Descriptors

Data Analysis (C-10): Total No. Of Interviewees 15 (8 Architects – 7 Planners)

Urban Form Descriptors	Generally Agree		
	Architects	Planners	Overall
Teeming Metropolis	2	1	3
Nucleated Metropolis	6	6	12
Growth Boundary	4	1	5
Environmental Boundary	1	4	5
Middle Grounds	3	2	5
New Urbanism Codes	3	1	4
Consumer Codes	1	4	5
Middle Grounds	4	2	6

The urban form descriptor graphs and chart (G-5, G-6, G-7, and C-10) (p. 135-38) are instrumental in highlighting practitioners' views and differences. There is a near consensus among architects and planners on the merits of nucleated urban forms rather than teeming high-density metropolises such as London, Paris, and New York. However, the descriptor responses revealed a relative disparity in the mechanics of actualizing such visions. When faced with a choice between urban growth boundaries and ecologically contingent developments, more planners selected the latter option while fifty percent of interviewed architects voted in favour of a stringent greenbelt policy capable of thwarting land speculation and contributing to intensification within existing urban areas. Some architects were generally dismissive of the assumption within the environmental boundary descriptor that dispersed settlement patterns for a given population and geographic region may be less ecologically detrimental than a compact form.

Some practitioners from both camps disputed the environmental boundary descriptor altogether and commented that social ecology within human settlements is as important as environmental ecology and neither should be given primacy over the other. They argued that there must be a balance between socioeconomic and environmental objectives in defining and developing livable built forms. Some practitioners asserted that urban densities and spatial relations should be considered on their own merits and simultaneously correlated with ecological concerns. Their views were captured in the middle ground descriptor, which included measures for capping suburban sprawl and increasing urban densities within an ecologically sensitive development approach. Though practitioners of the latter group selected the middle ground, they were divided in terms of urban development and ecological priorities. Some (mostly architects) conceptualized viable urban developments with reduced ecological impact on the natural environment. Others (mostly planners) asserted that urban configurations should be subordinated to environmental concerns or risk jeopardizing the very existence of human settlements.

A similar distinction was seen in the last set of urban form descriptors. More architects indicated their preference for new urbanism or more specific architectural and urban design guidelines to ensure the quality of built forms. Planners, on the other hand, were generally in favour of context and consumer driven built form regulations. While sharing the overall vision of the future built form, each camp of professionals set different priorities for urban growth and environmental aspects. This was manifested in the transition from near consensus on nucleated urban form in the first descriptor graph to fairly divided views in second and third graphs regarding strategies required to realize an essentially unified urban vision.

Urban Form Theme Discussion:

Participants' views generally echo much of the theoretical analyses and research that contributed to the preparation of the interview protocol. The urban form theme dialogue was shaped and to some extent distorted by discussions of the new urbanism. However, the combination of data semantics of participants' dialogues and descriptor analyses revealed some fundamental variations among planners and architects regarding urban development and control processes.

Most planners advanced a somewhat regional framework of urban and suburban formations that are firmly grounded in economic, geographic, political, and cultural processes (Chapter 2, p. 25-9). In a similar vein to structuration (Chapter 2, p. 16-17; Gottdiener 1994), planners asserted that spatial and physical configurations primarily express cultural dynamics involving individual or instrumental action (Agency Theory) and secondarily express social forces that embody both economic and political structures (Structuralism Approach) (Chapter 2, p. 16-17; Castells 1977; Harvey 1978). They indicated that the vast bulk of suburbanization took place as a result of lifestyle choices, which were subsequently augmented and heavily supported by a sophisticated infrastructure of house building, transportation, marketing, and state and financial policies. Enormous public expenditures were directed into infrastructure projects coupled with zoning regulations and tax incentives for homebuyers. However, planners maintained that government and development industry efforts were actually reflecting latent cultural, middle class aspirations for suburban living. Individual actions and purchasing decisions have entered the system and in a sense provided the impetus for urban/suburban development dynamics over the last four to five decades.

Planners asserted that over the last half-century suburbanization has created a new urban geography with polycentric metropolitan structures that are internally and externally different from the traditional bounded mono-centred cities. The downtown of traditional cities comprised the bulk of its employment and business activities. Housing districts were geographically and economically inseparable from the city centres. The downtown and residential neighbourhoods in traditional models were highly interdependent and interstitial geography was governed by limited transportation choices. A massive suburbanization movement and a revolution in transportation and communication technologies encouraged the advent of the modern polycentric city. The question of "which came first, transportation or suburbanization?" was perceived by many planners as irrelevant because both were highly intertwined and progressed concurrently as a result of social, economic, and cultural dynamics. Planners maintained that the polycentric metropolitan form could not be simply explained in terms of an expansion in the urban geography or a population growth that led to a multiplied urban structure of the older traditional town. Planners views were corroborated by various literary sources that described the

modern polycentric city as a totally new urban structure predicated on both 'scale' and 'open' economies (Chapter 2, p. 25-9) (Bogart 1998; Gottdiener 1994; Hise 1997; O'Sullivan 1996; Monkkenen 1988). Polycentric models allow for a variety of employment, industrial, commercial, and residential nuclei throughout the urban region. The tacit assumption is that different parts of the metropolitan area will specialize in certain services and trade with other parts for other services. Thus, the modern city is not a compounded development of the traditional city but rather a new form of decentralized settlement space that requires innovative regional policies of integration rather than antiquated and potentially irrelevant urban controls.

Planners contended that this settlement space cannot be chiefly attributed to land use controls, building codes, development practices, or government policies. While regulatory frameworks and development industry dynamics undeniably played an important role, it was rather the dialectic between consumer actions and societal and economic structures that shaped modern decentralized urban formations. Unlike the confined social space of traditional cities, the modern city's public life has been fragmented and reinstated within a new framework of private backyards, private clubs, shopping malls, hierarchical employment nodes, parks, and so on. Most planners maintained that the infrastructure supporting the modern form of space including highways and road networks, financial systems, real estate practices, public policies, and above all the continued public preference for low-density suburban housing will propel and bolster suburbanization for several decades to come. Planners neither perceive fundamental problems arising from dispersed urban spaces nor predict significant structural changes in the modern metropolis over the next half-century. However, they asserted that coordinated socioeconomic, transportation, and ecological policies are needed to maintain and enhance quality of life in North American cities.

Architects' narratives were initially fragmented around the new urbanism architectural and planning principles that most participants used as a starting point for their discussion regarding the future of urban form. However, the ensuing data investigation and descriptor analyses revealed some of the underlying structures in architects' positions. While resenting the physicalist orientation within the new urbanism movement, some architects provided another physicalist vision that is not intrinsically different from the new urbanism model. They suggested a more urban-centred design scenario that is rooted in traditional (mostly European) urban form and building typologies. Architects generally considered the new urbanism as an extension of 'business as usual' in building low-density suburbs. The proposed alternative vision emphasized intensification within existing urban boundaries and creation of integrated neighbourhoods with mix of uses. The underlying issue that seemed to unite architects' conceptions was the role of the built form on a local neighbourhood scale in imparting certain perceptual and psychological dynamics in space users. Urban livability in architects' descriptions was

hinged on the notion of well-designed built environments with walkable enclosures, mix of uses, and legible as well as imageable spaces. Reviving the social and symbolic functions of streets and public spaces was seen as inevitable to enliven cities and restore a lost sense of place. Visual and spatial dynamics as well as architectural details were described as essential components of livable neighbourhoods. Physical elements such as vistas, urban axes, building walls, heights, and decorative details figured prominently in architects' narratives as cornerstones for organizing urban space and igniting the culture of a community. Architects concatenated pedestrian movement patterns with the spatial structure and allocation of uses through urban space as well as relationships between buildings, streets, sidewalks, and so on; if such relationships are not correctly configured, urban spaces get depleted of pedestrian activities and show signs of decay. Architects maintained that reducing functional overlaps and densities tend to eliminate crucial social and cultural patterns including sense of safety that contribute to urban well-being.

Resonating with theoretical premises of postmodern urbanists (Chapter 2, p. 22-4), most participating architects showed a renewed interest in traditional urban forms and building typologies. They contended that traditional built forms encompass a rich configurational variety that could be adapted to modern uses. The premise is that technological advancements and functional imperatives of the modern metropolis did not change basic human needs. The traditional compact neighbourhood with a mix of residential types and retail activities within walkable distances would still be effective and capable of satisfying spatial and functional imperatives of the modern metropolis. Architects generally conceptualized the livable metropolis as a cluster of walkable, well-designed neighbourhoods. A city formed like this was seen as livable, economically efficient, and environmentally as well as transit friendly. Participating architects perceived the city as deconstructable into smaller neighbourhoods or smaller cities within bigger cities. Land use, economics, social formations, and densities were all part of this view of a multipliable spatial and physical anatomy that leads to synergistic urban fabrics with attributes of well-being and excitement typical of successful and largely 'traditional' cities.

4.5.2 Theme Five: Architectonics

There is a continuous debate on the relationship between the physical characteristics of urban space (e.g. street width, building heights, building lines, architectural details, entrance porches, streetscapes, etc.) and the behavioural and social norms of urban residents. Some professionals have prescribed detailed design guidelines for successful urban spaces.

- **How do you see this relationship?**
- **What physical contexts do you think may be conducive to a more livable urban experience?**
- **How would you explain Toronto's success and desirability compared to other North American cities?**

Theme Highlights:

There was a common agreement among most interviewees on the importance of physical form and design aspects in enhancing the urban experience. However, there was a major difference in the participants' descriptions that split their views along professional lines into two major hypotheses. The First Hypothesis (p. 146) represents the views of architects who maintained that there is a clear correlation between physical forms and social and cultural attitudes of people. They asserted that well-designed urban environments and public spaces instil a sense of place and encourage communal practices that have the potential to achieve a sense of safety and security in urban areas. The second hypothesis (p. 147) exemplified the views of most planners who appreciated the role of design and physical form as only one component among other highly interrelated social and economic aspects contributing to the quality of life in cities. Built form and design details did not figure in their narratives as particularly facilitating benign social and cultural behaviours. They described the urban experience as a result of economic, social, and environmental factors that may include form as a dependent variable rather than being a generator of cultural attitudes. Three sub-hypotheses were identified as representative of the narratives of architects and planners including:

Perspective: A sub-hypothesis exemplifying the views of participant groups regarding the reciprocal relationship between physical design and cultural behaviours.

Context: A sub-hypothesis linking participants' narratives with contextual descriptions from the interview region (Toronto).

Socioeconomics: A sub-hypothesis reflecting participants' views regarding the dialectics between social space and physical space.

Chart (C-11) (p. 146) summarizes the views of the architects who expressed a profound conviction regarding the merits of good physical form both on micro and macro levels of urban development. They indicated that certain urban configurations have the potential of catalyzing communal and social practices that are unlikely to be achieved otherwise. Built form was described as a vehicle or an agent capable of actualizing social and economic objectives. Mixing residential, employment, and commercial uses, maintaining continuity of building lines and ground retail frontage; achieving human scale and well-designed building facades; and creating well-defined and enclosed urban rooms were all seen as conducive to walkability and livability of human living arrangements. While referring to the significance of addressing social, economic, and environmental concerns, most participating architects viewed the built form as the connecting element, which must conform to the aforementioned characteristics. They emphasized the need for enacting regulations and guidelines ensuring the quality of built forms and achieving a synergy between public and private realms.

Chart (C-12) (p. 147) presents the views of the interviewed planners who referred to the physical form as only one among other variables that impact the life of urban and suburban residents. While acknowledging the role of built forms in human life, they indicated that lifestyle choice and social and cultural aspirations shape built forms and not vice versa. Most planners disputed the prospect of promoting benign social behaviours or encouraging communal practices by imposing certain built forms through regulatory processes. They asserted that such regulations would constitute an infringement on private property rights with the potential of curtailing civic engagement and the ability of people to choose their living conditions. Planners commented favourably on traditional built forms and referred to the appeal of many places in North America and Europe but they cautioned that most North Americans are not prepared for such high densities, tight built forms, or the degree of mix of uses typical of traditional cities. They generally disagreed with the idea of translating traditional built forms into laws and rigid design protocols to guide development practices in North American cities. Most planners commented that enforcing such regulations would create repeat growth patterns and hinder the evolution of built forms capable of supporting the economic and social institutions of postindustrial cities.

Preliminary discussions with the majority of practitioners indicated an overall agreement on the instrumentality of physical forms and well-designed urban spaces in heightening urban safety and security and enhancing livability of cities. Differences surfaced when participants were asked about the enactment of regulatory processes to control development and ensure the quality of built forms. While architects described the built form as an independent factor capable of changing social and cultural behaviours, planners viewed the built form as a dependent variable shaped and reshaped by social and cultural practices. Most architects referred to certain built forms as successful and recommended the realisation of detailed protocols to regulate urban development. Planners, on the other hand, referred to the importance of encouraging civic decision-making and normative actions that dictate development controls without detailed architectural or physical regulations that usurp individual rights and restrain evolving economic, social, and cultural changes.

Theme Five: Architectonics - 1

Data Analysis (C-11): Total No. Of Interviewees 15 (8 Architects – 7 Planners)

First Hypothesis:

There is a clear correlation between the physical form and the social and cultural attitudes of people. Well-designed urban environments and public spaces have the potential to encourage certain social practices that are otherwise difficult to achieve. Urban experience is very much enhanced by walkable enclosures and interesting built forms that excite people and further the use of urban space over the course of a day. Particular physical configurations are conducive to communal behaviours and a heightened sense of safety and security in the public realm.

Sub-Categories: Approximations from Interviews

Perspective

To reduce the use of the automobile, there must be certain amenities and physical configurations conducive to walking, biking, and other modes of transport. This is why urban residents like to walk in downtown areas with well-defined and enclosed streets, continuous building lines and retail frontage, and diverse and contrasting architectural facades. Human scale, the interface between buildings and streets, and the overall architectural quality of buildings adjacent to public squares and streets are significant determinants of successful and livable urban spaces.

Context

Cabbagetown, Bloor West, the Annex, Union Ville, The St. Lawrence neighbourhood, and some new urbanist communities such as Cornell provide very good examples of livable urban environments. These localities are characterized by a synergy between private and public realms, mixed uses and building types, grid or modified grid networks, short blocks, and socially animated street environments. The physical configuration of streets and public spaces in these areas contributes to their success and livability. This can be contrasted to typical suburban areas where garages and driveways dominate streets, and houses face away from the public realm. The lack of vitality and street life in typical suburban areas is mostly attributed to low-densities, single-use, undefined, and interrupted street networks.

Socioeconomics

Physical, social, and economic planning concerns that affect the life of urban residents should be addressed simultaneously in order to create symbiosis between individual needs and built forms. Good design and physical characteristics can play an important role in promoting favourable social behaviours and further cultural integration among urban communities. There is a degree of synergy between the physical form and the socioeconomic success of urban neighbourhoods. If the public realm is attractive enough to make people leave the car and walk more then retail businesses are supported and streets animated by pedestrian movement that creates a sense of safety and security in public areas.

General Remarks and Statistics

More than 50 % (8) of the interviewed practitioners are in general agreement with the provisions of the first hypothesis and sub-categories. Among them, there are (6) architects and (2) planners.

Participants supporting the terms of this hypothesis generally recommend that cities should enact a set of planning regulations and design protocols in order to maintain the quality of the public realm. Such regulations and guidelines would include stipulations for building alignments, heights, façades, sidewalk requirements, and overall architectural and spatial considerations leading to interesting and walkable built forms.

While agreeing to most of the provisions of first and sub-hypotheses, one of the participants asserted that controls should not be too invasive as to stifle the creativity of designers and cast an aura of uniformity on built forms.

Theme Five: Architectonics - 2

Data Analysis (C-12): Total No. Of Interviewees 15 (8 Architects – 7 Planners)

Second Hypothesis:

Physical form is a one component of many that interrelate to create a livable urban environment. Urban configurations should be responsive to peoples' social and cultural aspirations. People shape built forms to satisfy particular needs and facilitate certain forms of living and not vice versa. There is no direct or discernible relationship between physical form and social behaviour of urban residents. The urban experience is a result of economic, social, and environmental factors that may include form as a dependent variable rather than a producer of cultural action.

Sub-Categories: Approximations from Interviews

Perspective	Physical design per se cannot cure social malaise or impart benign cultural and communal behaviours. While traditional cities have generally transpired proven and exquisite design examples, cities should be wary of creating rulebooks and rigid design patterns which limit peoples' creativity and constrict their living options. Imposing specific and detailed architectural and building requirements tends to create repeat growth patterns and hamper the development of built forms capable of supporting the economic and social institutions of postindustrial cities. Micro-level design interventions in public squares may foster a better urban experience but not recommended as a blanket treatment on a regional development level.
Context	Toronto contains a variety of livable communities such as the Annex, Rosedale, Leaside, Cabbagetown, Bloor West, The St. Lawrence, and many other established neighbourhoods in and outside the urban core. These urban and suburban communities with diverse and occasionally contrasting built forms are successful because they are part of an economically and socially vibrant region that boasts close to 50 percent of the national Canadian economy. Symptoms of social debility apparent in some other areas such as Regent Park or James Town is not necessarily owing to their physical forms but rather the result of isolation and concentration of low-income population groups in these areas. Forcing strict building regimes in localities such as Cornell did not precipitate social and cultural patterns that are different from typical suburban neighbourhoods.
Socioeconomics	Civic-decision making should be encouraged to create a synergy between socioeconomic and physical development patterns. There is no amount of physical design that can make peoples' life better if the broad structural features of the urban environment are flawed. Design or physical form can hardly foster community feelings, compensate for the lack of jobs, and improve deteriorating health and education amenities, or mend ailing transit systems. Interfering with peoples' lives and imposing subjective standards on their ways of building and living creates societal tensions and usurp their rights for deciding the kind of environment and life they want to lead.

General Remarks and Statistics

Almost 50 % (7) of the interviewed practitioners are in general agreement with the provisions of the second hypothesis and sub -categories. (5) Planners and (2) Architects

This group of participants was generally skeptic of the role of design or form in fostering good social behaviours or heightening communal feelings. They opposed strict protocols to regulate built form. There has been varied reasoning for opposing such detailed regulatory process. Most planners expressed some concern for civic freedom and the ability of people to decide for their living conditions. Architects, on the other hand, contended that imposing such rules would adversely affect their architectural practice and limit their own ability to deliver the caliber of design services required by their clients. They maintained that detailed design formulas typically achieve minimum design levels and often suppress innovation.

Architectonics Theme Discussion:

Issues considered in this theme are essentially an extension of the urban form theme discussed earlier. While the urban form theme dealt with macro-level and spatial aspects of urban and suburban environments, the architectonics theme places more emphasis on micro-level urban space (e.g. a neighbourhood street or a public square). Participants' narratives of the urban form and architectonics themes overlap and generally provide a measure of validation for data analysis.

Implicit in the planners' narratives was the view that modern city configurations and metropolitan structures have created new urban challenges within regional economic, political, and social relations. The traditional neighbourhoods and street-based retail residential configurations are not the only models governing the polycentric modern city. While traditional neighbourhoods may coexist with suburban configurations, social and economic patterns have irrevocably changed. Regenerated main streets are no longer serving their local surroundings and much of the touted traditional city fabric has often become more of a regional indulgence that compliments other forms of decentralized living. Much of the regenerated central city businesses and residential activities are supported by high-income bracket of population who can move freely throughout the urban and suburban context and selectively avail of modern city conveniences. Planners' views generally echoed the theoretical premises previously analysed under the title of regional urban space theory (Chapter 2, p. 25-9).

Architects, on the other hand, emphasized the instrumentality of built forms and architectural configurations in shaping individual attitudes. They contended that built forms affect the way public spaces are used and experienced including the following views: Public spaces have the potential of igniting social sentiments such as a sense of place or safety and security in urban areas. There are architectural and configurational relationships that must be considered in designing streets and public squares in order to encourage benign social behaviours and communal practices. There is a degree of synergy between the physical form and the socioeconomic success of urban neighbourhoods. Human housing standards and basic needs remain unchanged and the physical envelope must support the social traditions and economics of the community. Architects' views generally echoed theoretical premises previously analyzed under the title 'local urban space theory' (Chapter 2, p. 21-4).

Planners and architects opinions occupied the opposite ends of a continuum linking social and economic practices on the one hand and the physical form on the other. While planners referred to fundamental shifts in economic and social practices in the modern city, their narratives were generally devoid of the conceptual structures that correlate such regional changes to the day-to-day life of urban residents. Their narratives fell short of advancing an operational perspective of how these urban transformations may be translated into economically workable and socially livable neighbourhoods.

Though architects' narratives provided some descriptions of potential livable urban configurations, they generally ignored current development patterns and the economic and social machinations of the modern metropolis. Architects' conceptual frameworks were structured around the notion of the street, the neighbourhood, and buildings as definitive of the urban experience. Urban transformations of the modern city were often described as imposed by regulatory policies or artificially sustained by political and capitalist requirements. Architects' ideas about city configurations and planners' conceptions of social and economic relations were not reconcilable in an integrative reading of current urban changes let alone prescribing theories for future development.

As indicated by Gottdiner and Soja as well as other theorists, urban space is social morphology and it is intimately bound with function, which means that social and spatial aspects are inextricably linked and we cannot speak of socioeconomics without physical form and vice versa. Urban morphological features are shaped by structural and individual modes of behaviour, which are consequently moulded by the evolving spatial and physical parameters of urban space. This is a dynamic and evolutionary process that can hardly be grasped by fragmented and isolated interpretations (Lefebvre 1991; Gottdiener 1994: Hillier 1996; Soja 2000).

4.5.3 Theme Six: Globalization

"Globalization" is a term that is frequently used in recent urban planning publications to denote the changes in the spatial patterns of modern and future cities. It refers to economic and social forces that enable cities to compete or rather function in a highly interconnected world.

- **How do you perceive the impact of globalization on the urban form of North American cities over the coming twenty or thirty years?**
- **What are the measures and/or strategies needed to sustain the livability and desirability of cities as places for residence, work and entertainment?**

Theme Highlights:

There was overwhelming agreement among participants on the merits of globalization for the economic and social health of cities. Participants' narratives generated a consensus hypothesis and two sub-hypotheses as shown in data chart (C-13) (p. 152). Architects and planners mostly attributed the current rebuilding process in some North American cities to the relocation of global corporate offices to inner city districts. In addition to new building starts, older buildings were readapted for office uses and a variety of live/work arrangements. Some participants maintained that many high tech companies are shifting the focus of their operations to city cores because their employees generally favour urban centres' living over the suburban environment, which lacks all the cultural and entertainment amenities of central cities.

Most participants commented that economic and social prosperity in cities is currently dependent on global investments. Therefore, the question of whether to entertain global presence in local areas was deemed irrelevant. Cities that fail to attract such investments would likely endure social and economic hardships. In a striking disagreement with previously reviewed theoretical premises (Chapter 2, p. 30), participants refuted the argument that globalization will heighten social and economic inequalities in urban areas. In fact, they contended that the absence of global investments would likely result in more detrimental patterns of socioeconomic polarization with diminished hopes for any social or economic attainment. Significant among participants' narratives was the shift in the urban political perspective from the community-based planning of the eighties and early nineties to business-oriented strategies in the late nineties aimed at attracting global investments. NIMBY (Not in My Back Yard) and other local

concerns are now overshadowed by employment and economic rejuvenation of urban regions. Participants did not view this as necessarily detrimental to cities but maintained that urban policies should seek a balance between global corporate mandates and local context. However, there was a common theme running through participants' narratives that responses to global forces will be different from city to city depending on societal and urban contexts. While some cities would yield to the spatial and economic dictates of corporations due to overwhelming economic problems and a lack of urban visions, others would be able to negotiate a benign or contextual corporate presence conditioned by local and environmental concerns. Participants maintained that cities have to find ways to remain competitive and viable for global business without sacrificing local context and culture.

Within a North American context, participants envisioned counter development trends due to the availability of cheap lands on the urban periphery and the unabated development in telecommunication technologies. While some high tech companies are locating in downtown areas and causing a new wave of centralized business activities, the majority of corporate developments would still elect the suburban alternative. They may even develop in areas beyond the commuter sheds of current suburban developments forming what some referred to as exurbia. While some participants indicated that such expansion would be destructive both for the environment and farming operations, others noted that cities should maintain flexible development agendas and reduce roadblocks and bureaucratic redtape that might make them unpalatable for global investments. Some participants referred to the potential role of urban design in reconciling corporate spatial mandates and contextual concerns. Urban design, under these circumstances, needs to develop a more comprehensive understanding and sensitivity to social and economic issues and reinvent itself as an effective planning mechanism that integrate physical, social, political, and economic concerns.

Theme Six: Globalization

Data Analysis (C-13): Total No. Of Interviewees 15 (8 Architects – 7 Planners)

Hypothesis:

Globalization is very healthy for cities and regenerates them with new classes of people and foreign resources. Cities that fail to attract global entities degenerate and become prone to social, economic, and urban problems. Major urban centres around the world are competing to attract global entities and progressively shifting from the community-based, community-driven planning of the late eighties to business-grounded and global oriented policies of the late nineties. Local issues are currently overshadowed by macroeconomic and societal concerns that transcend the geographic and political boundaries of cities. A healthy economy and good urban form with vibrant local communities are major attractors for global entities and cities should maintain a balance between accommodating generic corporate built forms and maintaining the local context.

Sub-Categories: Approximations from Interviews

Perspective

While local issues are very important and must be dealt with, they should not be allowed to hold the city hostage and make it unpalatable for development or investment opportunities in the name of protecting city neighbourhoods. At the same time, the city should not sacrifice the local context and concede to global corporate demands in ways that deface its inherent social and built form characteristics that attracted such companies in the first place. Cities must continue to improve their cultural and physical amenities to be able to compete on a global scale and attract businesses as well as world sports and cultural events. In the current world economy, cities that cannot attract global investments will be subject to social and economic depressions. Therefore, the question is not whether cities should entertain global corporate presence, but rather how to attract global entities and work a balance between local and corporate imperatives. Cities should seek equilibrium between economic returns and social and environmental attributes because if the latter were squandered, global corporations would automatically loose interest and move to other places.

Counter Trends

Globalization is inextricably linked to worldwide market deregulation and the progress in telecommunications. Global corporations are able to split their offices and relocate in different cities around the world. Corporate relocation is generally accompanied by contrasting patterns of decay in abandoned cities and growth in host cities. A similar process accompanied the flight of industry from urban cores to suburbs. This does not necessarily need to be construed as a negative impact of globalization but a restructuring process in the world economy. This restructuring may be accompanied by a qualitative differentiation between cities based on their technology readiness, local labour skills, and characteristics of urban form. Cities are beginning to play a more important global role and may define the future of nations around the world. While urban designers' role will be limited in the face of such economic and social restructuring, they can forge links between global and national interests and local concerns.

General Remarks and Statistics

Almost 100 % (15) of interviewed practitioners are in general agreement with the provisions of the main and sub-hypotheses.

Most research participants talked favourably about globalization and referred to its positive influences on central cities. They largely attributed the development of loft living and the new live/work arrangements to relocation of global entities to inner city districts. Few participants, nevertheless, cautioned from the likely clash between domestic values and global interests. Under economic pressures, cites will be compelled to concede to all corporate demands even if they run contrary to social, cultural, and ecological concerns.

Globalization Theme Discussion:

Generally speaking, there has been a sense of contradiction or unease in participants' statements regarding the impact of globalization on cities. While asserting its significance for the economic and social health of urban regions, some also referred to local events denoting negative implications of global investments. The Town of Markham on the north edge of Toronto embarked on plans to develop a town centre with a relatively tight urban form and walkable environment. Potential tenants included IBM and Motorola who proposed quintessential suburban office parks with substantial amounts of surface parking. The negotiations ended up with the city conceding to the corporate demands and achieving little in the way of supporting its original town centre plans.

Similar events included the establishment of giant sports arenas on premium downtown properties. These arenas are used seasonally, which leaves such investments and giant concrete chunks empty and isolated from the urban fabric most of the year. Few participants actually described global corporate presence as a necessary evil that cities have to contend with. One participant likened corporate investment pressures to a stampeding herd of buffaloes with no choice but to clear the way and concede to their mandates. However, all participants including those who voiced concerns, maintained that the positive aspects of globalization far outweigh its negative implications.

Participants referred to the potential of urban design to forge links and develop a body of knowledge and implementation strategies capable of reconciling global corporate mandates with contextual concerns. Participants also referred to the connection between globalization and communication technologies and the subsequent restructuring of the world economy with footloose corporate presence. To maintain competitiveness, they emphasized the need to improve local technological readiness, labour skills, and the overall quality of life in cities including health, education, and the built form. Again, urban design was portrayed as a critical agent in achieving such competitive ends and maintaining the viability of local areas. That said, there was a variation among participants on defining the role of urban design and what it means from a global perspective. Architects referred to the vitality and vibrancy of compact urban centres and their appeal for corporate tenants. They recommended sweeping changes in development codes in order to discourage suburban expansion and promote urban intensification. Planners, on the other hand, contended that cities should maintain a greater level of flexibility in development mechanisms so as to allow urban and suburban patterns to coexist. Cities should be able to accommodate varying global entities that prefer the suburban context. Providing that cities sustain a balance between global investment pressures and local concerns, cities will have to contend with the negative impacts of globalization (e.g. unwanted low-density suburban developments) in order to reap its benefits (e.g. investment in cores and rejuvenation of urban economies).

4.6 Highlights from the Configurational Analyses

The central issue emerging from configurational analyses relates to the dialectics between physical space and social space, locus and users, or more generically form and function. The following tabulated summary (p. 155) provides an overview of variations among the views of architects and planners as well as a correlation between previous theoretical discussions and the participants' narratives. While planners depicted space as a mere frame or an upshot of social conventions, architects projected space as a conditional platform for societal arrangements and cultural behaviours.

Data narratives validated configurational premises regarding the division of participants' views along professional lines. Architects and planners views were split in terms of form and function relationships and how each is shaping the other. Planners expressed a modernist view in which urban form is subordinated to social, economic, and cultural patterns, thereby echoing the famous modern dictum "form follows function". In terms of scale, planners' narratives encompassed a regional view of development and emphasized the significance of metropolitan economic and social transformations in understanding and commanding urban/suburban development patterns. Whether on a neighbourhood or metropolitan scale, morphological attributes were viewed by planners as products of societal arrangements and by themselves could not shape social actions.

Architects' views on the other hand indicated a predilection to reinstate form as a definer of social and cultural behaviours. Physical form figured prominently in architects' narratives as conducive to livability and a host of other wellbeing qualities that were attributed to space morphology with an emphasis on traditional architecture and urban tectonics. Architects renounced the modern functional paradigm and emphasized the need to look back at historical and traditional roots as a way to remedy the loss of human scale and diminished sense of place typical of modern urban developments. Most architects pictured the city as a conglomerate of small communities or neighbourhoods with distinct architectural and spatial features and each neighbourhood providing the needs of its residents within a walkable distance. Modern regional structures and social and cultural institutions were conceived of as dismounatable entities subservient to preset 'good' physical forms and well-designed neighbourhoods and street environments. **Thus, planners and architects views occupied somewhat contrasting spheres and both exhibited a kind of linear association between social action and spatial and physical characteristics of urban space. Such disparities among professionals' views is seen by this research as a major impediment to developing integrated urban design discourse with a holistic approach to form and function dialectics.**

Summary of Configurational Analyses

	Architects	Planners
Overall Perspective	There is a clear correlation between physical form and social and cultural attitudes. Well-designed built forms have the potential of encouraging benign and healthy cultural and social practices and increasing sense of safety and security in the public realm. There's a degree of synergy between the physical form and the socioeconomic success of urban neighbourhoods. If public realm is attractive enough to make people leave the car and walk more, retail businesses are supported and streets enlivened with pedestrian movement. The interface between buildings and streets and the overall architectural quality of the public realm are significant determinants of successful and livable urban spaces.	Built forms stem from very sophisticated and inextricably linked systems of house building, transportation, state policies and the people lifestyle choices. Good urban form entails environmental, social, economic and resource coordination on a regional scale. There is no direct or discernible relationship between physical form and social behaviour of urban residents. Design or physical form can hardly foster community feelings, compensate for the lack of jobs, or improve health and education. Imposing subjective standards on ways of building and living creates societal tensions and usurp peoples' rights for shaping their lives and built forms. Civic involvement in design is crucial to cultivate urban wellbeing.
Alternatives	North American cities should replace the Laissez-faire attitude towards visual and spatial characteristics of urban developments with a set of guidelines and strategies that ensure the quality of public squares, open spaces, and streets. There must be defined and clear urban boundaries (green belts) beyond which urban growth would be severely limited. Growth boundaries are indispensable measures for promoting intensification within urban areas. This should be accompanied by a variable tax system rewarding higher densities and shorter distances to utility networks. The re-urbanization strategies of North American cities should be geared to create vibrant and culturally diverse centralized metropolises.	Regional characteristics of North American cities warrant a relaxed development approach with less dense urban configurations. Cities are better off with controlled decentralization urban strategies that permit low-density suburban patterns to coexist with transit-served medium-density urban nodes. Cities as well as individual dispositions should be allowed to change and grow over time reflecting social and cultural transformations. Within flexible development control process, consumers' choices, purchasing decisions and property values coupled with permitting site planning principles have the potential of generating culturally grounded and livable built forms.
Theory / Data Overlay	They echoed postmodernists by calling for diversity, emphasis on local context, and mixed land uses, and building aesthetics (Ellin 1995; Taylor 1998; Venturi 1966; Rowe 1978)(Chapter 2, p. 22-4). They also adhered to a traditionalist approach with an emphasis on pre-industrial civic typology. This included a desire to revive social and symbolic functions of streets and public spaces (Krier R. 1979; Krier L. 1998; Jacobs 1961; Duany 1991; Gratz 1998)(Chapter 2, p. 21-4). Their views coincided with arguments of the New Urbanists who criticized spatial and physical formations of modern cities and called for reinstating traditional built forms (Duany 1991; Gratz 1998; Calthorpe 1994; Kelbaugh 1997)(Chapter 2, p. 23-4).	Planners' views coincided with mainstream theories that portrayed built forms as byproducts of social, economic, demographic, and technological changes (Gordon et al 1997: Staley 1998). They partly exhibited a structurationists' disposition by explaining built forms in terms of cultural dynamics involving instrumental action as well as societal and political structures (Van den Berg 1987; Gottdiener 1994) (Chapter 2, p. 17-20). Planners views corroborated regional theory analyses that described modern polycentric developments as totally new urban structures predicated on both 'scale' and decentralized 'open' economies (O' Sullivan 1996; Bogart 1998;Gottdiener 1994;Hise 1997; Monkkonen 1988) (Chapter 2, p. 25-9).

Several theorists have noted that globalization can engender social inequalities and heighten economic disparities in cities (chapter 2, p. 30). Yet, there was an overwhelming consensus among research participants on the merits of globalization for urban regions. Participants welcomed globalization and its effects on North American built forms. They provided examples of the positive effects of globalization, which included the evolving trends of condominiums and lofts in urban cores and mixed-use suburban communities. Rather than being able to cause specific social outcomes, globalization was paralleled by interviewees to technology as being a dependent variable conditioned by local cultural and social attributes. Participants viewed urban design as an important tool to forge links between corporate spatial mandates and local concerns. Urban design was depicted as a critical agent in revitalizing derelict downtown properties, moderating corporate and local needs, and maintaining the viability of city spaces, all of which are crucial aspects for a successful integration between urban space and the global economy.

4.7 Theme Seven: Urban Design

'Urban design' is a profession that is commonly involved in the conception of city-scale built forms. However, there is no clear definition for either the boundaries of the term or the qualifications required to practice it.

- **How do you define urban design and what are the professional and intellectual provisions required for urban design practice?**
- **How would you describe an educational program that would prepare professionals to successfully engage in urban design endeavours?**

Theme Highlights:

The urban design definition theme was the concluding item in the interview proceedings. Although the researcher never assigned explicit response categories, participants were invited to provide a statement conveying fundamental characters of urban design as an area of practice, a discipline, and an educational endeavour. Research participants gave detailed and more or less concise statements expressing their understanding of urban design and described ways in which they have been involved in urban design practice. They also talked about the educational and intellectual requirements for practicing urban design. Most participants gave a somewhat inclusive definition for urban design but tended to emphasize the significance of either design or planning aspects in their narratives.

The theme analysis will be primarily divided into two definition clusters: design-oriented (architects' statements), and planning-oriented (planners' statements). Two sub-themes evolved from participants' narratives, which will be reflected in the theme analysis. These included urban design as 'praxis' and urban design as 'education'.

The following preliminary analysis tables (p. 158-63) will include paraphrased excerpts from participants' narratives. These are not quotations per se; any information leading to personal identification was eliminated. While retaining the integrity of participants' narratives, the following statements accompanying the analysis have been condensed and modified to maintain confidentiality and anonymity of research participants.

Theme Seven: Urban Design - 1

Data Analysis (C-14): Total No. Of Interviewees 15 (8 Architects – 7 Planners)

Simulated excerpts from Interviews - These are Not Quotations - Architects' Statements

Design-Oriented Narratives - Urban Design as 'Praxis'

Urban design as the name suggests is about design. Land use planning must incorporate urban design as part and parcel of its practice. Urban design is done by people who are first and foremost designers and they also appreciate the planning process. Urban design is an amalgam of what architects and planners do.

Urban design is an autonomous profession, different from architecture but it requires an architectural background. It's a physical design exercise that requires an understanding of how buildings are built and streets are laid out. Urban design is about the make up of the built environment and parallel and interrelated with architectural practice but have different kinds of scales and conceptual arrangements.

It's very hard to bridge the gap that was created sometime in the fifties and sixties between designers and non-designers and how each group perceives the role of design and built form in shaping the urban experience. What can be done is to educate non-designers to understand design concerns. They're not going to be designers but they can learn to relate to design issues and be able to coordinate with designers. If planners involved in writing policy statements or guidelines are not sensitized to design concerns you could end up with a set of policies contradicting the main objective and may not achieve the desired results.

Urban design is not the home of a single discipline. It can't just be planning, it can't just be architecture, and it can't just be landscape architecture. A good urban design practice will bring the best of all of those professions. To me, the emphasis will still be on design. However, it's hard for someone with a policy background to be sensitized to design issues.

You can hardly call urban design a profession. Urban design seems like a fuzzy thing. It's actually a subset of a number of professions, planning, landscape architecture, and architecture. There is an architectural dimension to urban design but it's not strictly architectural. Urban design ought to be practiced as a subset of these three disciplines and it needs to have training or experience in those three areas.

Urban design is as extension of architecture. Whoever wants to learn about urban design, whether planners or landscape architects, they need to be taught how to think spatially. Spatial history of cities is important. Whoever wants to get involved in urban design, they have to demonstrate a kind of spatial appreciation and understanding.

Architecture isn't one thing, it's the expression of many things. Architecture is construction and function, and urban design is part of this understanding. It's the fusion of emotion and rationality that creates architectural and urban expression. This kind of integrated thinking should go in every architectural or urban design project and requires attention to details and other related social and cultural understanding of how things work.

Urban design is something that should foster culture. Urban design is predominantly about the public realm. It should fill the void between planning and architecture.

Theme Seven: Urban Design - 2

Data Analysis (C-15): Total No. Of Interviewees 15 (8 Architects – 7 Planners)

Simulated excerpts from Interviews - These are Not Quotations - Architects' Statements

Design-Oriented Narratives - Urban Design as 'Education'

Planning education must include a strong component of design teaching in order to prepare planners to at least deal effectively with designers and be able to relate to design issues. Urban design education must include a balanced curriculum with an equal emphasis on both planning and architectural concerns.

Urban Design education must include extensive courses about city form and evolution of complex urban configurations. This could be conducted as a series of case studies within built up areas where students learn about building typology, development problems, and transportation-related issues. There must also be an emphasis on social and cultural aspects of built environments. The best urban design program would be an ongoing symposium with a core design studio and a variety of courses allowing students to study economics, real estate law, transportation planning, spatial planning and urban history.

Urban design should be taught on a graduate level and bring people from different backgrounds and try to create middle grounds between architecture, planning, and landscape architecture. This cannot be achieved on an undergraduate level. You would need people with a basic education in one of these fields and with also some world experience in order to relate to complex urban design issues.

Urban designers should have a core design discipline: an undergraduate degree in architecture or landscape architecture. Then you go from that to a graduate urban design program bringing together broader intellectual issues and a measure of world experience.

Urban design should be approached as a subset of architecture, landscape architecture, and planing disciplines.

Urban design education is not about architectural facades or buildings. It's about mass and space in urban environments. Urban design students should be able to describe their ideas in models and renderings. They should understand and study famous and historically proven urban spaces. An Important part of urban design is learning the characteristics of good urban spaces in terms of dimensions, proportions, textures, uses, and building interfaces with streets and public squares.

Urban design, like architecture, requires an attention to social and cultural issues and these must be integrated in any urban design program. There should be no hard rules governing how universities teach urban design in order to encourage variety and potentially enrich the urban project.

The right model for urban design education is a general approach in undergraduate studies and then you specialize in graduate studies. Currently, the logic is reversed: undergraduate students specialize either in planning, architecture, or landscape architecture, and then study urban design in a graduate program. Students are preconditioned at an early stage in their education to take one aspect as dominant. It's very hard to come in at a later stage to bring other concerns into their academic and professional repertoire.

Theme Seven: Urban Design - 3

Data Analysis (C-16): Total No. Of Interviewees 15 (8 Architects – 7 Planners)

Simulated excerpts from Interviews - These are Not Quotations - Planners' Statements

Planning-Oriented Narratives - Urban Design as 'Praxis'

Urban design is concerned with three-dimensional aspects of built forms. Current urban designers come primarily from architecture and secondarily from landscape architecture. Two major failings characterize the present praxis of urban design. First, most urban designers don't understand land development and planning. Secondly, they think they do! Urban design proposals over the last two decades have been incredibly impractical and exhibited a severe lack of knowledge in economics, transportation, and market logistics. Urban design should be more inclusive and must incorporate planning concerns in its repertoire. There must be a sort of built-in flexibility in urban design approaches to accommodate communal and environmental mandates.

Urban design is not a product: it's a process of problem solving. It's not architecture where integration of social and economic issues is secondary to the form. It's also not social policy, housing policy, or economic policy. It's about three dimensions, physically and metaphorically. Urban design ought to be very democratic because it's a public dialogue. It has to be understood and enriched by views of lay people. It's a problem-solving endeavour and a sort of pluralistic discipline that helps people communicate and devise communal solutions versus architecture, which is an individual discipline. Urban design is a platform upon which architecture, landscape, and planning disciplines meet.

Urban design must work from a planning approach. It has to work on many levels, psychological, physical, and social. People must be able to relate to their surroundings whether natural, built, or cultural and evolve with an understanding or a sense of place. Urban design is a bonding element between private zones and public zones. The best urban design is done by teams of planners, architects, landscape architects, and engineers. While architects have a very good sense of urban design, they tend to focus on buildings. Planners commonly have a very good understanding of urban issues and relationships but fall short of understanding details and materials and the nitty-gritty of built forms.

Urban design is the intersection of architecture and planning with an emphasis on social practices and environmental sensitivities. Urban design should coordinate environmental objectives together with social and spatial criteria in order to be effective and create sustainable urban spaces. Urban design practice comes at the intersection of many fields and academic disciplines including architecture, planing, landscape architecture, engineering, urban geography, political science, and urban sociology. If urban designers now think it's enough to be architects or merely design-based professionals, they had better stay home. Window-dressing didn't work in the past and is not going to do any better in the future. This kind of urban design proved to be effective for corporate interests. Urban design in that sense turned cities into big theatres or staged consumption theatricals concealing poverty, deteriorating environment, and dire social problems.

Continued...

Theme Seven: Urban Design - 3 Continued

Data Analysis (C-16): Total No. Of Interviewees 15 (8 Architects – 7 Planners)

Simulated excerpts from Interviews - These are Not Quotations - Planners' Statements

Planning-Oriented Narratives - Urban Design as 'Praxis'

People who practice urban design have to take it seriously. It's fine to have urban design specialists and it's healthy. But, it's even healthier to have architects familiarized with broader urban context and not just window-dressing, and also get planners to be sensitized and given better skills to deal with design issues. For urban designers to be effective, they must be able to make sense of various issues and be able to process different approaches into a professional frame of reference.

You can define urban design broadly enough to encompass everything that's in urban planning. If you're talking about the arrangements and relationships of human activities in space, then you know you're talking about urban planning and the two disciplines converge which is all right. But it maybe a question of emphasis and it maybe that urban design is urban planning with physical environment sensitivity. Because we all know that you can have urban planning that's entirely devoid of the physical design component like the old zoning type of urban planning which is shockingly lacking any physical design orientation. One of the disadvantages of the zoning approach is that it cultivates a kind of two-dimensional view of cities. The other thing that we don't discuss often in design is the importance of design with nature as opposed to design with art objects.

Those who do urban design today don't understand how people live their lives and that's a problem. The architects in particular are so fixed on certain styles and built forms. You need more understanding of economics and also more appreciation of social aspects. We're tired of reading the pretty picture reports. There are shelves and shelves of these things and nothing ever seem to happen. Typical urban design studies lack an understanding of the market and they make no economic sense and they are generally out of context.

Theme Seven: Urban Design - 4

Data Analysis (C-17): Total No. Of Interviewees 15 (8 Architects – 7 Planners)

Simulated excerpts from Interviews - These are Not Quotations - Planners' Statements

Planning-Oriented Narratives - Urban Design as 'Education'

If you were to come up with an integrated urban design program, it should include architecture, landscape architecture, and planning courses. Urban designers should be generalists and be able to integrate all those types of things. Very few persons currently have this combination. Planners can do all the planning stuff and can appreciate good urban design, but they're not architects. To appreciate urban design and assess what works and doesn't work is good but to come up with the basic designs is a different issue.

Urban design has been so erroneously approached in architectural schools. There is a very important role for artistic and individual expression in the city and it should be encouraged but this is not what urban design is all about. Urban design should take the role of setting the platform. In planning schools they teach urban design incorrectly as a discipline and in the process they get into theology of urban design teaching concerning the street walls, mixed use, enclosure, and a list of things to do that may or may not be good. Planning schools should teach students how to draw and to paint and to feel comfortable with computer graphics because that's what planners lack in their preparation. The best way is to take people to the reality of cities and get them to understand how cities are actually made and how they developed through history. Teaching drawing to planning students is vital to make them really comfortable expressing their views in three-dimensional form.

Universities should attempt cross-pollination between architecture, planning, and landscape architecture disciplines. Current planning programs are woefully inadequate in providing an understanding of physical design. While they focussed on economic, environmental, and social teachings, they neglected to communicate an understanding of what's actually going to be built in land use zones shown on the drawings. That's why urban design should be a prerequisite or a mandatory course for any one studying planning. Urban design programs should run the whole range from the aesthetic to the functional and provide a broader historical understanding of cities. We should develop an understanding of contemporary needs of people. We should also develop an understanding of fundamental human needs, scale, sense of safety, ability to earn a living within an area and afford a home, the basic dimensions of main street areas and how they relate to building heights. Planners should also learn how to draw. They need to understand the relationships and the problems they could run into, how wide is the street? How the buildings are related to each other? All those types of relationships need to be understood and you only do that by drawing. Urban design programs need to cover a lot of grounds. It must include elements of architecture and how the architecture with its styles and details can add to the richness and quality of the urban environment without of course focussing on fine details because architecture is only one component amongst others contributing to the quality of life in cities and suburbs.

Continued...

Theme Seven: Urban Design - 4 Continued

Data Analysis (C-17): Total No. Of Interviewees 15 (8 Architects – 7 Planners)

Simulated excerpts from Interviews - These are Not Quotations - Planners' Statements

Planning-Oriented Narratives-Urban Design as 'Education'

To be an urban design professional, you should have a combined degree in social science or sociology and architecture. It's the interaction of physical design and social practices that creates good or bad urban environments. This could either be pursued as a combination of undergraduate/graduate studies or be taken all horizontally on an undergraduate level. You just need to be grounded in both design and social science in order to walk this fine line of interpreting social practices to urban spaces that are able to accommodate work, living, and entertainment patterns.

Urban design is a combination of planning and architecture, and any one pursuing a career in urban design must combine both of these aspects. It doesn't matter if these were taken on undergraduate or graduate levels. Urban design professionals need to be equally sensitized to planning and architectural concerns.

Planning schools should incorporate a physical design component without imposing it as a universal solution. In this case, it should be informed by a broad view of urban issues and not just a kind of micro-level narrow focus typical of urban design studies within architectural schools. It's a hazard to have a narrow approach to urban form understanding because it would severely limit our vision of the future.

Regional planning skills are not really taught anymore in planning schools. There is also a lack of economic studies in both planning and architectural schools. These are primary concerns for good urban design programs. Students missunderstand development dynamics and market process. They don't understand how the city use and need the money. Planning graduates are generalists and architecture graduates are not taught the mechanics and workings of cities especially on a regional scale. You cannot do urban design from an architectural perspective with the architects known narrow perspective and fixation on forms and styles. Maybe you can direct the attention of students to look at these things and start to appreciate the socioeconomic and cultural forces that end up forming the shape of cities and neighbourhoods. Students have to understand patterns of consumption and production and how built form is implicated in every step on the way.

Urban Design Theme Discussion:

There is a glaring distinction between architects and planners characterizations of urban design both as 'praxis' and 'education.' Participants' narratives validated previous research assumptions and highlighted areas of discrepancy and/or disagreement among architects and planners in terms of the meaning and intellectual requisites for urban design practice. Each and every participant touched on critical aspects of urban design and grounded his/her understanding in professional and educational experiences.

Most architects emphasized the instrumentality of design education for any successful urban design practice. Although they referred to urban design as an amalgam of various professions including planning, landscape architecture, architecture, and engineering, architects singled out hands-on design experience as a foundational requirement for relating social and physical aspects of built environments. Some referred to architectural education and practice as indispensable for engaging in development decisions on a large urban scale. While equating urban design with architecture, most architect participants asserted that urban design requires integration of various social, cultural, and environmental concerns. They also pointed to the exigency of sensitizing current land use planners to design issues in order to facilitate integration and coordination of urban design ideas with land development practices. The history of the city took precedence in architects' narratives. They emphasized the need to study existing traditional urban fabrics and discern tectonic as well as planning lessons from well-established and historically proven built forms. Architects stated that urban design education should be pursued on a graduate level upon training and practice in a design discipline, namely architecture or landscape architecture. This would prepare students to deal with complex urban issues and bring a measure of world experience to their discussions. This latter view held by the majority of architects was contradicted by one participant who suggested a different educational approach in order to avoid preconditioning students at an early stage with biased ideas about urban issues. Students should start their undergraduate career with a general approach providing them with a balanced education in planning and architectural aspects. Then, on a graduate level, they may pursue urban design training and develop a nuanced and integrative understanding of city building processes.

Planners, on the other hand, asserted that architecture could not be categorized as a quid pro quo or even likened to urban design. They noted that architects commonly emphasize styles, forms, and individuality in their final product. This is not a 'sine qua non' in urban design, which requires a democratic setting and public dialogues with an emphasis on the integration of social, cultural, environmental, and physical form concerns. Planners contended that current urban designers, who are mostly from a design background, exhibit a lack of knowledge in economics, transportation, and urban development dynamics. Urban design was defined by most planners as a public platform upon which architects and

planners should work collectively to achieve environmentally and communally agreeable results. Planners commented that emphasizing styles, forms, and ornaments has diminished the role of urban design to a mere window-dressing exercise. Further, this approach has been ineffective and promoted elitist interests and turned cities into staged consumption theatricals concealing poverty, deteriorating environments, and dire social problems.

Most planners indicated that urban design education requires integration and a general approach to the study of planning and architecture. Urban design students should be sensitized to critical urban problems and the public participation process. However, participating planners indicated that the current planning education is characterized by a lack of physical design teaching that would enable graduates to relate to design and spatial qualities of built forms. Planning students should learn to draw and deal with computer graphics in order to be able to express their ideas in two-and-three dimensional formats. Participating planners have generally emphasized the need to integrate social science, regional planning, development dynamics, and urban economics in urban design studies; urban design students should understand patterns of consumption and production as well as the historical evolution of built forms.

Architects generally reduced the definition of planning to a chain of codes, zoning, and development regulations. Planners, on the other hand, perceived architecture in terms of form details, building styles, and drawing and graphic representation. Over the last several decades, the architecture and planning professions have developed somewhat contradictory interests regarding the built environment. The interface between the two professions has materialized, on the one hand, in planning development controls that architects resented and, on the other, in architectural drawings and conceptions that planners perceived as impractical and divorced from urban reality.

There has been little effort to integrate the real concerns of both professions, which could potentially ignite an integrative urban design movement. Architecture's concern for optimizing the functional and environmental relationships between users and their immediate built surroundings and planning regional perspective are complementary constructs of crucial significance to an integrated urban design theory. Each profession developed hardened views regarding urban form and there have been very few attempts to investigate let alone to bridge this intellectual and professional divide.

4.8 Data Analysis Summary:

Planners and architects' views were generally divided on protocol discussion themes and revealed a deep intellectual divide in understanding urban form and development processes. Planners described suburbanization as a cultural reflection of socioeconomic, demographic, and transportation changes. They tended to slight the role of land use controls and placed more emphasis on urban economics and growth processes without forming conceptual links with eventual built forms. Planners generally looked at the city from a macro perspective and explained various regional dynamics as determinants of the spatial and physical formations of modern cities. Architects, on the other hand, favoured the tight traditional urban fabric of early twentieth century cities over what they considered a zoning engendered metropolis with socially and spatially segregated communities. They characterized suburbs as dull and uniform built forms dictated by zoning and development industry practices. Living options were curtailed by such practices and middle classes opted for the heavily publicized and artificially sustained suburban environment. Architects generally called for a substantial review of zoning regulations and suggested replacing them with design-based tools capable of restoring lost urbanity and reconfiguring streets, public spaces, and neighbourhoods into more vital and livable built forms. Urban livability and vitality was perceived as a function of the physical configuration of urban space. The concluding section of data analyses will summarize planners and architects' responses to protocol questions. **These are not quotations but brief compiled statements that express planners and architects' views and are largely based on the hypotheses and sub-hypotheses that accompanied the data analyses:**

4.8.1 Planners' Narratives

Built forms stem from very sophisticated and inextricably linked societal processes, which express economic, financial, and social systems including individual preferences, development industry and building practices, banking policies, transportation, and state policies. Suburbanization is a social choice that was set in motion before the enactment of zoning regulations. For example, cities with different land use regimes or no zoning altogether such as Texas and Atlanta have urban configurations that are not too dissimilar from other North American cities with established zoning bylaws. Zoning modifies urban space along with many other factors rather than solely producing specific built forms. It is a cultural artefact expressing and actualizing social desires and lifestyle choices.

In other words, North American built forms would have developed along the same lines whether or not zoning was in place. While updating zoning bylaws is important to reflect current social and cultural changes, it is impractical to think that amending or enacting a new set of land use controls could substantially modify North American development patterns. It may allow for more flexibility in building

higher density and mixed use communities but the overall pattern and configurational anatomy of the city will probably remain unchanged. The vast bulk of development will be on the urban periphery in varying degrees of low-density configurations. People continue to prefer living in isolated social spheres. The middle, upper middle, and upper classes will locate themselves outside established urban centres whatever the land use regime in place. As a tool, zoning is simply a reflection of social attitudes and lifestyle preferences for a majority of North Americans who prefer mono-zoned socially segregated suburban environments. People have invested heavily in maintaining their homes and generally enjoy all the amenities that come with the suburban package including openness, green areas, and mobility. While government policies such as mortgage assistance and preferential tax treatment coupled with massive expenditures on infrastructure and highway building have facilitated suburban expansion, the individual purchasing decisions direct the system and legitimize government policies.

The last half-century of urban development has created a new polycentric socioeconomic and geographic distribution that is internally and externally different from the traditional mono-centred cities. The traditional city was generally characterized by a business and commercial hub in the centre surrounded by housing districts. The economic centre and housing territory were highly interdependent and each could not survive without the other. The modern dispersed metropolis created a different web of interdependencies and sophisticated economic and social linkages that are no longer dependent on traditional city centres. Various commercial and economic centres were developed throughout the metropolitan region. Each of these tends to specialize in certain activities and business functions and trade with the others creating economies of scale and also producing complex transportation patterns.

The suburbs in the modern urban form have stimulated the urban economy and also contributed to the unprecedented quality of life in North American cities. Many suburban developments across North America are transforming into larger urban centres or 'Edge Cities' with economically and socially diverse communities. This transformation is generating jobs, new business and commercial facilities, information processing centres, and prosperity for urban regions. The metropolitan form is not simply an expansion of the traditional urban geography or population growth. It is a totally new urban form that is governed by regional economic, social, and political mechanisms and cannot be seen as a multiplied urban structure of older towns. The modern city is not a compounded development of the traditional city, but rather a new form of decentralized settlement space that requires innovative regional policies of integration rather than antiquated and potentially irrelevant urban controls.

As an urban control mechanism, zoning actualized social and cultural objectives to maintain property values, encourage stable and congenial neighbourhoods, regulate traffic, and facilitate public service management. Land use controls should generally be correlated with individual preferences, current

lifestyle choices, and geographic and economic realities of modern cities. Forcing higher densities through green belt policies and tight development controls may not be possible within a North American context. There is a sustained perception among suburbanites that increasing densities around their homes would diminish the livability of suburban settings and reduce their property values. Livable densities are a function of social and lifestyle choices rather than being a professional or an intellectual construct that could be defined by academic arguments. The proportion of people who would choose to live in high density and mixed-use lifestyles does not exceed 10% of the urban population of North America. Forcing higher densities could extend urban developments outside the current commuter sheds of existing 'Edge Cities' and suburbs and also inflate housing prices within existing boundaries.

Though higher urban densities might be supportive of public transit and increased urban activity, we should not demarcate individual choice or reduce the potential of devising innovative built forms by instating very prescriptive urban controls. Effective public transit requires optimal spatial and locational strategies as well as enhancement of the quality of service rather than merely increasing densities and coercing people into housing and lifestyle patterns they resent. Ecological limits, economic parameters, and individual preferences should determine urban/suburban densities and configurations. It is essential that we encourage public participation in devising alternative land use controls, which should be more performance-based without detailed architectural or physical controls that might usurp peoples' rights and restrain the evolving economic, social, and cultural adjustments.

Traditional built forms appeal to many people and they have generally succeeded to catalyze economic and social functions of older mono-centric cities. However, they may not be able to achieve the economic and social ends required within the current urban economy. North Americans are not attuned to the degree of mix or high densities typical of traditional urban fabrics. It is dangerous to attempt to translate traditional built forms into rulebooks and rigid design protocols to guide development practices in North American cities. Traditional neighbourhoods and street-based retail economic and residential configurations are no longer the models governing the polycentric modern city. While traditional neighbourhoods may coexist alongside suburban configurations, North American cities have endured massive economic and social restructuring that created a highly decentralized urban/suburban domain with residential enclaves, shopping malls, office and industrial parks, big box stores, strip commercial corridors, and highways. Regenerated main Streets are no longer serving their local surroundings and much of the touted traditional city fabric has often become more of a regional amenity complimenting other forms of decentralized living. Much of the regenerated central city businesses and recreational amenities are supported by a high-income bracket of population who can move freely through urban/suburban contexts and selectively avail of such conveniences.

Suburbanization has created a new urban geography that requires innovative regional policies of integration. The infrastructure supporting current development patterns including highways and road networks, financial systems, real estate conventions, public policies and above all the continued preference for low-density housing will propel and bolster suburbanization for several decades to come. Despite the growing yet marginal public acceptance of mixed-use higher density urban configurations such as residential condominiums and multifamily dwellings, it will take more than faddish celebration of city life, and porch to porch communication to cultivate a societal consensus on living in more socially integrated and potentially transit-oriented urban precincts. Coordinated socioeconomic, transportation, and ecological policies are indispensable for maintaining and enhancing quality of the life in North American cities. Sprawling North American cities can be reintegrated with a mix of high-and-low- density developments responding to the differing needs and aspirations of urban communities. Good urban form is more than a 'window-dressing' site planning exercise or 'ornate' houses with porches such as those espoused by the new urbanism. Good urban form entails environmental and resource coordination on a regional scale of development. It requires an understanding of societal and cultural forces, development and political processes, lifestyle options, and people preferences. For any urban alternative to succeed, it should satisfy both the current aspirations of people that revolve around suburban life attributes, and planned intensification within existing urban boundaries.

Physical design per se cannot cure social malaise or impart benign cultural and communal behaviours. Aesthetics, shapes, and architectural details are relative, personal issues and need to be balanced with other social requisites like home ownership and mobility objectives. There is no amount of physical design that can make a person's life better if the social, economic, and cultural features of the urban environment are flawed. Design or physical form can hardly foster community feelings, compensate for unemployment, improve deteriorating health and education amenities, or mend ailing transit systems. Imposing subjective standards on societies creates tensions and tramples on citizens' rights to decide the kind of environment and life they want to lead. Civic-decision making should be encouraged to create a synergy between socioeconomic and physical development patterns.

While urban design by definition requires architectural and design understanding, it is not to be equated with architecture. Urban design needs much more than the customary architectural interest in forms and building mass relationships. Most current urban designers come out of the architecture filed and their work is characterized by a lack of knowledge in economics, real estate markets, and development processes as well as environmental concerns. Urban design requires the integration of architectural and planning knowledge so that social and economic issues are not secondary to the form. Social, economic, and physical planning concerns must be synthesized within a three-dimensional

policy framework that charts the path for sustainable and livable built environments. Urban design ought to be a democratic process that engages the public in devising communal solutions emanating from the local context and reflecting on peoples' daily lives. This complicated process cannot be drafted by the creative and artistic expressions of architects. Over the last several decades, the architectural tradition has precipitated a Window-dressing urban design discourse that proved ineffective and was mainly used as an aesthetic political tool to conceal poverty and deteriorating environment. For urban design to be effective it must orchestrate architectural and planning knowledge into a pluralistic professional discipline and democratic frame of reference that perceives public dialogue as a crucial element of its academic and practice repertoire.

Urban design education programs have been erroneously approached in the past. Due to dominance of architectural discourse in urban design education and practice, there has been an overwhelming focus on visual aesthetics and urban tectonics. Planning education also lacks the basic education of drawing and graphic skills. This has prevented planners from being able to express their ideas and hence their contribution to urban design discourse is limited. Universities need to devise interdisciplinary urban design programs that build on the diversity and richness of architecture, landscape architecture and planning education. Students should engage in real life problems and understand how cities work and how they were developed through history. It is the interaction between physical forms, social and economic practices, and natural environments that create good or bad cities. Urban designers need to be grounded in both design and social science in order to walk the fine line of connecting social practices to sustainable and livable urban spaces. This can be achieved by a combination of undergraduate and graduate studies designed to fill current knowledge gaps. Ultimately, there should be independent professional urban design programs that sensitize students to both architectural and planning concerns and produce urban design professionals capable of dealing with the complex issues involved in city building.

4.8.2 **Architects Narratives:**

Over the last several decades, North American growth patterns have been cast into the single-use suburban mode of development with its visually dull commercial strips and uniform residential patterns. The fundamental physical design attributes of early twentieth century neighbourhoods with walkable streets, human-scaled blocks, usable public spaces, and visually dynamic built forms seem to have escaped the imagination of modern builders. Since its inception in the 1920s and subsequent entrenchment in city bylaws by the 1950s, zoning has been very restrictive and forced a kind of exclusionary social and functional division of otherwise integrated urban components. As a result, people had limited housing options, which were in the most part shaped by the logistics of zoning and the development industry practices. While providing certainty and predictability, zoning stifles architectural creativity and urban variety. It removes functional overlaps and social interactions indispensable for creating community sentiment and enhancing the quality of life in cities.

Zoning generates unnecessary social and spatial mismatches between housing, commercial and employment locations and also entrenches the use of the private automobile as the only viable mode of transport in the modern city. It restricts the options of individuals and communities in shaping their living conditions. Large tracts of land across disparate regions are prescribed a priori for residential, commercial, industrial, or office uses and communities had little room to manoeuvre and are forced to work within the general guidelines of zoning tools. Zoning has been part and parcel of an overall infrastructure and highway building programs that generated sprawling built forms that prevent the poor, the elderly, and youths from participating in urban action. Zoning bylaws need to be drastically changed or replaced altogether by more inclusive built form controls that provide more options and create socially, culturally, and physically integrated communities typical of traditional cities.

Metropolitan regions would have developed differently with more integrated urban communities had land use regulations been duly updated to counteract the negative repercussions of current zoning bylaws. Sprawling suburban environments create spatially undefined built forms that lack the visual energy and legibility of street-based and mixed-use urban centres. Low-density fringe developments are generally induced by government policies and do not necessarily express an outright public preference for suburban living. Suburban infrastructure - including utilities and road networks - is being heavily supported by federal and provincial moneys and very little is done in the way of recovering that cost from suburbanites. This results in an artificial urban economy with a substantial reduction in the cost of single-family detached housing and a commensurate increase in the cost of rental and other forms of collective living.

Urban/suburban developments must be grounded in well thought out civic visions. Such visions should allow flexibility and creativity but mark a clear path for achieving walkable and livable urban enclosures with a mix of uses and social classes. Built form controls must include mechanisms to guide building lines, facades, streetscapes, and the three-dimensional volume of built up areas. They must also include site-specific visions to coordinate private and public realms and ensure the spatial quality of public spaces. It has been historically proven that higher urban densities and mixed-use environments create more livable and sustainable human settlements. Higher densities in the range of 6-8 story-high buildings (wall to wall or ratio of voids less than built up areas) in cities and 15-25 houses per acre in suburbs enhance the social experience and increase urban vitality. The experiential quality of higher density mixed-use areas is augmented by an increased sense of safety and vibrancy of street life. Higher urban and suburban densities are vital for the efficient operation of public transit. Higher densities also tend to reduce the impact of class segregation and generally result in integrated urban structures and more flexibility in recycling and readapting obsolete buildings and functional arrangements.

Social and cultural conventions are contingent by densities, physical configurations, and street environments. The morphology and perceptual dynamic of the urban environment is crucial to cultivate a sense of belonging and spatial legibility. Physical and spatial relationships must be correctly configured to avoid the pitfalls of modernist built forms that reduced functional overlaps and densities and eliminated crucial social and cultural activities. Built forms require a system of visual stimuli and varied psychological experiences in order to attract people to walk and engage in communal and cultural activities that enhance the sense of safety and security, increase urban vitality, and improve the overall quality of life in cities. Despite technological and transportation advancements, human imperatives are more or less the same. People generally need to participate in socially and culturally enriching communal experiences. Social encounters on streets and in public spaces make substantive contributions to a sense of personal well-being and belonging. Such experiences do not happen in a vacuum and require human-scaled blocks, usable public spaces, and visually dynamic built forms.

Urban design practice requires architectural knowledge as well as an understanding of planning processes. To practice urban design effectively, professionals must have an understanding of how buildings and streets are constructed and related together in a harmonious layout. Hence, urban design should be practiced by professionals who are first and foremost designers with an appreciation of city planning. Urban design practice is about the make up of the built environment, which is parallel and interrelated with architectural practice but on a larger scale with more complex conceptual arrangements. Land use planners without an architectural background should be sensitized to the design process in order to be able to coordinate with urban designers. Ultimately, urban design should be perceived as a discipline filling the void between architecture and planning. Planning education in

North American universities is severely lacking of design teaching with the consequence of producing a generation of social science-based planners with little or no design understanding. Planning education must include a strong design component in order to prepare planners to at least deal effectively with designers and be able to relate to design issues.

Urban design education must include extensive courses about city forms and the evolution of complex urban configurations. Students should learn about building typologies, spatial proportions, and development processes. A student should have a core design discipline, an undergraduate degree in architecture or landscape architecture, followed by study in an urban design program at the graduate level that combines broad intellectual issues and practical experience. Within such a program, students should be allowed to discuss the history of the city, study masses and spaces in terms of proportions, textures, and uses, and prepare models and three-dimensional renderings for their urban design ideas.

Chapter 1
Thesis Introduction
Rationale, Contributions, and Highlights

Chapter 2

Part 1
Theory Quest: Urban Social Theory, Urban Space Theory, And Planning Theory

Part 2
Theoretical Models

Chapter 3

Part 1
Methodology: Gathering Data, Interviews, Protocol, Sampling, and Study Context

Part 2
Methodological Setting: Interviewees' Profiles, Data Transcription and Analysis Techniques

Chapter 4
Interview Data Analysis and Interpretation

Chapter 5
Discussion and Concluding Remarks

5.1 Thesis Review

This dissertation was predicated on two highly interrelated components: the theory quest and the dialogue with architects and planners. The objective was to investigate the distinction between the architectural and planning approaches to urban design. This study aimed to highlight the multidimensionality of urban form issues and the need to expand the current urban design logic and praxes across various theories, paradigms, and disciplines.

The study theoretical models provided a framework to address the complex issues pertinent to urban form and urban design studies. The Sociospatial Model (p. 38) examined the biased views embedded within social theories (political economy, agency, and mainstream perspectives), which tended to distort the urban dialogue and precipitate contentious intellectual and professional debates. The association of zoning, density, and technology issues to these social paradigms underlined material elements of the urban design debate and enriched the ensuing dialogue and analyses. The Configurational Model (p. 43), on the other hand, juxtaposed an array of urban paradigms including architecture, urban space, regional, social, and globalization theories. Architectural analysis revealed the contradiction between modernist and postmodernist views in terms of understanding and dealing with cities. Regional theories pointed to the advent of a new urban landscape, which warrants new explanations and prescriptions for future cities. Configurational analysis revealed the gaps permeating the current understanding of city building processes among architects and planners. It emphasized the interrelatedness of local and regional development decisions and also investigated the implications of global economic and social changes on spatial and built forms. Configurational analysis raised various contentious issues and facilitated rich dialogues with research participants. Finally, the Planning model (p. 48) provided a context for integrating such diverse and contradictory knowledge. By adopting social learning and communicative planning paradigms the study used interactive face-to-face dialogues with architects and planners as a methodological framework to build informed urban design knowledge.

The issues embedded within the conceptual framework entitled Critical Social Praxis Model (p. 51) provided a comprehensive theoretical backdrop for research interviews and generated an inclusive interview protocol (p. 59-60) that included questions reflecting on socioeconomic and physical form concerns. The Critical Social Praxis model extended a tentative explanatory framework for understanding the current professional divide over the conception of 'good' built forms. Subsequent interviews and analyses corroborated with the study theoretical premise regarding fundamental variations among architects and planners in understanding urban form and design.

Several theorists have noted that information technology and globalization would engender social inequalities and heighten economic disparities in cities. Yet, there was an overwhelming consensus among research participants on the merits of technology and globalization for urban regions. Participants welcomed the effects of technology and globalization on North American built forms that include evolving trends of downtown condominiums and lofts and mixed-use suburban communities. Participants indicated that technology and globalization will impact the future built form and might engender counter trends of centralization and decentralization. Rather than being able to cause specific social outcomes, globalization and technology were seen as dependent variables conditioned by local cultural and social attributes.

While generating rich and informative dialogues, technology and globalization themes did not underline specific areas of potential significance to understanding the distinction between architects and planners approaches to city building processes. Therefore, the following concluding remarks will concentrate on contentious dialogue themes (zoning, density, urban form, architectonics, and urban design) that did clearly underline such distinctions. These discussion themes pinpointed the intellectual and praxis variations between both groups of professionals.

The conclusion will provide detailed interpretations regarding planners and architects' views in order to highlight areas of disagreement across different issues and urban form concerns. Participants' views were correlated with intellectual and theoretical constructs that encompassed the interview discussion themes. Upon investigating architects and planners' views, the researcher will then identify the gaps that permeate the architectural and planning approaches to urban form and design issues. This chapter will end with a general discussion that highlights the significance of integrating the views of planners and architects into an interdisciplinary understanding of urban design. This discussion will ultimately provide an interdisciplinary perspective of urban design that essentially goes beyond the understanding of urban design within the current intellectual and professional repertoires of architecture and planning.

5.2 Interpretations of Planners' Views:

The descriptions of built forms by planners showed the significance of cultural and social movements, local histories, interest groups and coalitions in shaping urban regions. Structural and human agency perspectives in discussions with planners were quite entangled and manifested the inherently process-oriented nature of planning practice. Planners did express the importance of updating land use controls to reflect current social, cultural, and environmental concerns. This may be construed as a contradiction to planners' view that zoning plays a marginal role in shaping and reshaping urban regions. However, the inclination to update zoning regulations validates planners' initial perception of urban controls as lagging behind societal and cultural movements as well as economic and transportation changes.

Generally speaking, planners placed more emphasis on the role of human agency and free market dynamics in catalyzing more or less efficient economic and social adjustments. Hence, dispersed and low-density development patterns were seen as reflecting a natural urban evolution process and not necessarily adverse social transformations. Suburban configurations actualized cultural aspirations and lifestyle choices. Suburbs formed as a result of modern socioeconomic and demographic changes and were facilitated by telecommunication and transportation advancements. Planners' narratives were relatively devoid of structural interpretations that link the current land use and development policies with social polarization and territorial segregation among urban and suburban communities. Contrarily, small governmental units were upheld as more conducive to decentralized and more democratic decision-making processes. Social and economic relations were perceived as occupying a physical space that cannot solely shape social action. Hence, spatial hierarchies and inequalities between urban and suburban locales can be ameliorated by instating corrective economic and social policies as well as welfare and taxation programs rather than making drastic changes in current land use regulations and development patterns.

In a similar vein to structurationists' views (Van den Berg 1987; Gottdiener 1994) (Chapter 2, p. 17-18), planners asserted that spatial and physical configurations express primarily cultural dynamics that involve individual or instrumental action and secondarily societal forces that embody both economic and political structures. Planners views also echoed earlier theoretical discussions that described the modern polycentric city as a totally new urban structure predicated on both 'scale' and decentralized 'open' economies (O' Sullivan 1996; Bogart 1998; Gottdiener 1994; Hise 1997; Monkkonen 1988) (Chapter 2, p. 25-9).

Planners advocated a more liberal approach to land uses that would allow the development of diverse and contrasting urban forms. The emphasis has always been on maintaining a measure of flexibility in any proposed alternative land use mechanisms so as to avoid destabilizing existing neighbourhoods and also to allow high-density and mixed-use developments to evolve harmoniously in conjunction with low-density suburbs. Planners conceptualized chains of mixed-use, high-density transit oriented nodes, connected via thinly populated suburban corridors thus permitting a level of coexistence between present low-density patterns and more concentrated developments in the future.

Built form and design details did not figure prominently in planners' narratives as facilitating cultural and social exchange. They described the urban experience as a result of economic, social, and environmental factors that may include form as a dependent variable rather than being the generator of cultural attitudes. Social and cultural aspirations shape built forms and not vice versa. Planners disputed the prospect of promoting benign social behaviours or encouraging communal practices by imposing certain built forms through regulatory processes. They asserted that such regulations would constitute an infringement on private property rights with the potential of curtailing civic engagement and individual lifestyle choices. Planners advanced a regional framework of urban and suburban formations that are firmly grounded in economic, geographic, political, and cultural processes.

Planners' descriptions of urban development processes generally manifested a modernist disposition in which 'form follows function.' In essence, space was seen as a backdrop or a neutral container for economic and social activities (i.e. urban space may be configured and reconfigured by societal and cultural changes but not vice versa). As graphically expressed in Fig. 10 below (p. 179), the physical characteristics of urban space were commonly ignored in planners' narratives or dealt with as an afterthought or a by-product of social and economic institutions. Urban design as presently practiced was perceived as an aesthetic activity that comes after the fact to embellish urban space or more literally a window-dressing exercise.

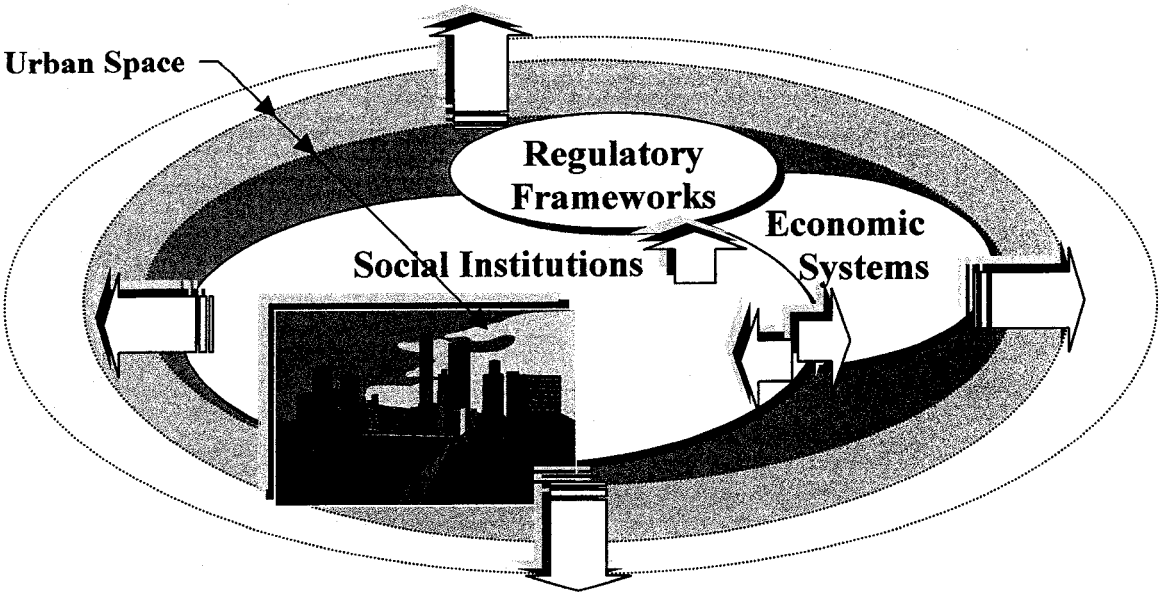


Fig. 10 Planners' Characterization of Urban Space as a Container for Social and Economic Systems and Regulatory Frameworks as Reflection of Social Arrangements

The above graph abstracts planners' perspective of urban space/design and development patterns with the following characteristics:

- Built forms are produced through the interdependent dynamics of social, economic, cultural, and political forces that cause inevitable spatial and physical relations. Decentralized and mono-zoned settlement patterns express social preferences and lifestyle choices which create a sophisticated system of financial, building and development practices, and state policies that produce and sustain single-use suburban configurations.

- Regulatory frameworks (zoning bylaws) are cultural artefacts that actualize collective social aspirations. As a development tool, zoning does not produce specific built forms but rather provides a legal framework to facilitate isolated residential, commercial, industrial, and low-density suburban forms that would have been built anyway regardless of land use regimes in place.

- Social and economic patterns shape metropolitan configurations and not vice versa. The fundamental correlate of the new urban form is an 'open' economy and specialized trade among a variety of urban and suburban components. Socioeconomic forces and transportation instruments shape the structural layout of local districts and a connective urban geography that includes road networks and an allocation of uses throughout metropolitan space.

- Suburban configurations are part and parcel of high standard of living in North American cities. The economic energy and cultural diversity among metropolitan components help to produce and reproduce decentralized living patterns which generate jobs, new business and commercial facilities, and a variety of service industries that sustain the economic prosperity of cities.

- The metropolitan form is composed of smaller and highly integrated components that are hardly separable from and/or amenable to area-bound design decisions. Modern cities cannot be conceived of as a multiplied spatial structure of identical and finite urban components. In that sense, the modern city is not a compounded development of the traditional city, but is a new form of decentralized settlement space that requires innovative regional policies of integration rather than fragmentary and locally bound urban design visions.

- Form follows function, which means that benign cultural behaviours cannot be cultivated by pursuing specific spatial and architectural forms. There are no particular physical plans and/or design elements that can change behavioural and cultural attitudes, especially if such forms and design features are not supportive of the broad structural features and socioeconomic dynamics of modern urbanity. Design or physical form can hardly foster community sentiments, compensate for the lack of jobs, improve deteriorating health and education programs, or mend ailing social services and transit systems.

- Higher densities and well-designed mixed-use developments may or may not create sustainable and livable urban experiences. Sustainability and livability in urban areas stem from very sophisticated and inextricably linked socioeconomic, environmental, and political processes. These involve job security, high quality healthcare and educational systems, abundant recreational and entertainment facilitates as well as open spaces, clean air, soil, and water, stable biological domains, civic engagement and equitable access to local and regional public services.

- The physical presence of mixed uses in a given space cannot, by itself, guarantee vitality in current metropolitan economies. Businesses, commercial, and employment activities realize their economic objectives by specialization and trade with other regional and possibly global entities. This may not be attainable within compact mixed-use developments. Form, density, and use mix in urban space result from economic, social, and cultural determinants that transcend local imperatives.

- Cities serve as economic engines of growth for nations around the world and should not be held hostage by antiquated urban visions with purely aesthetic and visual concerns. Social, economic, and cultural forces rather than aesthetic and symbolic intentions generate patterns of land use and building densities. In that sense, free market dynamics hold the potential of generating the effective allocation of functions and densities throughout urban space. Ensuing spatial configurations would allow for flexible modes of production and provide cities with the required competitive advantage within a deregulated world economy.

- Spatial flexibility is so pivotal to urban growth that the idea of cities being made up of smaller cities within larger cities should be relinquished. Instead, the physical structure of cities should support flexible patterns of socioeconomic and demographic distributions throughout urban regions. Successful cities manage to attract and sustain local, regional, and global investments by facilitating diverse and flexible development arrangements.

- Architecture and building envelopes/ornaments cannot have far-reaching effects on individual attitudes and lifestyles. Urban design needs to be concerned more with theorizing spatial and physical patterns that are supportive of modern economic and social relations. Ensuing built configurations should also be conducive to higher living and environmental standards.

- Urban design practice requires a democratic setting and public dialogues with an emphasis on the integration of social, cultural, environmental, and physical form concerns. Urban design should be perceived as a public platform allowing planners, architects, and people to work collectively towards achieving sustainable and livable built environments. More than anything else, urban designers need to be sensitized to current social and economic dynamics as well as the public participation process. They need to understand regional planning and development process, urban economics, and individual lifestyle choices and preferred living arrangements.

5.3 Interpretations of Architects' Views:

'Design' rather than 'plan' was the architectural formula for regenerating and enhancing quality of life in cities. Successful urban spaces were featured as properly defined and historically proven urban rooms suited to preconceived communal and cultural exchange patterns. Architects generally echoed much of the emotional and intellectual disposition of postmodernists by calling for more diversity, more emphasis on local context and mixed land uses, urban regeneration, and building aesthetics (Ellin 1995; Taylor 1998; Venturi 1966; Rowe 1978) (Chapter 2, p. 22-4).

Architects adhered to a, more or less, traditionalist intellectual and praxis approach. They looked at pre-industrial civic typology as a viable urban design lexicon that is still valid and capable of accommodating the social and economic institutions of post-industrial cities. This included a desire to revive the social and symbolic functions of city streets and public spaces and the way they affect the urban experience (Krier R. 1979; Krier L. 1998; Jacobs 1961; Duany 1991; Gratz 1998) (Chapter 2, p. 21-4). Architects also raised critical issues and pointed to the negative impacts of zoning particularly for lower income groups. Their views coincided with the much-publicized arguments of the new urbanists who severely criticized the spatial and physical formations of modern cities and also called for reviving traditional built forms (Duany 1991; Gratz 1998; Calthorpe 1994; Kelbaugh 1997) (Chapter 2, p. 23-4). Architects' views were initially divided on the new urbanism architectural and planning principles but subsequent data analysis revealed the underlying structures in their positions. Although resenting the physicalist orientation within new urbanism, architects extended other physicalist visions, which are not so much intrinsically different from the new urbanist model. Some participating architects characterized the new urbanism as an extension of 'business as usual' of building low-density suburbs and favoured the higher-density and downtown-oriented development. **Physical elements such as vistas, urban axes, building facades, proportions, and decorative details figured prominently in architects' narratives as cornerstones for organizing urban space and igniting a culture of community.**

Architects conceptualized the good city as encompassing clusters of walkable, well-designed, and mixed-use neighbourhoods. A city thus formed was seen as livable, economically efficient and environmentally as well as transit friendly. They placed spatial characteristics at a premium and generally viewed well-coordinated public and private spaces as indispensable for successfully accommodating higher urban densities and improving the quality of life in cities. Various economic and ecological benefits were seen as undisputed by-products of compact urban developments. Investigation of data revealed that architects were unanimous in the view that the built form on the neighbourhood scale imparts certain perceptual and psychological dynamics. Urban livability in architects' descriptions was hinged on the notion of well-designed built environments with walkable enclosures, mix of uses,

and legible as well as imageable spaces. Regenerating the social and cultural dimensions of public squares and streets was seen as crucial to enhancing urban vitality and restoring a sense of place. Although architects provided a vision of potential livable urban configurations, they generally ignored current development patterns and the economic and social machinations of the modern metropolis. Urban transformations of the modern city were often described as imposed by land use regulations and artificially sustained by public policies (e.g. single-family mortgage financing, tax incentives, and extensive infrastructure projects).

Architects connected pedestrian movement patterns with spatial structures, built forms, and the allocation of uses through space. They perceived the city as potentially deconstructable into smaller quarters, neighbourhoods, or smaller cities within bigger cities. Conceptually, architects tended to disentangle land use controls and their attendant bureaucratic apparatuses from individual preferences, lifestyle choices, and market dynamics. Compact urban centres and traditional built forms were perceived as flexible repositories capable of supporting modern economic and social institutions. Architects singled out design education as indispensable for successful urban design practice. Hands-on design experience was perceived as a foundational requirement for engaging in large urban development projects. Although architects did refer to the need to integrate social, cultural, and environmental concerns in urban design practice, they equated urban design with architecture, albeit on a much larger scale. Architects maintained that current land use practices perpetuate two-dimensional and simplistic understanding of complex urban configurations. The need to inject a strong design component in land use planning education figured prominently in architects' narratives as crucial for sensitizing planners to design issues and enabling them to coordinate their work with urban designers.

While defining urban design as an amalgam of architecture and planning, most architects did not perceive fundamental shortcomings with current architectural education in terms of preparing effective urban designers. The role of the architect as urban designer was seen as that of an expert coordinator. By the virtue of his/her design education, an architect urban designer can coordinate with planners and synthesize architectural and planning knowledge in harmonious and livable built configurations. Urban design education was prescribed by most architects as a graduate endeavour after basic training in a design discipline. **Fig. 11 (p. 184) represents architects' views of modern urban space as a result of regulatory structures. The city was generally comprehended through its finite and constituent elements including streets, public squares, and neighbourhoods. Architects' descriptions tended to deconstruct societal institutions, regulatory frameworks and urban forms and deal with them as independent or, rather, decontextualized entities. These highly interdependent structures were conceptually dissociated and perceived as contiguous entities with little correlation among them.**

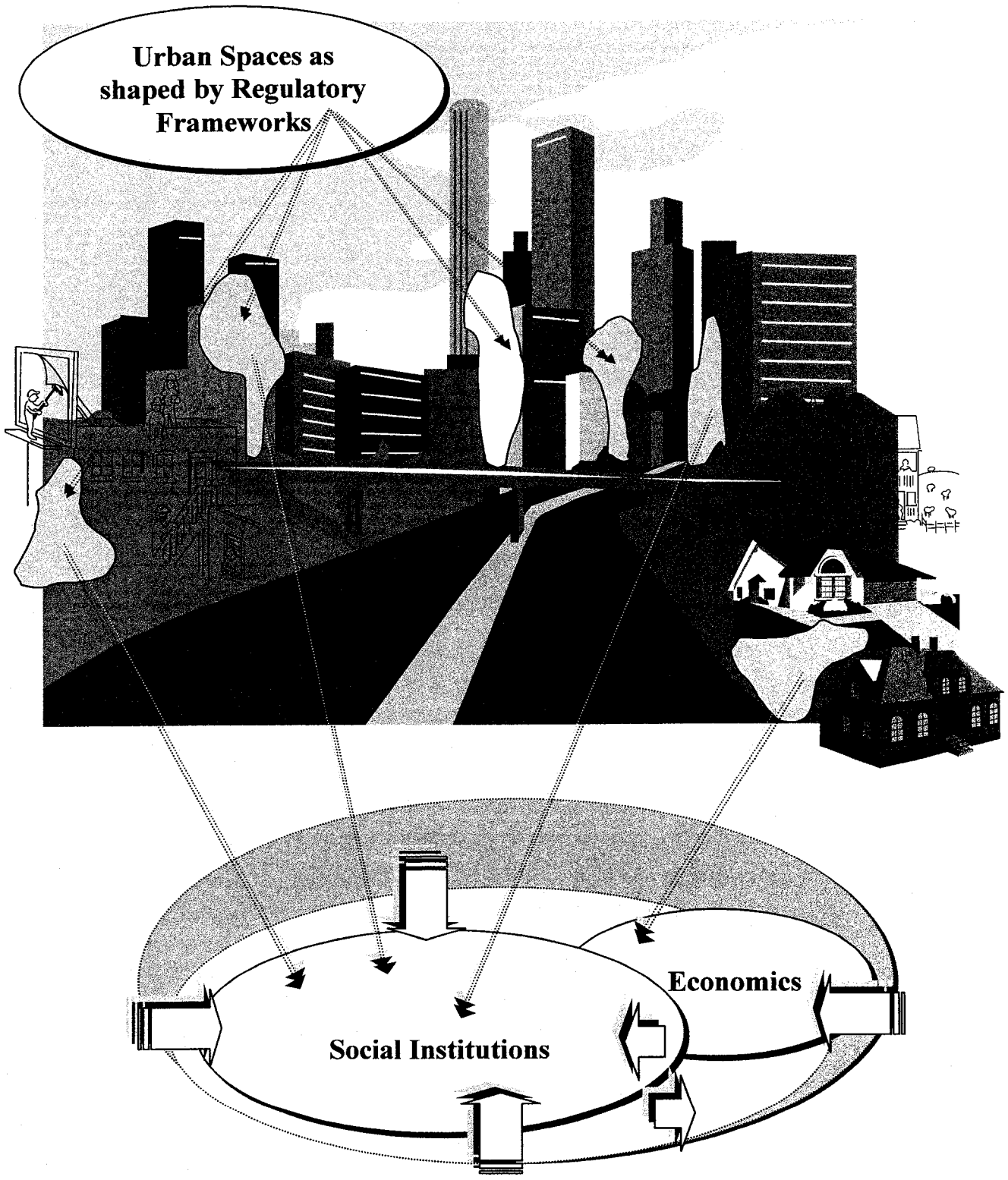


Fig. 11 Architects' Characterization of Urban Spaces as Delimiters for Social and Economic Dynamics and Regulatory Frameworks as Imposed on and yet Separated from Social Arrangements

The above graph abstracts architects' perspective of urban space and development patterns with the following characteristics:

- Zoning regulations compartmentalize land uses, reduce living densities, and eliminate necessary functional overlaps that define cities and create synergistic urban fabrics with attributes of wellbeing and socioeconomic vitality. Singular land uses and low densities are instituted by regulatory frameworks, public policies, and infrastructure provisions that make the single-family house in a suburban environment the most viable and desired living pattern. The zoning engendered metropolitan form is riddled with social and spatial mismatches between housing, commercial, and employment activities. The end result is uneven urban growth with restricted individual options and inflexible development patterns.

- Livable cities are composed of clusters of self-sustaining neighbourhoods with mixed uses and residential densities that can support efficient public transit as well as walkable and legible built forms. 'Neighbourhood' is the finite component of the city and the backbone of livable communities. While city neighbourhoods integrate to provide residents with their economic and social needs, every neighbourhood should be designed to provide its residents with housing, employment, parks, schools, and daily retail services within easy walking distance.

- There is a degree of synergy between the physical form and the socioeconomic success of urban neighbourhoods. If the public realm is attractive enough to make people leave the car behind and walk more, then retail businesses are supported and streets animated with pedestrian movement. This enhances the sense of safety and security in public areas and creates livable and sustainable cities.

- Physical characteristics of space define the urban experience. They have the potential of encouraging congenial social behaviours and cultural integration among city residents. Hence, neighbourhoods should be designed with human-scaled blocks, well-defined public spaces, and visually dynamic built forms.

- Urban space is perceived by all senses and every space has an effect on its users dependent on the size, height, colour, and details of the space. Urban spaces can acquire dynamic, static, or simply indifferent properties based on their physical proportions and geometry. For example, very narrow spaces may feel overly confining and oppressive; extremely large spaces with physically undefined

boundaries may impart a sense of emptiness and unease among users. Sharp edged features within urban spaces issue visual warnings and render urban rooms inhospitable to public use.

- Excessively repeated forms such as suburban and strip commercial landscapes and housing projects create monotonous urban experiences. Such forms cause a common disinterest in the public domain and lead to uncomfortable environs and behavioural aberrance. They also create empty spaces and may cause social malaise and arouse a fear of public areas. A combination of visual rhythms and regulated contrasts in terms of height, scale, and colour imbues urban space with a sense of excitement and stimulates healthy social interaction in public areas. An individual's emotional response and sense of place is heightened by vividness, singularity, and contrast among city views

- People experience the city fabric as a succession of interrelated buildings/masses and streets/open spaces. The image of the city is enhanced by the deliberate and artful articulation of masses and open spaces so as to establish volumes of public outdoors that are humanly scaled and conducive to positive social encounters. The design and planning process of built forms must go beyond the allocation of two-dimensional land uses and circulation elements (highway and road networks) and establish civic visions capable of fostering the culture of a community.

- Architectural details play an important role in enhancing the experience of public space. Public space boundaries or building walls should be infused with culturally textured surfaces that relate to the history and evolution of activities taking place in public areas. By relinquishing form templates and broad-brush approaches to large urban regions, which is typical of zoning and current development and building practices, cities would boast dynamic and use-articulated public spaces with the potential of heightening the drama and emotional content of urban living.

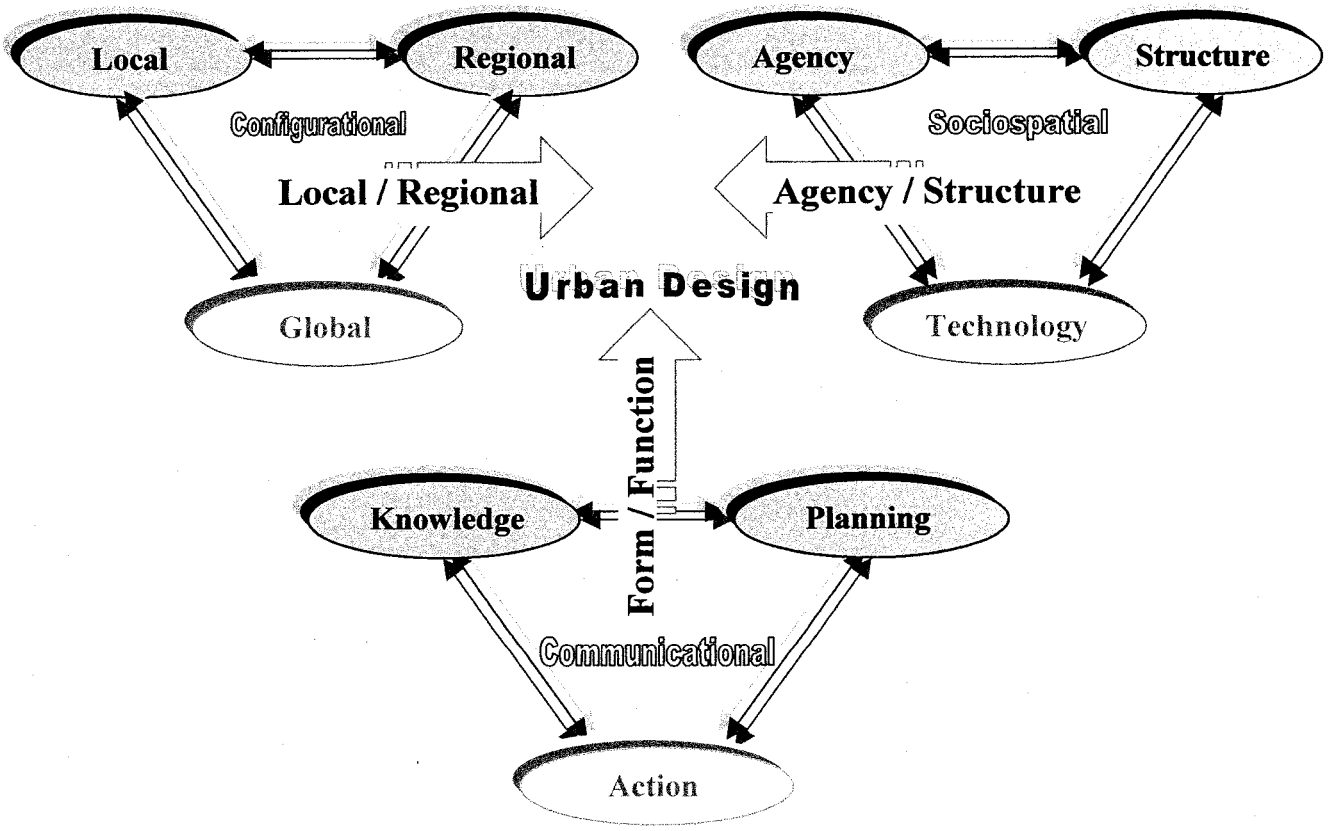
- Urban design should concentrate on restoring city cores by encouraging infill construction and discouraging peripheral development. Built fabrics should be regulated by architectural and public space guidelines that restrict building heights, promote mixed use and higher densities, and reshape suburban landscapes into functionally integrated, walkable, and transit friendly neighbourhoods. Multi-modal transportation should be encouraged by employing congestion taxation systems that control congestion, traffic calming techniques, and setting limits for urban growth.

- Metropolitan regions would have developed differently with more integrated urban communities had land use regulations been updated to counteract the negative repercussions of zoning. Hence current regulatory frameworks must be replaced by urban design strategies that focus on reviving historic and local building styles, promoting pedestrianism, maintaining human scale, creating visual interest, improving street and public space legibility, bringing back traditional civic squares and restoring the relationship between the city and the countryside.

- Urban design should be practiced by design professionals who appreciate spatial and configurational relationships among buildings, streets, and public squares. Effective urban designers should have a basic undergraduate degree in a design discipline and graduate urban design training and/or experience. Urban design students must research the history of the city and traditional civic and building typologies in order to relate current development patterns with established and historically proven built environments. Modern development regulations and two-dimensional land use practices must be overhauled and replaced by well-thought out civic visions that revive and enhance the role of streets, building masses, and public places in the social and economic dynamics of cities.

5.4 Defining the Gap:

The modern urban environment is the embodiment of both individual actions and societal structures on local and regional levels. Urban form and function within the modern city are inextricably linked and each is produced and reproduced by the other. An integrative understanding of these dynamics is needed in order to evolve with viable urban design theories and practice guidelines capable of enhancing quality of life in cities. It may all seem a little too rhetorical to say that both planning and architectural knowledge is essential for an integrative understanding of urban form and design issues. However, the findings of this study uncovered fundamental variations among the views of architects and planners that render the proposed integration between these professions rather elusive or at best very difficult to accomplish. Planners and architects were divided along three paradigmatic concepts: ***form/function, agency/structure, and local/regional,*** which reflected deep intellectual and praxis variations in understanding and dealing with built forms. These constructs represent the core ideas that emerged from the "Critical Social Praxis Model" (p. 51) and were validated by interview narratives.



Critical Social Praxis Model

Form/Function

Planning studies and praxes deal with urban form as a product of social relations. Within a planning paradigm, **Form Follows Function**, and urban space is generally conceived to accommodate specific forms of economic and social exchange and not vice versa. A space thus created is suitable for pre-defined social arrangements and would prevent or at least hinder other forms of social action. Resulting developments under this perception of urban form would be constrictive and rather unyielding to social and cultural transformations, which may, hypothetically, require the destruction of older patterns to clear the way for newer patterns. However, urban forms generally outlive urban functions and undergo various adaptations and changes to accommodate new uses.

The form of urban space cannot be perceived as a static entity or simply as a by-product of social relations. There are dialectics between function and form that negate the possibility of relating them in a linear model of social reason and physical outcome. As much as social relations presuppose urban space, they are also conditioned by its physical characteristics. By ignoring this dialectic between space and social action, many opportunities for enlightened redirection of urban space conception and production are missed with the consequence of entrenching inefficient physical relations and social inequalities. Planners' undifferentiated approach to urban form goes against the fundamental premise of urban design as an interventionist practice concerned with finding ways to improve and enhance human settlement patterns.

The architectural approach, on the other hand, is somewhat divorced from the current transformations in the North American urban geography. It is generally permeated with a sense of nostalgia and sentimental return to traditional forms. A methodical approach for understanding current urban and social changes is lacking. Architectural descriptions manifest a somewhat postmodernist attitude in which function is mandated by predefined spatial and architectonic relationships or more literally, **Function Follows Form**. With an emphasis on the visual and psychological dynamics of street environments, architectural studies aim to rectify the problems of the modern city and restore the cultural and human dimensions of urban space. While planners advocate a spaceless approach, architects subscribe to a form-grounded rationale that disengages societal and regulatory institutions and retrenches the urban system into finite physical locales (neighbourhoods). Planning and architectural views of the form/function relationships are difficult to reconcile and, at present, cannot be used symbiotically to achieve an integrative urban design understanding. As a result, urban design cannot simply be perceived as an amalgam of what architects and planners do.

Local/Regional

Planners highlighted the regional economic and social linkages in the modern metropolis. They referred to the formation of polycentric urban forms that are intrinsically different from the traditional mono-centric cities. Planners emphasized that modern transportation and technological advancements created a new urban/suburban logic within which neighbourhoods have become sub-regional entities with specialized and 'open' economies. The traditional urban core was replaced by a variety of regional centres that are optimally located to avail of different market characteristics. However, planners' narratives are generally devoid of the conceptual structures that correlate such regional changes to the day-to-day life of urban residents. Planners' analyses fall short of advancing operational perspectives of how these urban transformations may be translated into socially livable and culturally enriching urban environments, especially on a micro-level development. The spatial and physical form relations of the modern metropolis are generally seen as an inevitable by-product of the new economic and social transformations.

Architectural debates, on the other hand, generally depict the compact mixed-use neighbourhood as a microcosm of the good metropolis. The city is perceived as the sum of its neighbourhoods, which if spatially and architecturally perfected can accommodate the changing social and economic institutions of post-industrial urbanity. With little in the way of an analytical discourse, architectural debates presume that building visually and culturally rich local places and neighbourhoods will create economically efficient, environmentally responsive, and transit friendly cities. Links between local and regional scales of development are seriously lacking, which creates a huge gap between site-specific conceptual decisions and social and economic controls that govern the development of dispersed metropolitan formations.

Planners and architects' views regarding local/regional dynamics are not complementary. Planners and architects have completely divergent views regarding how things work within a metropolitan context. Planners continue to write regional and city-wide policies that cause unforeseen local changes and architects conceptualize site-specific and neighbourhood visions that contradict regional economic and social processes. Again, urban design under such contradictory paradigms cannot be perceived as an amalgam of architectural and planning knowledge. We need to examine the assumptions within architectural and planning studies and praxes in order to evolve with an integrative view of metropolitan spatial and social dynamics and potentially lay the foundation for an interdisciplinary understanding of urban design.

Agency/Structure

Unlike the form/function and local/regional issues around which planning and architectural views are mainly articulated, interpretations regarding structural and power relationships within urban societies are rather jumbled. Recent changes in planning theory exhibit a postmodern critical disposition calling for social equity and democratic communicative methods (Friedmann 1978; Krumholz 1990; Forester 1989; Innes 1995; Healey 1999). Urban development processes are frequently cited in planning literature as fraught with imperfections and structural distortions. Various studies argue that the division of the modern metropolis into urban and suburban worlds is largely based on class, race, gender, and ethnicity producing and reproducing distinct spatial structures that perpetuate social inequalities (Downs 1973; Harvey 1985; Castells 1977, 1983; Flanagan 1993; Gottdiener 1994; Ewing 1997; Spain 1995). However, planning praxes still demonstrate a modernist disposition in which land use regulations and rational systemic views are dominant. Urban development processes are explained in terms of free market dynamics and socioeconomic changes that precipitate inevitable spatial and built formations. Therefore, suburban developments reflect healthy economic and social processes through which people exercise choice regarding lifestyle and housing. Practicing planners generally do not support fundamental changes in current development controls or patterns.

Architectural studies and praxes, on the other hand, overplay the structural aspects of the modern urban form. From this perspective, suburban environments are created by zoning regulatory structures and, for the most part, imposed on people and do not reflect social preferences and/or lifestyle choices. Despite such dissatisfaction with zoning regulations, architectural debates invariably embrace a type of urban design control that is rather prescriptive and exclusive (Duany 1991; Krier 1998; Calthorpe 1994; Kelbaugh 1997; Gratz 1998). They prescribe unyielding physical design criteria and predetermined spatial relations between buildings, streetscapes, and open spaces. Massive state regulatory reforms and intervention strategies are recommended by architects to actualize their urban visions. In general, architectural structural interpretations of the modern urban form and the quest to improve living conditions are overshadowed by built form and architectonic concerns.

The distinction between architects and planners in terms of agency and structure is not readily apparent. However, the overemphasis by planners on individual actions and the reliance on the free market logic to explain urban development can entrench the status quo and deflect efforts aimed at improving the urban condition. This is problematic for urban design practices. Ignoring structural issues can engender a laissez-faire approach to urban development and reduce urban design to a dispensable exercise in urban 'decoration'. Similarly, architects' disregard to modern socioeconomic dynamics and the role of

human agency in shaping and reshaping urban regions is highly problematic. By overemphasizing the spatial and architectonic attributes of urban environments, architectural theories and praxes relegate individual preferences, lifestyle choices, and current market dynamics as inconsequential on the urban design agenda. A balanced perspective of agency and structural issues is crucial to understand current urban transformations and consequently devise urban design strategies that consider individual choices and reduce and/or ameliorate social inequalities.

5.5 Bridging the Gap: An Interdisciplinary Perspective of Urban Design

This study advocates an interdisciplinary perspective to urban design that is informed by critical and social theory analyses. By examining both the architectural and planning urban form paradigms, this dissertation lays a foundation for informed urban design debate. Following the line of reasoning presented so far, built forms are both the incubator of social processes and also the product of these processes. Built forms act as a provisory platform that facilitates/allows or hinders/forbids participation in urban action. At the same time, built forms are dialectically related to urban functions that consume and transfigure them to accommodate evolving social and cultural exchange patterns.

Social and cultural conventions presuppose urban space and are simultaneously dependent on urban space and the conjoint dynamics of local and regional developments. This means that local or micro-level social and physical changes can affect regional or macro-level social and physical transformations and vice versa. The new regional form cannot be simply conceived as a multiplied or an extension of traditional city form. It embodies new economic and social linkages that are no longer dependent on traditional city centres. By failing to appreciate metropolitan economic transformations, architects have confined their urban design theory to a limited local neighbourhood scale that is actually part of a regional network of socioeconomic and cultural dependencies.

Metropolitan transformations have dictated a new urban economy in which local areas have become more specialized and dependent on other parts of the metropolitan system. It is clear that urban design theory must relate to the new urban logic and establish innovative approaches to deal with the modern urban form. Understanding metropolitan regions and current market dynamics is inevitable for effective and potentially realizable urban design plans.

That said, It is important to avoid the indifferent approach by planners to local or neighbourhood design concerns. Urban design strategies should be capable of relating local areas to their regional structures without sacrificing the local context. Urban and suburban neighbourhoods or local areas are deeply involved with daily lives, histories and memories. The spatial and physical configurations of local areas contribute to the quality of urban experience.

The urban form is the result of the dialectics between social, political, economical, environmental and spatial processes. Urban agglomerations are shaped by the interconnected and aggregate dynamics of these processes. Effective urban design theories and strategies require recognition of the dialectical relationships between "Agency" and "Structure," "Local" and "Regional," and "Form" and "Function." This study takes a balanced and critical position that involves the concerns raised by the architecture and planning disciplines and perceives urban design as follows:

Urban design is the discipline and area of practice concerned with the shaping of built environments through the dialectical understanding and integration of form and function, agency and structure, and local and regional development dynamics all within a framework of a consensus building process.

Urban Design Definition

According to the above understanding of urban design, urban space and development patterns are best described with the following characteristics:

- Individual actions as well as structural forces produce urban space. Individual choices interact within the confines of a social system that, on the one hand, may entrench the status quo, and, on the other, may permit gradual and sustained transformations. This may lead, in time, to fundamental changes in that system as well as the social forces that contributes to its production. People's aspirations have produced the single-family house, which is driving the construction of vast suburban landscapes with shopping malls, strip commercial corridors and a car-oriented urban geography. The suburbs, in turn, precipitated social, cultural, and territorial hierarchies with diminished communal and environmental characteristics. The reproduction of built forms is constrained and/or motivated by existing social and economic hierarchies, infrastructure and development practices, financial mechanisms, regulatory frameworks, and private and public sector policies. The desire to restore the cultural and environmental qualities of built forms may ignite new ways to deal with urban space and gradually transform social and physical configurations. Architects and planners should be at the forefront of understanding and directing sociospatial transformations. Such understanding entails an appreciation of human agency and structural components of modern societies. It also entails the ability to devise urban design and development strategies that respond to the individual desire for high quality living, equal access to urban resources, and simultaneously meeting overarching environmental, social, and economic goals.

- The process of urban growth entails evolving and dialectical changes between local and regional developments. The social and economic geography of streets, squares, and parks in neighbourhoods are inextricably linked with the regional geography of arterial roads and highways, shopping malls, commercial corridors, and industrial and employment nodes. Main streets with retail frontages and mixed-use configurations cannot be consistently reproduced within modern urban neighbourhoods. The new metropolitan form provides businesses and commercial operations with unprecedented locational flexibility. Businesses can conglomerate outside urban centres and avail of large tracts of land and extended pool of skilled suburban workers. Neighbourhoods have become sub-regional entities with extensive social and economic connections with other sections of a large-scale metropolitan region. However, as the macro influences the micro so the micro influences the macro: gradual and sustained changes at the micro scale (neighbourhoods) may also produce effects at the macro or metropolitan scale. The enhancement of intra-and-inter-neighbourhood street connectivity may reduce the traffic impact on regional highway networks and the construction of new highways and suburban environs. This in return may facilitate the gradual development of new patterns of higher intensity and mixed-use arrangements that are compatible with metropolitan forms.

- Public policies (urban renewal, tax incentives, etc.), development industry practices, and regulatory frameworks (zoning, development permits, design controls, etc) are cultural artefacts that actualize social aspirations in terms of housing and density patterns, function and class mix, and modes of transportation. However, they are commonly produced within the confines of a hierarchical social system that values middle and higher classes. Urban renewal programs eradicated the affordable housing from some inner city areas and replaced it with highly regimented and socially alienating built forms. Builders promoted single-family housing in low-density suburbs and public and private financial mechanisms made it easier to build upscale residential developments rather than affordable or rental housing. Zoning was implicated in the territorial, social, and functional segregation of urban communities. It is critical for urban designers to assess the social implications of regulatory policies especially when these are currently being reconsidered or renewed altogether.

- The structural layout of urban/suburban neighbourhoods and connective urban geography is determined by regional as well as local economic and social dictates. The layout of local areas need consideration beyond traditional planning mandates (zoning, transportation, and development instruments) and customary architectural interests (buildings, streetscapes, and public spaces). Hence, the scope of urban design activity should be enlarged to incorporate an understanding of metropolitan dynamics and how these are implicated in demographic distributions and the allocation of uses throughout metropolitan space. Urban design needs to draw on multi-dimensional visions that encompass physical, socioeconomic, and environmental concerns and transcend the locally bound and uni-dimensional neighbourhood centred plans. Such a vision of urban design would be empirically based and differ from place to place according to the configurational and societal anatomy of metropolitan surroundings.

- Sustainability and livability in urban areas hinges on various socioeconomic, environmental, and political concerns involving job security, healthcare, educational standards, recreational and entertainment opportunities, clean air, soil, and water, stable biological domains, civic engagement and equitable access to local and regional public services. However, there is a degree of synergy between the physical form and the livability and sustainability of urban areas. The urban space envelop the day-to-day life experiences of city dwellers and affects their perceptual and experiential quality of urban living. Hence, social and economic functions should be correlated with human-scaled physical enclosures, well-defined public spaces, and visually and culturally animated built forms. The built fabric is the physical embodiment of social and economic institutions of the city. In that sense, it is a collage of buildings, movement patterns, and spaces that support the urban economies and enhance cultural experience. The way in which buildings relate to sidewalks and

street space, recession planes, ascent and descent, and the human body are all important considerations for articulating the public realm and establishing a fit between physical form and the social and economic requisites of urban living. Physical enclosure, the linkage between different public spaces, and cultural content are conjoined attributes of urban livability.

- Spatial flexibility and physical form differentiation are pivotal to urban growth and vitality. Metropolitan areas should be allowed to support flexible patterns of urban socioeconomic and demographic distributions so that they may attract and sustain local, regional, and global investments. By facilitating diverse and flexible development arrangements, cities can boast differentiated urban spaces with varying cultural dynamics. Hence, regulatory frameworks need to allow form, density, and use mix to evolve from cultural and economic requisites. Cities should not impose a blanket approach such as zoning or restrictive measures such as architectural controls, which may stifle creativity and hamper the development of innovative built forms. Planning for built forms should go beyond the simple allocation of two-dimensional land uses and circulation elements (Highway and road networks). Yet, it should not go as far as to set up professionally oriented static visions or blueprints for future built forms. Urban designers need to establish a balance between the current understanding of urban development processes/built form typologies and the future prospects of urban environments, which are commonly determined through the amassed ingenuity and actions of a plethora of individuals and community groups.

- The city is a growing social and physical canvas that requires the active participation and engagement of professionals, politicians, individuals, and community groups and urban coalitions. Although developing an integrated architectural and planning taxonomy is crucial to establish a basis for devising successful urban design strategies, engaging people directly and encouraging their participation in the conception and production of urban space is the foundation for creating socially, economically, and culturally sensitive urban environments. As much as urban design is a professional and academic construct, it is also public process through which people can exercise choice over the quality of urban life. Unless community-based and responding to individual aspirations for high quality living, professionally constructed urban design visions cannot foster community culture, change attitudes, reduce car use, or enhance urban livability.

- Urban form and function are interdependent. This means that spatial and architectural forms that are not supportive of the broad structural features and socioeconomic dynamics of modern urbanity cannot cultivate benign cultural behaviours or create livable environments. Higher densities and mixed-use developments may or may not be conducive to sustainable and livable experiences.

However, extremely dispersed spatial structures, undifferentiated built forms, and disconnected street networks are unlikely to encourage community culture and enhance the experiential quality of urban forms. The comprehension of the dialectical relationship between form and function is crucial to sound urban design education and practice. The existing context (whether natural, built, or just a set of cultural values) exerts a profound impact on design and development process. This brings history and local idiosyncrasies into perspective and renders urban design as a communal exercise that requires both professional and civic involvement. The design of urban space does not determine society, nor does society of a single era script the course of urban spatial change. Urban places outlive generations and societal structures and tend to fuse history, discovery, and entrepreneurialism into complex social and physical arrangements.

- Successful urban design practice needs a sustained balance between architectural and planning ideologies. Democratic settings and extended public dialogues allow for communal understanding and collective visions. However, without a design appreciation and an understanding of built form alternatives, urban designers cannot realize and/or translate such visions into good urban environments. The integration of knowledge professed here is a penetrating critical review of both architectural and planning ideas about city building processes. The local and regional intellectual intersection must be thoroughly investigated in order to develop a comprehensive understanding of the effects of local concerns on regional issues and vice versa. This will eventually precipitate an effective building and spatial typological resource leading to successful urban design interventions.

- The form/function relationship needs a redefining effort in order to develop a realistic agenda for urban design. Such an agenda will be able to highlight the dialectical interactions between form and function and facilitate the formation of an integrative urban design discourse. An integrative urban design discourse will ideally start within academic institutions by devising true interdisciplinary urban design programs encompassing a sustained balance between architectural and planning knowledge. With these programs in place, the potential of synthesizing architectural and planning understandings into holistic urban design visions will be substantially increased. Graduates of these programs would be able to bridge the current intellectual and praxis gap among practicing architects and planners.

5.6 Research Epilogue

This study examined the meaning of urban design within a North American context and set a framework for understanding the variations among architects and planners' views of urban from and development processes. The study brought together many theoretical constructs of crucial significance to understanding urban social and spatial structures. It raised critical questions regarding the dialectics of human agency and social structures on the one hand and built forms and social and cultural conventions on the other. It also engaged in a theoretical journey highlighting the essence of planning practice and theoretical paradigms that inform this study. The resulting Sociospatial, Configurational, and Planning Models created a theoretical amalgam of paramount importance for urban design studies. These models are essential for building an intellectual consensus on the urban design question. They provided the basis for the interview questions used in the dialogues with planners and architects and were subsequently used as a framework for the interdisciplinary understanding of urban design presented in this study.

The study theoretical models were based on an analytical review of social, architectural, and planning paradigms. The evolution of urban sociology from an emphasis on technology and demographic changes to structural and agency perspectives set an intellectual context for the emergence of structurationist and critical urban paradigms. Although some of these perspectives and paradigms may appear dated and were presented in a chronological framework, all these urban theories touched on critical aspects of the modern metropolis. The intellectual fusion of these theories in the Sociospatial Model (p. 38) provided valid and compelling urban design discussion themes. The subsequent juxtaposition of postmodern streams of social theory together with architectural and urban theories formed the Configurational Model (p. 43) that tackled different scales of urban conception including local, regional, and global. The integration of social learning and communicative paradigms backed by an extensive array of urban and architectural theory enabled the creation of the Critical Social Praxis Model (p. 51) that directed the intellectual discourse of this study.

The research and in-depth interview proceedings were informed by explanatory social, political, architectural, and planning models thus linking theory and practice and transcending singular and biased understandings of city building processes. The analytical process revealed an inherent contradiction in urban design understanding between planning-based and design-based professionals. These contradictions were so deep and entrenched that they thwarted the possibility of creating a comprehensive 'consensus' hypothesis on the urban themes under discussion. By exposing discrepancies and juxtaposing areas of disagreement among professionals, the study has accomplished a significant step towards achieving an interdisciplinary understanding of urban design. This study

highlighted the underlying intellectual and professional temperaments that hamper the potential of creating an inclusive understanding of urban form and design concerns. This study was not set up in a deductive mode of inquiry, that is to prove or disprove specific theoretical assumptions. Theories were mainly used as patterns to generate valid interview questions and enhance data interpretation. Research premises were grounded in an interdisciplinary review of relevant scholarly and professional material that brought together an extensive amalgam of social, planning, and architectural theories. In light of theoretical analyses and interviews with professionals from the region of Toronto, the research premises that characterize the architectural and planning approaches to urban design and their implications for practice and education may be characterized as follows:

1. The architectural approach to urban form and development process leans towards structural interpretations and generally overplays the need for state reform and intervention. This approach consequently marginalizes the role of individuals and cultural movements in shaping built environments. Such an approach would limit individual choices and precipitate strict bureaucratic land use controls that has the potential of suppressing new forms of urban development. It provides a limited means for understanding the complex sociospatial process that shape today's cities including but not limited to market/political dynamics, interest/neighbourhood groups, private/public partnerships, and postindustrial socioeconomic growth machines.

   The architectural approach encourages the enactment of urban growth mechanisms that are potentially more restrictive than zoning regulations that it originally hoped to reform. While politicizing the analysis of existing urban forms, the architectural approach depoliticizes the process of urban design practice in favour of singular interpretations and prescriptions for future urban developments. It rejects almost all forms of urban development that accompanied the modern city and proposes a return to traditional spatial forms and building typologies. While rejecting modernism and criticizing its ahistorical and decontextualized practices, the architectural approach to urban design dismisses existing and evolving modern built forms and champions a movement for reviving preindustrial planning practices.

   In essence, the architectural approach to urban design seeks to enforce a kind of a preindustiral spatial container on evolving social and economic institutions of postindustrial urbanity. In that respect, it envisions a linear process of urban development in which built forms facilitate predetermined social and economic practices. It provides for little room for innovative urban design practices and in a way puts a moratorium on devising new built forms. The architectural approach has serious implications for urban design education. It transforms the study of built forms to an

exercise in urban design theology through which students learn and experiment with traditional elements such as vistas, space and building proportions, streetscapes, and facades. It discourages urban design students, educators, and community from engaging in interactive and social learning practices that would lead to new interpretations and innovative built forms.

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2. Architects tend to emphasize local idiosyncrasies and public place dynamics. They deconstruct cities into finite structural units or neighbourhoods and conceive livable cities as made of well designed public spaces, good streetscapes, walkable and defined built enclosures, and human scaled urban spaces. They generally tend to ignore the dialectics of local, regional, and global development issues and they perceive built forms and details as determinative of the urban experience. This approach leads to devising site-specific solutions that may contradict regional development dynamics. Architects have invariably encouraged the development of main streets with the traditional mix of retail, office, and residential uses within new urban/suburban developments. While such forms have faired relatively well within traditional built forms, they do not necessarily fit within a postindustrial development framework. Traditional main streets have been transformed from retail and employment corridors serving their immediate residential surroundings to regional entities with highly specialized retail activities and a metropolitan-wide catchment area. Main streets that exist within traditional downtowns no longer provide the daily needs of neighbouring residential districts such as bakeries, vegetable stands, and variety stores. They increasingly accommodate speciality and upscale retail items that attract elite urbanites and suburbanites with certain cultural aspirations.

   The architectural approach to metropolitan developments revolves around the idea of creating a chain of self-sustained and walkable neighbourhoods that might be connected by rail transit corridors. The proliferation of such units supposedly holds the potential of creating more sustainable and liveable urban environments. The architectural approach to urban design fails to grasp the magnitude of social, economic, and technological transformations that accompanied the development of metropolitan regions. Today's urban developments are no longer bound by central service areas or traditional city centres. The traditional mono-centric models have given way to multiple-nuclei with different sized and open economic structures. These multiple nuclei prefer to avail of scale economies in terms of labour, transportation, information, and services. They tend to remain specialized and trade with each other thus creating a complex web of socioeconomic relations that prevent the potential of forming self-sustained or enclosed centres in the traditional sense. The geography of employment, commercial, and industrial activities has changed from being

nested within the commuter sheds of residential areas to highly open and specialized regional structures. By imposing a dated spatial and physical conceptual morphology on today's urban formations, the architectural approach has effectively marginalized its role and confined its activities to urban beautification and streetscape decoration. This has also translated to limited educational urban design curricula that entrench the architectural focus on localized events and sidetrack the reciprocal and involving relations between neighbourhoods and their regions. Students engage into reductionist design exercises that deal with small urban areas in isolation from their metropolitan surroundings and the potential of global economic restructuring on shaping cities.

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3. The planning approach generally ignores structural considerations and hence has a laissez-faire perspective to urban form. It potentially entrenches social inequalities in the modern metropolis and deals with current urban forms as inevitable corollaries to demographic shifts and technological advancements. It also marginalizes the role of urban design as a physical intervention tool to redirect urban development. Planners have administrated the zoning exercise over the last several decades. Zoning on its own could not have catalyzed the rapid development of suburban areas. However, it has generally provided a legal planning framework for state policies such as mortgage financing, infrastructure deployment, and highway building. Such mechanisms have entrenched the dominance of the private automobile, segregated urban functions, and precipitated glaring socioeconomic distinctions between living standards in central cities and suburbs.

   Today's metropolitan formations are fraught with imperfections and structural distortions that express elite desires and disenfranchize poorer stratums of urban residents and reduce their ability to improve their living conditions. Understanding the role of zoning and other public and private policies in entrenching such structural distortions and economic hierarchies is inevitable to enhance equality of access to regional resources for urban/suburban population. Having held the responsibility and the power to administer the development process for such a long time, planners have become indifferent to the impact of zoning on shaping development patterns. They have generally dealt with existing land use controls as part of the free market workings that may not warrant critical assessment and/or modification. The planners' approach to urban forms tends to emphasize a linear process in which built environments are shaped by social and economic dynamics. It provides for little understanding of the interdependent dynamics of form and function. Built forms could be hedged about by exacting rules that prohibit any attempt to modify or use them differently. While zoning regulations are being modified in some cities to allow flexible

forms of development, the urban geography of most North American cities had been cast into segregated land uses and isolated social classes with little prospect for changing such patterns in the near future. The planners' approach to urban development is akin to a spectator's perspective. It involves some monitoring and voicing concerns but stops short of resisting or presenting a new vision. This reduces urban design practice to nothing more than a social rhetoric or a cosmetic exercise that supports capitalist and political objectives. Planners' approach to urban form as a dependent variable shaped and reshaped by function generates a general attitude of indifference towards design education. It marginalizes design as an effective planning tool to guide future developments. Planning educational curricula engage students into technical exercises without examining the dialectical relations between socioeconomic practices and city form, which provides a provisory platform for urban action.

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4. Planners tend to emphasize regional and global issues and in the process ignore the physical characteristics of urban space especially on a micro or neighbourhood level. This approach has generally led to formulating a multitude of comprehensive planning policies, which aim to optimize metropolitan functions regardless of their impact on micro-scale built environments. Such policies include, but not limited to, broad-brush land use mechanisms that isolate urban functions in order to reduce overlaps and entanglement of service provisions between housing, commercial, and employment centres. Planning policies also accept the fundamental engineering premises regarding the development of limited access and hierarchical transportation networks (Highways/arterial roads, access roads, etc.) that slice through urban/suburban neighbourhoods without much regard for integrating land use and movement patterns. These also included an array of overarching social and economic strategies that are not generally synchoronized with physical development patterns.

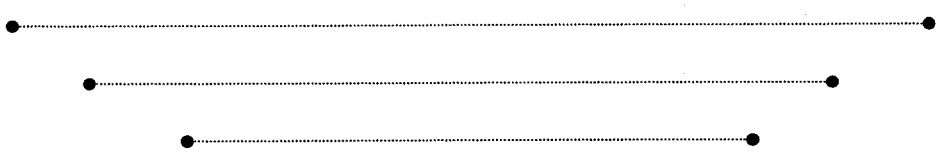
   In that sense, the planning approach to urban development perceives localized built environments or neighbourhood physical form as an offshoot of efficient macro-level economic and social strategies that express peoples' desires and lifestyle choices. This has serious implications for urban design practice because it marginalzes the role of urban design and relegates its activities to the end of complex planning processes that include overarching social and economic goals but no clear objectives regarding the localized physical form relations. Urban designers are generally invited to join the planning process at a later stage during which most spatial and physical parameters of developments have been decided by market mechanisms, obsolete zoning rules, or simply permitted to evolve without a clear configuratiional vision. Urban design practice is thus reduced to an exercise in street beautification, façade improvement, and add-on elements such as sitting benches,

planter boxes, and sidewalk flooring patterns. Local and regional development dynamics are highly interdependent and require urban design integration early on in the planning process in order to coordinate metropolitan-wide planning policies with configurational and spatial relations on a micro-scale. The integration of urban design and planning policy would allow for a better coordiantion between transportation and land uses on the one hand, and development controls and evolving built environments on the other hand. The planners' neglect of urban design was also reflected in planning education curricula. Urban design is generally provided as an elective or non-core planning course and when considered, it is commonly taught as an artistic endeavour or a marginal topic that requires little or no integration with other planning social and economic courses.

As shown throughout the interview data analyses and interpretations, the views of architects and planners tended to occupy opposite ends of proposed research constructs. Planners and architects' perspectives were divided along **Form/function**, **agency/structure**, and **local/regional** aspects of urban development. These reflected deep intellectual and praxis variations in understanding and dealing with built forms. Planners perceived urban form as a product of social and economic forces, that is urban space is a backdrop for civic institutions, private development initiatives, and public action. In that sense, individual decisions and living options are not in any way constrained and/or curtailed by built forms, which have little or no power on behavioural and cultural attitudes of urban residents. Regulatory frameworks and the ensuing suburban configurations were described as social artefacts that actualize individual and collective cultural aspirations. Hence, free market dynamics hold the potential of generating effective distribution of functions and urban/suburban densities. Planners also perceived the city in terms of regional economic and social interdependencies rather than the amassed physical locales of people's living patterns and urban experiences. Architects, on the other hand, emphasized the importance of built configurations and spatial relations in shaping economic, social, and cultural patterns. Rather than a form mandated by function, architects viewed 'good' urban form as a generator of viable economic and social dynamics. In that sense, individual decisions regarding lifestyle options are, indeed, shaped by existing spatial and physical relations. These spatial and physical relations as well as zoning regulations have the potential to hinder or help an individual's choice and consequently determine his/her share of urban action. Architects also perceived the city in terms of its nooks and crannies, that is public places, neighbourhoods, buildings, architectural facades and details, retail frontages, and walkable enclosures and so on. They saw the city as more or less the sum total of its neighbourhoods, streets, and squares, which define urban experiences and determine socioeconomic prospects. As a result from the critical examination of architects and planners' views, this study advocates an interdisciplinary understanding of urban from and development processes. The dissertation

provided a framework for understanding the current professional and intellectual divide over the conception of 'good' built forms. It also established a rationale and potentially unravelled various theoretical and practical venues, which aim to further and eventually develop an integrated urban deign vision. Each and every theme emanated from theory analyses and subsequently tackled in the interview proceedings can be posed as a significant question for more in-depth research associated with urban design. For example, discussions about land use regulations indicated that zoning bylaws and density controls are inextricably linked with transportation, home ownership, gender, racial, and class conflicts within modern cities. Further investigation of the interrelationships between these constructs can facilitate the creation of alternative development systems and may eventually precipitate socially and culturally integrative built forms. With a balanced understanding of agency and structural dynamics within modern communities, proposed urban design strategies can accommodate cultural aspirations of the middle and upper middle classes without compromising the ability of disadvantaged classes to attain their economic, social, and cultural goals. Another example is the theoretical debates regarding the local and regional development dynamics.

A balanced urban design agenda needs an integrative perspective of the mutual impacts between macro-and-micro level urban patterns. Investigating such impacts can generate a deeper understanding of metropolitan dynamics and provide innovative development strategies capable of integrating physical, natural, socioeconomic, and cultural environments. Of particular significance among the themes raised by this study is the relationship between urban form and function. The study of form and function dynamics is crucial for developing a new and potentially effective urban design discourse that integrates architectural and planning knowledge. This study was neither aimed at delineating a description for a 'good city form' nor developing a grand theoretical urban design scheme. It aimed to demonstrate the complexity and multi-dimensionality of urban form and development processes that negate the possibility of confining urban design to either architectural or planning analyses. Urban design requires the critical examination and integration of various architectural and planning constructs as well as the active participation of individuals and communities. This study is only the beginning of a lifetime professional involvement in developing a socially, economically, and environmentally responsive and integrative urban design agenda.



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