## THE ART OF THE SUSTAINABLE STREET

A Thesis Submitted to the Committee on Graduate Studies in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences

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#### **ABSTRACT**

#### The Art of the Sustainable Street

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The street influences our sense of community every day. It is argued that getting the street right communicates a collective vision for action leading to sustainable community.

This investigation continues conversations for community repair and resilient change, especially for small town Ontario. The researcher is informed by ways of seeing inspired by Walter Benjamin's literary montage, *The Arcades Project*. By method of collecting and connecting information from literature sources spanning several decades and recent interviews, this thesis demonstrates in narrative form the value to community of everyday street details of human scale. Recurrent themes are adopted as technique in validation. Findings are presented from various perspectives including those of the design professional and the politician.

The sustainable street enables communication. Research outcomes indicate knowledge transferred through the art of storytelling supports place-making and connection to community. Fragments of information connect into themes defining safe streets which foster trust among strangers, and facilitate citizenship and good governance.

Key words: sustainable community, citizenship, safe streets, Benjamin, governance

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#### **GLOSSARY OF TERMS**

Including Key Words and Definitions used in *The Art of the Sustainable Street*:

Art

Communication through narrative form, using storytelling to transfer knowledge. Art can be used to make connections. Art can also be used to encourage or affirm positive behaviours towards sustainability including techniques of distraction or the creative fostering of narrative. For example, widening sidewalks and adding seating to create places in the street which attract people.

**Active Transportation** 

Generally defined as human powered modes of transportation and can include public transit. Active transportation optimizes the freedom of choice and mobility of users of the street.

**Common Language** 

Processes, including definitions measures and rules, used in dialogue to facilitate alignment towards common goals, like safe streets for all people. Common language in shared meaning also enables communication in the street.

**Complete Street** 

A complete street accommodates everyone's needs. Related terms include 'green street' with more attention to infrastructure such as rain water infiltration and low heat pavements; 'flexible street' is a multi-use platform for activities and transportation; and, 'naked street' has minimal or no instructional signage, and relies on design and eye contact. All serve to optimize form and function of the public street. I include the practice of citizenship as a necessary function of the good and complete street, the sustainable street.

**Edge of Diversity** 

The street is a social and cultural edge where diversity in uses and users occurs. In this thesis, the street is a permeable boundary between public and private realms, characterized by complexity and movement.

**Fragment** 

Collectable or reproducible information, a bit of knowledge. When connected with other fragments form patterns and themes. The pieces are collected as part of montage and can be an idea, observation, label, or measure of a physical characteristic.

**Montage** A collection of information, including quotes and observations, from

the place and time of the observer.

**Pattern** An arrangement of fragments. In my thesis, used interchangeably with

'theme' and both terms signify reproducible or transferable knowledge that can recur over time and in different places.

**Place** A "...location invested with meaning and purpose, as opposed to simply

'space'.... Space becomes 'place' when we see it as special, unique, or distinct in some way. [Sustainability] ...is one of the perspectives that we can use to define, appreciate, and protect spaces that are significant to us" (Linton, p.

37).

**Place-making** To acknowledge authenticity of place, including characteristics and

experiences that make a place unique and memorable. Place-making relies on place and time of the viewpoint of an individual or collective, perspective from the present in looking back to the past and forward

to a future.

**Realm** A domain of activity. In my thesis realm includes a domain of diversity

in activity, such as the street supporting many individual narratives.

**Reflexivity** A social theory, based on a circular relationship between cause and effect.

The narrative approach used in my thesis is a self-referential process I use to craft my story. Through reflexive processes I also hope to understand my area of influence as an individual and as a member of community with respect to sustainability for small town Ontario. Reflexivity has a role in gap-

spotting.

**Sustainability** I define sustainability as resiliency of a place or system, like

community. Meaningful change includes degrees of resistance which results in a necessary tension for reflexive processes utilized in finding balance. For example, a street is subjected to competing demands and expectations. Ken Greenberg defined sustainability not as a layer to be applied but a way of synthesizing and connecting everything. Sustainability can also be defined as reproducibility, a cycle of resources or an emergent condition which can be described as

self-referential or self-regulating.

**Sustainable Street** My term for the good street, otherwise known as a complete street.

Also, a right of way "...designed and operated to create benefits

relating to movement, ecology and community that together support a

broad sustainability agenda embracing the three E's of environment, ecology and economy" (Greenberg, E.). In addition the AODA, Accessibility for Ontarians with Disability Act, is a progressive piece of legislation that addresses universal accessibility through design.

**Trust** 

A cultural value, indicator of safety, common rules understood and developed over time, a priority for resilient community. Jane Jacobs (1961) argued trust between strangers is vital to a good street.

**Universal Design** 

Aims to "...simplify life for everyone by making products, communications and the built environment more usable by as many people as possible at little or no extra cost" (Center for Universal Design [UD], North Carolina State University). I also describe Universal Design as a language of standards and common rules enabling communication in shared space. Themes emerge and are reproducible in different contexts. Since UD is a reference to human scale, it can be measured, assessed, changed and improved through reflexive processes in a common language.

Walking

This mode of transportation is a means of place-making and meaning-making. Connections are made through the eyes and mind, light reveals the unfolding story. As a unit of measure for everyday living, the human body and speed of walking is a common measure of street as place.

**Way of Seeing** 

A personal point of view in making connections between fragments of knowledge. Metaphors encountered include 'mosaic' (light revealing), 'tapestry' (system of seen and unseen parts) and 'montage' (changeable assortment). I was informed by my reading of Walter Benjamin's *The Arcades Project*, about collecting information and making connections. For a place and time, the connections between fragments of everyday life can influence processes and movement towards sustainability, including sustainable community.

"So, what's the problem?"
A gesture, inferred from Toad, c. 2006
"The painted foliage on the ceilings of the Bibliotheque Nationale. As one leafs through the pages down below, it rustles up above."
Walter Benjamin, (1999), The Arcades Project (Das Passagen-Werk), p.549

#### **Forward**

## The Scene through the Eyes of the Storyteller

This is a story about the street and how it influences community. Getting the street right can demonstrate the intent of a collective vision for action towards sustainable community.

In this thesis the writer shares her story at this place and time, how she has come to see and understand a good street. Fragments of information are collected in a process akin to montage. These fragments include knowledge gained through the researcher's professional and political experiences. Other voices contributing knowledge include sources from literature review and interviewees who share stories about their experience in building and repairing community. In addition, the researcher ventured outside her professional and political realms to be informed by a way of seeing inspired by her reading of Walter Benjamin's, *The Arcades Project*.

Findings include emerging themes and connections between fragments which speak to timeless lessons or prompt a different way of seeing. It is anticipated the themes will be reproducible as knowledge transferred through storytelling.

The researcher has a foundation in professional experience as a landscape architect and as a municipal politician and town councillor in the Town of Cobourg, Ontario. Cobourg is a lakeside community with a population of about 18,500 people located about an hour's drive east of Toronto. How her venture into local

government came to be is presented later in this section as *The Tale of the Toad*. It is also a story of a beginning of active citizenship in the street.

The larger context for this investigation on the sustainable street is the future viability of smaller towns in south eastern Ontario, towns like Cobourg. It is hoped that the reader will find here information applicable to other communities, and perhaps, including their own. For knowledge to be transferable, findings pertaining to a good street are also positioned in context of neighbourhood since communities are composed of multiples of neighbourhood.

This thesis is addressed to the citizen in all of us, even though it is also written through the eyes and mind of a designer. Through citizenship individuals learn to care, and collectively they can find ways to change their community and move towards making better places. Sharing knowledge through the telling of a story is an invitation to find common ground and to learn something new. With regard to the street, a citizen need not know what makes a good street and why, just to recognize when change is needed and how to inspire action. However, in the interest of solving complex issues and dismantling barriers, a citizen may seek to better understand what the fragments of the street are and how they can be connected and why it matters. A main purpose of this investigation is to identify and evaluate fragments of the street in design for sustainability.

As a common public asset, the street is for many people part of their everyday. The street is a permeable edge between the private and public realms where people move regularly. And, as an edge, the street is a place of complexity

which can support diversity in use and users. Further, difference and diversity can flourish when there is a shared or common language among people in the street. This common language includes rules and policies to enable trust between people in the street and is facilitated by universal standards such as design for accessibility for all people.

A question of inquiry is what is the art of the sustainable street? In context of sustainable community, art is defined as communication. In this thesis, the primary purpose of the street is identified to be communication even though the present day street is commonly viewed as a space for circulation. The stories in the street are communication characterized by movement. In addition, storytelling is a form of communication which can serve as an equalizer in society. And, through citizenship, personal involvement is at the root of sustainability.

Another view for the art of the sustainable street is a balancing of energy input and output through technology to ease the financial demands on the public taxpayer since the building and maintenance of the street are typically large expenditures in the municipal budget. Ways to leverage the value of the street and street system as assets include, as examples, collecting energy from pavements and from soils below the surface or new ways of accommodating the transportation of energy and services. Although these questions may be integral to a larger investigation, leveraging the value of the street in terms of economic expansion of the public asset is outside the scope of this thesis.

In the following chapters the researcher narrates a story as it unfolds along her path of investigation. Chapter 1, as Introduction, addresses the scope and positioning of this story of investigation in the storyteller's place and time and includes a description of research methods and anticipated findings. In Chapter 2 the researcher investigates a new way of seeing and collecting information through her reading of Walter Benjamin's *The Arcades Project*. Chapter 3 revisits some familiar voices and engages new ones, various experts who wrote about the design and purpose of the street and creating good communities. The concepts and arguments are presented as time tested patterns and themes which are characteristic of good street and which hold value for community. Chapter 4 continues the conversations, and includes a repositioning of the point of perspective with an exploration of citizenship and the relationship between the citizen and local government with respect to a dialogue for building resilient places. In Chapter 5 is a presentation of findings.

In essence, the sustainable street is a good street and safe for all to use. The street influences community and is a place for storytelling by an individual and the community, including the practice of citizenship. The street itself has a voice and the street's story is a physical manifestation of community vision.

#### The Tale of the Toad

This is a story of citizenship. It is as it must be, a personal story of a citizen involved in her community.

A Case Study of Effecting Change, Anatomy of an Activist: "How I Got Into Politics", or, "What the Garden Toad Said to Me"

The toad stared at me, seeming to say through his bull dog like stance. 'So, what's the problem?'

I had been faced with a dilemma. Do I conform or do I take a stand for something that I believed in? It was something that seemed to be different, an idea based on a different value.

I wanted to grow a garden in the street, on the boulevard in front of my house. The corporation that is the town helped me with this decision.

Reconstruction of the street in front of my home resulted in the topsoil being taken away and to be replaced with stony fill. It would be hard to nurture a lawn in those conditions. I would be a slave to the town in order to fulfill their desire to have a nice green lawn boulevard which would need to be fed and watered and cut. So, I decided to work with nature and let the wildflowers grow. I was happy to edit my garden so that the sidewalk remained clear for passers-by and the street safe for traffic, respecting regulations that served to protect my community and me.

I made friends as a result of this decision, including people and butterflies.

The town public works division was not amused. A wildflower garden was not their idea of what is right and useful or legitimate. It did not help me that a complaint was received. They could not clearly identify what rules I had broken; it was just that they did not like my garden. As one supervisor said, there was not enough

colour in it. They told me to conform based on an aesthetic even though no safety issues were identified.

Then, I met the toad, the largest one I had ever seen, who lived in my garden. It was a spiritual encounter and one that felt personal. It was a direct connection with nature, a reminder that I am one living thing in a system of living things. I was humbled.

And I thought, what is right?

Well, the Ontario Superior Court set the precedent in other cases¹ of gardening on the public boulevard and cited the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, forcing the City of Toronto to change its by-laws. Freedom of expression and exercise of environmental beliefs is a right. This right extends to the public street boulevard in front of one's property since the municipality expects that the maintenance of those public lands is the responsibility of that adjacent property owner. What is also right is being responsible for one's role as a member of the community. So, respect for your neighbour is also right. Everyone does not have to agree but community support through acceptance generally is affirming for an individual. Diversity and difference, not conformance, makes a more resilient community.

It appears that I did not hold a different value, but a different form of expression of a shared value which became a question of rights. I learned a valuable

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cases include Court Decision Can LII 26796 (ON SC) Counter v. Toronto (City of), 2002, Pitt, J.; and, Bell v. Toronto (City of), 1996, Fairgrieve Prov. J.

lesson. Question your government, both the bureaucracy and the politicians. As individuals we need to ask 'why?' more often. Asking the question opens dialogue.

Better yet, effect change from the inside.

Getting Elected: How It Started...

The call was made. A group of neighbours asked if I could lead their cause. They wanted to save a tree-lined heritage carriageway as a linear park and neighbourhood pathway from development. A land developer wanted it as a building lot. Ultimately we won and succeeded in getting a Town Council decision reversed. The treed laneway would become a park and would not be cleared for just another building lot. In our effort to protect what belonged to the public we annoyed the developer who had bargained behind closed doors; we annoyed the Councillor who thought we had addressed Council too many times and in the end changed her mind and did not vote to support us; and, we suffered strained relationships among friends who differed in opinions of priorities and values. But the neighbours were happy and we got the job done. The community has become the steward of a small park, their own neighbourhood park.

The fight over saving the laneway and its trees gave me a public presence and my friends, new and old, suggested that it was time to run for office. People wanted change from the status quo. Two years later I was elected for my first term.

Interestingly, my boulevard garden became a lightning rod among my campaign team. An advisor suggested that I had better cut down the boulevard 'weeds' or I would lose votes. I responded, if I cut it down I will lose votes! The boulevard

garden was a symbol of change, something different. I am now in the middle of my second term as a municipal councillor and my boulevard garden still grows. It reminds me that thinking differently can lead to good decisions. The role of an elected representative of the community can change with the issue. As an activist I am focused on immediate cause and prepared for debate, and as advocate I am a facilitator on cause for complicated problems or long term solutions. Consensus, disagreement, deferral or decision by majority vote can be viewed as a demand for change and is a constant factor in decision-making by local government on priorities and policies.

Ironically, I was put in charge of writing the revised Boulevard Maintenance By-law for my community. Where is that big toad?

Getting on with it....

I have heard more than once during class discussion at Trent, particularly from students, that government is responsible for change and that government must do something towards achieving sustainability. We 'individuals' as a collective can be effective in government. We elect our local government and we can engage in self-government. Sustainability studies would benefit students hearing from leaders in politics and government if that is, in fact, where change should be made towards a just and sustainable society. Action towards sustainability needs leaders. Get involved, I say! Some examples include volunteering to participate as a member of a council advisory committee, or organizing a neighbourhood group with a specific project in mind to improve the neighbourhood.

I did not anticipate I would be living in parallel universes during my studies at Trent. While I attempted to maintain distance between my research and my personal experience in the street in front of my home, the two informed each other.

My proposed version of the by-law to permit gardens to one metre in height, or about three feet, was voted down by Town Council in April 2013. The new Boulevard By-law was very restrictive, allowing gardens to only eight inches in height. Citizen gardeners became upset that an anonymous complaint could result in the destruction of their boulevard garden by the Town. Letters to the Editor were published and presentations made to Council. In response to a citizen delegation Council sent the by-law back for review and revision in late September 2013. Meanwhile, my boulevard garden was subject of a feature article about nature in the urban environment in a professional design magazine.

In the spring of 2014, I made a delegation to Council as a citizen, removing myself from my Councillor seat for the occasion. I let pictures tell the story. I showed more than one hundred photographs of different boulevard gardens in Cobourg I collected during 2013. All were in violation of the restrictive eight inch height including some of the Town's own planting, and all while, my own boulevard garden was being ravaged.

A revised by-law to better accommodate gardens, to two and half feet, was presented to Town Council in May 2014. The motion carried.

Since then, public awareness of the plight of the eastern Monarch butterfly has increased. Attitudes about what constitutes acceptable garden plants changed.

For example, in 2014, the Ontario provincial government removed the native milkweed from the Noxious Weed List of the Ontario Weed Act. People began asking for me for plants and seeds for their own gardens, to share with their grandchildren. My boulevard garden survived and has become respected by more neighbours and the Town authorities.

#### **CHAPTER 1** Introduction

## Place and Time: My Point of Perspective

In Chapter 1 the topic of study, the art of the sustainable street, is positioned at my point of perspective, my place and time, living in small town Ontario.

Following an introduction, the scope of research is identified in a thesis statement, the problem and symptoms are outlined, the results are listed, and several opportunities for further investigation are acknowledged.

The story of my journey to find my new role in building sustainable community begins by moving towards a better understanding of the importance of details, fragments of the everyday. However seemingly mundane, these fragments and the connections between them can contribute to stories which make a community a place for human beings to thrive and find happiness. Throughout this investigation the guiding star is sustainability, although admittedly, the cloud formed by my attempt to connect too many ideas at once has occasionally obscured the beacon and resulted in my wandering. However, the telling of my story is not a linear process, but one that is better described as cyclic and reflexive. My narrative is also permeable, open to ideas which may influence my path. My narrative includes methods of collecting and sharing information, finding connection through storytelling. And, in the street there are many stories. In addition, by moving forward from my place and time I am reminded of where I have been and this, too, informs me.

This research is not about finding a perfect solution; it is about how to think about finding a right solution for a place and time. Sustainability Studies belongs in many facets of life and processes of decision-making, including those involving the active citizen. Strength of long term vision for sustainability enables a variety of individual and collective mandates. The creation of new paths can lead towards enriching and applying knowledge in both new ways and rediscovered traditional ways.

Along my journey I learn new stories and revisit familiar ones. Walter Benjamin wrote about Paris and its street arcades at a time my parents were infants. The city of Paris has been well studied over time. Paris is an example of resiliency through change. Stories about details that matter to citizens in the street are rediscovered when I was a child by people like Jane Jacobs and Christopher Alexander. I learned from their books, recognized as important writings at the time I was an undergraduate student in landscape architecture at the University of Guelph. These texts include Alexander et al. (1977, 2<sup>nd</sup> printing 1978), A Pattern Language: Towns, Buildings, Construction, remain influential today. Organizations advocating for building better communities, like Smart Growth America and Complete Streets for Canada, influence the design of streets in towns and cities by collecting and sharing information about making good streets. For example, fragments of the street can be unified by standards or regulations which stipulate the spacing of street trees to calm traffic. My view is also informed by my experience as a community representative and policy maker in local government. And, it is often by walking in my community that I learn its stories.

My investigation into the writings of others also informs my progress. For example, I discovered a different way of seeing inspired by my reading of Walter Benjamin. In *The Arcades Project*, Benjamin (Benjamin, Eiland & McLaughlin, trans. 1999) shared his collection of fragments of information as a literary montage, leaving the connection between them to be made by the reader. The street, like montage, is also a collection of fragments. In the Canadian context, fragments of the street include standards and policies of jurisdiction such as by-laws to regulate set back of buildings. The art of communication is akin to a storyteller making connections between fragments. Thus, as storyteller, I choose a methodological emphasis on narrative for my thesis.

In addition, relevance to the current local Canadian context is explored through my interviews with a developer and community builder (Interviewee A), an art curator and educator (Interviewee B), and a researcher and policy writer in the public health sector (Interviewee C). Interviewee A is an expert in utilizing and promoting the new urbanism approach to neighbourhood development which is based on a walkable community design. Interviewee B provided important observations in connecting the needs and interests of different members of community, particularly from the perspectives of vulnerable sectors including the young and old. Interviewee C shared their academic research and its application in facilitating alignment among practitioners in various professional disciplines working together to find solutions to complex issues facing communities, such as barriers to equity of access to services.

There are a number of themes emerging from my collection of fragments and insights. A challenge for me as researcher and storyteller is to handle the themes well so that lessons learned and shared through the story of my journey are clear and invite the reader to further investigate related paths of inquiry.

One of my core goals in this investigation is to better understand my role in sustainable community. As a creative designer and systems thinker I often look to the arts, art galleries in particular, for inspiration and new ways of seeing potential solutions and opportunities. Art communicates ideas to me. The art of the sustainable street is also about communication. The street is a significant public asset in many communities and is part of everyday life in urban communities.

#### Thesis Statement: The Art of the Sustainable Street

In its most general form, the question guiding my inquiry is, "what is the art of the sustainable street?" In this matter art includes, among other things, communication. In the context of my thesis, communication includes storytelling for sharing knowledge and making connections. Stories shared in the street speak to everyday life including place-making. A place "...is a location invested with meaning and purpose..." (Linton, p.37). Through storytelling knowledge is transferred and individuals can learn to identify with place and each other and to find connection to community.

My initial research is focused within two main contextual issues affecting communities, unsustainable development and resiliency in change, and from which emerge several main themes and findings listed later in this chapter. My narrative commences with four main themes which provide me connective threads for my collection of fragments. First, the voice of the street, its story, influences community as a place for people. In return, community influences the street. This tension is necessary for sustainability, to find balance unique to a place and time. The street also supports the sharing of stories between individuals and the collective, the community. Therefore, the street is a site for communication both as a place of exchange of information as well as goods and services. I challenge the position that circulation is the first purpose of the street.

Second, the best types of streets are characterized by movement including the suggestion of movement by light moving over surfaces. Movement engages the eye and mind and encourages connection, making streets places people want to be. Movement also makes the street a vibrant and vital edge between public and private realms and as a result the street is exemplified by diversity in uses and users.

Third, the street is a place for citizenship and caring. It is a place where safety and self-governance is fostered by trust between strangers.

Fourth, to understand and create a sustainable street is to learn to see measurable fragments and patterns characteristic of the best streets in the community and in other places. Lessons and knowledge can emerge as themes and are transferable through a common language, which includes technological

innovations and universal design standards for accessibility, among other things. A common language can also address resiliency in change and includes terms with shared meaning and processes for dialogue which can include all stakeholders.

A common language can also facilitate different stories using the same fragments of knowledge. For the street, these connections between fragments are unique to place and time and the perspective of an observer. In a story of community, a common language contains shared values which can support authenticity of place and guide change. And, as such, action utilizing a common language can lead to place-making in the creation and repair of community.

On another level my thesis aims to continue a conversation about towns as a solution to a contextual issue of unsustainable development known as urban sprawl or dispersal. Urban sprawl affects smaller urban communities, such as towns, by denigrating their community cores and thus impacting their ability to function as a complete and sustainable entity. There can be a loss of a sense of place and of connection. Understanding the neighbourhood, an essential building unit of communities, may provide answers to repair urban sprawl and to the rejuvenation of smaller communities. A goal of this research was to identify the role of the street as a component of neighbourhood and its potential to influence community in moving towards sustainability.

I propose that the street has several main roles which are inter-dependent.

First, I argue that since the street system serves many purposes and is a significant land use it is the most important collectively held asset in a community. As a result,

the conversations for vision and action between citizens of the community and their local government which administers the street can be complicated expressions in the art of communication. Thus, the street is a site of politics. As political space, the street is a site for citizenship. In addition, the street is a form of urban governance used to regulate people, their activities and movement in the street.

Moreover, the street characterized by movement can be described as a site of complexity, a space of diversity where public and private realms interact. The street supports various functions and activities of everyday life. In addition, the street system gives physical form to a community and this contributes to community identity, its story. I argue the street can be integral in guiding community growth, renewal and restoration especially when the street and street system is situated within a framework for community, like the neighbourhood. The physical characteristics of the good street are reproducible parts, what I call the fragments, of the sustainable street. Fragments are recognizable and measurable. Fragments are also fundamental to trusted connections between people and many people using the street are strangers to each other. Fragments are recurring details, to be arranged and connected by observers in their story at their place and time. And, although a fragment is identifiable by itself, it tends to dangle and invites connection within the context of a narrative.

## **On Sustainability**

I anticipate that the art of the sustainable street will be founded in ways of communicating trust between strangers in a most important public realm of community, the street. I propose a common language among users of the street which can build trust and support processes of effective engagement between citizens and decision makers in local government, including experts and administration. For example, a community strategic vision plan defines common values and sets out goals and priorities. A collective vision and its related processes for action can guide change in the community towards a sustainable future.

Sustainability is also about economic viability and environmental stewardship. And, since the public street system makes up a significant portion of land area in urban communities like cities and towns, the street as government regulated public space has the potential to contribute significantly to sustainable community. I anticipate a key debate is underlined by safe streets for all as indicator of sustainable community.

#### Method

My collection of fragments, a montage for the good street, is presented throughout my story. Included are contributing voices from readings and interviews which informed connections between fragments and into emerging

themes. For example, literary critic Walter Benjamin and in particular his unfinished work *The Arcades Project (Das Passagen-Werk)*, his collection of thoughts and observations, is a primary source of themes emerging from a cultural context in Paris. These themes became evident when I arranged and connected my gleanings from Benjamin and from others who wrote about Benjamin.

The Arcades Project revealed a method of investigation and analysis used by Benjamin. His method is reproducible and particularly applicable in addressing complex issues such as identifying the problem and alternate solutions for questions about sustainability. In the interest of sustainable community I seek connections between fragments of the street and related matters influencing the street, including human values and how connections affect the form and function of the street.

Presented mainly in narrative form, my writing includes elements of exposition also inspired by my reading of Benjamin. My narrative is open-ended because it has significant roots in cultural identity, as individual and as member of community, including culture of place.

My thesis may be considered by some readers to be an example of an unconventional approach to presenting academic research. A complex issue may require a different approach to identifying and understanding the problem and the questions raised, and to the methodology for investigation and analysis.

I commenced research with a plan of action for literature review, reading and collecting of quotes which became fragments of a montage. Early patterns and themes emerged from insights of my informants and are integrated into the

movement of my writing. My sampling strategy included revisiting authors I had encountered early in my training as a landscape architect. In a way, I triangulated my literature sources from time periods several decades apart and discovered recurrent themes and intersections of knowledge which I adopted as technique in validation. Sources like Alexander et al. refer to recurrent patterns and themes as timeless. I relied on the stories from interviews and observations to connect my narrative to the present day. Making connections from my point of perspective to knowledge shared in the stories by other voices supported my use of narrative form in presenting and defending my arguments.

With regard to interviews, my initial plan included posing similar questions to each interviewee. The purpose of interviews was to better understand existing conditions and challenges faced by smaller urban communities with respect to the street and street system. Each interview session became its own story since each interviewee had a different response to my early questions about the role of the street in community. Pulling back from my predetermined set of questions permitted me access to dialogue which included new information and new ways of connecting information. And, my preparation enabled me to direct my inquiry when needed. Detailed transcripts were prepared from which I selected quotes to include in my thesis, providing a local and current context for my investigation and writing.

Fieldwork included documenting my observations in various street scenes I photographed. I later discarded the photographs when I determined they did not tell the story I recall experiencing at the time I took the photograph. For example,

the connection between fragments in the photograph told a story different from my real life experience. Photographs of the street stop movement in a moment of time. In contrast, stories in the street occurring around me as I sat in a street café to enjoy a cappuccino were many and enlivened the scene. A recounting of this complex scene in the street would be a rambling narrative of interweaving threads of story line. My photographs of streets and notes from the café scene are not included here. It suffices to share with the reader that a capture of a street scene by an observer pausing in their movement can reveal complexity in the good street and in the stories to be found there.

This research is presented as a story told from my perspective. My personal and professional views and bias are also reflected in the prioritization of fragments and findings. As introduction to the next section of this chapter, my narrative is set out in the following manner.

In Chapter 2, I investigate selected themes from *The Arcades Project* or *Das Passagen-Werk*, an unfinished work by Walter Benjamin which he undertook over a period of about thirteen years. Benjamin's style in presenting information as collected bits displayed in literary montage was also a way of seeing the street, a place of stories composed from parts of everyday life. Benjamin was a collector and *The Arcades Project* was a demonstration on how to collect.

In Chapters 3 and 4, additional clarity with regard to connections between fragments and themes specific to the form and function of the street and the roles of citizen and government are presented. My sources include writing of Allan Jacobs,

Nicholas Blomley, Ken Greenberg, Richard Florida, Jane Jacobs, James Kunstler, Ray Oldenburg and David Seamon, among others. A number of these authors also reference Benjamin.

In Chapter 3, I revisit some familiar voices and engage some new ones, various experts who wrote about the design and purpose of the street and creating good communities. The concepts and arguments are presented as time tested patterns and themes which are characteristic of good streets, and which hold value for community. In this chapter, generally, I see the street from the perspective of landscape architect and urban designer collecting and analyzing component pieces and how they are connected. Chapter 4 is a repositioning of my point of observation and also continuing conversations from previous chapters. Further developed is exploration of citizenship and the relationship between citizen and local government with respect to a dialogue for building resilient places. I present my view from positions of citizen and government respectively, and note challenges of jurisdictional influence which can arise between professional and political perspectives. These three views are also connected. They inform each other. In Chapter 5 is a presentation of findings. I aim to find opportunities for alignment and to make connections which bring these views together in emerging themes to support a framework of community moving toward sustainability, for example, in context of the neighbourhood.

It is hoped that connections, some different from mine, between fragments can also be made by the reader from their point of perspective. For example, a

traffic planner may start with different priorities for a good street than a parent seeking a safe bicycle route to school for their children, or a shopper wanting to walk to stores. I propose, however, different views together can better inform building sustainable communities and necessitate that the street meets all these needs and more.

## Living Together with Many Voices, Moving Collectively through Storytelling

**Why the Street? Why the Town?** The urbanization of our planet makes understanding urban settlement patterns increasingly important as an adaptive strategy by human beings to their growing population numbers. "In 1950, only 30 percent of the population lived in urban areas; today, over half do, and, by 2030, according to projections by the United Nations, 60 percent of the world's population will dwell in cities" (Seamon, 2012, p.3). Further, in southern Ontario, small towns and villages are challenged to remain vital as more than places for retirement of an aging population. Statistics and demographic trends are often used to explain inevitable changes to our communities. However, I propose that citizens acting collectively and with their local government have a vital role in determining the future of their community by setting priorities and taking action to achieve goals. And, the attraction of vibrant towns is not tied to age or ability. For example, Richard Florida (2012) observed that the people he defined to be the creative class have a role in the future of small towns because 'creatives' seek authenticity and quality of life. Florida also noted that, in the interest of sustainability and resiliency,

smaller towns and villages will maintain connections and relationships with other communities including larger urban centres.

Human beings live together in societies, many in urban communities characterized by built form and connecting networks of paths and streets. A purpose of streets is circulation, moving people and goods. Circulation exists in tension with communication; it can be argued that it is communication in the street which enables circulation. Given the diversity of uses and users in the street, this communication can be seen as an art of storytelling. Allan Jacobs (1995) observed "[s]treets are more than public utilities... Communication remains a major purpose of streets... Streets moderate the form and structure and comfort of urban communities" (p.3).

There are three fundamental narratives that interweave in the street, namely, the voices of individuals as they go about their everyday lives; the voice of community by means of citizen and local government in dialogue and the places they create and destroy; and, the voice of the street itself, which both influences community and displays community intent. All three forms of narrative have roles in the form and function of a good street, the sustainable street.

The stories in the street also speak to culture of a place. Culture can connect the fragments of a narrative to a place and time. Culture has an innate flexibility to carry on as tradition, shared through forms of storytelling through which human society can learn and change. An inspiration to present my research as narrative is

my everyday life as individual and member of community, the sharing of my story of learning.

Culture can also support a common language within which different voices can engage in dialogue. In addition to people using the street, these voices include those with regulatory jurisdiction in the street including governments who create policy and experts like urban planners and municipal engineers who design and operate the street. Interviewee C identified that a common language, such as a glossary of terms, can facilitate communication between different disciplines. A common language is needed because, even for collaboration on a shared issue, different disciplines may use the same term with different meanings.

In addition to finding common ground through processes in common language, it is important to acknowledge that the street today is built from and arguably constrained by a language of standards. Standards, such as engineering details defining the design of the street, become the norm and can be difficult to challenge or change. Pilot demonstration projects can open the door to alternative standards, or living policy, in order to better address diversity of use and complex demands in a street to accommodate all users of the right of way. Steve Pomeroy (1999) studied alternative standards for urban development with respect to attitudes by professional practitioners in order to identify practical matters which pose challenges to using alternative standards, including barriers to change (p.v). Also, it has been my experience that in a smaller town, such as one with a population of less than 20,000 people, the public works department can have the largest budget

for capital projects and operational expenses relative to other municipal departments, except for policing. A large budget coupled with regulatory requirements can influence the setting of priorities for spending by government. Regulatory requirements can also discourage creative thinking in finding solutions to a problem faced by a community. Pilot projects can be used to encourage and explore options.

Furthermore, the street is a tangible public asset typically found in every urban community. Allan Jacobs (1995) observed that "[s]treets are almost always public: owned by the public, and when we speak of the public realm we are speaking in large measure of streets. What is more, streets change. They are tinkered with constantly...curbs are changed to make sidewalks narrower...or wider...lights are changed, ...streets are torn up to replace sewer and water lines...repaved...buildings along them change... Every change brings with it the opportunity for improvement" (p.6). It can also be argued that change can make problems more difficult to solve.

The story of community in the street is relevant to anyone who is a citizen. Citizenship requires dialogue between citizen and government and a place for the practice of citizenship. Since about one-third of land area in a typical Canadian urban community is the street system, citizens and their government can influence the design and operation of the street towards constructive efforts in building community that would be visible and measurable. Allan Jacobs (1995) also referred to streets as "...community-building places..." (p.6). In addition, opportunity and equity for safe movement affects how people feel in the street. In *Happy City:* 

*transforming our lives through urban design*, Charles Montgomery (2013) wrote that "...planners must concern themselves with not just with the physics but also the psychology of mobility" (p. 216).

Community building can entail complex processes akin to the complexity of natural systems where knowledge is reproducible, and collections of fragments connected in themes repeat over and over, transcending time. Alexander et al. (1978) observed the language defining a community is made of many patterns which are "...archetypal ...so deeply rooted in the nature of things, that ...they will be a part of human nature, and human action..." (p.xvii).

Relatedly, regarding the future sustainability of communities, Kunstler (1994) argued the challenge is to think and act towards a sustainable economy instead of an economy that exhausts resources. Our future relies on building better places (pp.246-247). David Seamon appeared to concur. "To be convincing, sustainability must be embodied in the way we actually live, and ...incorporated into a gut-level understanding and expectation of the nature of the world" (Seamon, 2012, p.297). Ken Greenberg explained sustainability is not a layer but a way of synthesizing and connecting everything (2012, Feb29).

In addition, the importance of the fragment or detail in understanding the urban community as a system was identified by Jane Jacobs (1961) when she wrote that cities and natural systems are composed of complex relationships. The "...tactics for understanding both are similar in the sense that both depend on the microscopic or detailed view" (p.439). In other words, the unaverage can be vital.

Jane Jacobs (1961) also wrote that she hoped "...no reader will try to transfer my observations into guides as to what goes on in towns, or little cities, or in suburbs ...totally different organisms from great cities..." (Introduction, p.16). I argue that lessons from the city are indeed transferable because Jane Jacobs also recognized the value of neighbourhoods as viable and fundamental entities of urban communities.

The town as a form of urban community has a key role in sustainability, such as walkable communities with safe streets. James Kunstler (1994) wrote that North American society is rediscovering the value of small towns with respect to quality of life and how engaging local resources can provide an alternative to the lifestyle which accompanies urban sprawl and the commuter lifestyle. He suggested that small towns still retain the basic infrastructure to regain their usefulness whereas suburbia does not (p.185). And, Montgomery (2013) wrote "...we are returning the balance of life to neighbourhoods" (p.275). He added that change in the urban community happens when people seek to change their own lives first, we "...build it by living it" (p.321).

### **Emerging Themes in Research Findings**

My findings include my prioritization of collected fragments and themes. I anticipated the street to be validated as an important public space in an urban community for several reasons. Streets matter to everyone in some way every day. In context of smaller urban communities streets are public and typically governed

by a local elected government. The size of a community like a town enables stories of citizenship to take place in the street. Street design and operation are evolving to focus on accommodating a balance of all uses and users, particularly in regard to accessibility through active transportation, and in an emerging focus on public health and walkable communities. And, leveraging the value of public assets such as safe streets for all can enable government to use public funds more efficiently and effectively. In addition, utilizing village and town forms of community planning are seen to be potential antidotes to urban sprawl, especially when they are well connected with other urban and rural communities and larger urban centres like cities.

With regard to findings, priorities will determine the interpretation of findings for a particular street. Recurrent fragments and patterns are useful in identifying common characteristics of good streets. Each street is unique with regard to the composition and connections between these characteristics. Emerging from my collection of fragments and themes I have identified seven main findings.

A sustainable community includes safe streets for all. As a site of communication, the street influences community and is in turn influenced by community. The best streets are permeable boundaries between private and public places, and are edges characterized by diversity in uses and users. The street is an important public place for citizenship and caring, and is a place where safety and self-governance is fostered by trust between strangers. Lessons and knowledge to create or repair a street is transferable through processes of communication which

find connections between fragments and patterns common to good streets.

Therefore:

- 1. A good street is a system of complex order unique to a place and time. Streets are public places of complex order and although successful characteristics are shared, each street is different and can change over time. The street is a permeable boundary between private and public realms. As an edge of diversity in uses and users, the street supports the myriad of networks between people in the street. And, in the street many people are strangers to each other.
- 2. Communication in the street is founded in trusted connections made through eye contact facilitated by light and movement. The art of the sustainable street is founded in ways of communicating and building trust between friends and strangers sharing the same space. These connections are like points of intersection in storytelling and are served by a common language. Movement is also a form of communication in the street and it informs circulation.
- identifiable and measurable standards on a human scale. In addition, the buildings and spaces along the street are equally important and mutually reliant. They help define the street. Other components defining a street include respect for cultural values, quality materials and workmanship including long term maintenance, inclusive design for all and flexible use of space, adaptation to climate change and seasonal comfort, and attention to details. As reproducible fragments and patterns, these characteristics are part of a common language and include basic

rules regulating street form and function. Examples are universal design for accessibility and walkable communities.

- 4. The main purpose of the street is communication. Communication enables the circulation of people, goods and services. However, the street is also the place where the community demonstrates its intent, its collective vision such as a plan for action to move towards sustainable community. Sustainability, with inherent flexibility and resiliency towards change, includes processes enabled by communication. And, tension in the balancing of priorities is a natural part of process.
- 5. In the street there are three main types of narratives including the stories of the individual, the community and the voice of the street itself. The tradition of storytelling relies on authenticity of place and enables connection to place. The street is a place shared by the community. The art of communication through storytelling is accessible to most people. In storytelling we share who we are and reveal how we are transforming our lives. Stories can also contain different fragments which mark place in the street, such as focal points and labels.
- 6. Collaboration and alignment among those with jurisdiction in the street can be effective in leveraging the value of the street as an important public asset for the community. Technology can make possible solutions to complex issues and can also affect communication. Storytelling can connect technological innovation to a place and time, to reflect community values. In addition, since the street typically changes incrementally, processes are needed for

regular dialogue to engage the community in setting priorities in planning and action. The challenge is operations, not capital.

7. Progress towards sustainable society will continue to require political spaces in the public realm where citizens can gather and engage with each other as individuals and as members of community. The practice of citizenship fosters networks of relationships and enables caring, as well as opportunities for participation in community. These connections contribute to quality of life including happiness and well-being. Mobility is also a measure of self-determination. The street is part of our everyday, enabling connection with everyday stories. The sustainable street contributes to sustainable community.

# **Research Limitations and Related Opportunities**

Details of everyday may appear mundane. This story may at times appear to wander when connections between fragments of knowledge are unclear or missing. However, even dangling fragments are part of my collection which in whole informs my investigation and findings at my place and time. There may be an occasional unfinished line of thinking which could be interpreted as a potential future path of inquiry. For example, when studying Walter Benjamin one cannot help but notice a popular reference to the Parisian pastime of taking the tortoise for a walk. As an example of tradition in storytelling, it measures a pace of life in a city nearly two hundred years ago. Walking in the street is important today as a common measure of a good street for both individual and community, like walkable neighbourhoods.

Walkability means creating and repairing communities so that important services are located within a ten minute walk. However, a pace of life to support the walking of a tortoise has less relevance today.

This research is not about traffic planning. However, the impact on streets by the automobile is relevant.

Purposely, my focus is not on the city. The city is a great teacher, however, and lessons can be learned there. What is common to both cities and towns is the neighbourhood with a lively focus at its core. Multiples of neighbourhood form urban communities of different size and scale.

This research is not a detailed exploration of the differences and misalignments between urban planning and municipal engineering although a tension about priorities for the public street between the disciplines is acknowledged. Aspects of the nature of regulation in the street are investigated here.

And, although my research does not investigate opportunities for leveraging the value of policy and infrastructure assets within the street system, the discussion would be welcome. In addition to planning policies for urban intensification, infrastructure related assets include sourcing and delivery of resources such as fibre optics, electricity, heat and water as well as reducing impacts upon the natural environment.

In addition, emerging topics for future investigation include the effects of the colour of light on people using the street, differences in perception of the street by gender and age sectors, and the history of street design and operating standards and related opportunities for alternatives for resilient change.

This research is not about seeking the one framework that fits as the solution; indeed, the insight is that there is no one solution towards achieving sustainability.

My research does not seek a business model for a solution to sustainability and viable small towns. The way of seeing that is needed to achieve sustainability is closer to how people think, in fragments, with connections becoming clearer as the problem gets nearer to a solution. However, Interviewee A made a business case for the village concept in land development.

This research arises from my perspective as a design professional. I am compelled to work with standards, particularly on projects in the public realm, while seeking creative inspiration in finding connections between fragments for alternative solutions. As a municipal politician I became familiar with the nuances of local politics, the challenges of government engaging with citizens and vice versa, and the constraints imposed by the municipal budget process including multiple and competing demands for the same tax revenue.

And, as I noted at the beginning of this chapter, this research is not about finding a perfect solution; it is about how to think about finding a right solution for a particular place and time.

#### **CHAPTER 2**

### Walter Benjamin and a Way of Seeing

In the fields with which we are concerned here, knowledge comes only in lightning flashes. The text is the long roll of thunder that follows. (Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, 1999, page 852)

Walter Benjamin's collection of quotes and observations in *The Arcades*Project exemplify an art of collecting fragments, a collection to be mined and the fragments to be arranged by the artist and storyteller. The relevance of his incomplete montage on the city and the street assisted me in placing in time certain important aspects of street function, and changes in street planning and design and their impact on community. I propose that lessons learned from Walter Benjamin's study of Paris are transferable to the study of issues and solutions facing smaller urban communities like small town Ontario particularly with regard to fragments and themes supporting uniqueness of place and time. At a fundamental level I have learned a new way of seeing connections between bits and pieces of knowledge and as a way of understanding my place and time. Emerging themes from Benjamin related to the street in particular are listed at the end of this chapter.

As storyteller and collector I seek lessons from other stories, learning a different way of seeing and making connection. This chapter presents my collection of fragments and themes from Benjamin's *The Arcades Project (Das Passagen-Werk)* 

including the voices of others who studied Benjamin. I include ideas of Susan Buck-Morss, Marcus Bullock and Michael Jennings, Gerhard Fisher, Graeme Gilloch, David Ferris, Rainer Rochlitz, and Gary Smith, among others.

The initial guide in setting out the story board for my thesis is based on the unfinished work of Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, a literary montage of quotes and observations, a collection he undertook for over a decade:

Method of this project: literary montage. I needn't say anything. Merely show. I shall purloin no valuables, appropriate no ingenious formulations. But the rags, the refuse – these I will not inventory but allow, in the only way possible, to come into their own: by making use of them. (Benjamin, 1999, p.460)

Benjamin's way of seeing, how he interpreted and collected the fragments of the montage, became a source for his writing. "Walter Benjamin considered himself a "philosopher of language" first of all" (Rochlitz, 1996, p.11). Paris was his inspiration. "In Paris Benjamin found 'the form appropriate for his book.' There he discovered an affinity between his thinking and the most recent intellectual and literary movements..." (Rochlitz, 1996, p.128).

As researcher and collector, I found Benjamin's collection of quotes and observations informed changes in my direction and thinking. And, I adapted his method to my research. I was inspired by a way of seeing which enabled me to cross thresholds in understanding and then look back to where I had been, enriching the complexity of experiences in my narrative.

Susan Buck-Morss (1989) observed that in *The Arcades Project* "Benjamin's insights are ...easily moved about in changing arrangements and trial combinations in response to the altered demands of the changing "present." His legacy to the readers who come after him is a non-authoritarian system of inheritance...which instruct without dominating..." (pp.336-337). The reassembling of the fragments of insight can lead to revelation in understanding problems and reveal solutions. I propose the process of montage is useful in finding ways to move towards sustainability. The pieces or fragments of a narrative are arranged and connected, retaining their value and relevance as reproducible patterns or themes. The story "... is one of the oldest forms of communication. It does not aim at transmitting the pure in-itself event (as information does) but anchors the event in the life of the person reporting, in order to pass it on as experience to those listening" (Benjamin quote, Buck-Morss, 1989, p.336).

An Evolving Story for Emerging Themes. An important theme from Benjamin is a public place attracts people and a public place is where people go to be seen. A public place which fulfills a role in society that is separate from home and work places was identified by Ray Oldenburg (1989) as the 'third place' in his book *The Great Good Place: cafes, coffee shops, beauty parlours, general stores, bars, hangouts, and how they get you through the day.* Benjamin explored public places like the Paris arcades where people, both strangers and those familiar to each other, collected and interacted. "Think of the arcade as watering place" (Benjamin, 1999,

p.409). Public places fulfill a role as a place of healing and communal gathering. The street is also a public place and it can provide a platform for social gathering and the practice of citizenship. These places often have their characters, people easily identified by their role in facilitating the function of the place. For example, in *The Arcades Project*, the flaneur was identified as a regular character of the Paris arcades. Nicholas Blomley (2011) suggested the sandwich board man is the last of such figures in modern day. In my view, everyone who uses the street is at some point the proverbial flaneur or sandwich board man. They are participant and spectator in the story of the street.

Another emerging theme is the importance of movement and light to engage the eye. Benjamin noted the effects on society resulting from the introduction of new lighting technology which illuminated Paris streets at night. Relatedly, I glean from other literature sources that engaging the mind and eye is fundamental to communicating trust among strangers in the street. Later, I explore the theme of trust among strangers as enabling self-government as a theme for sustainable community.

Benjamin's observations of government are part of his catalogue of collected fragments. His appreciation of city form and the power of the policy maker showed his "...increasing awareness as to the ways that potential could be systematically distorted by those in power" (Buck-Morss, 1989, p.317). Paris was changed dramatically by Baron Haussmann, his wide boulevards changed society and how citizens communicated with their government. Changed also were the patterns of

the presence of people and their activities in the street. Any disagreement, especially one resulting in "...war in the streets has its technics... You no longer advance on the streets, you let them remain empty. You tramp into the interiors, piercing through the walls" (Buck-Morss, 1989, p.317). It is no wonder governments seek to regulate the street. In Paris, history has shown control of the political space controlled communication. Today, control of the urban street is primarily experienced through regulation by government and its agencies of enforcement for the expressed intention of protecting the public good and in the interest of circulation.

Benjamin's way of seeing and use of literary montage remains relevant today. It enables my purpose in defining the art of the sustainable street based in communication, storytelling. Also relevant today, advances in technology can have a significant impact on society and the communication of community values. Buck-Morss (1989) wrote that the relationship between art and technology was a central theme in *The Arcades Project* (p.133).

Technology can also be used to distract and therefore, facilitating the sharing of ideas. David Ferris (2008) proposed:

Underneath the cover of distraction, revolutionary political and social meaning is transmitted by art. In this claim, a fundamental principle of Benjamin's theory of art is present: the task of art is political, that is, its purpose is to create a collective based on a new mode of perception and it performs this task through its capacity for distraction. Why distraction is necessary, Benjamin explains, is because individuals are tempted to evade new modes of perception. (pp.109-110)

In essence, Benjamin's collections of fragments can be connected into patterns by the reader to reveal lessons in a way of seeing and understanding public space, and in particular the public realm that is the street. The art of montage can be essential to processes in sustainability, with ever new interpretations and connections between fragments and emerging patterns for a place and time. The art of communication, storytelling, describes the cyclic nature of reflexive processes and the reproducibility that is characteristic of resilient systems.

# Benjamin's Montage Form for the City.

The true method of making things present is to represent them in our space (Not to represent ourselves in their space). (The collector does this, and so does the anecdote.)...We don't displace our being into theirs; they step into our life. (Benjamin, 1999, p.206)

The montage, a collection of fragments to be connected, enables the story of the individual to be shared with other members of community. In other words, montage is like a shared or common language which enables intersection of stories and the finding of common ground. Although Buck-Morss (1989) argued that a lack of explanation risks distracting the reader in understanding the message, much like "walking on the crowded city streets" (p.252), Rochlitz (1996) wrote that views of the observer will determine the fragments that matter (p.238). I propose bringing together in the street different narratives which can support the necessary tension for the complex order typical of resilient systems, including a sustainable community. Patterns and themes emerge as part of a common language.

Today, where influence in the public street is concerned, the power is held by those with jurisdiction in the street, including local government, urban planners and municipal engineers. Seemingly mundane fragments of information may be viewed as inconsequential or irrelevant to those with authority over a larger system. Processes which engage storytelling can account for bits of information, fragments which Jane Jacobs (1961) called 'unaverage clues'. To rearrange these fragments, small details in context of the whole, is opportunity to find new connections between them and could assist in solving a problem faced by a community. These processes can empower citizens, like residents of a neighbourhood, and start with input from people with less power and influence in decisions.

And, the street as a platform in the public realm, like Oldenburg's third place or Benjamin's watering hole, is a place where members of community can find common ground and share stories. "Reflection shows us that our image of happiness is thoroughly colored by the time to which the course of our own existence has assigned us" (Benjamin quoted by Rochlitz, 1996, p.231).

Gilloch (1996) observed that, to Benjamin, the "...metropolis is a monument to the conquest and subjugation of nature by humankind, and constitutes the principal site of human progress, of the wonders and marvels of technological innovation" (p.11). In a way, I explore storytelling in the street as technique in documenting human progress. Urban community at a human scale is humankind rediscovering human values.

# Fragments and Themes Collected from Benjamin

# Study of the Collective, the Energy of the Crowd.

...Life is a journey, and every single being who departs the womb of a woman to return to the womb of earth is a traveler...Humanity, 'tis thou who art the eternal voyager. (Benjamin Gastineau quote, Benjamin, 1999, *Das Passagen-Werk*, p.588)

The experience of our generation: that capitalism will not die a natural death. (Benjamin, 1999, p.667)

For Benjamin "...the daily life of "the collective" ...was ...the object of study" (Benjamin, 1999, Editor p. Mix). Storytelling is a tradition of a collective and Benjamin referred to capitalism as a dream sleep which led to modernity's rupture with tradition (Buck-Morss, 1989, p.278). Benjamin's study of the Paris arcades is relevant to understanding the effect technology can have on the collective. "The sheltering arcades were the first modern architecture for the public. But they were also the first consumer "dream houses" placed in the service of commodity worship" (Buck-Morss, 1989, p.144). In other words, capitalism commoditized places.

Buck-Morss (1989) wrote, "...Benjamin's central argument in the *Passagen-Werk* was that under conditions of capitalism, industrialization had brought about a re enchantment of the social world..." (p.253) and "...the theory is unique in its approach to modern society because it takes mass culture seriously ...as the source of collective energy to overcome it" (p.253). In addition, the need to view the world differently or to rediscover the world as children is a theme from Benjamin.

Effect of Capitalism (Progress) on City Form and Storytelling. Capitalism was accompanied by the increasing speed of travel and communication as well as new uses for technology like electric lighting. "Under conditions of competitive capitalism, pure numbers, abundance, excess, monumental size, and expansion entered ...and became "progress"" (Buck-Morss, 1989, p.91).

Progress coupled with technology affected the form and function of urban communities like towns and cities. For example, commenting on the disruptiveness of change in the city Benjamin observed that "Paris, as we find it in the period following the Revolution of 1848, was about to become uninhabitable. Its population had become greatly enlarged and unsettled by the incessant activity of the railroad..." (Benjamin, 1999, p.122). ""Railroads ...demanded ...a transformation in the mode of property.... Up until then, a bourgeois could run ...a business ...with only his money.... But railroads had need of such massive amounts of capital that ...a great many bourgeois were forced to entrust their precious funds ...to people ...they hardly knew..." (Paul Lafargue quote, Benjamin, 1999, p.577). "Pamphlets from 1848 are dominated by the concept of organization" (Benjamin, 1999, p.723).

Progress without tradition can disconnect. The tradition of storytelling can connect community with its traditions and can inform progress. Susan Buck-Morss (1989) observed Walter Benjamin's 'critical constellations' as dialectical images in which "...the past comes together with the present in a constellation..." and the "...style for which one should aim was accessible rather than esoteric, consisting of everyday works...common language....frank style" (p.291).

Impact of Technology on Storytelling. According to Rochlitz (1996),
Benjamin asserted that "...'the art of storytelling is coming to an end'... [and] two
complementary phenomena account for this incapacity: the boundless development
of technology and the privatization of life that it brings" (p.189). For example,
Benjamin documented how street lighting, first gas and later electric lighting,
changed the way people used the street and as a result changed narratives in the
street.

A public platform for dialogue can enable the voices of citizens and others to be heard in the sharing of stories of community. Although technology can provide useful tools to facilitate storytelling, there is a practical human need to engage as members of community. At "...its origin, storytelling was oriented toward practical life. It contains, openly or covertly, something useful" (Rochlitz, 1996, p.190).

Storytelling can also address matters of equity. A universal perspective of equity in the recounting of history is better addressed through stories shared from different views. Rochlitz (1996) observed, in "...giving narrative history precedence over explanatory history, Benjamin emancipates historiography from any scientific character...since he suspects the "science" of history of having empathy for and sympathetic complacency with regard to the victor" (p.229).

## From Benjamin, Observations of the Street

# **Defining Characters**

The streets are the dwelling place of the collective. The collective is an eternally unquiet, eternally agitated being that – in the space between the building fronts – experiences, learns, understands, and invents as much as individuals do within the privacy of their own four walls....the arcade was the drawing room. More than anywhere else, the street reveals itself in the arcade as the furnished and familiar interior of the masses. (Benjamin, 1999, *The Arcades Project*, p.423)

In essence, there are two main themes in defining characteristics or fragments selected from my reading of *The Arcades Project* and these relate to the nature of human activity or movement in the street and the effects of technology on street form and function.

On the matter of human characters, there may be cultural differences of a place and time for the people inhabiting the street which also affects the story of the street. Fragments that alone may not have an obvious role in a story can be connected to create a picture of a place and time. For example, on "...the Parisians' technique of inhabiting their streets... [t]hey are simply wizards at making a virtue of necessity" (Adolf Stahr quote, Benjamin, 1999, p.421). Benjamin noted the ability of people to recognize opportunity, like vendors into spaces created by street construction piles of material. He remarked on the pace of life in an historical context. In an often quoted observation, in "...1839 it was considered elegant to take a tortoise out walking. This gives an idea of the tempo of flanerie in the arcades" (p.422). In *The Arcades Project* the flaneur was featured as a Parisian cultural figure

with time to spend in observing other people as a form of entertainment (p.417). Human characters also contribute to the life and story of the present day street.

In addition, Benjamin reminded readers how sounds of the street affected life in the street. In poetic style Benjamin enriched his collection of Paris fragments. "In short, the streets of Paris were set to rhyme. Hear how" (Benjamin, 1999, p.516). And, of "..."the nearly deafening street" and other similar expressions, it should not be forgotten that the roads in those days were generally paved in cobblestone" (Benjamin, 1999, p.372). Changes in technology, which some deemed progress, changed the narrative of the street. Benjamin (1999) observed that "... the macadamization of the streets – ...makes it possible, despite the heavy traffic, to carry on a conversation in front of a café without shouting in the other person's ear" (p.848).

People Inhabiting the Street, Movement as Life. A strategic and emerging theme for the art of the sustainable street pertains to space in the public realm becoming place, a place for gathering and communication. Benjamin collected references to the places along street edges, places where people mingle. Benjamin (1999) referred to the arcades as watering place (p.409), and to places of healing, communal gathering, or even the tavern with beer.

Benjamin's observations of people and the role of the street in everyday life included acknowledgments of the contributions made by individual stories. "What, then, do we know of streetcorners, of curbstones, of the architecture of the

pavement – we who have never felt the street, heat, filth, and the edges of the stones beneath our naked soles, and have never scrutinized the uneven placement of the wide paving stones with an eye toward bedding down on them" (Benjamin, 1999, p.850).

People inhabiting the street have different experiences and reasons for their presence or absence in the street. For example, Buck-Morss (1989) wrote that for "...the oppressed existence in public space is more likely to be synonymous with state surveillance, public censure, and political powerlessness" (p.347).

Another example of life in the street, the street café, is a scene that typifies Paris today. Contrast this characteristic Paris scenario with another cultural fragment from Benjamin. "In 1757, there were only three cafes in Paris" (Benjamin, 1999, p.836). In the matter of an increasing popularity of street cafes why and how the changes occurred would require a broader understanding of the contributing fragments, both directly and indirectly. Both technological and cultural changes impact the quality of life in the street and along its edges. Can it be assumed that the changes move, willingly or guided, in the direction of improvement for society and a better quality of life?

The street is a political space. The street is also controlled by government and increasingly by commerce. Enterprise can recognize opportunity, and diversity in uses also contributes to life in the street. Benjamin (1999) asked, "When did industry take possession of the street corner? Architectural emblems of commerce: cigar shops have the corner, apothecaries the stairs..." (p.852).

# The Street as Edge of Change, Boundaries and Thresholds.

[On the theory of thresholds:] Between those who go on foot in Paris and those who go by carriage, the only difference is the running board ...Ah, the running board! ...It is a point of departure from one country to another, from misery to luxury, from thoughtlessness to thoughtfulness. It is the hyphen between him who is nothing and him who is all. The question is: where to put one's foot. (Theophile Gautier quote, Benjamin, 1999, p.93)

The theme of boundaries as vital edges speaks to support for the complexity of changing narratives in the street. In addition, the street as edge is a transition place between the private and public realms. The nature of the dynamic edge with numerous thresholds enables the street to accommodate many stories occurring there over the course of the day and over time.

Variety in narrative is facilitated by physical and cultural changes in the street, both incremental and complete. At times it may be difficult to ascertain exactly how the narrative is changed and we then rely on our own experiences to complete the story. In this fragment, for example, Benjamin (1999) notes that in "...1865, on the Boulevard des Capucines, at the corner of the Rue de Seze and the Rue Caumartin, the first refuge, or street island, was installed" (p.522). Street islands provide a safe place for pedestrians to pause in crossing the street, especially in busy traffic. However, a reader making connection between Benjamin's collected fragments of information about the use of streets in Paris may recognize the first street island as another opportunity for commerce.

Changes in the edges of streets can have a footing in fashion in response to technology and social values. As cultural thresholds these changes also contribute to the creation of characters, memorable people who inhabit the street. And, some changes which may not hold significance for today's narratives may have lessons which are relevant. For example, "Paris is the city of mirrors. The asphalt of its roadways smooth as glass, and at the entrance to all bistros glass partitions. A profusion of windowpanes and mirrors in cafes, so as to make the inside brighter..." (Benjamin, 1999, p.537). But then, at "...the end of the 1860s, Alphonse Karr writes that no one knows how to make mirrors any more" (Benjamin, 1999, p.538). Why did this change happen? Was it part of the cyclic nature of fashion, or a change in values? I note fashion can also apply to philosophies in the practice of professional disciplines, such as urban planning. Fashion contributes to the story of community, of the street and its characters. For example, the tight leggings and jacquard fabric patterns, reminiscent of the medieval court jester, are appearing on today's streets and in window shops displaying the latest in women's fashion. And, like the rambling fool of yesteryear, the social acceptance of people appearing to be talking to themselves in public as a result of technology that has made the telephone wireless and an almost invisible device.

On the matter of thresholds, they are symbols of connection or notices of passage that mark a boundary edge like the street. Benjamin made note of the difference. "Threshold and boundary must be carefully distinguished. The Schwelle <threshold> is a zone. And indeed a zone of transition.... We have grown poor in threshold experiences.... Out of the field of experience proper to the threshold

evolved the gateway that transforms whoever passes under its arch. The Roman victory arch makes the returning general a conquering hero" (Benjamin, 1999, p.856). I interpret Benjamin's statement as a comment on the diversity of experience to be found in stories of people entering and leaving the street. Yet another fragment gleaned from *The Arcades Project* casts a different light on the victory arch as threshold, a change in value which may be closer to the narrative of a modern day citizen in Paris. "Dialectic of the gate: from triumphal arch to traffic island" (Benjamin, 1999, p.852). The threshold remains and its purpose can change.

Other symbols of connection or notice of passage include familiar markers denoting a place for pause or change of behaviour, like an activity of exchange. For example, Benjamin (1999) observed, at "...the entrance to the arcade, a mailbox: a last opportunity to make some sign to the world one is leaving" (p.88). Benjamin also included a discussion of machines that are located at transitions between public and private places, machines such as name plate making machines and fortune telling machines. Today, a similar effect can be achieved by the ATM for banking, the machine is often located at building entrances. Benjamin (1999) also noted a threshold is marked by the change in the movement of people such as a change in step or pace reflective of, perhaps unknowingly, a decision ahead (p.89). A change in narrative accompanies a change in movement in the street, including at the edge with its multiple thresholds between public and private realms.

#### Other Ways to Impart Value

Creating Landmarks by Labelling the Street. Labelling a place is a technique of imparting value and making a connection to place. The "...city has made it possible for all words, or at least a great many: to be elevated to the noble status of name. This revolution in language was carried out by what is most general: the street. – Through its street names, the city is a linguistic cosmos" (Benjamin, 1999, p.522). "The true expressive character of street names can be recognized as soon as they are set beside reformist principles/proposals for their normalization" (Benjamin, 1999, p.519, p.841). In my view, a label can also facilitate the sharing of a story using a descriptor working both visually and orally.

A connection can be made using familiar symbols, such as street names, in different places. For example, providing the traveller a street map of the region or city prompts certain relationships to be reproduced. In places with a common historical attachment to the Commonwealth 'King' is a common name for a high or main street. 'Division' can denote a boundary between east and west sides of a town. Geographical features are used to help location such as a neighbourhood streets near water may be called 'Water' or 'Lake' Street. Streets may be named marking an event or person and a tradition in storytelling and remembering is created. "Concerning the magic of street names, the history attached to a name still conjures memories of its past in the saying of the name" (Benjamin, 1999, p.521). Also, changing a street name can be a technique to erase a memory and lead to a positive effect or have the opposite and negative effect.

Another important street label marks individual destinations, the numbering of properties, and "in 1805, the new system of sequential numbering of houses, began on the initiative of Frochot and still in effect today: even numbers separated from odd, the even numbers on the right and the odd on the left, according as one moves away from the Seine or follows its course..." (Dubech and d'Espezel quote, Benjamin, 1999, p.520). Numbering as a practical invention seems to have had an unintended consequence in cultural value. "On the interlacing of street and domestic interior: house numbers for the latter become cherished family photos" (Benjamin, 1999, p.861). I find a connection between the memento of a house number and 'something special', a pattern in place-making identified by Alexander et al. (1978) in *A Pattern Language*. Both mark a label as a fragment connected in storytelling.

Other important markers of value in a street are the trees lining the street. Their leaves provide movement; they reflect light, they mark gathering places under their canopies and trees regulate temperature which is comfort for humans. The street as a place for people is neatly encapsulated by this scene, a comfortable bench under the right tree in the right place in the street. Also, the stewardship of street trees is a recurring theme. The ownership and care of street trees can be viewed as symbols of citizen rights in the street. I gleaned from *The Arcades Project* this interesting observation by Benjamin (1999) about the exercise of authority in the street. "Liberty trees – poplars [peupliers] – were planted in Paris in 1848. Thiers: "People, you will grow tall." They cut them down in 1850 by order of the prefect of police, Carlier" (p.797).

Markers of value in the street include information exchange with respect to commodities and commerce and further investigation of this topic is outside the scope of my thesis. I would argue the street itself can be revealed to be a commodity, in part from the effects of technology and in part by its changing narrative. Interpretation of value is left to the observer. The street is a place for storytelling but it also supports other exchanges of information as currency.

**Lighting the Street**. Benjamin (1999) noted a pivotal moment of change in the street to accommodate human activity occurred in "1857, the first electric streetlights (at the Louvre)" (p.562). There is value in recognizing these moments of change as pivotal points, the vanishing points, where perspective of the collective is altered or moved. Before this time, streets were illuminated by gas lighting. Benjamin's detail assists the reader to frame the narrative. Consider the possible implications of the following fragments, all from *The Arcades Project* (1999): "In 1799, an engineer installed gas lighting in his house..." (p.569), and, "[a]ccording to Lurine...: the first gas lighting – 1817, in the Passage des Panoramas" (p.568). "We said...that every historical period is bathed in a distinctive light, whether diurnal or nocturnal. Now for the first time this world has an artificial illumination in the form of gaslight....By 1840 it was flaring everywhere..." (Egon Friedell quote, Benjamin, 1999, p.565). Further study may enlighten an understanding of the significance to society, including the life and work of a citizen at the time in Paris. However, by connecting these fragments I discovered lighting of a street is also part of the

street's story. And, Benjamin alluded to a cultural value of the collective when he described "...the contractual agreement that lighting would start at 10pm and be lit by 11pm; and, there were artistic designs for important or main streets" (Benjamin, 1999, p.564).

In addition, the use of artificial lighting in Paris revealed priorities in societal and institutional values. The "...bright light of electricity served, at first, to illuminate the subterranean galleries of mines; after that, public squares and streets; then factories, workshops, stores, theaters, military barracks; finally, the domestic interior" (Jacques Fabien quote, 1863, Benjamin, 1999, p.567). According to Benjamin electricity also facilitated an increased speed of commerce and secondly, long distance communications.

From Benjamin's montage I collected fragments of information which serve to illustrate the story of the street at a place and time. The quality of street lighting affected how people used the street and how people use it and regulate it. Changes are often incremental and at times dramatic. In essence, "[w]e leave an imprint each time we enter into a history" (Benjamin, 1999, p. 516). Consulting the past, acknowledging its values and the changes which occurred for a place and time can provide knowledge and lessons which inform decision making in the present. Small fragments such as details revealed in quotes and observations collected by Walter Benjamin in *The Arcades Project* are a reminder the apparently insignificant or mundane may provide the moment for instant understanding. Our individual narratives of personal experience are in a state of tension towards a balance in our

understanding of our place and time and in our movement forward into our future. Like the individual stories of everyday lives the story of the street is also made of fragments that can be rearranged over time with new connections in response to priorities and values of the community at present.

### Benjamin's Observations of Urban Form

The story of place, shared orally or descriptively in written or drawing form is a way of seeing and understanding community and its physical form, such as a city or town. From Graeme Gilloch (1996) in *Myth and Metropolis: Walter Benjamin and the City*:

The city is a space to be read. This is the basis of the physiognomical dimension in Benjamin's cityscapes. The metropolis is a multi-faceted entity, a picture puzzle that eludes any unequivocal decipherment. There is no single picture, no overarching perspective, ...only form fleeting images and sudden moments of illumination, from the fragments stumbled upon in this complex and ever shifting social matrix. (pp.169-170)

Benjamin (1999) proposed there "...is an effort to master the new experiences of the city within the framework of the old traditional experiences of nature" (p.447). City form has been subjected to changes in planning philosophies over time, changes in the fashion of urban form. "Fashion is the "eternal recurrence of the new" in the mass produced form of the "always the same"" (Walter Benjamin quote, Buck-Morss, 1989, p.374). I propose that fashion in city building can disconnect community from its stories and traditions of place and time. The

planning of new places or the repair of existing ones that does not respect place and time has lead us to what James Kunstler (1994) described as the "geography of nowhere" because everywhere looks the same.

### From Paris, Reconstructions and Renewals.

Poetry and progress are two ambitious men who hate each other...and when they meet along the same road, one of them must give way... (Charles Baudelaire quote, Benjamin, 1999, p.691)

The introduction of the Paris arcade comprised of iron and glass was a pivotal point of modern movement in architecture. The 1851 World Fair featured the Crystal Palace in London, a demonstration of uses of materials in prefabricated structures. This technology supported a dramatic change to urban form by changing the street edge for the comfort of people.

Benjamin collected ideas to illustrate stories of concepts in urban form, including the importance of streets. For example, on town planning:

A man who wishes to have a brilliant drawing room is keenly aware that the beauty of the principal room cannot do without that of the avenues ...think of an elegant salon that requires the visitor, on his way there, first to pass through a courtyard littered with refuse, a stairwell full of rubbish, and an antechamber provided with old and uncouth furnishings ...Why is it, then, ...hasn't one of the myriad of princes and artists...ever had the idea of adorning, in appropriate degree, the three components: fauxbourgs, annexes, and avenues...?" (Charles Fourier quote, Benjamin, 1999, p.649)

In addition to his attention to the Parisian arcades, Benjamin included a number of historical references about change in Paris, for example, the effect of urban form upon citizenship. Buck-Morss (1989) summarized:

As with the world fairs, the *Passagen-Werk*'s concern is with the political effects of urbanism in undermining the revolutionary potential of the working class: The true goal of Haussmann's works was the securing of the city against civil war... The width of the avenues was to prohibit the erection of street barricades, and the new streets were to provide the shortest routes between the barracks and the working class sections. Contemporaries christened the undertaking "strategic beautification" (p.90)

Baron Haussmann's designs for grand boulevards necessitated the removal of built areas, neighbourhoods and villages which made up the city. Benjamin (1999) noted the use of simple tools like shovels, picks and wheel barrows were methodically and incrementally creating great change in urban form and in lives of citizens. Haussmann was the 'architect' of the wide boulevards of Paris for which the true reason was to avoid civil war (p.125). "Paris now ceased forever to be a conglomeration of small towns, each with its distinctive physiognomy and way of life...The centralization...created an artificial city, in which the Parisian...no longer feels at home; and so, as soon as he can, he leaves. And thus a new need arises: The craving for holidays in the country...." (Lucien Dubech and Pierre d'Espezel quote, Benjamin, 1999, p.129).

Town planning focused on the new and modern at the expense of the old and traditional has a greater relationship to the commodity than it may first appear.

Demolition of the built environment, destruction of a community's stories weakens the bonds for building and sustaining a resilient community and opportunity for

citizenship. The street becomes a corridor for transportation with the demise of communication. "The reconstruction of the city..., by obliging the workers to find lodgings in outlying arrondissements, has dissolved the bonds of neighbourhood that previously united them with the bourgeoisie" (Levasseur quote, Benjamin, 1999, p.123). Buck-Morss (1989) observed that "Baron Haussmann...this "artist of demolition"...[and] urban "renewal" projects attempted to create social utopia by changing arrangements of buildings and streets – objects in space – while leaving social relationships intact" (p.89).

Put another way, such drastic changes to the architectural and social fabric of urban community results in places without a soul, hence spaces become commodities and are no longer places. "Commodity fetishism (as well as urban "renewal") can be viewed as ...social relations of class displacement onto relations among things..." and towards the end of the 19th century freedom meant being able to consume (Buck-Morss, 1989, pp.283-284).

Benjamin (1999) defined "...the "modern" as the new in the context of what has always already been there" (p.842). Benjamin's "...criterion for deciding whether or not a city is modern: the absence of monuments" (p.385). I view the monument as a marker of place. It is a fragment, like a focal point or feature, which imparts value. Jane Jacobs (1961) used the term 'eye-catcher' and Allan Jacobs (1995) referred to 'something special'. These are markers in the narratives of the individual, street and community.

## On Being Reflexive: the Vanishing Point for Change and Progress.

Benjamin selected the Paris arcades as his point of reference. Benjamin's related observations of the street inform my investigation of the street.

The arcades facilitated shortcuts between destinations and therefore provided a permeable edge between the street and adjoining places. These thresholds contributed to the street's story. Benjamin's viewpoint from which he looked back at the arcades also informed his understanding of why the arcades faltered. "Reasons for the decline of the arcades: widened sidewalks, electric light, ban on prostitution, culture of the open air" (Benjamin, 1999, p.858). As for the arcades today, in my time they are a vital part of the story of Paris. The lessons learned about the contribution of arcades to a lively and vibrant street scene remain relevant to streets in other places and time.

Also, the technology of the arcades of iron and glass represented architecture produced by machine and the mechanization of standards. "Practice is eliminated from the productive process by machinery. In the process of administration, something analogous occurs with heightened organization. Knowledge of human nature, such as the senior employee could acquire through practice, ceases to be decisive" (Benjamin, 1999, p.227). The wisdom of experience and role of tradition support ways of sharing knowledge. While I concur with Benjamin's argument that technology impacts the tradition of storytelling, I also acknowledge there is potential for both positive aspects and negative deconstructive effects of technology upon storytelling. Adjustments and alignments are a necessary part of

communication. And, a common language with basic and simple rules is important to communication in the street. Simple rules can emerge from time tested themes, including a framework of standards in universal design for today and for a street for all.

#### Life as Art

## **Art as Definition of Progress**

In every true work of art there is a place where, for one who removes there, it blows cool like a wind of a coming dawn. From this it follows that art, which has often been considered refractory to every relation with progress, can provide its true definition. Progress has its seat not in the continuity of elapsing time but in its interferences – where the truly new makes itself felt for the first time, with the sobriety of dawn. (Benjamin, 1999, p.474) (taken from Convolute N On the Theory of Knowledge, Theory of Progress, *The Arcades Project*)

The art of storytelling facilitates communication and connection within the complex system of relationships found in community. This art is also a vehicle to share lessons and wisdom for moving forward, to progress. Therefore, progress can have more than one definition in context of different narratives in the same place and time. As we live, we progress.

The narrative of the street and of community is influenced by technology. Over the long term, technology's effect on the art of storytelling should aim to enhance accessibility by the storytellers, readers and listeners. By extension, knowledge may become more easily transferred and adaptable.

In essence, "...Benjamin understood the synthesis of technology and art as a structural tendency, not synonymous with history's actual course" (Buck-Morss, 1989, p.126). Buck-Morss proposed Walter Benjamin used the 'constructive principle of montage' to bring together a collection of truths and their interpretation takes the form of individual narratives (p.227).

In addition, effective change can be incremental over time and the art of communication becomes the story of change or progress as movement over time. The art of communication is also storytelling which enables citizenship and dialogue between citizen and government. Buck-Morss (1989) wrote "[a]rt challenges an institution and does not necessarily change institutions" (p.226). Storytelling is opportunity to explore ideas and to make mistakes in the processes of finding solutions to complex problems. An idea as art embodies a certain latitude for forgiveness or acceptance. Art can be controversial by nature, inviting differences of opinion. Benjamin (1999) offered this view of art when he wrote about the "...Marxist theory of art: one moment swaggering, and the next scholastic" (p.465). For the art of the sustainable street experiments and experiences to engage the community, such as neighbourhood pilot projects, could be used to explore alternative standards for better places, improved accessibility and enhanced community safety. The art of communication therefore can change public spaces to places. David Ferris (2008) raised a question, "What is the value of all our cultural capital if it's divorced from experience?" (p.111).

# About Art and Justice, its Relevance to Universal Standards

In a general way, memory – or tradition- could not be a criterion for justice. ...there would be no justice without memory, but there would also not be no justice without living beings, without the possibility and the reality of injustice.... In actuality, justice is always practiced as a function of traditions. But as soon as traditions confront one another, they are obliged to move toward more universal principles. (Rochlitz, 1996, p.257)

Emerging themes for the sustainable street include patterns which recognize and accommodate diversity. Bringing together different stories can support learning to see ideas from new connections between fragments. Diversity is also about equity and opportunity for all. I propose that accessibility coupled with diversity is a form of justice in the public realm such as the street.

Child's Way of Seeing, Role of Light and Colour. The art of storytelling can make connections between people of all ages. Buck-Morss (1989) argued Benjamin viewed the art of storytelling as disappearing. "In the premodern era, collective symbolic meaning was transferred consciously though the narration of tradition.... Given modernity's rupture of tradition, this is no longer possible" (pp.278-279). I have found in my reading of Benjamin a lesson in adapting to a new way of seeing based in the child's view. And, it embraces collecting as learning.

Children wrote Benjamin, are less intrigued by the preformed works that adults have created than by its waste products. They are drawn to the apparently valueless, intentionless things: "In using these things...they bring together ...materials of widely differing kinds in a new intuitive relationship. Benjamin's cognitive approach to the discarded, overlooked phenomena of the nineteenth century was no different. No modern thinker, with the

exception of Jean Piaget, took children as seriously as did Benjamin in developing the theory of cognition. (Buck-Morss, 1989, p.262)

I found alignment with urbanist Jane Jacobs (1961) who also viewed the appreciation of seemingly mundane details and their relationship to the whole as important to community. Jacobs argued one must learn to see from the most vulnerable perspectives, those of children and older persons.

Based upon my reading and interpretations of Benjamin I concur with his view that a child's way of seeing is authentic to the here and now. There are lessons to learn from a child's way of seeing and thinking which are relevant to communication and indicative of a common language that can be understood by most people. A child's way of seeing could be called a levelling art of people engaging with other people.

There is a connection between a child's way of seeing, embracing the fluid nature of movement and light, with places of diversity such as the good street. And, a child's view also speaks to enabling networks and relationships of trust at a fundamental level. For example, good neighbourhood streets which are safe can support vibrant and resilient communities for all ages.

In addition, I argue a child's view supports the active life of citizenship in community. "What Benjamin found in the child's consciousness...was precisely the unsevered connection between perception and action that distinguished revolutionary consciousness in adults" (Buck-Morss, 1989, p.263). My position is

that a successful public realm supports creative problem solving minds engaged in active civic life.

The child's view of colour and light can enlighten a way of seeing, a metaphor for activity and movement. Movement makes direct connection with the eye and enables communication. In reference to 'A Child's View of Color' written by Benjamin in 1914-1915 and unpublished in his lifetime (translated by Rod Livingstone), Bullock and Jennings (1996) interpreted Benjamin's observations. "Children like the way colors shimmer in subtle, shifting nuances.... For them color is fluid..." (p.50) and is a form of communication.

For the fact is that the imagination never engages with form, which is the concern of the law, but can only contemplate the living world from a human point of view creatively in feeling. This takes place through color...wherever it is not confined to illustrating objects, it must be full of lights and shade, full of movement, arbitrary and always beautiful. (Bullock & Jennings, 1996, p.51)

Light makes colour possible. Light makes possible connection with the eyes and mind, and is relevant to fostering trust.

In essence, a child's view is a way of seeing which communicates and shares knowledge on a commonly understood level. Importantly, it provides lessons about accessibility for all people through trust. An answer to the question, what is the art of the sustainable street, could be a framework with processes for communication within the grasp of all people using the street. Understanding the art of communication from a child's way of seeing is good for everyone. "Collecting is

primal phenomenon of study: the student collects knowledge" (Benjamin, 1999, p.210).

## The Essence of Emerging Themes from My Reading of Benjamin

Themes emerging from my reading of Benjamin's *The Arcades Project* relevant to my thesis are:

- 1. A public place attracts people who go there to see and to be seen.
- 2. The policy maker exercises their power through regulation and control of political spaces like the street.
- 3. The details of life in other times and places may seem insignificant and the connections to our own place and time obscure until we share our own stories and realize that patterns connecting the pieces are familiar. It is our viewpoint that determines what is important.
- 4. Our happiness is affected by the place and time in which we exist and we value feeling connected to place.
- 5. City building has been a measure of progress by humankind because of the power we have exerted over nature to control it.
- 6. Every citizen has a role as an individual and as a member of a collective.

- 7. Storytelling is a tradition of the collective as a way to share who we are, where we have come from and where we want to go as individuals and as a community. Through stories we can also learn a new way to see things or rediscover how we used to see the world through the eyes of a child.

  Seeing through a child's eyes is an example of a way to connect with our story. It is also a way to measure access for all members of the community to contribute at different stages of life.
- 8. Mass culture grew out of the commodification of life facilitated by capitalism and changes in technology. Technology not only served to provide a means of access but also to privatize life. Technology also enables a collective ability to overcome obstacles.
- 9. In addition, members of society need to feel connected and this occurs through tradition. We become reflexive and seek to share stories we value from the past as we move forward into our future. Progress in modern society increases the speed of travel and communication and circulation of capital.
- 10. Benjamin believed that the streets are the home of the collective. The street is a place for exchange and encounter and as such is a place of personal and collective intersections integral to everyday life.
- 11. The physical characteristics of the street and the activities which take place there can be observed and measured. Other characteristics,

including sounds, cultural differences and fashion are unique to a place and time, offering clues which speak to authenticity of place.

- 12. The street is also a gathering place for members of a community.
- 13. The street is a boundary edge with many thresholds betweenprivate and public realms. The street is characterized by movement.Movement can also describe changes in the narratives occurring in the street.
- 14. Human beings like to label or to name things as a way of imparting value and establishing a connection. In context of a street these labels could be street names, house numbers or feature markers like an important tree or a bench upon which to rest. Another value supported by the street is that of the exchange of information as currency.
- 15. Value is also affected by pivotal changes in technology which change society's relationship to the street. For example, electricity not only increased the speed of commerce and communication it also affected the way people use a street when it is illuminated. Lighting the street helps people feel safe.
- 16. The street is a good example of how making incremental changes can make a significant difference over time. Small changes also speak to the need for vision and leadership. The processes are reflexive because they look back to understand the present. The processes include all members of the community in sharing their stories about what is important.

## 17. The art of communication can define progress.

In conclusion, Benjamin's *The Arcades Project* inspired my investigation into a way of seeing. In thinking out loud and putting his thoughts in writing Benjamin's style was indicative of how a human mind thinks. Fragments are connected in various directions, disconnections occurring simultaneously while the process of sorting and connecting the pieces is undertaken by a curious mind seeking to understand. "For the most part, the unity of Benjamin's philosophical thought is assured only by the reflections he devotes to it in Correspondence, under pressure from questions raised by his baffled friends; he admits at times that he has not succeeded in reconciling the extremes that constitute the poles of his mode of thinking" (Rochlitz, 1996, p.259).

Walter Benjamin's employ of literary montage achieved a collection of quotes, observations and ponderings in *The Arcades Project* which exemplify an art of collecting fragments. As an unfinished work, it is a resource to be mined, pieces arranged and connected by the artist, the storyteller. "Collecting is a form of practical memory..." (Benjamin, 1999, p.883). Benjamin's notes on the city and the street in particular enriched my understanding of street planning and design and its impact on community.

## Chapter 3

# Collection of Fragments, Part One: The Street and Trust

Introduction. In this chapter I investigate the sustainable street, the characteristics of a good street and connections between these fragments as patterns and themes, primarily from my perspective as design professional. Benjamin studied Paris and the influence of the arcades on Parisian life. He collected knowledge, including quotations and observations, for a literary montage he titled *The Arcades Project*. My perspective is informed by Benjamin's work as I collect fragments of knowledge. The neighbourhood as an essential component of smaller urban communities in southern Ontario provides the contextual goal, the vanishing point from my position, for my study of the street and its place in sustainable community.

In Chapter 4, my collection of fragments is focused from a political perspective on the citizen and local government, including themes supporting citizenship in the street and the contributions by citizens and government to building vital and resilient communities.

In his 1993 (reprinted 1995) book, *Great Streets*, Allan B. Jacobs presented a collection of street details from well-loved streets of the world. I also include these fragments, described in this chapter. In addition, contributing voices will be heard from Jane Jacobs, James Kunstler, Christopher Alexander, Nicholas Blomley, Ken

Greenberg, Mariana Valverde, Ray Oldenburg, among others. From these storytellers I recognize common themes as well as differences of opinion with regard to the street and community. These agreements and differences lend a tension which can lead to dialogue and learning how to see alternative connections.

In addition, I rely on *A Pattern Language* by Christopher Alexander et al. (1977, second printing 1978) as a foundational text for my thesis. While studying landscape architecture as an undergraduate student, the book became a required text and it remains relevant today for landscape architects and other professionals in urban planning and design disciplines. *A Pattern Language* shares stories of building community, the patterns are reproducible and transcend time and have been described as timeless.

Communication informs circulation in the street. It is the voice of the street that is the most effective influence on community. A good street enables communication by connecting people through movement. "Everyone must use the streets" (Jacobs, J., 1961, pp.35-36). Each person has a story based on their own movement in public space and how they perceive the movement of others. In addition, in theory, the street is a place where a community expresses its collective intentions including its vision for the present and for its future. Jane Jacobs (1961) wrote streets are "...the main public places of a city ...[and if] ...a city's streets look interesting, the city looks interesting; if they look dull, the city looks dull" (p.29).

There are consequences in diminishing communication as the first function of a street. For example, if a street is not designed for communication, there will be

need for signage to explain what people can and cannot do in the street. Sign clutter fuels chaos and confusion, priorities become unclear. Blomley (2011) observed circulation as the priority in the street has "...strong associations to the emergence of the early modern city and the professionalization of urban engineering" (p.15). Authorities with jurisdiction in the street, like the municipal engineer, are moving towards changes in priorities, including streets for all users and modes of transportation in the interest of building better communities. Further, citizenship can influence government policy in urban planning and municipal operations.

Priority one in much of North America has typically focused on the moving or resting car and is gradually being replaced with a recalibrated focus on the moving and resting pedestrian in order to meet the needs of vital communities and all users of the street. For example, more non-driving youth and adults can be seen choosing alternatives in modes of transportation.

Interviewee C, a public health researcher and policy writer, observed a pivotal point will be reached in Ontario in about ten years when the baby boomer bulge comes to terms with turning 80 years of age. "80 is the magic number because 80 is when you have to renew your driver's license and go for testing every year and ...older adults tend not to do that and so between 70 and 80 they're going to be looking at ...their options and they're going to push for walkable, public transit communities in order to get around because they won't want to ask their 50 year old child to take them around..." (Interviewee C). Statistics Canada forecasts that by 2031, one quarter of all Canadians will be 65 or older (Transport Canada).

Urban design plays an important role in good streets, particularly in facilitating trust between users of the street. Related to urban planning, an emergent theme concerns the relationship between buildings lining the street and the spaces between them. "The devices in civic design that had adorned Europe – derived chiefly from the notion that the space between the buildings was an important as the buildings themselves – did not jibe with American property-ownership traditions, which put little value in the public realm" (Kunstler, 1994, p.39). It is my observation that urban design in Canada has, depending upon the era, reflected both European and American approaches in urban planning.

The automobile in Canadian public spaces also figures prominently. James Kunstler (1994) observed the car changed peoples' relationship to the street.

Kunstler wrote "...in an era before the automobile ...houses existed in a completely different relationship with the road. The houses honoured the road because the road was worth honoring. Building and road mutually reinforced the sense of place within the landscape, the feeling that you knew where you were in the world, that one's home was recognizable and beloved" (p.130). However, Jane Jacobs argued a different view. "Automobiles are often conveniently tagged as the villains responsible for the ills of cities and ...the destructive effects of automobiles are much less a cause than a symptom of our incompetence at city building..." (Jacobs, J., 1961, Intro p.7). Urban planning has generally recognized the shortcomings of car focused patterns of urban development and has sought to balance form and function of the street to include other users and uses. For example, active transportation includes

infrastructure in the street for alternative human powered modes of transportation such as bicycles and public transit.

I propose rediscovering and redefining the street as a voice of the community and as a place for citizenship would enable storytelling by individuals and the collective. This would enable processes for collective action to address many challenges or problems faced by a community.

My collection of fragments includes among other things cultural values and descriptions of physical parts of the street that are measurable. Although I have experience in urban design, I am not an expert in the design and operation of the street. But, I rely on the street daily.

On a cultural level, Allan Jacobs (1995) described how a great street feels to people, "...a great street should help make a community... accessible to all..., [with] settings for activities that bring people together" (p.8). Jacobs observed:

A great street is physically comfortable and safe.... Lights... to see the way and to see others, and ramps rather than steps where helpful for the comfort and safety of the handicapped and elderly, but no sanitizing of streets to a void societal misfits ... The best streets encourage participation. ... Participation in the life of the street involves the ability of people who occupy buildings [including houses and stores] to add something to the street, individually or collectively, to be part of it. That contribution can take the form of signs, flowers or awnings or color. ... Responsibility, including maintenance, comes with participation. (p.9)

I interpret participation as an indicator of citizenship. The state of the street is indicative of caring by the community.

In addition, fragments include details of physical characteristics. As one interviewee put it, the street "...is a kit of parts – ...what's very fundamental to that kit of parts is the actual measurements of the street, the ...physical design of the street like the distance from curb to curb..." (Interviewee A).

Fragments are connected into patterns and themes which emerge in narrative specific to a place and time. As reproducible patterns, themes accommodate the transferability of knowledge. In this way, it would be possible to find a different story or voice for different streets at different times of day. And, Canada has distinct changes of season, seasonal variations of narrative. In Ontario today, mixed use planning in response to government policies direct intensification of development and this also contributes to potential for variety in narrative. Individual and collective stories of place and time also speak to authenticity and place-making. Allan Jacobs (1995) identified respect for place as important for a street and its story.

As an example of reproducible themes, consider a short list prepared by the Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment (CABE), the UK government's advisor on architecture, urban design and public places. CABE (Web) provided a summary of five principles behind successful streets:

- 1. A strong design vision incorporating stakeholder views, respect for cultural values and history, and integration with the built environment.
- 2. The street is a dynamic place, quality materials and workmanship is important as well as on-going maintenance and care.
- 3. Inclusive design for diversity of uses and users and removing barriers to accessibility, including reducing speed for safety.

- 4. Design of the street includes adaption for climate change and seasonal comfort.
- 5. There is visual simplicity with attention to details for flexibility in use and for safety.

A good street also respects the measure of space in proportion to the human body and to the human being in movement, walking in particular, a prominent and recurring theme. Mark Roseland (2005) argued:

Walkability is key to an urban area's efficient surface transportation. Walking remains the cheapest form of transport for everyone as every trip usually begins and ends with walking. ...Walkable communities put urban environments back on a scale for the sustainability of resources ...and lead to increased social interaction and physical fitness, while diminishing crime and other social problems. Walkable communities are more livable communities and lead towards the whole, happy and healthy lives of every resident.... (p.119)

In addition, Interviewee A noted that in regard to well-being in urban communities, the "Centre for Disease Control in the US...have identified that ...the design of our communities is counter to and not supportive of a healthy lifestyle...". The "...streets are the absolute fundamental component of a walkable community ...because if you do not have good streets ...you are not going to have walkability...." And, walking is basic to making connections, like connecting parts of a story. Interviewee B stated "...walking is very important to me..." and if you do not walk "...you miss all the small stuff and all the little adventures and discoveries...."

Walking provides another reason to measure a street as part of the network of paths. Good street and street block patterns which respect the measure of a human walking provide a common goal for different disciplines with authority and

jurisdiction over the street. Hence, there is a basis for dialogue which I also refer to as communication in common language.

A good street in context of the Canadian scene is typically characterized by the change of seasons. In southern Ontario the four distinct seasons are casually distilled into two – winter season and construction season. As an aside, it is my municipal experience that the use of the term 'road' has crept into the lexicon of the municipal engineer to describe a town street in day to day operations of a municipal department. 'Road' is a category of street with limited purpose and limited opportunities for threshold experiences which foster connection between people. The term 'street' is an important label for place-making in an urban community. When local government acknowledges there is a distinction between transportation services and operations of the public works department, the collective attitudes toward the street change. For example, traffic planning for moving vehicles becomes one of several priorities in the street rather than always being the top priority. And, I argue the distinction is a step towards building better communities.

What follows are characteristics of good streets. The fragments may be arranged in different patterns to respect a street in its place and time, however, lessons in the stories of good streets are relevant today.

### **Criteria for Good Streets**

Defining Characteristics, the Timeless Fragments of the Street. Allan Jacobs (1995) listed elements common among great streets of the world. Built and natural features establish context and provide orientation within a street block pattern. Natural elements include rivers and hills, and built features include buildings and the spaces between them. A hierarchy of path type and potential barriers, such as rail lines and controlled access highways, also serve to inform context and orientation.

I propose the street, as a transitional and flexible space shared between the public and private realms, can also be defined by the gathering of people and the movement of people. And, in urban communities, like towns and cities, by either "...design or evolution, ...street and block patterns not only ...facilitate communications but also ...help people know where they are, in their neighbourhoods, in relation to the larger community and to a larger region" (Jacobs, A., 1995, p.257).

In addition, urban path types as well as the patterns and scale of path networks affect the vitality of the street. Allan Jacobs (1995) wrote "...street and block patterns change over time....Tragedies [like wars or fire, change] ...community values and perceived economic imperatives, [and] fads and design philosophies are among the reasons for change" (p.261). The "...most recent jumps in scale may be explained by technology, most notably the ...automobile..." (Jacobs, A., 1995, p.259).

The scale of street patterns affects how a human being relates to the street. Allan Jacobs (1995) observed "...older cities have a finer two-dimensional scale than do newer cities when measured in terms of intersections or blocks per square mile..." (p.261). For example, Irvine California is characterized by street intersections about a quarter mile apart, whereas old Savannah has street blocks about 125 to 300 feet apart (Jacobs, A., 1995, p.201).

A good street system is set in a context for community measured on a scale of walkable distance, such as the neighbourhood. I agree with arguments put forward by other voices, including those of Jane Jacobs (1961), Christopher Alexander et al. (1978) and Ken Greenberg (2011) who identified the neighbourhood as a vital component in community building. Good neighbourhoods include good streets as part of the network of paths which optimize opportunity in mobility and for connections, between people and between destinations. Diversity in choices supports resilient communities. Alexander et al. argued hierarchy of path type can also support a neighbourhood with a mix of uses and household types so that "...different kinds of people can find homes which satisfy their own particular desires.... And, to support this pattern we need ...three distinct kinds of paths... [including] [p]aths along services, wide and open for activities and crowds...; [p]aths remote from services... to discourage through traffic...; [and] [i]ntermediate types of paths linking the most remote and quiet paths to the most central and busy ones" (p.194). In addition, David Seamon wrote "...that the physical structure of place, particularly the spatial configuration of its pathways, plays a major role in

establishing whether streets are well used and animated or empty and lifeless" (Seamon, 2012, p.232).

Furthermore, the street edge is defined by the street's relationship with adjacent features including the placement of buildings and spaces between them. Alexander et al. (1978) pointed out building "...set-backs from the street, originally invented to protect the public welfare by giving every building light and air, have actually helped greatly to destroy the street as a social space..." (p.593). The authors noted other successful characteristics of buildings lining a street, including using a central feature as focus to denote hierarchy among buildings and spaces. Buildings along a street should not look the same. Also, the backs of buildings provide opportunity for a frontage on a lane, a different type of street in the hierarchy of paths.

**Buildings and Spaces for Trust**. Trust among people using the street is a major theme in my narrative. Buildings and spaces lining the street can facilitate trust in the street and a sense of safety.

Interviewee A shared this experience. On a street "...the houses can be very nicely designed but if you are on a suburban street that is ...wide ...with no sidewalks, and houses set well back from the street... [with] garages and garage aprons the main focus of the street, ...you do not want to wander there. You feel alienated and just want to get inside a car and get out of there or get inside a house because you do not feel comfortable walking on those streets...."

Alexander et al. (1978) identified two other reasons buildings and spaces along the street affect safety and trust. First, habitation which is flexible and can change to accommodate different needs of people through life stages may be a contributing factor to the success of a street as a trusted place because inhabitants can age in a place they know as home. Second, Alexander et al. proposed the "...connection between the geometry of roofs, and their capacity to provide incline toward sheltering roofs, almost as if they had archetypal properties..., people still find the simple pitched roof the most powerful symbol of shelter...." (p.571). In addition, a sheltering roof means the "... space under or on the roof must be useful space, space that people come into contact daily" (Alexander et al., 1978, p.572).

I refer to this roof space as the 'habitable roof' and propose living spaces can also be created within a variety of roof shapes. Consider, for example, the modern engineered truss roof which often results in large roofs with unusable interior space. Engineered roof trusses can be designed to include a habitable roof space, flexible space which can be used as a family grows or to provide for a separate rentable apartment. Flexibility in use of living space supports connection to place since the space can be adapted through various life stages and changes in ability. Urban design and planning policies can encourage, if not require habitable roof spaces, in the interest of stable and resilient mixed use neighbourhoods as components of sustainable communities.

Specific to trust, quality of place in the street is also affected by how people feel in spaces adjacent the street. Private spaces of home can contribute to the street

as place in community by way of their connection to the street. The "...relationship of a house to the street is often confused [and] either the house opens entirely to the street and there is no privacy; ...or the house turns its back on the street, and communication with street life is lost.... Frank Lloyd Wright experimented with one possible solution. When he built beside lively streets he built a wide terrace between the living room and the street" (Alexander et al., 1978, p.665). Slightly raised front porches, wide enough for people to use, are effective in creating a transition place along the street between private and public realms. A detailed discussion of municipal planning and development standards, including the Ontario Building Code, and their effect on the design of private spaces adjacent the public street is a topic deserving further investigation. For example, the limiting height between a porch and the ground is about two feet. Beyond this height an eye level railing is prescribed and this effectively interrupts the view line when sitting down. A lower railing height enables an uninterrupted view to the street, a visual connection with the activity in the street and opportunity to engage with passers-by if desired.

Clearly communicated thresholds between public and private realms also support trust in the street. The use of space between buildings needs more attention. There is potential to enhance outdoor spaces as connecting places which contribute to a good street. "Make all the outdoor spaces which surround and lie between your buildings positive. Give each one some degree of enclosure; ... surround each ...with wings of buildings, trees, hedges, fences, arcades, and trellised walks, until it becomes an entity with a positive quality ..." (Alexander et al., 1978, p.522). And, these spaces are thresholds between private and public realms can be

changed incrementally. The repair of unsuccessful transitions can help restore positive space and trust. For example, a change in texture and lighting is provided by a colourful canopy over a connecting passageway. "Connect buildings with arcades, and outdoor rooms, and courtyards where they cannot be connected physically..." (Alexander et al., 1978, p.534). Benjamin's observations about the arcades of Paris conveyed they were effective devices at the time in creating places at the street edge. Alexander et al. (1978) made related observations about arcades, the "...covered walkway at the edge of buildings, which are partly inside, partly outside... play a vital role in the way that people interact with buildings" (p.581). In addition to trust and a sense of safety, comfortable transition spaces promote a sense of connection to place as a person moves in a street or crosses thresholds between public and private realms.

Alexander et al. (1978) also wrote about the value of an individual's contribution to spaces which can be seen from the street. For example, a half-hidden garden provides a transition, "...place it in some kind of half-way position, side-by-side with the house, in a position which is half-hidden from the street, and half-exposed..." (Alexander et al., 1978, p.547). I concur with this observation about private and personal contributions to the street. And, although government may view a garden as a private intrusion into public space, I argue the reverse to be true. Private statements like a garden edging the street are a form of implied connection between citizens and eyes in the street that foster trust. A shared garden, part private and part public, is also part of a story in the street which can connect

strangers. Street side gardens also act as traffic calming devices by reminding drivers the street is a place shared with others.

Since the street is a regulated public space a street garden as a form of expression also provides or addresses tension, a threshold between public and private realms in the built environment. Alexander et al. (1978) advocated to "...allow the garden to grow wild...and make the passage through, or alongside it, a major part of the transition between the street and the house..." (p.547). As a marker of a place of change, a street garden provides a gateway between public and private space and allows for pause in movement for orientation. From my perspective as a landscape design professional I can affirm that garden thresholds are also a way to welcome nature into urban spaces.

Transition spaces between private and public realms are places in the street edge which can support fragments of incremental change. These spaces can work to either enhance or degrade efforts in the building of sustainable communities. "Bring the path which connects the street and entrance through this transition space, and mark it with a change of light, a change of sound, a change of direction, a change of surface, a change of level, perhaps by gateways which make change of enclosure, and above all, a change of view" (Alexander et al., 1978, p.552).

#### The Street Scale

Impact of Technology and Regulation. Technology can change the speed of both communication and travel over distances. Through my reading of Benjamin's *The Arcades Project* I learned that technology can signify thresholds for change. For example, technology enabled wide spread use of personal vehicles. This changed the context of the street by altering the spatial relationships between its parts. This is street scale.

Regulation, such as policies and standards, are controls intended to protect the public and communities. Rules may have unintended consequences that damage or hinder community building. For example, streets of traditional dimensions people find desirable may be illegal or impossible to build today because of current street standards. When regulation poses a barrier to optimum street scale creativity may be required in connecting the fragments for a good street. Kunstler (1994) wrote, when urban planner Andres "...Duany's firm designed a development in Miami with narrow streets and old-fashioned service alleys, his client was denied a building permit. They submitted a new set of blueprints on which the streets were relabeled "parking lots" and the alleys were relabeled "jogging paths" – and then the project won approval" (pp.126-127).

In addition, street design standards are based in several languages of professional disciplines involved in building community. Technology can assist in the evaluation and alignment of standards and in identifying alternatives for change in the interest of sustainable community. To measure and assess progress also

speaks to accountability of policies and standards affecting street scale. Further, Pomeroy (1999) argued that the "...pattern of urban sprawl that prevailed from the late 1950s through to the present is not sustainable. This pattern involves low density and excessive land consumption. It is driven by, and engenders, a lifestyle that is auto dependent... [and] is expensive to service with infrastructure..." (p.4). Also, design of the street may be influenced by policies for public health and safety which in a different era seem out of place. For example, Kunstler (1994) noted the width of streets in America built in the 1950s was tied to the idea of possible nuclear war and its aftermath. It was believed "...wide streets would make it easier to clean up the mess with heavy equipment" (p.114). In another example, winter maintenance operations in Canada are also often used to justify wider streets.

However, wide streets can be successful when they are designed for multiple and flexible uses. Benjamin articulated the early impact of building wide boulevards in Paris on community life, the destruction of a village centred way of life and displacement of people. The modern Parisian boulevard is a "...twelve- lane road in which half the lanes are used for parking and the rest for moving cars at two different speeds, express and local..., a median island planted with trees define an outer slow lane on each side...space for parking on each side of the median...outer edges of the sidewalks are planted with formal, orderly rows of trees..." (Kunstler, 1994, p.125). Kunstler observed people walk and gather in places like outdoor cafes as part of the city's urban life. This example demonstrates the complex relationships which can coexist in a street. The community adapted to a space changed by technology. However, Interviewee A cautioned about design standards used on big

wide streets. "People can design boulevards that can be multi-lanes but not if they design them on a highway standard...." Wide streets must respect the human being as a pedestrian.

I propose optimum street scale can be facilitated by a shift in priorities for street standards, a scale using the walking human being as the basic unit of measure. Alternative standards for retrofitting existing development, sprawling suburbia for example, may add bicycle lanes to a street with wide driving lanes without rebuilding the street curb edges. Further, planting street trees and building sidewalks can lower vehicle driving speeds while adding uses to the street. Pomeroy (1999) observed walkable distances to public facilities such as a recreation complex, town hall or post office are examples of ways a local government can lead in these changes (p.42).

Measure of the 'Human Unit': Walking as Human Scale. The human being in motion, walking in particular, is an important consideration in the scale of the street. Although I acknowledge getting public transit right can be a key to mobility over distances in Canada, I view the greater context for freedom and mobility to be active transportation.

Walkability is a measure of a good street and resilient community. Movement through walking is a common language. Nicholas Blomley (2011) wrote the "...act of walking is much more than an act of transportation, a means of moving from A to B, but is characterized as a significant form of embodied practice, charged with and

productive of social, cultural and – potentially – political meaning...produced through patterns of mobility..." (p.24). Blomley added, "[u]rban walking may take many forms, from the purposive, to more discursive or self-conscious forms, such as the ambling stroll of the flaneur, who 'sabotages traffic', as Benjamin...puts it..."(p.25). Thus, walking as a measure can include a varied scale but it is still human scale.

As scale changes in the public realm, the relationship between citizen and decision-makers of government also changes. Benjamin observed how the new technology of a railroad impacted urban living and transportation in Paris by changing how large numbers of people could move at once. The largeness of investment can also affect how decisions are made at a local level. Allan Jacobs (1995) wrote the "...new pattern, the pattern brought about by public policy and public actions, favors bigness and wealth at the expense of participation by larger numbers of smaller actors" (p.265). I propose acknowledging the person, as individual and as part of a collective, is a fundamental measure which can also advance good governance and citizenship.

If a person walking is the measure for creating and repairing community, the resulting street system would support place-making and it would prioritize communication between all users of the street in setting basic rules, for example, in traffic planning. "Walking, like language, has an enunciative function, serving to constitute a place....walking not only constitutes a spatial order, it also allows for its transformation..." (Blomley, 2011, p.26).

Another reason to use the walking human being as a measure of scale is consideration for children. Government is a steward of the public trust and for the decision-makers of tomorrow. William Whyte (1968) observed children's travel patterns deserve more attention by urban planners. Children have preferred routes of travel between home and their destinations such as school and parks, and the length of distance is a determining factor on the degree of use (p.261). Whyte also noted traffic planners aim to separate users and this has the effect of isolating children who by nature are attracted to activity. I propose a street system to accommodate children also speaks to accessibility and universal design standards for all people at different life stages.

With regard to a child's view in building community, Interviewee B stated, "I don't think we give kids enough opportunities to contribute because their answers are sometimes so simple that adults tend to think they don't have any value or weight, when in fact they just cut through the crap...."

Block Patterns and Hierarchy of Paths: the Basic Framework for Small Town Ontario. Street scale can have a profound impact on the functional framework for the layout of small towns as walkable communities. The gridiron plan is the typical block pattern for streets in smaller urban communities in southern Ontario and it is a versatile system for movement when connected to networks of paths.

David Seamon (2012) raised Bill Hillier's theory of space syntax in which a network of streets and paths works better when paths are not a segregated system but part of the overall transportation network. A segregated system "...undermines the informal sociability of streets and neighbourhood..." and may eventually attract antisocial activity and behaviours (p.239). Seamon added, permeability "...relates to the number of alternative routes running through that place and the potential amount of human movement, exchange, and interaction thus facilitated" (p.240).

# Defining the Street Edge: Vertically, Horizontally, by Effectiveness of Use.

Great streets have definition. They have boundaries, usually walls of some sort or another, that communicate clearly where the edges of the street are...that keep the eyes on and in the street, that make it a place. (Jacobs, A., 1995, p.277)

Though the street as an edge is characterized by permeability, nonetheless, it is definable as place and this also speaks to scale. Allan Jacobs (1995) observed streets are defined both vertically and horizontally. Vertical elements include buildings, walls and trees or these in combination. The buildings "...are not the same but they express respect for one another, most particularly in height and in the way they look" (Jacobs, A., 1995, p.287). And, it "...should be noted that the ...streets which seem to most comfortable are the ones where the width of the street does not exceed the height of the surrounding buildings" (Alexander et al., 1978, p.490).

The spaces in between buildings also define the street and must be positive places. Ken Greenberg and James Kunstler seemed to concur with Allan Jacobs regarding the role of positive street space, especially thresholds between places or trusted spaces from which to view activity in the street (Greenberg, 2011, p.85; Kunstler, 1994, p.126). Also, I discovered among the human voices contributing to my narrative a general acknowledgment on the importance of trees to the comfort of being in the street. An effective method to define a space is "...closely planted trees that ...enable them to give a sense of place" (Jacobs, A., 1995, p.280).

In addition, diversity in both physical form and uses contribute to a vibrant street edge. Urban design planning policies and land use zoning in particular provide ways to affect this type of definition and unify a street. "The suitable tactic for visual unity...is to zone a limit on the length of street frontage permitted any single enterprise" (Jacobs, J., 1961, p.390). Jane Jacobs (1961) also warned that "(s)mallness and diversity...are not ...synonyms..." (p.148).

The length of a street can also present challenges to defining it as a place.

Allan Jacobs (1995) "...cannot specify how long is too long ...at some points along a long street some changes are necessary if interest is to be sustained ...some special focal point...or change in the street section" (p.305). Places to pause and display of public art are examples of focal points to define a street and to provide a sense of scale at a human level. Interviewee B observed public art on the street, like sculpture,"... humanizes, it creates something that slows people down...[and] provides a chance to incorporate something that someone else has created into their

daily lives... [P]ublic art is also in an increasingly less literate society ... one of the best ways of way finding...."

In a related matter, definition of a street can be measured in terms of street effectiveness through its diversity of uses and users. A good street, a sustainable street defined by a diversity of uses and users thus hosts many narratives. Jane Jacobs (1961) described effectiveness to mean two things "...first, that the people using the streets at different times must actually use the same streets" and "...second, that the people using the same streets at differing times must include, among them, people who will use some of the same facilities" (p.163). In addition, I argue that since the physical design of the street can define it as place and trusted space, people do not have to be seen at all times. It is enough to suggest that people habitually inhabit the space.

Communication and Caring define the Street. Scale can be difficult to measure in some sustainable practices which have a role in defining the street, such as stewardship and responsibility. As a sustainable practice defined through communication, caring is a central theme. When people care about their heritage and their potential for the future, it affects individual and collective actions. If quality of life is dependent upon quality of place, there is opportunity to learn and recognize shared fundamental values among members of the collective and to appreciate different points of views. We learn to care.

Further, as children people can learn about caring and being receptive to other points of view. Interviewee B observed, "...when you're exposed to discussion, dialogue not argument, or observations particularly when you're young, you don't necessarily always, particularly agree but [my parents, an artist and an engineer,] ... brought two sides to things. You start to accommodate and you start looking..."

Planning communities is another way to care and the guiding principles must encourage desired action. For example, most zoning codes are typically worded to prevent or direct certain uses, falling short of a vision for action. Alternatively, codes can be "...prescriptive... [for] streets to feel and act a certain way, ...primarily related to how private property defines public space" (Kunstler, 1994, p.259).

In addition, competing interests for public funds can affect the care of public places like the street. The quality in building and maintaining of streets demonstrates leadership by government over an area it has influence. "Care of trees, materials, buildings, and all parts that make up a street is essential" (Jacobs, A., 1995, p.289).

Alexander et al. (1978) described an example of a cycle of caring which I interpret as moving towards a sustainable solution. And, this example is also a demonstration of a policy of stewardship. The planting of street trees leads to creation of places for people in the street and serves as a reminder humans are part of an ecosystem. As an archetypal pattern, it is reproducible, Alexander et al. (1978) noted:

...the nature of the complex interactive symbiosis between trees and people. 1. ...people need trees... 2. ...when people plant trees, the trees need care... 3. The trees won't get the care they need unless they are in places people like. 4. ...this in turn requires that the trees form social spaces. 5. Once the trees form social spaces, they are able to grow naturally. (p.800)

Eyes in the Street define Connection. Connection fosters caring. In a related way, eye connection in the street facilitates trust among strangers in the public realm. Allan Jacobs (1995) wrote making connections is fundamental to human nature and the good street. "Great streets require physical characteristics that help the eyes do what they want to do, must do: move. Every great street has this quality" (Jacobs, A., 1995, p.282).

In addition to physical movement in the street, natural light also moves and enables movement. "Generally, it is many different surfaces over which light constantly moves that keeps the eyes engaged.... Visual complexity is what is required, but it must not be so complex as to become chaotic or disorienting.... Complexity within some holistic context, on the other hand, permits orientation" (Jacobs, A., 1995, p.282).

In essence, street definition can enable trust through connections made in the mind between fragments collected via movement. These connections can also be viewed as points of intersection among the stories in the street.

## Trust in the Street and Citizenship

What attracts people most in an urban place is other people. (Whyte, 2000, p.229 quote, Blomley, 2011, p.17)

Trust between users of the street is fundamental to the influence by the street upon community. Movement of people and movement of light on objects keep the eyes interested and enable connection. These connections create networks of relationships. On the other hand, predictable movements of regulated behaviour bracketed by traffic rules provide for an assumption of safety and trust in designated travel spaces. But is this enough to make a good street? I argue no, it is not enough. Communication between all users of the street contributes to lively and safe streets, sustainable streets. Walking, for example, can foster trust among strangers. Walking is a speed of movement comprehendible and predictable to most people.

Trust emerges from feeling safe. Jane Jacobs (1961) argued that streets are fundamental to keeping a city safe:

... [T]here should be, in the brains behind the eyes on the street, an almost unconscious assumption of general street support when the chips are down – when a citizen has to choose ...whether he will take responsibility, or abdicate it, in combating barbarism or protecting strangers. There is a short word for this assumption of support: trust. The trust of a city street is formed over time from many, many little public sidewalk contacts..., ...a web of public respect and trust, and a resource in time of personal or neighbourhood need. The absence of this trust is a disaster to a city street. Its cultivation cannot be institutionalized. And above all, it implies no private commitments. (p.56)

Jane Jacobs (1961) identified three main qualities of a street which lead to trust. These include the clear delineation between public and private space, eyes on

the street, and the street as a place where people need to see other people and to be seen (p.35). These qualities also support communication in the street as a major influence on community. "Communication remains a major purpose of streets....

Streets moderate the form and structure and comfort of urban communities" (Jacobs, A., 1995, p.3).

Cities, towns and neighbourhoods require a vibrant public realm that can embrace strangers and support the diversity in stories contributing to community. Valverde (2012) challenged the modern day applicability Jane Jacobs' ideas, and called a failure by government to enable diversity a 'dysfunctional dance'. In addition, stratification can lead to fear. While I agree with Jacobs' concept of community building through self-governance and the 'sidewalk ballet', many small details synergizing into a vital urban organism, as a form of citizenship I also acknowledge that a lack of trust in the street can be a barrier to citizenship. Citizenship is challenged by the "...often hostile interaction between local politicians and low level city officials ...described as the dysfunctional dance of local governance" (Valverde, 2012, p.21). Further, in acknowledgement of the role of freedom of expression in citizenship, Blomley (2011) also warned that "...to secure the public realm for the respectable through the exclusion of the unrespectable...the city becomes increasingly hostile to difference..." (p.13).

A related point of view was provided by Interviewee C, a public health professional and facilitator working with municipalities. Municipal councils "...want

to talk about infrastructure, they don't want to talk about the social environment of the community...."

Also, Blomley (2011) wrote of the impact by regulation to facilitate or undermine trust:

[The] ...spaces of social and political life are frequently shot through with and made intelligible by legal forms of ordering and categorization....

The sidewalk... [for example] is governed, produced and interpreted according to multiple codes, rationalities and practices, many of which are law like. ...The sidewalk itself is understood as a particular space, owned by the city, in trust for the 'public'. People and things are only problems when, like dirt, they are deemed to be at the wrong place. (pp.10-11)

Trust enables Citizenship. The street matters as a public place in community for trust among citizens and strangers. A good street looks and feels like a place which can also support different uses and users with varying capacities and needs. In the storytelling of everyday life, diversity in the street supports experiences and opportunities for citizenship. Richard Florida (2012) argued diversity also supports creativity, this "...creativity may be trusted to be essentially constructive. [Creativity is] ...ability to receive much conflicting information without forcing closure upon the situation" (p.136). I also acknowledge Valverde's (2012) position that diversity is a big challenge for local governance (p.3) since diversity requires attention to details, which can take time. Local government in small town Ontario is typically composed of part-time positions and responsibilities include issues of growing complexity. Nevertheless, I view the challenge posed by

complexity less as a barrier than as necessary tension to stimulate dialogue between government and citizen.

And, the street as a trusted place is also a safe street. The absence of safety is a barrier to trust. Jane Jacobs highlighted the potential consequences of unsafe streets in her 1961 book, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. Jacobs drew comparisons between street gangs staking out their territories and land developers building residential neighbourhoods which stratify society by income level. In some of these situations, the public street becomes a private street.

Further, I agree with Alexander et al. there can be a weakening of social bonds in community "...because the cars have taken over the streets, and made them uninhabitable..." (Alexander et al., 1978, p.489). In a related view, Kunstler (1994) wrote that "...we have forgotten that connections are important. To a certain degree, we have forgotten how to think ...[and] there is a connection between disregard for the public realm – for public life in general – and the breakdown of public safety" (p.246).

How should safety be defined? By way of regulation, Blomley (2011) noted, "[s]afety is clearly an ambiguous ...signifier ...akin to other police abstractions, such as nuisance and order. It does not connote protection from physical harm, however, but ...celebrates and firmly links autonomy and mobility, where both are viewed as fundamental rights" (p.100). In this light, I anticipate an optimal definition of safety would require a shift towards regulation to accommodate all users in the streets for various reasons including public health and resilient communities.

In addition, Jane Jacobs (1961) argued "...the public peace ...the sidewalks and streets peace ...is not kept primarily by the police... [but] primarily by an intricate almost unconscious, network of voluntary controls and standards among the people themselves, and enforced by the people themselves" (p.31). Comfort and safety in the street supports trust through a combination of regulation and informal networks like self-governance between people in the street. And, I concur with Alexander et al. (1978) that the "...simple social intercourse created when people rub shoulders in public is one of the most essential kinds of social "glue" in society..." (p. 489).

Transparency and accountability also contribute to trust. In the next chapter, I explore the relationship between the citizen and their local government, and their influences in the street. Government requires processes for the creation and assessment of policies and regulations pertaining to the street. Regular opportunity for citizens to meet with their elected representatives in public forums can also build trust in these processes.

Moments of encounter which can build trust between citizens and government can happen in the street. For example, I walk often and as a Town Councillor I have had many impromptu 'meetings' held on the sidewalk as a result of chance encounters with citizens. And despite the citizen-government relationship the street meeting occurs between equals, two people dialoguing face to face, in a neutral place in the public realm. The citizen shares their story. As a member of government I also seek to understand the citizen's message in context of the community, the collective narrative. Technology in the form of a mobile device

enables me look for an answer or solution to a problem almost immediately and experience informs me where to look. For example, a senior walking from their retirement residence to the grocery store asked if a bench could be placed along the street sidewalk about half way. Others in the community may also appreciate the new bench. In a subsequent encounter, citizen feedback was invited and received as a way of measuring the effectiveness of the change.

Trust enables accessibility, and vice versa. Several sources Blomley (2011), Greenberg (2011), Kunstler (1994), Allan Jacobs (1995), Jane Jacobs (1961) noted accessibility in the public realm is measured at the speed of a walking human. And, to understand a child's way of seeing, a perspective of a vulnerable sector of society, can also facilitate the building of trust in the street. I define accessibility in terms of universal design for freedom and mobility for all users of the street. Further, Jane Jacobs (1961) wrote the "...safety of the streets and the freedom of the city...is a complex order. ... This order is all composed of movement and change, and although it is life ...we may fancifully call it the art form of the city and liken it to the dance...an intricate ballet. ...and in any one place is always replete with new improvisations" (p.50).

Many streets today have designated spaces for different uses. This impacts accessibility. For anyone who does not drive a car or ride a bicycle, movement is regulated to the sidewalk and trails. The sustainable street accommodates many uses and is connected to networks which provide choices in mobility, including a hierarchy of paths and street types within a community.

# Walking as a Common Language in building Trust.

The act of walking is to the city what the speech act is to language. (de Certeau, 1984, p.97 quote, Blomley, 2011, p.17).

The process of walking in the street enables trust. Walking is also a measure of the speed of life within the capacity of the individual. This aligns with Jane Jacobs' (1961) argument that eye contact is essential for trust. Blomley (2011) observed the design of sidewalks often fails to recognize that "...walking is a form of meaning-making..." (pp.23-24). Sidewalks in particular are spaces for people to encounter and engage with others. Things in the street become secondary. To foster dialogue "...the sidewalk must tolerate a diversity of uses, behaviours and people, even being open to 'amiable disorder' and 'vital frictions'" (Blomley, 2011, p.28).

Walking is integral to storytelling, to stories authentic to a place and time.

Peter C. Vanwyk (2012) wrote in an article, *The Ciphered River of Streets*:

The rhythm of walking generates a rhythm of thinking, and the passage through a landscape echoes or simulates the passage through a series of thoughts. This creates an odd consonance between internal and external passage, one that suggests that the mind is also a landscape of sorts and that walking is one way to traverse it."

I also propose that human powered devices such as scooters and skateboards must also respect the speed of walking in establishing and maintaining trust in a shared space used for movement.

**Trust: changing Space to Place**. To make the street a place, respect how a human moves in a trusted space. Components of a good street include focal points and goals. A human plots their path by moving between goals which are rarely more than a few hundred feet apart (Alexander et al., 1978, p.588). It is my experience as a landscape architect and as a municipal politician that goals, including Jane Jacobs' 'eye-catchers', can be created in a variety of ways. Two common examples include, first, civic improvements by local government which can take form through urban design projects like adaptations to small spaces along the street such as public art near a street corner or a bench under a tree, or a commemorative heritage plaque on a building to share a story of community. Second, programs promoting projects to engage citizens in citizenship or to attend activities in the street, can also include extending private spaces into the public space of the street. For example, a restaurant's summer café patio may extend into part of the public sidewalk or adjacent parking space. In essence, streets "...are activated by people at the same time as they contribute to making a community for them" (Jacobs, A., 1995, p.303).

Blomley's (2011) statement on sidewalk governance aptly described lessons for making the street a place:

Public space is a site of encounter between strangers ...we share space ...for many civic humanists it is this that creates the excitement and political possibility of public space as a site of beneficial engagement, to the extent that it is here that we are most likely to encounter difference and diversity. [Government]... is more cautious, insisting on the necessity of clear rules of encounter that serve to ensure that the dyadic contract is preserved ...creating a level playing field, a set of expected norms and behaviours

...everybody has a responsibility for their behaviour in that public space.... Public space scholars tend to worry that such forms of legislation produce a completely sanitized space ...[others see the beneficial side of legislation where] edginess is fine; unsafe isn't fine ...it's about bringing positive, acceptable activities to the community, to the exclusion of no one ...setting guidelines ...creates more of an environment to invite more people into it.... (Blomley, 2011, pp.102-103)

Turning space into place requires trust between people using the same spaces while their individual freedom is maintained. Jane Jacobs also (1961) referred to the street neighbourhood which "...achieves a marvel of balance between its people's determination to have essential privacy and their simultaneous wishes for differing degrees of contact, enjoyment or help from the people around. This balance is largely made up of small, sensitively managed details, practiced and accepted so casually that they are normally taken for granted..." like leaving house keys for friends or family with a neighbour or local shop keeper (p.59).

Broken fragments or disconnected patterns of streets can affect a sense of loss of community, the dismantling of place. Provokingly, Kunstler (1994) argued that it has been two generations of people since society has collectively known quality places to live and as a result people have become disconnected from a sense of place (p.245). However, it can be argued that people can find ways to adapt due to an inherent resilience and a desire to thrive.

Trust is a component of themes throughout the story of the sustainable street.

Trust is connected with safety. Trust is characterized by openness for difference and diversity. Trust occurs on a human scale. Trust creates place. There are important leadership roles for citizens and their local government in enabling trust and the

sharing of stories of community in the street. In a way of seeing, citizen and government is another form of relationship among strangers dependent upon mutual trust.

## **Movement in the Street is Complex**

The street is also a corridor of movement, neither chaotic nor random.

Further, movement in its various forms can unify a street. Complexity founded in diversity keeps eyes interested and seeking connections. Both movement and diversity work to unify the street scene. In addition to the movement of people, light contributes to appearance of movement. Air currents, sounds and smells can also contribute to movement and to the suggestion of movement. For example, an invisible breeze moves the leaves of trees.

# **What Moves?** People, light and trees do.

People moving in traffic or participating in commerce along the street edges, and sunlight dappling the leaves of trees are examples of movement bringing life to a scene and defining a street. "People on streets do what leaves do; they move. ...many moving people help to make good streets" (Jacobs, A., 1995, p.283).

In addition, "[b]eyond helping to define a street...what makes trees so special is their movement.... The leaves move and the light on them constantly changes ...the constant challenge to the eyes of light and leaves" (Jacobs, A., 1995, pp.282-283).

And, colour is affected by light or its absence, its changing nature also a form of movement. Allan Jacobs (1995) and Jane Jacobs (1961) observed trees are simple devices to unify an apparently chaotic street scene. And, people generally associate places created by trees with a positive experience. "Green is a psychologically restful, agreeable color" (Jacobs, A., 1995, p.293).

Allan Jacobs (1995) also noted that to be "...effective, street trees need to be reasonably close together.... In practice, the most effective tree spacing is 15 to 25 feet (4.5 to 7.6 meters) apart..." (p.294) for a single row of trees. Spacing between trees can be wider if there are several rows of trees. Allan Jacobs observed where street trees are not effective it is often because they are too far apart and irregularly spaced, including long clearances from intersection corners. And, to be effective, street trees need to be cared for and healthy.

Although buildings and pavements do not move, they can contribute to movement in the street due to changing light. Allan Jacobs (1995) proposed engaging the eye in this way is a complex process (p.285). "Buildings do not move. Light, though, moves over them, and the surfaces change, in lightness, darkness and shadow, and therefore in color.... Complex buildings facades over which light can pass or change make the better streets than do more simple ones" (Jacobs, A., p.283).

With respect to other street unifiers, Jane Jacobs (1961) observed "[p]avements have possibilities as unifiers; that is, sidewalk pavements with strong, simple patterns. Awnings in strong colours have possibilities. Each street that needs this kind of help is its own problem, and probably needs its own solution" (p.390).

Illumination and Colour suggest Movement. I discovered in Benjamin's The Arcades Project artificial illumination of the street can significantly change the way the street is used. And, other temporary additions to the street like banners and flags can also affect its use.

On holiday in Argentina, some years ago, I discovered the power of artificial illumination in creating places. The public parks of Mendoza in the evening have two systems of illumination. High overhead lights cast a full moonlight ambience over the park and additional human scale lighting of pathways focused a brighter level of illumination where it was needed. The full moon ambience lifts a place out of total darkness and there is sufficient light to see beyond the pathways and gathering places. The lighting scheme, including the colour of light, allows people to stroll through the park at night. It felt safe because I could see other people moving around. It is a way to enjoy the out of doors away from the heat of the day and full sun. I propose a street can be illuminated with a similar scheme, the human scale lighting used to create places along the street or to highlight thresholds and places in the boundary edge that are permeable for moving between public and private realms. "Uniform illumination – the sweetheart of the lighting engineers – serves no useful purpose whatsoever. In fact, it destroys the social nature of space, and makes people feel disoriented and unbounded" (Alexander et al., 1978, p.1160).

Light and movement can coexist as colour and contribute to the street as features like temporary banners. For example, banners over a street can be place-

making for a festival event or activity in public space. I have fond recollections of animated, colourful movement above a street in the form of multi-coloured banners of a public art installation. The display made the place special and memorable.

And, good streets in temperate regions like southern Ontario include considerations for the change in seasons which bring a change in light including the colour of light.

**Transparent and Permeable Edges affect Movement and Behaviour**. The good street is characterized by edges that are transparent and permeable.

From this boundary edge a single step across a threshold can place a person into a public or private space. In addition, the "...best streets have about them a quality of transparency at their edges, where the public realm of the street and the less public, often private realm of property and buildings meet. ...[0]ne senses an invitation to view or know, if only in the mind, what is behind the street wall" (Jacobs, A., 1995, p.285).

Thus, exchange of information and storytelling along the street edges include both physical and visual thresholds. Alexander et al. (1978) observed a glass wall or a window or door enables connection between the eye and activity on the other side. If there is an opening, sounds and smells can be sensed and conversation is possible. Thresholds are also places of intersection of activity as people move between public and private spaces along the street edge (pp.774-775).

Street edges also provide people opportunity to alter their behaviour or pattern of movement when they cross through transitional spaces or over thresholds between the private and public realms. These markers are recognizable in some way by a change in pattern – of light, surfaces, colours, or by a gateway. I agree with Alexander et al. (1978) regarding people moving in the street, they "...adopt a style of "street behaviour." When they come into a house they naturally want to get rid of this street behaviour and settle down completely into the more intimate spirit appropriate to a house.... The transition must, in effect, destroy the momentum of closeness, tension and "distance" which are appropriate to street behaviour, before people can relax completely" (pp.549-550).

In addition, street edges provide access to other public places where people change from their street behaviours. For example, people pause to relax at a gathering place at the edge of a street such as a café or small public square. Ray Oldenburg (1989) referred to these places as the 'third place', "…neutral ground upon which people may gather" (p.22). Informal gathering contributes to the vitality of the street through diversity of activity and the accompanying change in movement and behaviour. The life of a street is found at its edges, much like the Alexander et al.'s public square. Life of a public space forms at its edge. "If the edge fails, then the space never becomes lively" (Alexander et al., 1978, p.600).

Streets support places where people can gather, their backs to something solid or protected from the space they face. Their bodies may rest and their eyes are still engaged by activity. Their own story of watching is peripheral participation and

by their choice an overlap with the narrative playing out in front of them.

"Wherever there is action in a place, the spots which are the most inviting, are those high enough to give people a vantage point, and low enough to put them in action..." (Alexander et al., 1978, p.605). Places from which to watch can be created by adding a bench under a tree or patio furniture to a section of sidewalk along a route of travel. Attention to detail is important, including the orientation of seating. "It would seem obvious that people choose to sit along the sidewalk in order to watch other people, not traffic" (Kunstler, 1994, p.142). An invitation to linger by design can alter movement in the street and enable trust. Create a "...few spots along the streets of modern towns and neighbourhoods where people can hang out, comfortably, for hours at a time" (Alexander et al., 1978, p.349).

Street behaviours are outside behaviours requiring certain spatial considerations in response to human perception of scale and their place in it. To feel comfortable outside can create needs and solutions measured at a different scale. For example, steps outside are wider and lower in height than typical steps found inside buildings. Outside behaviours can also be affected by human instincts. "Outdoors, people always try to find a spot where they can have their backs protected, looking out toward some larger opening, beyond the space immediately in front of them" (Alexander et al., 1978, p.558). In essence, a sense of protective enclosure contributes to feeling safe, and the opportunity to pause along a permeable edge contributes to place-making in the street.

This brings my story to something special about a street, another defining characteristic of a good street.

# **Something Special**

**As Markers in Movement,** something special can be a beginning and end, or something roughly in the middle. It is another type of focal point or goal.

Something special can be a place where people have reason to gather, or like an intersection of paths be a place to make a decision or to pause, a defining moment in the journey. Something special can be a defining marker of place such as a physical feature to start or end a street. An example of a defining marker of place in a street would be a bus stop. Make "...a full gateway to the neighborhood next to the bus stop, or place the bus stop where the best gateway is already" (Alexander et al. 1978, p.453). I also acknowledge that to focus attention on a lack of something special in the street can underline a need for change or opportunity for improvement.

In addition, something special may not be a permanent feature. It may be a memorable encounter or activity. For example, Florida (2012) noted "...street-level culture ...gives ...a chance to experience the creators along with their creations" (p.149). By extension, I propose something special based in culture is a marker of the street's ability to support storytelling, opportunity for individual and collective stories of connections to place and time. Consider, as an example, Oldenburg's

(1989) third places. As inclusive places and neutral ground, third places are a leveler in society where everyone becomes equal, where an individual's character and personality matters most and conversation is the main activity. Third places are accessible and accommodating, they are places attended by regulars. Typically these places have a low profile or fit in as part of the scene. There is an ambience of playfulness. Third places are a home away from home (pp.20-42).

Something special in the middle is also a way to deal with length of a street. Labelled, among other things, as pause places, activity nodes, food places, or watering holes, these gathering places located along a street contribute to a sense of arrival and departure. They can also provide for moments of reflection or decision along the journey, or provide a service such as a restroom. Allan Jacobs (1995) observed:

Somewhere along the path of a fine street, particularly if it is long, there is likely to be a break. More than just intersections, breaks are small plazas or parks, widenings, or open spaces. They are most important on narrow streets and along long streets and streets that bend and turn. On those streets particularly they provide stopping places, pauses, references points along the path. (p.301)

In essence, something special as a marker of movement can be a distinct building, statue or it can be a change in pavement or grade supporting a different activity. Alexander et al (1978) documented characteristic details of possible focal points, including the distance between them. The "...goals should never be more than a few hundred feet apart.... All the ordinary things in the outdoors – trees, fountains, entrances, gateways, seats, statues, a swing, an outdoor room – can be the

goals" (p.588). A focal point can also be a temporary activity place, a destination where people can come and go. For example, "...a slightly raised platform to form a bandstand, where street musicians ...can play. Cover it, and ...tiny stalls for refreshment. Surround the bandstand with paved surface for dancing – no admission charge" (Alexander et al., 1978, p.321).

Other Markers of Place and Ritual Crossings. Earlier in my thesis I referred to the street grid and block pattern typical of the framework for many urban communities in Ontario. Refinement of these patterns can provide other ways to create a marker of place with a focal point for movement. For example, narrow streets with T-junction intersections present a feature location for place-making for important public buildings (Kunstler, 1994, p.127).

Similarly, alternative standards for street design can provide places for something special. A focal point, like a small square or activity node, could be a bulge in the street created by a sidewalk extending into the parking lane, an adjacent park, or courtyard between the street and building. In addition, Alexander et al. (1978) noted the necessity for a symbiotic relationship of uses around a focal point of activity. A network of paths supports focal points, gathering places and gateways. The street is connected to other path types including sidewalk corridors from buildings and bicycle paths (pp.164-166). Urban design for the street can be influenced by policies created by government, preferably in consultation with the community.

Alexander et al. (1978) wrote about another type of focal point with a connection to place, the cycle of life and the ritual crossing from one stage of life to the next. A vital community has a balance of people in all age groups.

Accommodating the life cycle and needs of community members means also balance of infrastructure to service and support the community as it evolves (p.145). I include the street as an important place for the stories of ritual crossings because throughout life and at different stages people use the street in different ways. These ritual crossings are markers, focal points connected in a life story which also contributes to the story of community.

A significant ritual crossing in my narrative of the street is the weather and seasonal change. In southern Ontario an important design consideration for the street is winter and its effect on mobility and street activity, and on winter maintenance operations. In this regard, streets are regulated for public safety and certain performance standards must be met. For example, local by-laws can regulate sidewalks must be cleared of snow and ice within twenty-four hours of a storm.

Also, the municipal public works department typically have large maintenance vehicles designed to move best in a straight line along a regular width. There is opportunity for further investigation into coordinating design of streets as part of an effective and flexible public space system for improved mobility and for multiple uses year round. Coordination between street design and operations programs impacts the future sustainability of the street.

In flexible street spaces activity nodes which are markers in the change of movement can be seasonal or temporary. Music and street vendors of food figure prominently as examples. There are characteristic details, and connections between these fragments which are supportive of successful activity nodes in the street. For example, with respect to food vendors, Alexander et al. (1978) wrote:

If we want food in our streets contributing to the social life of the streets, not helping to destroy it... propose four rules: 1. ...food stands are concentrated at road crossings... of paths and cars. It is possible to see them from cars... but they do not have... special parking lots. ...2. ...food stands are free to take on the character that is compatible with the neighbourhood around them... freestanding carts, or built into the corners and crevices of existing buildings; they can be small huts... 3. [t]he smell of food is out on the street... part of the larger scene... [and] the more they smell, the better. 4. ...[t]hey are never franchises, but always operated by their owners, according to their own idea, their own recipes, their own choice. (p.456)

On a final note on the theme of something special, it can be an exception. In the story of the street, something unexpected could be public art on a scale larger than life to attract attention. Jane Jacobs (1961) described 'eye-catchers' "...to be exceptions to the rule to be interesting..." (p.383).

# **Street Purposes**

A common language to improve the value of the street, hence its sustainability, seeks alignment among users in order to balance priorities of street use. This makes communication between users of the street a priority.

For both communication and circulation the street is a place of movement. What does movement mean for the future of sustainable communities as resilient systems of urban life? In context of my place and time in small town southern Ontario, the street means something to people every day regardless of age or ability. In this regard, movement in the street can be defined within a context of active transportation. Active transportation includes accessible and alternative means of transportation in streets and related networks of paths. Also, I define 'path' as a desire line of movement and a person can make many connections as they move between destinations, including crossing thresholds.

Active transportation anticipates demand by citizens for options in mobility, concern for the environment and a population choosing unstructured activities, such as passive forms of recreation like walking. Active transportation also accommodates points of transition where a person changes from one form of transportation to another, where they begin or end their journey as a pedestrian.

In my experience as a municipal councillor I became aware that policy initiatives for active transportation are easily endorsed by local government because of broad community support. In reality, day to day decision making within municipal departments typically relies on standards and ways of doing things that are familiar and have proven reliable in the past. A variation to this pattern can be found if there is a senior 'champion' in the staff ranks who can make decisions to change or facilitate a pilot project to test a new idea.

A change to alternative standards can be a slow process. Pomeroy (1999) suggested future research requires a quantitative analysis of potential cost savings with alternative design standards and a need to assess delivery and assessment mechanisms with regard to costs and benefits. "Until this is done, institutional parochialism will continue to thwart efforts in this area" (p.viii). Participants in Pomeroy's research suggested professionals from various disciplines interface more often in order to share and compare information and to find ways to work collaboratively and to identify areas where changes and alternative design standards could be investigated collectively (Pomeroy, 1999, p.viii).

Alternative standards can be utilized for removing barriers to accessibility. Not only do government and experts need to work collaboratively, citizens of the community must also be part of the processes. Citizen input into matters of accessibility in the street can identify both opportunities and challenges. For example, traffic calming changes the street to better accommodate people by reducing the speed of vehicles. Various techniques are used including raising the grade at the intersection, narrowing streets, planting trees and installing traffic circles. Usually these measures are installed at the request of neighbourhood residents (Hodge & Gordon, 2008, p.377):

[Traffic calming] ...got its start in Europe (Germany, the Netherlands, Denmark) in the 1970s and later in Australia. Three basic principles motivate traffic-calming approaches: 1. The function of the street is not to act just as a corridor for automobiles. 2. People have a right to not have their quality of life spoiled by undue traffic caused by automobile use. 3. Trips are a means of accessing some desirable land use or activity, not an end in themselves. The thrust of these principles contrasts with the traditional planning principle of separating various forms of traffic.... Traffic calming invokes public policy in

regard to one of the fundamental public responsibilities in a community environment – creating and maintaining public rights-of-way. (Hodge & Gordon, 2008, p.377).

In addition, retrofitting the suburbs to address an aging housing stock and resident populations of people who may wish to age in place raises several issues with respect to changing needs in terms of accessibility and healthier, walkable communities. Hodge & Gordon (2008) observed the "...answers are relatively straightforward ...add sidewalks and good street lighting, add other housing types, implant small-scale clusters of health, social service, and commercial facilities, and devise transportation options that are flexible and appropriate. To do these things will require planners" (p.394).

Movement at the Speed of Parking. No story of the street can ignore a discussion about parking and its effect on the street. "Automobile parking is a pervasive issue.... It has to do with accessibility" (Jacobs, A., 1995, p.305). Parking for cars is an important consideration in many communities in Canada. In addition, Interviewee A, a builder of new communities, argued parking makes a street safer.

I acknowledge a general trend in urban planning for the street to include programming for flexibility in the use of street spaces in core and neighbourhood areas, especially because of the seasonal changes experienced in southern Ontario. For example, outdoor café seating can bulge into a street. Or, a car parking space can be altered as summer parking for bicycles near a destination appealing to cyclists.

And, a hierarchy of streets and paths can support different purposes in different streets within the system. For example, a street can be serviced by parallel lanes located behind buildings. Parking for vehicles and access to parking are understood in context of the form and function of the street. Allan Jacobs (1995) observed what parking looks like in a great street:

On-street auto parking is permitted and provided for along many of the best streets, but almost certainly in amounts that are far below demand.... At best, drivers seem to have a long shot at finding a space ...they take a chance ...that may be enough: a chance. ...Driveways off of the best streets, or garage entrances for access for parking or for service, are rare, even on a fine residential street.... Though present on more streets than not, auto parking in great amounts, to any contemporary standards, is not a characteristic of great streets. They seem to well without "enough". (p.306)

It is commonly expressed by practitioners in urban planning and traffic design that every successful place has a parking problem, even if it is a matter of perception.

Urban planning for smaller communities and neighbourhoods can utilize the 'park once' approach, encouraging people to become pedestrians in the street, and result in better streets for people and community. In this regard, parking can be regulated into what Alexander et al. term 'parking zones' to service a walkable area. The zones would be delineated and connected by networks of streets and paths. "Make parking lots small... [and place] entrances and exits of the parking lots in such a way that they fit naturally into the pattern of pedestrian movement and lead directly ...to major entrances..." (Alexander et al., 1978, p.506). And, *A Pattern Language* positioned large parking lots and parking garages "...behind some kind of

natural wall, a building, connected houses, ... earth berms, or shops. Make the entrance to the parking lot a natural gateway to the building which it serves ...so that you can easily see the main entrance..." (Alexander et al., 1978, p.479). Small parking lots in neighbourhoods can also service parklands, acting as trail heads to connecting path systems and bus stop gateways.

**Streets as Places for Civic Life**. At this point, I weave my story towards the street as a place for civic life. Stories of friendship and community begin and grow along the routes of experience that connect people.

The street is a permeable edge characterized by thresholds between private and public realms, and the street supports gathering places which have meaning and where people can interact and exchange information. The fragments for a good street indicate there are relationships between its form, the detailing of the street, and its function, communication between people.

Communication in the street is characterized by movement and results in connections between people using the street at points where their movement intersects, visually and physically. Movement in the street is also facilitated by light. Communication in the street includes storytelling about community identity, place making and establishing trust especially among strangers. And, the good street has a positive influence on citizenship. In Canada, the changing seasons is also an important factor in design of good streets to support adaptations in storytelling.

David Seamon (2012) also observed that lively streets engage people, and are a subconscious inspiration to become engaged in other areas of life. And, the "...particular spatial configuration of a pathway fabric lays out a potential movement field that draws people together or keeps them apart" (Seamon, 2012, p.235). Relatedly, Alexander et al. (1978) observed:

From an environmental standpoint, the essence of the problem is this: street are "centrifugal" not "centripetal": they drive people out instead of attracting them in. In order to combat this effect, the pedestrian world outside houses must be made into the kind of place where you stay, rather than the kind of place you move through. (p.590)

A resurgence of mixed uses in urban planning has rekindled interest in traditional patterns of community including street and block layouts. This 'new-urbanism' includes alternative standards achieved through collaboration of professional disciplines. Challenges remain, however. For example, in North America alleys were part of the street and path system. "Low income people ...made their homes in little houses along the alleyways and in apartments over stables or garages ...[as] part of the neighbourhood and often found employment in the area" (Kunstler, 1994, p.129). Kunstler observed the benefits of the narrower street, the alley, have been outweighed by a priority for street width demanded of larger vehicles like fire trucks (p.129). A present day builder of new communities, Interviewee A, found sizing streets for big vehicles tended to increase costs of development and made"... everybody's neighbourhood ...dysfunctional, designed to some bizarre scale ...to accommodate large fire trucks and garbage trucks...".

Barriers to making good streets include municipal resistance to alternative standards. This affects both planning of communities and municipal budgets for operations and capital projects. For example, Pomeroy's (1999) research interviews with professionals in various disciplines revealed the "...most constraining factor on the reduction of pavement width is the size of vehicular equipment – notably fire trucks and snow ploughs...", and equipment selection is usually carried out in isolation of dialogue between municipal departments (p.42). Pomeroy concluded the "...overspecification of engineering standards ...[is] an issue...of the institutional framework within which infrastructure is funded" (p.43) and recommended the "...key to better development ...is a more flexible process where innovation and experimentation are both encouraged and facilitated by enabling legislation..." (p.44). Further, investigation into the history of zoning and street building standards may reveal factors like building standards which could be revised in order to advance with changes in technology and priorities for the street.

In addition, alternative standards for safe streets for all include the design and operation of the street to minimize impact on the environment. "Complete streets in conjunction with green infrastructure, is a tremendous opportunity to improve the livability of our communities, both now and for future generations" (complete streets.org, n.d.).

Urban planning combined with cultural shifts in society can also affect civic life. Richard Florida referenced Benjamin and Baudelaire when he wrote about people in public places. The "...aspect of city life was reflected in the flaneur – a

citizen who is quasi-anonymous and free to enjoy the diversity of the city's experience. The desire for such quasi –anonymous communities is not limited to urban enclaves. William Whyte identified it as a primary motivator behind the great migration of middle-class professionals from closely knit neighborhoods to the more transient suburbs in the 1950's ...[S]uburbia was a new kind of community ...unencumbered by close family and ethnic group ties" (Florida, 2012, p.287). Florida argued the movement went too far resulting in urban sprawl and disconnected communities.

I propose there are three main themes supported by streets as places for civic life, particularly within a context of neighbourhood. First, identifying with a place is to participate, understand and value its stories as an individual and as part of a collective. Whyte (1968) identified the core of a vital urban community is the "...self-governing political unit ...a real government also means a real community.... People are more attached to a place they run than one they do not" (pp.240-241).

Second, active civic life depends upon relationships, connections and disconnections between people as they move about in their daily lives. While also recognizing that strong ties in friendship are important Richard Florida (2012) proposed Mark Granovetter's theory of "strength of weak ties", from his research on finding employment, is applicable to society in vibrant communities:

...weak ties matter more than strong ones ...weak ties are the key mechanisms for mobilizing resources, ideas, and information.... Weak ties allow us to admit new people and new information into the equation, which exposes us to a larger set of novel and potentially unforeseen opportunities. (p.286)

Third, street places in which people can gather are integral to citizenship. Sociologist Ray Oldenburg (1989) argued we are "...an associating species whose nature is to share space just as we share experiences..." (p.203). He wrote people find certain places and people as comfort when there is need to feel part of community. And, the "...secret of a society at peace with itself is not revealed in the panoramic view but in examination of the average citizen's situation" (Oldenburg, 1989, p.14). Oldenburg expanded on his theory of the third place:

The examples set by societies that have solved the problem of place and those set by the small towns and vital neighbourhoods of our past suggest that daily life, in order to be relaxed and fulfilling, must find its balance in three realms of experience. One is domestic, a second is gainful or productive, and the third is inclusively sociable, offering both the basis of community and the celebration of it. Each of these realms of human experience is built on associations and relationships appropriate to it; each has its own physically separate and distinct places.... (p.15)

"Third places thrive best in locales where ...streets are not only safe, they invite human connection" (Oldenburg, 1989, p.210). This connection can foster citizenship and includes a political role for citizens as members of community and to assist in social order. Communities with successful third places are characterized by walkability.

In addition, the speed of movement in the street affects the ability of people to connect. Nicholas Blomley (2011) wrote about differences between public and highway behaviours, the latter relies on rules and predictable behaviour. He questioned whether street places for people to interact with each other should be

regulated in the same way. Blomley argued there is a need to determine the limiting speed on streets to support a community for people. Above a certain traffic speed, the street can no longer be shared, it becomes a highway that no longer can support Jacobs' 'vital frictions' and trusted spaces for intersecting stories and networking between people. Where a "…clear divide is made between 'public behaviour' (slow, unfocused and relational) and 'highway behaviour' (fast and predictable).... Social norms and values become subsidiary to traffic rules and man, as the user of the space, is reduced to a traffic participant. Rather than mixing people and things, ...public space is to be 'people space', with objects designed and placed so as to serve humanist functions" (Blomley, 2011, p.24).

In Canada, weather can pose a barrier to the practice of citizenship in the street. Recollecting the vibrant street edges created by the sheltering Parisian arcades, I propose protective street edges can facilitate human movement in response or in defiance of weather and by extension, enable civic life. Also, Alexander et al. (1978) described other articulations at the street edge as public street space extending inside buildings. Note the references to measures of buildable space:

Wherever density or climate force the main lines of circulation indoors, build ...each thoroughfare in a position where it functions as a shortcut, as continuous as possible with the public street outside, with wide open entrances. And line its edges with windows, places to sit, counters, and entrances which project out into the hall and expose the buildings' main functions to the public. Make it wider than normal...at least 11 feet wide and more...15 to 20 feet wide, give it a high ceiling, at least 15 feet with a glazed roof if possible .... (p.498)

In essence, the "...fundamental reality of streets, as with all public space, is political" (Kostof, 1992, p.194 quote, Blomley, 2011, p.17). The good street enables choice, opportunity and freedom to participate in civic life. The good street, the sustainable street, has a vital role as a place of connection for community. And, as a component of neighbourhood, the street supports movement towards building a resilient and sustainable future with quality of life for both individual and collective.

### The Street in Place and Time

The street can be a place where people learn about community, its past, present and future. For people the street as place holds meaning and memory.

The story of the street is a story in understanding and connecting the fragments and patterns which can be measured and reproduced as transferable knowledge. The themes include lessons grounded to a place and time. The street also fulfills an integral role for people sharing their own stories with others because the street and street places are often part of every day. The street system is a network binding community and networks of communities. The neighbourhood is a core fragment of urban community and it is connected to other neighbourhoods, and other urban and rural communities. And, regulating the form and function of the street from the view of pedestrians and how they move in the street, can foster better understanding of the role of the street in enabling trusted connections towards building sustainable communities.

One lesson from the story of the street is that it is a place of change. Change is often incremental and occasionally total. A poor decision can be remediated but there is no formula or guarantee. In his investigation of great streets in the world Allan Jacobs (1995) noted the "...basic design having been set, these streets are regularly amended, tinkered with, improved over time.... There is no rule that says that the changes will make or keep a street fine or return one to its former status" (p.307). And, the "...best new streets need not be the same as the old, but as models the old have much to teach" (Jacobs, A., 1995, p.314). Jane Jacobs (1961) referred to change as a form of erosion. For example, decreasing use of the car is exchanged for alternative forms of transportation, such as walking, as urban communities become denser. "Attrition of automobiles requires changes in habits and adjustments in usage too; just as in the case of erosion it should not disrupt too many habits at once" (Jacobs, J., 1961, p.369).

In addition, change which fails to address core problems and only symptoms, such as building more parking lots or widening streets in response to traffic counts, is a problem that could be made worse over time. The street functions may be prioritized to the detriment of other users and street form is denigrated as a result.

In a community, streets are public property and in control of the citizen collective through their local government. Richard Florida (2012) and Ken Greenberg (2011) observed street improvements through small and strategic investments by local government can influence the path of community. A "…less expensive path to revival is to improve neighborhood conditions with smaller

investments in everything from parks and bike paths to street-level culture that would make people's everyday lives better, improve the underlying quality of place, and signal that a community is open, energized, and diverse" (Florida, 2012, p.x). And, Allan Jacobs (1995) observed:

Streets more than anything else are what make the public realm. They are the property of the public or are under direct public control. The opportunity to design them in ways that meet public objectives, including the making of community itself, is as exciting as it is challenging. If we do right by our streets we can in large measure do right by the city as a while – and, therefore and most importantly, by its inhabitants. (p.314)

The capacity of community to enable its citizens to participate in civic life, the practice of citizenship, is contained in the stories in the street. In the next chapter I explore the role of citizen and local government and their influences on the stories of community as told in the street.

### **CHAPTER 4**

# Collection of Fragments, Part Two: The Citizen and Local Government

# Street as a Platform for Citizenship in Community.

Within the public sphere, informed...conversations on the common good and constructive commentaries on political life and citizenship can occur, distanced from the realm of the state, the economy and the private world. (Blomley, 2011, p.18)

[The story of community is an] ...intricate order ...a manifestation of the freedom of countless number of people to make and carry out countless plans.... (Jacobs, J., 1961, p.391)

The street as public space both influences and is influenced by community. Blomley (2011) wrote this "...public space not only provides a site where the public sphere can be found, but it is itself the means by which the political potential of the public sphere is realized... [and where] people encounter other people, meanings, expressions, issues, which they may not understand or with which they do not identify..." (p.19). And, the street can also be a place to foster empathy through meeting different people.

In the first section of this chapter, I present three main arguments as themes for the street as a place for civic life and the exercise of citizenship, including stories made and shared. In this chapter, the conversations continue and my points of perspective are mainly political, that as citizen and as politician.

First, I propose that challenges and barriers to citizenship affecting a citizen's ability to connect with other citizens in the public realm are often rooted in government policy for the regulation of the street. Valverde (2012) argued public spaces are seen as 'private property of the municipal corporation' due to its role as the regulatory authority and to private property rights exercised by local government which do not view the street as common property in the legal sense (p.35).

Further, government priorities legitimized by legislation and regulatory standards may not always align with citizen priorities for their community. An example of regulated jurisdiction or area of influence by a local government, also known as a lower tier municipality, is described in Section 188(1) of Part V of the Ontario Municipal Act, 2001 c.25 as amended. Core areas of municipal service include public transportation systems, except major highways. Although transportation services may be uploaded by mutual agreement to the upper tier municipality, such as the regional government in which the lower tier power is located, local streets usually remain within the jurisdiction of local government in Ontario.

Contrast the municipal authority affecting the street with the political or civic expectations of the citizen. Nicholas Blomley (2011) researched the regulation of the citizen on the public sidewalk, which he termed 'pedestrianism'. He noted "...three interrelated strands of sidewalk scholarship – public space theory, urban design and mobility studies ...all three animated by ...'civic humanism' ...being an emphasis

upon the social and political; ...an ontology centred on human capacities and interrelationships, with a broad ethical commitment to human flourishing in the here and now" (p.17). Further, Blomley observed "...public space scholarship has become almost synonymous with questions of social justice" (p.11).

Second, opportunities in building community by citizens engaging with each other and with their local government depends upon the success of the street as a public realm. Successful towns and their streets are designed to a human scale, to be walkable. Kunstler (1994) observed that, too often, town planning has resulted in "...a public realm that is composed mainly of roads. And the only way to be in that public realm is to be in a car, often alone" (pp.118-119).

Communities with good streets provide a platform for citizenship which can lead to collective action as self-government in support of building resilient communities. Jane Jacobs (1961) noted the "...state of the neighbourhood indicates...the capacity for collective action" (pp.120-121).

In addition, the street is a place where people go to gather and meet other people. Allan Jacobs (1995) observed:

In a very elemental way, streets allow people to be outside. Barring private gardens, which many people do not have or want, or immediate access to countryside or parks, streets are what constitute the outside for many urbanites;...streets are of places of social and commercial encounter and exchange.... The street is movement...they can give pause: they are reasons for reflection and thought. (p.4)

Third, the good street for all people can better influence effective administration and governance of the community because the good street is indicative of effective processes for dialogue between citizens and government. Alexander et al. (1978) noted the size of communities affected the functional relationship between citizen and government. "Individuals have no effective voice in any community of more than 5000-10,000 people" (p.71). Put another way, Oldenburg (1989) described the practice of citizenship as enabling connections between people meaning the "...size of the community was comparable with the limits of human memory. It was also compatible with the capacity of the eyes and legs. Anyone could walk to any point..." (p.107).

In this story from the view as citizen, I identify some key factors affecting the citizen and the practice of citizenship. I also bring forward potential mechanisms or processes to enable citizenship in the street, for example, a common language incorporating principles of universal design.

The Storyteller: the Active Citizen. My inspiration to investigate the role of the citizen in the public realm began at Trent in a seminar introduction to Hannah Arendt. In her book, *The Human Condition*, Arendt (1958, ed. 1998) described the active life of the citizen, *vita activa*. Arendt wrote the "...term vita activa is loaded and overloaded with tradition...its original meaning: a life devoted to public-political matters" (p.12). "Action, in so far as it engages in founding and preserving political bodies, creates the condition for remembrance ...for history" (pp.8-9). I interpret

remembrance to be a tradition of storytelling and through the practice of citizenship it connects the citizen to a place.

I find common ground between Arendt and Oldenburg. Arendt proposed the basic human condition as being both distinct and equal. Oldenburg described third places as necessary levellers of members of society, supporting storytelling by human beings sharing and learning as members of a collective. Arendt (1998) argued "[h]uman plurality, the basic condition of both action and speech, has the twofold character of equality and distinction. If men were not equal, they could neither understand each other and those who came before them nor plan for the future and foresee the needs of those who will come after them. If men were not distinct, each human being distinguished from any other who is, was, or will be, they would need neither speech nor action to make themselves understood" (pp.175-176). And the "...reason why each human life tells its story and why history ultimately becomes the storybook on mankind, with many actors and speakers and yet without any tangible authors, is that both are the outcome of action" (p.184).

My investigation into the nature of the citizen today also includes Richard Florida's observations of the contemporary citizen. He identified people who rely on thinking as their primary livelihood and way of contributing to society as members of the creative class. Florida (2012) argued the "...Creative Class is also the key force that is reshaping our geography, spearheading the movement back from outlying areas to urban centers and close-in, walkable suburbs" (p.11).

I consider myself a 'creative', engaged in 'vita activa'. "What creatives look for are abundant high quality amenities and experiences, and openness to diversity...and opportunities to validate their identities as creative people" (Florida, 2012, p.186). A small town location and reliable networks can be attractive to the creative sector. For example, the young business entrepreneur seeking a strong market location and a good place to raise a young family may base their decision in part on their memorable family experiences as children as well as dependable servicing for their business venture. This sector of society is connected, selective and mobile.

Movement Outside, Citizen Participation in the Street. Movement outside in the street is also about mobility and freedom to participate. Blomley (2011) proposed that "...as a right, mobility is far from straight forward ...to walk through the city, and to encounter other people and things, is a complicated matter..." (p.107). Further, Jane Jacobs' (1961) 'complex order' in the street indicates a functional system, not chaos. "To see complex systems of functional order as order, and not as chaos, takes understanding..." (p.376).

Movement of people in the street is more than a journey between destinations. It is movement characterized by a freedom to participate in activities supported by the street, within its boundaries and along its edges. "The best streets encourage participation. Responsibility …comes with participation" (Jacobs, A., 1995, p.9).

And the freedom to participate is part of an individual's own story in the street, how their story connects with the stories of the street and community. Allan Jacobs (1995) wrote:

Knowing the rhythm of a street is to know who may be on it or at a certain place along it during a given period; knowing who can be seen there or avoided. Or the meeting can be by chance and for a split second but immensely satisfying.... As well as to see, the street is a place to be seen. Sociability is a large part of why cities exist and streets are a major if not the only public place for that sociability to develop. At the same time, the street is a place to be alone. (p.4)

Also, the practice of citizenship in the street can contribute to making a place feel safe. Oldenburg (1989) wrote it is "...the ordinary citizen who tips the balance toward a safe public domain for the policing agencies for a free society are not adequate to the task. It is the substantial numbers of average people who provide the "natural surveillance" necessary to the control of street life" (p.83). Oldenburg used the example of Parisian outdoor cafes, people watching while enjoying themselves. Eyes on the street provided by places connected to the street enable participation in civic life and related themes also emerged from the writing of Walter Benjamin and Jane Jacobs, among others.

Also, it is interesting to note how early regulation of the movement of people outside "...collided with entrenched norms and cultural codes. Programs to regulate the street and sidewalk in London, for example, were forced to confront deep-seated notions of the republican sidewalk ...premised on claims of equality" (Blomley, 2011, p.70).

In present day, inclusivity is justified and can be achieved through certain forms of order. It can manifest through universal design principles, measurable standards and regulation which ensure equitable access for users of the street. And, the 'neutral' ground offered by places in the street or at the street edge can be conducive to the practice of citizenship because they are places where communication can be safer, learning by exploring ideas and making mistakes. "The casual environment …meets needs beyond the individual's capacity to recognize them" (Oldenburg, 1989, p.288).

# Addressing Barriers to Citizen Participation, Community Planning for All. Processes for dialogue which respect community priorities and values can be utilized to address barriers to citizen participation. In addition, inadequacies and gaps in street design and operations have contributed to a failure to fully consider the street as a place used by all members of community, a potential barrier to citizen participation. Government, a regulator of the public street, is also a steward of the public trust. Put another way, "...the public realm is the physical manifestation of the common good" (Kunstler, 1994, pp.27). Flexibility to accommodate other users simultaneously in the street network is preferable to regulating space to separate users into zones specifically for them. Otherwise, some members of community may be left out. For example, Kunstler (1994) noted the pattern of suburbia from the 1950s relied on the automobile and this was detrimental for human ecology. "This at once disables children under the legal driving age, some elderly people, and those

who cannot afford the several thousand dollars a year that it cost to keep a car..." (p.114). Kunstler further argued streets need to be detailed for the people using the street (p.115).

The effect of urban design is felt by children foremost because of their daily patterns of life including legislated requirements they attend school. A similar argument could be made for seniors or persons with disabilities who may not have access to a personal vehicle. Citizens and advocates for the vulnerable members of society can overcome the age barrier to street access and mobility through citizenship, making concerns and ideas for improvements known to other citizens and to local government. In addition, Interviewee B observed "...making a street safe is all about accessibility...not just physical accessibility but visual...accessible as a sense of confidence and security...".

Urban planners Gilbert & O'Brien (2009) argued it is a missed opportunity in the production of citizenship if we fail to include the young. "...[T]ransport and land use provide good issues around which to introduce young people to the practice of government and democracy. These issues often affect young people directly in ways that we can feel quite strongly about, and the competing positions and trade-offs are usually easy to grasp" (p.7). Gilbert & O'Brien also promoted the addition of specific reference in the Ontario Planning Act to action directed in the interest of children and youth (2007, p.7). In a related research paper, O'Brien (2005) also noted "...about a fifth of all local trips may be made by young people, a significant share that impels attention to their transport needs" (p.2).

Day to day, life at any stage, is made of bits and pieces of experience. It is my observation the connections between places to live and to work and to gather informally need more attention by policy makers and citizens. These connections also speak to integrated networks of streets with hierarchy of paths mentioned in Chapter 3. "Movement and rest, activity and place, journey and dwelling, difference and locality, publicness and home lie apart, yet together..." (Seamon, 2012, p.238).

Streets provide the networks for connection. Allan Jacobs (1995) observed most qualities common among great streets "...are directly related to social and economic criteria having to do with building good cities: accessibility, bringing people together, publicness, livability, safety, comfort, participation, and responsibility" (p.270).

In addition, Florida (2012) noted changes to citizen bonds in community. Whereas "...the industrial Working Class...was forged around strong ties...and dense city neighborhoods, the Creative Class is a highly individualized...social stratum...[and] solidarity has not been their strong suit" (p.Xv). Similarly, Oldenburg (1989) wrote people in a community "...do not want a shared existence because they lack consensus on virtually all matters of social and personal concern.... Individuals, like neighbourhoods, evolve and develop. When people are thrown together, they discover much to like, to get attached to, to add to their lives, and to change their minds about" (p.291).

It is my experience that public participation and citizenship can make civic engagement at a local level of government invigorating and rewarding, and at times

frustrating for both citizens and their elected leaders. Governance practices can even prove to be an obstacle to citizen engagement. Difficulties can arise because of lack of trust particularly in confusing processes involving matters in which citizens expect a right to participate.

For example, an important area of influence for citizens is local urban planning. People who are already members of the community are stewards of the community. Planning can mean change. Government can undermine constructive dialogue with an assumption that citizens typically resist change. The effectiveness in community planning of the "...triad – public, politicians and planner - ...will largely determine the success of the planning process in a community" (Hodge & Gordon, 2008, p. 300). There are two lessons from the Canadian experience and "...the first is that community planning is a political activity that makes choices among values and affects different segments of the community in different ways.... The second is that participation in planning decisions is not just a one-way process of communication... [but] a dialogue among all three interests" (Hodge & Gordon, 2008, p.300).

Community planning for all needs citizen participation. Through storytelling citizens can be equals. Citizens can remind each other and their government of their collective vision for community. Through citizenship, people can learn to care and to see with different eyes. For example, I agree with Catherine O'Brien (2005) who acknowledged the "children's view of transportation [when walking to school] reminds us that transportation is not only about 'moving people and goods'. It is about wonder, discovery, joy and happiness" (p.1).

# Wanted: Common Space with Language for building Community.

Citizenship requires trusted spaces in the public realm which form part of everyday life for a citizen. Today, more than ever, the street is public space over which local government has control and influence. Therefore, the street becomes an important place for dialogue between citizen and their government. Blomley (2011) observed that "[p]ublic space can become a medium for the negotiation of politics...and expressions of public memory, as well as collective forgetting..." (p.18).

Accommodating people in the street underscores a need for communication in common language. And, there can be several contributing factors. First, I anticipate communication in common language in the street would include principles of universal design which address accessibility by people in public spaces.

Universal design, also known as UD, "...is sometimes confused with codes and standards... UD principles suggest, rather than dictate, common sense solutions" (XL, 2008). Universal design "...at its best ...is inconspicuous, intuitive and attractive" (XL, 2008). UD Principles identified by the Center for Universal Design at North Carolina State University include the following:

- equitable use: the design is useful and marketable to people with diverse abilities:
- flexibility in use: the design accommodates a wide range of individual preferences and abilities;
- simple and intuitive: use of design is easy to understand, regardless of user's experience, knowledge, language skills, or current concentration level;

- perceptible information: the design communicates necessary information effectively to the user, regardless of ambient conditions or the user's sensory abilities;
- tolerance for error: the design minimizes hazards and the adverse consequences of accidental or unintended actions;
- low physical effort: the design can be used efficiently and comfortably with a minimum of fatigue; and,
- size and space for approach and use: appropriate size and space are provided for approach, reach, manipulation and use, regardless of user's body position, size, posture or mobility. (XL Insurance Communique, 2008)

Other factors contributing to a common language include accommodation of differences and being responsive to different needs. Freedom to be different also facilitates connection to place and fostering of citizenship. Jane Jacobs (1961) identified factors for community vitality include stimulating diversity both socially and economically, promoting citizen identification with their neighbourhood and district, safe outdoor places for young and old, working to incrementally improve problem areas, and using money for constructive purposes. There is also a need to be able to diagnose issues and devise solutions. Decision makers must understand place and not just services and techniques (pp.408-410).

Decision makers like local government have an obligation to ensure the many voices of the community including its citizens can be heard through processes enabling participation and sharing of different perspectives, like a child's view.

And, third, action towards making good streets as places for citizenship require opportunity for testing ideas and undertaking pilot projects. In my place and time, a Canadian street in southern Ontario presents opportunities to explore alternatives and test ideas in four distinct seasons. For example, limiting use in a

street for pedestrians only may be restrictive as a permanent solution. Whereas, temporarily creating a pedestrian street by excluding cars for an event like a festival can influence how a community engages in lively spaces. As a project it can be measured for both success and needed change. At best, it creates a framework for storytelling in the street which can be replicated.

Ken Greenberg (2011) observed existing neighbourhoods provide ideal settings for pilot projects aimed to build better communities. Experience and diversity in ideas and resources can allow for many solutions and adaptations (p.75). Similarly, I find there is embodied energy in existing smaller towns and new energy to be created in the development of new town or village centres. Key is adapting transferred knowledge to be relevant to a place and time.

A common language can also pose a barrier to citizen participation.

Governance of the public realm, and in particular the street, contains rules which tend to curb communication between citizens in the interest of circulation of things. The movement of ideas, dialogue as a form of expression, is a lesser priority than movement of people, services and goods. Blomley (2011) argued it is possible to accommodate forms of expression through regulation, therefore not totally making it illegal but framing expression as a 'street activity' (Blomley, 2011, p.88). To illustrate his point, Blomley used an example of the City of Vancouver which regulates panhandling in the street to prevent obstruction of flow. Like incremental physical changes made to the street, there is potential within existing regulation to enable, albeit incrementally, citizenship in the street. At minimum, a common

language can assist in identifying barriers and reframing them as surmountable challenges. In essence, although regulation of the street may have been used to diminish rights of citizens to practice citizenship in the street, rules can also support a common language which addresses equitable access by people moving in the street.

The role of government, local government in particular, in the making of policy and processes affecting the good street is investigated after the following section.

# Citizen as Artist, Storytelling by Strangers

Storytellers share, compare, teach, learn, and accommodate differences through narrative. Storytelling by the citizen is the art of arranging the bits and pieces of life while moving along in place and time. Connection to place is important for citizenship. A good street is a place of diversity and difference, a platform for the sharing of stories and enabling citizenship. Sharing of stories in the street can also be used to identify and overcome barriers.

Storytelling gives voice to the citizen and to their community. There is order to be discovered in the apparent complexity presented by these many voices. Jane Jacobs (1961) wrote:

Whatever is done to clarify this order, this intricate life, has to be done mainly by tactics of emphasis and suggestion. ...Suggestion – the part standing for the whole- is a principal means by which art communicates: this is why art

often tells us so much with economy. One reason we understand this communication of suggestion and symbol is that, to a certain extent, it is the way all of us see life and the world. We constantly make organized selections of what we consider relevant and consistent from among all the things that cross our senses..... Depending on our purposes, we even vary our selections of what we take in and organize. To this extent, we are all artists. (pp.377-378).

And, Jacobs (1961) argued there is a basic human ability to find order in complexity. "Inductive reasoning of this kind is ...something that can be engaged in by ordinary, interested citizens..." (p.441). I propose this ability also enables choice in participation.

In addition, the stories of strangers can be supported in the good street and these stories also contribute as citizenship because of their connections with community. "Once a street is well equipped to handle strangers, once it has both a good, effective demarcation between private and public spaces and has a basic supply of activity and eyes, the more strangers the merrier. Strangers become an enormous asset…" (Jacobs, J., 1961, p.40).

### Government

# **Governance for Smaller Communities: Leadership for Sustainability**

The story of community, particularly as shared in the street, is indicative of effective citizen and government dialogue. My everyday role as an elected

representative of community, a town councillor in local government, is part of my story. I too am a character, a fragment, part of a theme in a story of community.

A major spending focus for local government is related to the street and street system and the services it carries, like storm and sewage waters, and delivers, like drinking water and electricity. Therefore, government in smaller communities has potential for significant influence in action oriented towards creating sustainable streets in support of sustainable community. And, if government falters in building and maintaining good streets, it can disable citizenship and building of resilient community. In this section on government, unless noted, I refer to local elected municipal government.

Observations by urbanist Jane Jacobs and geographer Nicholas Blomley also inform my perspective on the role of government in the street. Jacobs spent a significant part of her life in Toronto and I assume her experiences provided an appreciation of Canadian sensibilities with respect to diversity in community values. Blomley provided an in depth review of regulation affecting the separation of users of the street space and in particular, the way in which the sidewalk is regulated for pedestrian circulation.

From my perspective, local municipal government is another form of vital edge supporting diverse views and empowered to provide forums where citizens can meet with their government and municipal administration to discuss, among many things, regulation of the public realm and the building of resilient community.

Getting the street right must include public processes because the good street, the

sustainable street, contributes to the development of the public realm for sustainable communities. Mark Roseland (2005) wrote about government influence in the sustainable development process. I propose Roseland's argument can be applied to the street:

Democracy is an inherent part of the sustainable development process. Sustainable development must be participatory development..., sustainable development to North American communities requires mobilizing citizens and their governments to strengthen all forms of community capital. Elements of this framework include minimizing consumption of...natural capital and improving physical capital,...the efficient use of urban space....also includes strengthening economic capital, increasing human capital, multiplying social capital, and enhancing cultural capital. (pp.27-28).

David Seamon (2012) added another layer to understanding government influence in the street. Seamon found connections within community can be part of the problem and the solution and suggested effective action recognizes the problem and works with tendencies of human behaviour. For example, benchmarks can encourage movement towards sustainable alternatives. By setting benchmark criteria as targets, measurable improvements can be made. Traditional benchmarks in urbanized communities include intensification of jobs, people and public infrastructure and amenities; planning for service delivery objectives including policies for utilities and transportation which minimize impacts on the natural environmental and energy consumption; local regulations for pollution control; encouraging conservation of goods and services; and incentives and opportunities for innovation which include input from the public (Seamon, 2012, p.318). In

essence, I find Seamon's benchmarks are also relevant to the sustainable street and are within the sphere of influence of local government.

Author Bob Doppelt (2003) warned of barriers faced by government which work against efforts towards sustainable practices. Barriers include information silos and patriarchal control which discourages personal responsibility and a lack of vision. A government and its related administrative system can influence how information is collected and shared, how resources are distributed. Doppelt also proposed that sustainable governance systems demonstrate leadership with five characteristics. These include developing a vision which respects the environment and the cultural and economic well-being of the community; the sharing of information and measuring of progress towards mutual set goals; a good government engages with citizens and other stakeholders affected by the government's decisions and shares resources equitably; and, citizens have full opportunity within collectively established frameworks for community actions (p.6).

### Self-Government includes Reflexive Processes for Collective Action

"Radical simply means 'grasping things at the root." Angela Davis Doppelt

Government as a steward of community both governs and serves the community and its citizens. Government must also recognize the role of citizens in good governance, including in some scenarios, citizen lead self-government. Self-government can foster citizenship. For example, Jane Jacobs (1961) asserted "...the

public peace – the sidewalks and streets peace – ...is not kept primarily by the police... [but] primarily by an intricate almost unconscious, network of voluntary controls and standards among the people themselves, and enforced the by the people themselves" (p.31). Self-government functions include developing and strengthening networks of trust for street safety and social order. And, I find government processes which enable participation through self-governance can also facilitate alignment of citizen initiatives and community vision.

Jane Jacobs (1961) also wrote of the importance of the urban street system in self-government, particularly for governable sizes of community. Effective planning aims first "...to foster lively and intersecting streets ... Second, to make the fabric of these streets as continuous a network as possible ... Third, to use parks and squares and public buildings as part of this street fabric; use them to intensify and knit together the fabric's complexity and multiple use.... Fourth, to emphasize the functional identity of areas large enough to work ..." as self-governable units of which Jacobs identified three types: the community as a whole, street neighbourhoods and districts within larger communities (p.129).

I differ, however, from Jacobs regarding the effectiveness of social networks as controls on social behaviour in smaller urban communities like towns versus cities (Jacobs, J. p.35). I view accessibility, connectedness and vitality within the community and not the size of the settlement as factors affecting control on human behaviour in public.

Nicholas Blomley's (2011) investigation of the sidewalk presented lessons transferable to the street in general regarding activity of people in the street since both drivers and pedestrians are regulated by rules of the language of traffic planning experts. Blomley's term 'pedestrianism' referred to the arrangement of people and objects for unencumbered circulation on the sidewalk. He investigated how pedestrianism as a form of governance deactivated rights of people using public space. I propose the languages of regulation, like those of the urban planner and municipal engineer, can also be used to activate rights of people in the street. For example, citizens and government in dialogue within a common language of traffic regulation can address equitable access for users in the street by adjusting priorities within an existing framework that is opened to alternative standards.

Further, there is a necessary tension in balancing rights of the users of the street which contributes to the story of the street. A good street enables opportunities for people to gather in trusted spaces in the street and along its edges. The street can support gathering places in the public realm for networking and information exchange.

Communication through storytelling can facilitate citizen lead change and has potential to improve the relationship between citizens and their local government. This is especially applicable to complex issues which can require creative solutions. Finding an answer within an existing system, rearranging its fragments into new patterns, is change from the inside. For example, well facilitated round table discussions bring ideas forward into the light for debate and action.

In addition, incremental steps towards positive change may be easier to adopt inside an existing neighbourhood. It may also be easier to find community support for smaller projects especially where there are competing demands on public resources and funds. Since the street is public space already subjected to change through periodic tinkering, incremental adjustments can advance solutions as part of existing processes.

As previously noted, pilot projects have a role as testing grounds for new ideas or alternative standards implemented through self-government or citizen lead change. Government, by opening up access to information and data, can permit self-organizing. Don Tapscott spoke on a CBC Radio program segment called "Revitalization: The Public Square" aired February 19, 2012. He advised to "give people the tools to help you and they will". In order to move from 'what can we do' to 'what should we do' and to get buy-in we need to support and carry out experiments. Further to Tapscott's observation that citizens are now often referred to as residents, taxpayers or ratepayers, I am also aware of a tendency by municipal administration to view citizens as clients or customers rather than employer or major stakeholder. The habit poses a potential obstacle to government in fully comprehending and appreciating the role of effective citizenship in community.

Also, I find neighbourhood community projects provide opportunities for public relations and casual networking. An event celebrating a project can become a neutral gathering place for both municipal leaders and their critics to meet as

citizens and engage with other members of the community. And, free food can be an effective bonding material and equalizer in facilitating dialogue.

## **Governance for Sustainable Community includes Economic Considerations**

Street as Edges for Business and Support for Quality of Life. The street would be of interest to government in building a resilient community which values the leveraging of economic, environment and socio-cultural assets of community. The street not only supports and influences the physical and social connections between people and community, the street also provides a platform to support quality of life. Ken Greenberg (2011) proposed in a "...new paradigm of economic development, value is attributed to quality of life and place as much as or more than land, labour and capital costs" (p.261). Fifty years earlier, Jane Jacobs (1961) observed urban planning which minimized the importance of the social and economic aspects of the street undermined quality of life in urban areas like the city (p.88).

Government has a key role in making connections between economic, environmental and socio-cultural factors of community. The street is part of networks and relationships supporting these connections. "Streets and public spaces are hugely important as drivers of economic and social regeneration...streets can serve as important statements of intent helping raise aspirations and demonstrate potential standards and quality" (CABE, p.5).

**Town Budgets Key to Change**. The annual municipal budget process is a critical step for government in setting priorities for action. Citizens have an important role in influencing the setting of goals and spending priorities for the community. It is my experience some local governments risk becoming less able to connect with citizens because of competing priorities to be efficient in the business of government. Dialogue takes time. Embracing the community's human capital in processes of dialogue could reveal alternatives and solutions which benefit the community and leverage the value of public assets like the street and street system. Citizens exercise influence through timely participation in the budget process. Collective action affects quality of life in communities. "By marrying broad policy initiatives for physical design to changes in the regulatory framework and annual capital budget cycles, we were discovering our full potential for creating incremental change that could transform neighbourhoods." (Greenberg, 2011, p.130). Greenberg cited examples such as widened sidewalks, new cross-walk details, and street trees as essential utilities. As these changes become standards, modifications can be undertaken block by block, making streets better for pedestrians (p.130). From my perspective as a member of government, small and strategic changes can be more easily accommodated within a municipal budget as part of capital improvements or operations. Over time, additional support may be found in coordinating department funding of projects for mutual benefit and efficiencies.

It is also important to recognize pitfalls in simplification of government processes which may result in unintended consequences. "'Streamlining' has also made it more difficult for citizens to have meaningful input into the city's consultation process for annual budget preparation, and this leads to costly and avoidable oversights" (Greenberg, 2011, p.300).

Government as Policy Maker and the Languages of Jurisdiction. To better understand government as policy maker for the street it is necessary to appreciate the language of regulation. The languages of experts in various disciplines are languages on which government relies for advice and recommendations, including standards of design and best practices in operations including measures of success. The rules in the street of many smaller urban communities like towns are based in the language of the municipal engineer.

Standards may also reflect the priority uses of the street as decided by government leadership. For example, the separation of users of the street denoted progress and "...[s]idewalk construction was increasingly seen as a marker of modernity" (Blomley, 2011, p.58). However, alternative standards are possible. And, understanding and incorporating non-conforming elements from the past includes them as part of the stories created today and in the future. It is also possible to rediscover good urban design from the past. On the "...the art of making good places..." Kunstler (1994) wrote "...in the 1970s, a gang of architects, planners, academics, and artists led by Christopher Alexander of the University of California at

Berkeley, published a general manifesto challenging the vision of the mid-twentieth century building establishment with a startling alternative vision..." based on rediscovering traditional patterns of building "...viewed as orders of connecting relationships rather than mere objects in space" (p.249). I also agree with Greenberg (2011) who wrote there is need "...to create and maintain the public realm and set the ground rules" (p.149).

Nicholas Blomley (2011) observed that regulation recognizes the human being as a unit of measure and the pedestrian becomes a 'ped', a way of assessing value. The 'ped' as a fragment can be inserted into patterns of use in a street including the space allotted for those uses. However Gil Penalosa, head of advocacy organization 8-80, argued the measure of allotted space, such as the width of the sidewalk, "...is not a technical issue. It's a political issue..." (Ground 17, 2012, p.15). Its root is measuring value, benefit to community. Penalosa suggested new ideas require processes for dialogue between technical experts and community stakeholders.

The languages of the municipal engineer and urban planner contain policies and standards understood among related professional disciplines with jurisdiction in the street. I propose each language can inform ground rules in a common language between the citizen and local government. While professional disciplines influence the community and the street, local government is also an influence as policy maker and steward of the public trust. While local government represents and responds to citizens, it relies on municipal administration and expert staff to

carry out government policy. There is, therefore, a necessary tension between policy making and administration of policy. At a local level, I have found the creativity for solving complex issues requires the citizen to be engaged with their local government. Administration as experts can facilitate or hinder this vital relationship in the story of community building. Hodge & Gordon (2008) in their book, *Planning Canadian Communities*, identified degrees of public participation in which government shares power with citizens. In all forms of participation transparency and accountability as well as access are important. Citizens also have responsibility to act responsibly as representatives in the dialogue with politicians and planners (pp.310-316).

Government requires the ability to recognize potential challenges or barriers in the interpretation and implementation of policy by municipal staff. The public expects to participate in processes of collaboration and collective decision making on issues important to them. And, they also expect feedback on the effectiveness of policy. Therefore, policy requires built in processes which measure and report effectiveness. In addition, citizens value input drawn from local knowledge. The practice of citizenship, participation by citizens, is democracy in action and it can appear to be noisy and messy to experts organized to function within the protocol of professional disciplines. Gil Penalosa of 8-80 stated citizenship means having "...a little activist in your heart...change is not unanimous. Times Square in New York did not become a pedestrian zone by consensus" (Ground 17, 2012, p.15).

Elected officials have a responsibility to ensure these processes have an inherent mechanism for periodic assessment and adjustment to allow for new ideas, experimentation and change. Given the successes of innovative projects in building sustainable communities in Scandinavian countries, I looked for ideas articulated from a different point of view. How do their governments engage in processes to change direction and to advance ideas? Reflexive processes for government include understanding why and how policy is created, review of the effectiveness of policy and discussion of any proposed changes. Elected officials "can practice reflexive leadership at three stages of policy making: first as they search for political guidance among sources that contextualize the municipality's current performance (search); second as they set issues on the local agenda to create visions and set directions for change (initiatives); and third, as they refer to comparative information to rally support for new policy initiatives (support)" (Askim, 2011, p.4.) I found a suitable definition for reflexive leadership in a conference paper by Askim who proposed:

Reflexive leadership... is about activating discourse on directions for change by contextualizing current performance through publicly available information. (p. 4) ...Reflexive leadership ...is likely to be in demand when situations are ambiguous (to provide purpose and meaning) e.g. when there is disagreement over the direction of municipal development, when nonroutine situations are encountered, in situations of organizational stress and conflict, and in situations that call for negotiations across organizational boundaries. Reflexive leadership may emerge when someone questions (the quality and relevance of) municipal performances. (p.14)

**Expert Influence, Government as Facilitator**. Without citizenship it would seem those who decide the function of the street are deemed the most important authority in setting of priorities. Hence, the activity of citizens is acceptable only if it

fits into the predetermined function of the space. The administrative part of regulation has "...strong associations to the emergence of the early modern city and the professionalism of urban engineering " (Blomley, 2011, p.15). The impact on the form and function of the street can be profound. For example, Blomley (2011) recorded that by the mid-1700's users of the street began to be separated, walkers from other users, and by the mid-1800's sidewalks were common in cities (p.57). Blomley also noted appreciation by civic authorities for social uses of the street were lost by the end of 19th century (p.72). I concur with Ken Greenberg (2011) that, ideally, the municipal expert has a key role in supporting government as facilitator in communication with citizens. Thus, "...enabling a location's potential ...will all the more accurately reflect the will and desires of the people who live with it" (p.85).

To view a street as having one main purpose of circulation for the flow of commodities and consumers, or trade and traffic, is short-sighted because it does not support place-making for community. To see the human being merely as a soulless object, like the 'ped', in the street hinders the creation of a truly good street, a sustainable street. "In real places the human being is a person" (Oldenburg, 1989, p.203).

Another influential expert in community building is the urban planner, a discipline charged with creating sustainable communities.

The planner's essential contribution to the planning process is to be able to prepare a plan for a physical development situation that integrates a multitude of public and private interests and concerns. Through training and experience, the planner is in a position of "intellectual leadership" in planmaking.... But the planner's training seldom equips her or him for political

leadership, a factor that is increasingly stressed as planning processes become more interactive. (Hodge & Gordon, 2008, p.302)

Hodge & Gordon (2008) wrote Canadian planners face emerging challenges including achieving environmental sustainability; addressing poverty and homelessness; engaging citizens; planning for demographics including an aging population as part of the cycle of change in urban settlements; repairing suburban sprawl and addressing multicultural expectations; and, planning to keep communities safe and healthy by design (p.384). Further, at a Toronto conference on urban strategies for creative economies, urban planner Ken Greenberg indicated the disassociation of transportation from land use planning is a past practice from the 1970's that still needs to be overcome (Feb 29, 2012).

A point of tension between urban planners and the municipal engineer is the building of bigger roads. For example, planners have determined adding driving lanes to roads does not reduce traffic congestion in the longer term since the improvement will attract more users (Hodge & Gordon, 2008, p.399). I anticipate bigger roads work against building resilient communities if those roads are not planned as part of the hierarchy of streets in a street system to support mobility and accessibility. Bigger, faster travel ways tend to limit types of uses and users in the street. The street becomes more specialized, less accessible and less resilient to change around it. Highways are needed but too many urban streets are designed to a safety standard for the driving of vehicles above the posted speed limit. Facilitated collaboration between disciplines with jurisdiction in the street could leverage the

value of the street as a public asset by describing actions which add diversity of use and users in the street for the long-term benefit of community.

From a perspective of enforcement of policy, the languages of municipal experts and government can be seen as forms of police powers. Blomley (2011) observed government regulation is a form of expert influence like a police power which is "...most active at the local level, exercised by minor functionaries such as planning officials ...[and] municipal engineers..." (p.5). Municipal regulations can be wide ranging and discretionary and are often in the form of local by-laws, which can put a finer point on related provincial or federal legislation for local purposes. "Police powers...operate both through the suppression of 'nuisances'...and the promotion of desired forms of behaviour and conduct" (Blomley, 2011, p.6).

Blomley (2011) raised interesting points about governance which I propose can work against the practice of citizenship. "Police powers...should be seen as a distinct mode of governance.... From the perspective of law, the state is the institutional manifestation of a political community made up of autonomous equal persons. The function of law is to preserve the autonomy of these subjects. From the perspective of the police ...the state is the ...institutional manifestation of the household..." a patriarchal tradition of governance (p.6).

The area of influence of authorities with police-like power and how they can affect governance is useful knowledge for citizens in understanding and changing their area of influence in the development of policy. This is applicable to the street because it is regulated and shared public space. In the street citizen influence can be

described as the practice of citizenship. I propose a challenge to be facilitation of dialogue between competing views into processes for constructive decision making and action. Government can be the ideal facilitator when different voices participate with a common goal like achieving a sustainable community.

A barrier to these processes can be the effective level of authority exercised by any one stakeholder to cause tension. For example, government delegating authority to staff without requiring regular reporting back to the community through its elected policy maker is a way government reduces its effectiveness and area of influence. It is my experience government relies on the advice of administration, including how to involve the public in the governance process. Government has a stewardship role to lead towards a sustainable future for the community. Therefore, to engage directly and effectively with the community a tool kit of clearly defined processes for dialogue benefits government, citizens and other stakeholders. In addition, government has an obligation to make policy so that administration is also engaged.

In essence, government has an integral role as facilitator between municipal administration and the citizen. Government as policy maker directs administration and also establishes fundamental rules to support a social contract for civil society, rules based in common language. The language must encourage movement towards positive and desired change rather than listing prohibited actions so that it encourages behaviours which appeal to basic human nature of wanting to be where other people are. A common language for regulation can also support a sense of

connection to place. "People have the right to be safe and to feel safe in their communities, on their streets, in their homes..." (Blomley, 2011, p.100). Rules that are proscriptive would be seen as less desirable than a prescriptive guide by which to live as part of community.

Also, storytelling is effective when processes of citizen engagement with government are connected to place and time. A story is based on the individual's point of view, their connection to a place and time. The "...concept of "place" ...a location invested with meaning and purpose, as opposed to simply "space," ... is one of the perspectives that we can use to define, appreciate, and protect spaces that are significant to us" (Linton, 2014, p.37). Further, common ground like the street supports a common language with recurring and reproducible themes emerging from among a diversity of stories in the street. These themes are also connections to place. Various factors, such as cultural nuances, can modify or rearrange the fragments while the inherent patterns and themes remain recognizable. And, when government is an effective facilitator in communication with citizens, it can foster community trust in the language of regulation.

# The Government Language of Regulation

Linguistics makes a useful distinction between langue (the shared structure of language) and parole (the speech of utterance of an individual). In cities we thrive on enormous variety and variation (parole) but still need a certain level of predictability and stability (langue) in order to keep the lights on and the buildings standing. That shared language (and its syntax and structure) is supplied by the public realm, which determines where we can safely walk or cycle, the frequency of intersections, what happens on street

corners, how we expect buildings to front on main or side streets and how we distinguish private or semiprivate spaces from public ones. Every city has its own subtle variations on this basic syntax – variations rooted in its unique history and form. The public realm not only guides the physical aspects of city life but is also embedded in and informed by cultural norms and expectations. We use the term civility...from the Latin civilis (meaning "proper to a citizen") to describe how we believe people should behave in relation to others. To demonstrate civility is to express respect and tolerance for others, and this is a precious commodity. As demographics...shift and people from very different cultures are thrown together, the ability to maintain a shared urban culture and common expectations about the sharing of public space become vitally important. (Greenberg, 2011, p.87)

Further, on the matter of language of jurisdiction, regulation is a type of order. And, from a perspective of governance order is also the coordination of multiple needs and demands, which at times can be contradictory. Jane Jacobs (1961) argued the "...coordination both of information and of action ...is the crux of the matter: the principal coordination needed comes down to coordination among different services within localized places" (p.417) and may be achieved through municipal administration organized in a horizontal structure, and staff from different departments coordinate responsibility for a designated place, like a neighbourhood (p.419).

However, municipal administration can typically organize vertically and be defined by professional disciplines, often characterized by silos of information collected and shared within a department. Interviewee C used the term 'alignment' to articulate coordination in vertically structured administration or among competing authorities. "I teach people about alignment…where do we overlap …so we all agree a community has to have streets, how they're designed you may

disagree but underlining any of my facilitations form follows function and ...I talk about...looking for common ground, I will reframe..." the issue. The basis for discussion "...is to find alignment and agreement and so when things come to a discussion...you don't get to just say 'no', you can say 'no' but you have to offer another alternative...".

In addition, streets are a public asset for which there may be several regulating authorities operating under different laws and policies. For example, in New York City just over 26% of the city land area is streets (NYC Manual, 2009, p.21) and nine different city agencies have jurisdiction within the street right of way (p. 15). In a small town like Cobourg, Ontario, with a population of about 18,500, jurisdiction in the street is also exercised by various departments including public works, urban planning, traffic planning, law enforcement, parks, tourism and economic development. The urban street is a complex system, both functionally and as viewed through the lenses of jurisdiction.

One way to prompt change in the street is to seek support from the authorities with the most influential jurisdiction in the matter. Consider this example of how fragments of the street were rearranged using a common language, the changed improved the street for pedestrians. Blomley (2011) described how "[c]itizen activists in Toronto...proposed a Pedestrian Charter [and] Engineers noted the Charter's importance to city life and regulation in Toronto. Indeed, it has proven a template for similar declarations in Canadian and US cities...The patron saint of the humanist sidewalk, Jane Jacobs, served as advisor..." to Toronto's Charter language

which is oriented within the language of regulation of the street and sidewalk (p.53). In my words, the language of action frames the goal in the language of those with authority to do something about it, those who regulate the sidewalk, and the direction for action was prepared with the participation and guidance of citizens.

# From the perspective of government as policy maker, there are several responses to the question: What is the art of the sustainable street? Answers include active transportation which informs both the form and function of the street for use by all; urban design including alternative standards for complete and green streets as well as place-making for people in public space; common language for dialogue and alignment among stakeholders using the street and among authorities with jurisdiction in the street; and, self-government and supporting reflexive laws to

encourage self-regulation.

Walk the Talk, or, Leveraging Assets of the Good Street through Policy.

One of the most effective ways a local government can address the form and function of a community's streets in the interest of sustainability is to adopt policies and procedures promoting active transportation. As a common goal it can focus divergent views with something for everyone using the street. Active transportation is generally defined as human powered modes of transportation and can include public transit as part of integrated systems. Active transportation not only optimizes the freedom and mobility of users of the street, active transportation leverages the value of the street as a public asset by supporting diversity of uses and users. Active

transportation can also influence urban design and encourage movement towards building sustainable community.

In addition, active transportation brings together two main areas of practice, municipal civil engineering and urban planning, with a common focus of walkable community in the interest of public health and safety. The human being in movement is a basic unit of measure for the street in walkable towns and cities. Walking enables eye-contact. Keeping the eyes interested, being aware of surroundings is basic to safe movement in the street and the development of trust among strangers. Walking is also basic to mobility, a measure of self-determination.

Slowing vehicle movement can also enable eye contact. There has commenced a phenomenon among street designers to establish optimum eye contact between users of the street. Greenberg (2011) observed:

[Because] ...of constant eye contact ...human interaction as a complement to a minimum of signage... has been taken up in the latest and most sophisticated European engineering in what are sometimes called "naked streets." Reducing the number of traffic signs encourages eye contact and increases pedestrian safety. After two years, a scheme that cleared London's Kensington High Street of markings, signage and pedestrian barriers has yielded significant and sustained reductions in injuries to pedestrians. Citizens often lead the way in these innovations. (p.204)

In addition, Interviewee A described how they inform their land development decisions by staying abreast of emerging trends. For example, promotion of public health is increasingly becoming a standard by which communities are planned to be walkable. And, Interviewee C was involved in the creation of a glossary of terms to

align the language between public health professionals and urban planners and this facilitated dialogue by removing certain barriers in language.

In a related matter, the sustainable street can be aligned with the 'complete' or 'green' street. Complete street policies require the support of government because as leaders in the community, government can facilitate coordination between members of community, different departments and other authorities with jurisdiction in the street. In the public interest of sustainability, communities "...are realizing the 'green' potential of their streets. Making our transportation system more sustainable involves many policies and practices that minimize environmental impact and create streets that are safe for everyone, regardless of age, ability, or mode of transportation. Complete streets are a natural complement to sustainability efforts, ensuring benefits for mobility, community, and the environment" (completestreets.org). In addition, an impetus for change can result from a response to unacceptable consequences of existing policy. For example, New York City passed Complete Streets legislation requiring all users of the street be considered.

Effective policies for good streets are connected with plans of action. The National Complete Streets Coalition of Smart Growth America identified ten points for policy and related plans of action:

- 1. Requires a community vision for how and why to complete streets;
- 2. specifies all user needs to be addressed;
- 3. applies to both new and repair projects with design and operational planning for the full right of way;
- 4. provides a defined procedure for any exceptions;

- 5. aims to create a connected network of travel ways;
- 6. is usable across departments with jurisdictional authority;
- 7. utilizes best practices in context of flexible and balanced use;
- 8. situates policy within context of supporting the community;
- 9. identifies and measures goals for performance; and,
- 10. the complete street policy identifies future actions to be undertaken.

I anticipate policies for complete streets would also encourage self-regulation or self-government.

In a similar light on policy for self-regulation, E. W. Orts (1995) wrote of reflexive regulations. "Reflexive law recognizes the complexity of social life and the diversity of the many institutions created to achieve various ends. It aims to guide rather than to suppress the social complexity of institutions... It attempts to off-load some of the burdens of direct regulation to encourage self-regulation..." (p.780). According to Orts, reflexive law does not apply strictly in a legal form but rather to encourage actions which collectively move towards achieving a sustainable society.

I concur with several sources, Ken Greenberg (2011) and Jane Jacobs (1961) among others, that government can be most effective at a local level in a community of optimal size for effective governance. A goal of creating better streets through policy leads to better neighbourhoods as components of resilient communities moving towards sustainability. The neighbourhood may provide an effective unit for building community by bringing together citizens and government on local issues. Jane Jacobs (1961) proposed that a neighbourhood district or several neighbourhoods working together on a common issue can be useful forms of self-government. An effective citizen lead entity can carry issues to government and

bring information back to the neighbourhood. The neighbourhood can provide valuable information to government in making policy (pp.122-125).

Indicators of Citizen and Government Effectiveness. Indicators of movement towards creating good streets, and ultimately good communities, can emerge from policy informed by community vision. Indicators of citizen and government effectiveness in smaller urban communities include the following themes:

- 1. size and scale of community or self-governing unit within a community, like a neighbourhood;
- 2. balance of economic, environmental and social-cultural components of community as a system;
- 3. stakeholder participation in making good streets;
- 4. learning from comparables and using pilot projects to test ideas;
- 5. policy processes, for information communication and action to facilitate citizenship, including recognizing public engagement as an essential service;
- 6. champions, and other street characters;
- 7. commitment to urban repair;
- 8. physical structure for government as places in community;
- 9. government as storyteller including strategic planning for community vision and plans for action;
- 10. quality urban design on a human scale, with details above universal standards for accessibility.

These indicators are also connected in recognizing and supporting stories of a place and time.

Citizen and government effectiveness is related to the size of the community.

"...Leon Krier, the London based architectural theorist...had proposed in his writings that the ideal size for a small town, or a city quarter, was eighty acres...with a

quarter- mile radius, which happened to be the distance that a healthy person would be willing to walk on a routine basis to go to work, shop, or go out to eat" (Kunstler, 1994, p.255). Similarly, Jane Jacobs (1961) referred to effective areas of governance as districts and "...districts are seldom larger than about a mile and a half square in area, and they are usually smaller" (p.424). Alexander et al. (1978) proposed "...the town as a collection of communities of 7000. These communities will be between one quarter mile across and two miles across, according to their overall density" (p.154). In addition, I propose the boundaries of these units of governance are characterized by permeability and thus allowing for connections with other places. The motivation to establish connections could be a focus for action to improve effectiveness.

I am cognizant of the potential effect of technology in making connections without needing to meet in person. However, where local government is concerned, public meetings in a neutral setting designed to facilitate constructive dialogue between citizens and government still have an important role in community. Casual encounters between the citizen and their elected official are encouraged and more likely to occur in communities with walkable streets and public places accessible from the street. Meeting face to face still matters.

In the best sense, a systems approach to community building "...aims to strengthen the economy and social ties within a community through locally based initiatives. The community development process is often characterized as a 'triple bottom line' of amalgamating environmental, social and economic well-being into a

common audit ...to include cultural well-being and good governance" (Duxbury & Gillette, 2007, p. 5). In a presentation to graduate students in the Sustainability Studies program at Trent University, Tim Burke of Evergreen Power described his view of the triple bottom line with a fourth aspect. Along with people, planet and profits there is policy (Burke, 2012, April 12). I find Burke's interpretation of a systems approach is simply rooted in common language.

Citizen and government effectiveness can be compromised by decisions based on economics alone, sometimes framed as progress or economic development. The collective wealth of the citizens who contribute to the tax base supports public services for the benefit of equitable access by all members of the community. The priority for a local government is to represent the citizens whom they serve. In reality, getting council business done in an expeditious manner, with a concern for appearing to be efficient, becomes a priority and incrementally disables citizenship. Government must ensure the local voices are heard as part of the processes of governance. Lost voices are like unfinished business and can eventually undermine the effectiveness government when the processes utilized to engage citizens and other stakeholders are perceived by the community to be untrustworthy. Citizens feel unheard, ignored by government. As a result, change may be unwelcome or may end up being detrimental to community well-being. For example, in a regulated process, such as a statutory public meeting for a land rezoning, some voices like those from well financed land developers often have a greater ability to be heard over the voices of the existing neighbourhood and community. Allan Jacobs (1995) argued that the "... pattern brought about by public policy and public actions, favors

bigness and wealth at the expense of participation by larger numbers of smaller actors" (p.265).

A government can invest in effective processes for citizen engagement by understanding governance through the eyes of a citizen, including being receptive to citizen delegations. The citizen view can inform policy using identified communication portals through which citizens can connect with government.

Recently, I was invited to advise a citizen lead group seeking to create a sustainable neighbourhood in partnership with the local community on a former industrial site. The local government had invited citizen presentations in preparation for the new Council's strategic visioning session. The main lines of inquiry to me from the group pertained to sharing information about likely champions on Council and in the staff ranks who may support and facilitate their ideas, and how to approach the decision makers with information so that Council would take seriously the group's proposal as a community priority.

Mark Roseland (2005) wrote about ways a citizen can engage with a receptive government with regard to citizen lead initiatives or causes. For example, having a broad range of community representation on an action group or council advisory committee; informing themselves with up to date information from the town; educating themselves about the municipal process especially about administrative and council decision-making and budget processes; keeping issues focused on few key points when making a presentation; starting with smaller, doable projects and changes that rest within the context of the community vision or plan; seeking allies

within the community and within government administration can help position the citizen cause within the existing municipal framework and build upon it; and, finding a champion for the cause on council; and, demonstrate the extent of community support. The basic preparation for a presentation to a local government includes a group of community representatives and identified spokespersons; a reproducible report explaining facts applicable to the initiative; and, description of goals with an action plan. Progress on the initiative needs to be measurable and assessed along the way, including demonstrating community support for continuing the initiative (p.197).

It is my experience that a significant shift in support from government can occur with the smallest of projects, like painting bicycle lanes on a busy street.

Following the patient and repeated requests by a small citizen group of cycling enthusiasts, lanes appeared on local streets, a project facilitated by a champion staff member as part of an existing street painting contract. Citizen applause soon echoed through phone lines to local politicians. The shift in government support was almost measurable overnight. What started as a pilot project became a permanent initiative to paint bike lanes on streets in the community, and within two years was followed by the formation of a citizen advisory committee to Council on cycling as part of active transportation.

As part of building community, dealing with barriers to citizenship is part of a government's role. With respect to governing sustainable communities Roseland (2005) wrote about a recommendation from the American President's Council on

sustainable development which stated that "...all levels of government, especially local government, should identify barriers to greater citizen involvement in decision-making – such as lack of child care or transportation – and develop strategies to overcome them. Employers should give employees flexibility and incentives to increase the time they and their families can devote to community activities..." (p.191).

In the politics of governance for sustainable communities, the nurturing of allies and champions can include proponents with different ways of seeing potential solutions. A related indicator of government effectiveness is the habit of seeking inspiration for good streets in locations abroad which are similar to local conditions, for example, sustainable community development in Scandinavian countries.

Illustrative videos are accessible on the internet and are useful in sharing stories from other places.

The street facilitates connection because the networks of paths support bringing people together. Jane Jacobs (1961) also referred to certain types of people found in the street who bring people and issues together. "The social structure of sidewalk life hangs partly on what can be called self-appointed public characters. A public character is anyone who is in frequent contact with a wide circle of people and who is sufficiently interested to make himself a public character... His main qualification is that is that he is public, that he talks to lots of different people. In this way, news travels..." (p.68). In my experience as a community advocate and as a member of government I have found that a champion or facilitator can also be a

public character, at times larger than life, coming forward from a group of citizens who have self-organized and chosen a leader.

With regard to delivery of services and understanding people in community, I propose that if a local government understands the effective delivery of services, it can also address effective communication with citizens served by government. Since the street is already a conduit for many services it may be viewed as a good platform on which to get processes for dialogue right. Local government is also a public service.

Effective governance has a responsibility to repair and restore community. Urban sprawl dismantled communities and fuelled the decline of many towns through the reduction of access to services. For example, consider the ritual of walking to a grocery store. Today many people need a car in order to buy food. I view the elimination of options in getting to the store as deficiencies in service. This particular pattern for living, walking to get food, loses essential fragments and eventually becomes unrecognizable, disconnected pieces of a pattern. Alexander's et al. (1978) *A Pattern Language* described the essence of the solution, patterns for living "...based consciously on deep human emotional and psychological needs... [and] a quality Alexander called 'aliveness'...Patterns that were alive promoted stability" (Kunstler, 1994, p.252).

Alexander et al. (1978) also made observations about enabling effective governance by addressing physical characteristics of government. These include visible and accessible centres of government for a walkable size area, government

buildings which include meeting places for citizens and government, and space to support community projects (pp.240, 407). In addition, considerations in urban design with regard to the street are described in Chapter 3.

In the next section, among other things, I present the idea community includes storytelling by government.

## Storytelling by Government: a Voice of Community Influenced by

**Community**. Storytelling is a way to impart value and develop connection to place. With regard to leadership and vision, building community includes place-making and citizenship as part of strategic planning beyond a government term of office. And, building community includes the tradition of storytelling by government.

In many Canadian communities an elected government is made possible by a system of recurring elections which mark the start and the end of a government. However, government records its own story of knowledge and lessons learned, accessible by future governments and citizens of the community. This record includes policy and public archives.

Public access to these narratives is important since administration remains in place regardless of election results. In addition, record keeping polices and archival practices can purge government and administrative history by an arbitrary if not statutory deadline, and is done typically for concern of liability. Technology makes document storage no longer an issue if technology is used as a tool in record keeping

and access to information is maintained. Citizens and their government require diligence in protecting in perpetuity their stories of community.

In addition, administrative habits can effectively manage government, especially a new and inexperienced government. Greenberg (2011) observed that "[e]ven when there is a new vision at the leadership level, recognition that the old regulatory infrastructure has outlived its usefulness, digging down into the administrative level to dislodge its wiring, is a formidable challenge" (p.105). The challenges can occur at any level of administration. Greenberg used as an example the city public works department being reluctant to install a pedestrian crossing on a busy street for concern that it may slow traffic. His example identified "... unintended consequences of a system that was designed to produce a different kind of world with different priorities and values. That system is still on automatic pilot" (p.106). And, disagreement between departments on interpretation of legislation in the enforcement of law can result in ambiguity on matters of safety for people using the street, such as mid-block markings for pedestrian crossings.

To ensure balance among the authoritative voices with jurisdiction in the street, citizens have a duty to remind their local government of the collective vision. Beyond their vote at election time, citizens must advocate for the creation and protection of regular processes enabling dialogue with their government.

Government can facilitate dialogue with citizens through public communication about identifiable projects in the public realm. Regular and timely public meetings

can employ the tradition of storytelling for projects in building, repairing and protecting a vital and resilient community.

Vitality, aliveness, and resiliency describe a community with good places for people in the public realm. Jane Jacobs (1961) advocated for planning to stimulate diversity both socially and economically; to promote citizen identification with their neighbourhood and district; to work towards incrementally improve problem areas; to diagnose problems and find solutions; and, to use public money for community betterment. Government must understand place and not just services and techniques (pp.408-410).

The politician represents the citizens of the community and is a leader, facilitator and mediator. The "...job of "representing" becomes one of reconciling and integrating the many competing demands..." from citizens and other organizations (Hodge & Gordon, 2008, p.301).

As a major land use in urban communities streets are a significant public asset that matters to everyone, to many daily. Therefore, the street presents a good testing ground for building community. "Much of the real business of municipal government …involves making incremental judgements about building projects, parks, community facilities, and the operation and maintenance of public streets.... Doing this well depends on intimate knowledge of particular neighbourhoods and the people who live in them..." (Greenberg, 2011, p.299).

With respect to government influence in the street, Nicholas Blomley (2011) described how regulation "...can treat the person as an object, either in motion or at

rest.....this evidenced by the Engineering figure of the abstract pedestrian, or 'ped'. What is important about the body is whether...it is in motion or static. Put another way, it is not the 'soul' of the ped that is of interest, but its size" (p.9). In a language of regulation the "...encounters between street users – characterized by others as rich with intersubjective significance, or as affirmations of human sociality – are framed simply as moments of collision.... Its users are not persons, but peds..." (p.106). I propose local government therefore must consider the balance in the street between regulating the object, people, and concern for their motivation. Motivation underlies movement. Mobility optimizes movement. And, Blomley observed what "...makes a person fully human... is their freedom from dependence on the will of others" (p.103).

As community, citizens organize themselves and elect a government of representatives. Citizens engaged with their local government contribute to the story of government. As a voice of community, government has an important role as a leader in the building of resilient communities with a sustainable future. By sharing stories in the street, a shared space becomes place in the everyday of the individual and the collective. Storytelling in the street communicates intent, the aspirations of the citizen and of the community.

In the next chapter I conclude my story to a natural ending, for now. By bringing together emerging patterns and themes into a narrative for place-making, for my place and time, I arrange my collection of fragments for my every day. The art

of the sustainable street is how I, a citizen and member of community, understand how I moved from where I have been to my present and what has captured the interest of my eyes, and the mind behind them, in motivating me to move forward. The street is the place I have in common with everyone in the community and the stories there are both unique and enriched by their connections.

#### Chapter 5

# **Summary of Findings**

Through storytelling I embarked on a journey, in part to discover a new position for my point of perspective at this place and time. And, I introduce the latest chapter in my continuing story in the epilogue following this chapter.

With regard to my main question of inquiry, what is the art of the sustainable street, I anticipated I would learn about streets and their part in the building of resilient community. I expected to find several things about sustainable streets. They are a component of walkable communities. They are also safe spaces, with clear rules, and provide opportunity for forms of expression that are indicative of a local government engaged with citizens. And, the street is a place for citizenship, a platform for storytelling in the practice of citizenship towards building better places.

In addition, my narrative describes four early emerging themes which speak to connections between fragments of information I collected. First, the street influences community and is a place for communication and storytelling. Second, the best streets are places characterized by movement. Movement engages the eye to create connections. This fosters trust among people in the street. Third, the street is a place for citizenship and caring which contribute to safe streets for all. And, fourth, measurable fragments and patterns contributing to good streets are reproducible. The lessons and knowledge are transferable, especially through common language.

I have come full circle from where I started, with an enriched understanding facilitated through a new way of seeing the street as part of community. My investigation also leads me towards better leadership and citizenship in my participation as a member of sustainable community.

Surprising to me, a recurrent image in my mind is a scene in the street where a person could pause and take in the view, and in a manner of speaking, to take in the story of the street and the stories unfolding on it. The simple scene marks place, and it embodies many lessons for making a good street. It is a scene of a comfortable bench facing activity in the street and set under the canopy of a street tree. Over the course of writing, while taking my dog for walk on a warm and sultry August evening in my hometown, I found people sitting on every street bench I passed. It was near midnight and, usually in a group of two, they were engaged in quiet conversation in the street. There was some activity in restaurants and bars nearby. It was apparent to me these people felt comfortable in the street in the quiet of a late evening in summer. And at another time in the same streets I, too, sat at a street café and watched one afternoon as I recorded notes on what happened around me. I was astonished at the complexity and continual movement of people, the overlapping of stories taking place in front of my eyes. My story and theirs intersected as they moved past me.

Another surprise was the unexpected story I experienced when I started to take photographs. A strategically captured photograph can communicate a street space as place with a story quite different than my experience standing behind the

camera. Even though movement can be implied in a photograph, in my narrative I relied on storytelling based on investigations, recollections, the stories of others and on defining characteristics of successful streets in urban communities.

Why the Street? Why the Town? The street in context of smaller urban communities in southern Ontario is a topic I could study and comprehend as part of my every day. And, my day to day life also includes helping others with mobility challenges with regard to using the street, including a child too young to drive and senior parents who recently gave up their car.

My technique in collecting fragments of knowledge is inspired by my reading of Benjamin's *The Arcades Project*. Selected literature sources, like invited contributions from other voices of storytellers, was part of my methodology in understanding other perspectives of the street. I arranged collected fragments for my story in my place and time. I encourage the reader to recall a memory of their favourite street, or, to use the information presented here to create a picture of what characteristics define a good street.

In this investigation I discovered many of the essential fragments and emerging themes for the good street, the sustainable street, are timeless on a human scale and are reproducible in streets of other places. However, a final word from Jane Jacobs (1961) who wrote that streets are characterized by "difference, not duplication" (p.168). In addition, I selected a contextual framework of neighbourhood in order to better understand community as a system and as a viable unit in governance. Community, a town or city, can be a multiple of neighbourhoods.

In the following epilogue I refer to a citizen lead project which has the potential to repair community as well as to move it towards a sustainable future.

I anticipated the street to be validated as a most important public space in an urban community for several reasons. Streets matter to everyone in some way every day. In context of smaller urban communities streets are public and typically governed by a local elected government. The size of a community like a town enables stories of citizenship to take place in the street. Street design and operation are evolving to focus on accommodating a balance of all uses and users, particularly in regard to accessibility through active transportation, and in an emerging focus on public health and walkable communities. And, leveraging the value of public assets such as safe streets for all can enable government to use public funds more efficiently and effectively. In addition, village and town forms of community planning are seen to be potential antidotes to urban sprawl, especially when they are well connected with other urban and rural communities and larger urban centres like cities.

I have found communication to be the most important purpose of the street because the street is the place where community demonstrates its intent, a place which supports the tradition of storytelling by citizens and community.

Communication also enables circulation in the street. The best types of streets are characterized by movement including the suggestion of movement by light.

Movement makes the street a vibrant and vital edge between public and private realms and is exemplified by diversity in uses and users. It is a place where safety

and self-governance relies upon trust between strangers. The street is also a place for citizenship and caring. Street systems include a hierarchy of path type and some streets, like an arterial road or highway, feature circulation as their primary purpose.

The fragments which make a good street are the best qualities of successful streets. These fragments, both quantitative and qualitative, are identifiable and measureable. The connections between these parts can emerge as patterns or themes. Streets have different voices depending upon the time and day. This creates potential for different connections between the same fragments, a story unique to a place and time.

A main lesson I have learned concerns the influence of decision makers with jurisdiction in the street and the importance of understanding the form and function of the street from the perspective of the users of the street, including children.

Further, citizenship is integral to safe, healthy, resilient communities and effective governance also depends upon the relationship between citizen and government.

This requires common language and processes of dialogue in information, planning and action through which participation is facilitated. Government in a leadership role and as facilitator is a key to enabling dialogue to include the smallest of voices.

In a subsequent investigation I would argue a system of streets for sustainable communities must include a hierarchy of street and path types, and there must be accommodation for all users at each level of design and operation. Collected fragments and themes would still apply. For example, a theme would be the good street is a permeable boundary with transition places or thresholds where people

can enter and leave the street safely and comfortably. The fragments to be connected may depend upon the type of street and its uses and users. Also, warranted is more detailed investigation into small towns as sustainable alternatives in a system response to increasing urbanization.

Coming to light from my investigation of literature I observed two main characteristics of the contextual framework for my thesis. First, within a hierarchy of streets and paths there are several street types which can be designed and operated as sustainable streets. These include arterials, collector and local streets, and various sorts of alleys and services lanes. All are typically within the jurisdiction of local government in urban communities. Exceptions include private service lanes managed by a condominium corporation and single use travel ways like freeways which are typically within the jurisdiction of the province. Also, as discovered through research, bigger streets such as wide multi-lane boulevards can also be designed on a human scale. And, second, I selected literature as sources generally supportive of building healthy communities for people.

With regard to findings, priorities will determine the interpretation of findings for a particular street. Recurrent fragments and patterns are useful in identifying common characteristics of good streets. Each street is unique with regard to the composition and connections between these characteristics. Emerging from my collection of fragments and themes I have identified seven main findings.

A sustainable community includes safe streets for all. As a site of communication, the street influences community and is in turn influenced by

community. The best streets are permeable boundaries between private and public places, and are edges characterized by diversity in uses and users. The street is an important public place for citizenship and caring, and is a place where safety and self-governance is fostered by trust between strangers. Lessons and knowledge to create or repair a street is transferable through processes of communication which find connections between fragments and patterns common to good streets. Thus,

- 1. A good street is a system of complex order unique to a place and time. Streets are public places of complex order and although successful characteristics are shared, each street is different and can change over time. The street is a permeable boundary between private and public realms. As an edge of diversity of uses and users, the street supports the myriad of networks between people in the street. And, in the street many people are strangers to each other.
- 2. Communication in the street is founded in trusted connections made through eye contact facilitated by light and movement. The art of the sustainable street is founded in ways of communicating and building trust between strangers sharing the same space. These connections are like points of intersection in storytelling and are served by a common language. Movement is also a form of communication in the street and it informs circulation.
- 3. Many defining characteristics of successful streets are identifiable and measurable standards on a human scale. In addition, the buildings and spaces along the street are equally important and mutually reliant. They help define the street.

  Other components defining a street include respect for cultural values, quality

materials and workmanship including long term maintenance, inclusive design for all and flexible use of space, adaptation to climate change and seasonal comfort, and attention to details. As reproducible fragments and patterns, these characteristics are part of a common language and include basic rules regulating street form and function. Examples are universal design for accessibility and walkable communities.

- 4. The main purpose of the street is communication. Communication enables the circulation of people, goods and services. However, the street is also the place where the community demonstrates its intent, its collective vision such as a plan for action to move towards sustainable community. Sustainability, with inherent flexibility and resiliency towards change, includes processes enabled by communication. And, tension in the balancing of priorities is a natural part of process.
- 5. In the street there are three main types of narratives including the stories of the individual, the community and the voice of the street itself. The tradition of storytelling relies on authenticity of place and enables connection to place. The street is a place shared by the community. The art of communication through storytelling is accessible to most people. In storytelling we share who we are and reveal how we are transforming our lives. Stories can also contain different fragments which mark place in the street, such as focal points and labels.
- 6. Collaboration and alignment among those with jurisdiction in the street can be effective in leveraging the value of the street as an important public asset for the community. Technology can make possible solutions to complex issues

and can also affect communication. Storytelling can connect technological innovation to a place and time, to reflect community values. In addition, since the street typically changes incrementally, processes are needed for regular dialogue to engage the community in setting priorities in planning and action. The challenge is operations, not capital.

7. Progress towards sustainable society will continue to require political spaces in the public realm where citizens can gather and engage with each other as individuals and as members of community. The practice of citizenship fosters networks of relationships and enables caring, as well as opportunities for participation in community. These connections contribute to quality of life including happiness and well-being. Mobility is also a measure of self-determination. The street is part of our everyday, enabling connection with everyday stories. The sustainable street contributes to sustainable community.

In closing, I recollect themes emerging from my reading of Benjamin's unfinished work, *The Arcades Project*. My interpretation of Benjamin's collection of fragments informed a way of seeing which guided my investigation of the art of the sustainable street. It has brought me back to my place and time better prepared for the next challenge in action towards sustainable progress for community. In my view, sustainability is a way of life and a way of thinking, even more than a way of seeing.

## **Epilogue**

Recently, I became a member of a citizen lead group seeking to establish a sustainable neighbourhood in a district containing a vacant brownfield site. As a result of unpaid taxes, the local municipality became the owner of the lands. I was invited by the group to participate as a local neighbour and also because of my knowledge and experience with local government and municipal administration. The group includes neighbours, citizens of the community concerned with climate change, experts in green technologies, and potential investors. I have been asked about connecting with local officials to begin the dialogue and in preparing presentations to the recently elected local Council.

Plans are moving forward for this new neighbourhood, located within the context of existing neighbourhoods in the small urban community where I live. The plans are based on a community vision for the area and hold potential as a demonstration site for innovation with a 'made in place' development model for building community, including funding partnerships. Sample communities used as references to date include Malmo Sweden and Vauban Germany. Key features of the proposal include intensification of development within urban built boundaries, affordable housing and quality architectural design, district energy utilizing sun arrays and geothermal technology, food security addressed through community gardens, green infrastructure including water management, and wise use of

resources. Intended as a mixed use neighbourhood, it would be walkable and bicycling friendly.

The citizens' group has achieved some success to date. The recently elected Town Council has approved the project as part of its strategic vision and action plan for the new term of government. Council has also approved funding to retain an urban planning consultant to develop, with public participation, the required Secondary Plan as an amendment to the Town's Official Plan.

In essence, I looked through an opened door at the end of my investigation of the art of the sustainable street and found my story, my participation in the building of sustainable communities, continues in the everyday life in the streets of my own neighbourhood.

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## Researcher Background - Miriam L.R. Mutton

Landscape Architect, in private practice since 1983

- Member Ontario Association of Landscape Architects (OALA)
- Member Canadian Society of Landscape Architects (CSLA)
- Bachelor of Landscape Architecture (BLA, with distinction, University of Guelph 1983)
- American Society of Landscape Architects (ASLA) Certificate of Merit in the Study of Landscape Architecture
- Ontario Agricultural College (OAC) Alumni Foundation Gold Medallist

Municipal Councillor, Town of Cobourg, Ontario, Canada (population about 18,500)

- Council Coordinator of Planning and Development 2007-2010, liaison with staff and advisory committees in architectural and natural heritage, public art
- Council Coordinator of Public Works 2011-2014, liaison with department directors and section managers in planning, roads and sewers, engineering, environmental/water pollution control.
- Committees:

Water Committee, Chair (Town/Lakefront Utility Services Inc.); Freedom of Information Committee, Member; Ganaraska Region Conservation Authority Board and Source Water Protection Committee, Municipal Representative; Council Coordinator for Advisory Committees to Council, including Accessibility (development review, public transit), Environment, Active Transportation (path system, parking, bicycle infrastructure)

- Lead successful process through Council to establish the Active Transportation Advisory Committee of Council, April 2014.
- Community Volunteer Award Recipient, Province of Ontario