WORSHIP IN THE SUBURBS: THE DEVELOPMENT EXPERIENCE OF
RECENT IMMIGRANT RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES

by

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I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

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Abstract

Immigration is transforming large Canadian urban regions. Rapidly increasing religious diversity is one dimension of the dramatic, multicultural shift accompanying this sea-change. Over the past decade, many important questions have emerged concerning urban planning and management amidst ethnoracial diversity. The development of places of worship, key activity centres for many recent immigrant communities, intersects many of these questions. Land use conflict related to place of worship development has been a common feature of much of the empirical, urban literature.

This study explored the development experience of religious communities from five religions: Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism, Islam and Sikhism, in three suburban communities of the Greater Toronto Area: Mississauga, Brampton and Markham. The key objectives of the study were to compare experiences across minority religious groups in order to explore development issues, to better understand relationships between religion, culture and land use, and to examine municipal planning implications of and responses to religious diversity.

The study findings show that most place of worship development experiences have been characterized by adaptation rather than conflict. Findings reveal involved and nuanced stories about the development process in which many recent immigrant, minority religious communities participate. As such, the study highlights the inter-woven complexities and challenges of establishing these significant religious, cultural and social institutions, difficulties that cannot be easily teased apart to isolate one or two problematic variables.

In this way, the study findings accord with the recent urban literature on difference which argues that urban experiences of difference are simultaneously produced by structuring processes of political-economy and socially constructed by multi-faceted, changing subjects (Bridge & Watson, 2003; Eade & Mele, 2002; Jacobs & Fincher, 1998; Low, 1996). Findings show that minority place of worship development is constrained by suburban form, land use planning policy and land economics. At the same time, these constraints are differentially mediated by the resources and strategies of religious communities. Religion and culture play a role in the needs and experiences of place of worship development, but high or unconventional needs are not necessarily tied to challenging development experiences.

The study recommendations build upon the current normative literature in the broader field of multicultural planning. I argue that the common prescriptions set forward by multicultural planning advocates, such as improved cultural knowledge and communication in policy development and implementation are not sufficient to address the challenges of urban planning and management amidst religious and ethnoracial diversity. The study findings suggest that proponents of multicultural planning need to approach the challenges of diversity strategically, to reconsider points, means and agents of intervention. Study recommendations call for a return to the role of the planning expert, to proactively address key land use planning issues such as transportation planning and land use conflict before problems occur. Such a move would concomitantly benefit all community residents, not only those belonging to religious communities. This is because two of the more challenging dimensions of place of worship development: transportation planning and neighbour relations, are issues common to suburban land use development, regardless of the religion, ethnicity or race of the participants. Recommendations also suggest that multicultural planning must be a collective project, requiring the involvement of many actors, including urban academics, immigrant communities and their advocates, political and community leadership as well as urban practitioners both inside and outside of the municipal planning department.

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To Mika

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Chapter 1: <u>Introduction</u>

Increasing religious diversity is one of the many changes accompanying large-scale immigrant settlement in Canada's fastest growing urban regions. Gurdwaras, mandirs, mosques, temples and other minority religious buildings are steadily being added to the Canadian urban landscape, once populated primarily by Christian (mostly Roman Catholic and Protestant) churches. Over the past decade, Muslim, Buddhist, Hindu and Sikh communities, Canada's fastest growing religious communities, have increased significantly. Nationally, the numbers of people claiming membership to one of these four minority religions have swelled by more than 80%.[1] In cities with high, recent immigrant settlement, these figures are even more dramatic.[2]

Figure 1-1: Top Left Ahmaddiyya Muslim Mosque, Vaughan, ON **Top Right** Tó-Binh Tú-Quang Vietnamese Buddhist temple, Montréal, QC **Bottom Left** Vedic Cultural Centre, Richmond, BC, **Bottom Right** Nanak Sar GurSikh Temple, Richmond, BC. Source: Author (Fieldwork)

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[1] Buddhists by 83.8%. Hindus by 89.3%, Muslims by 128.9% and Sikhs by 88.8% (Statistics Canada, 2003).

[2] For example, over the past decade, Muslim communities have grown by 139.8 % (to 254,110) in the Toronto CMA, 143.0 % (to 100,185) in Montréal CMA, and 125.4% (to 52,590) in the Vancouver CMA (Statistics Canada, 2002).

Place of worship development is one of several key issues in the planning and management of the multicultural city (Hoernig & Walton-Roberts, 2006; Germain & Gagnon, 2003; Qadeer, 1997).[3] For many recent immigrants, places of worship are key sites of religious, cultural, social, and settlement activity and community efforts towards establishing a religious facility begin soon after the settlement of community members in the host municipality (Ebaugh & Chafetz, 2000; McLellan, 1999; Min, 1992). For cities, places of worship are often significant architectural assets, social institutions, community facilities, heritage sites and/or tourist destinations. For urban planners, place of worship development has been an important area of adjustment to ethnoracial[4] diversity (Qadeer & Chaudhry, 2000). Place of worship development has also been an area of considerable land use conflict. Studies in Canada (Isin & Siemiatycki, 1999; Gagnon & Germain, 2002; Gagnon *et al.* 2004; Germain & Gagnon, 2003; McLellan & White, 2004), the U.S. (Eck, 2001; Johnson & Costa, 1997), the U.K. (Gale & Naylor, 2002; Gale, 2004; Naylor & Ryan, 2002; Nye, 2001), Germany (Heine, 2001) and Australia (Dunn, 2001; Sandercock & Kliger, 1998a; Sandercock & Kliger, 1998b) document opposition to minority religious community, often Muslim, efforts to establish religious facilities.

While recent urban scholarship has begun to explore relationships between religion, culture and urban development, many questions remain. In general terms, relationships between religion and immigration are not well understood (Biles & Ibrahim, 2005; Bramadat, 2005; Bramadat & Seljak, 2005; Ebaugh & Chafetz, 2000). Despite the empirical record of immigrant-related land use conflict,[5] we know relatively little about the experiences of recent immigrant communities (including religious ones) through the development process. Nor do

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[3] Other issues include ethnic retail, housing, neighbourhood design, recreation and leisure services, heritage planning and management.

[4] Following Moore Milroy and Wallace (Moore Milroy & Wallace, 2002; Moore Milroy & Wallace, 2004), I will use the term ethnoracial in this thesis to refer to immigrant-related diversity. I prefer this term because it draws attention to two key dimensions of difference for recent immigrants – ethnicity and race. Although biologically, the term "race" is an insignificant category, it remains socially salient, and for many, the outcome of its salience continues to be detrimental, as evidenced by numerous studies of the past decade (Henry, Tator, Mattis, & Rees, 2000; Kazemipur & Halli, 2001; Lian & Matthews, 1998; Omidvar & Richmond, 2003; Ornstein, 2002).

[5] In addition to place of worship described earlier, several other land use conflicts have been documented in Canada: Asian theme malls (Preston & Lo, 2000; Wang, 1999), the Vancouver "monster" or mega-home debate (Ley, 1995; Ley, 2000; Ley, 2005; Li, 1994; Mitchell, 2004; Ray, Halseth, & Johnson, 1997; Smart & Smart, 1996) and issues over location of funeral homes (City of Mississauga, 2001; City of Ottawa, 1999; Fong, 1997; Paper, 1997; Smith, 2001; Smith, 2000).

we understand how the development experiences of different religious and cultural communities compare with one another. In the area of planning practice, the multicultural planning literature argues for greater multicultural awareness and sensitivity in professional planning practice (Burayidi, 2000b; Qadeer, 1997; Qadeer, 2001; Moore Milroy and Wallace 2004; Sandercock, 1998a; Sandercock, 2003; Thomas, 1997; Thomas, 2000a), yet the complex relationships between culture and land use are not well-documented or understood. The bulk of this literature provides a solid foundation of general principles to follow, yet more research is needed to provide practitioners with substantive direction on how to attain the goals advocated by multicultural planning scholars.

In an effort to address some of these gaps, this study explored the development experience of religious communities from five religions: Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism, Islam and Sikhism, in three suburban communities of the Greater Toronto Area: Mississauga, Brampton and Markham. The key objectives of the study were to compare experiences across minority religious groups in order to explore development issues, to better understand relationships between religion, culture and land use, and to examine municipal planning implications of and responses to religious diversity. While Qadeer and Chaudhry's (2000) study of mosque development in the late 1990s documented relatively positive development experiences in the Greater Toronto Area, reports of discord and strife from the other Canadian and international place of worship studies (cited above) suggested that such a multi-religious study would also reveal adversarial experiences of development.

The study findings portray stories of development experiences characterized by adaptation rather than conflict. In comparison with some of the more strident stories of blatant or thinly veiled xeno- or Islamaphobia (Dunn, 2001; Eck, 2001; Gale & Naylor, 2002; Johnson & Costa, 1997; Isin & Siemiatycki, 1999; McLellan & White, 2004), the narratives told in this study were quite tame. Instead, this study describes involved and nuanced stories about the development process in which many recent immigrant, minority religious communities participate. The findings highlight the inter-woven complexities and challenges of establishing these significant religious, cultural and social institutions, difficulties that cannot be easily teased apart to isolate one or two problematic variables.

In this way, the study findings accord with the recent urban literature on difference which argues that urban experiences of difference are simultaneously produced by

structuring processes of political-economy and socially constructed by multi-faceted, changing subjects (Bridge & Watson, 2003; Eade & Mele, 2002; Jacobs & Fincher, 1998; Low, 1996). Findings show that minority place of worship development is constrained by suburban form, land use planning policy and land economics. At the same time, these constraints are differentially mediated by the resources and strategies of religious communities. Religion and culture play a role in the needs and experiences of place of worship development, but high or unconventional needs are not necessarily tied to challenging development experiences.

The study recommendations build upon the current normative literature in the broader field of multicultural planning. I argue that the common prescriptions set forward by multicultural planning advocates, such as improved cultural knowledge and communication in policy development and implementation are not sufficient to address the challenges of urban planning and management amidst religious and ethnoracial diversity. The study findings suggest that proponents of multicultural planning need to approach the challenges of diversity strategically, to reconsider points, means and agents of intervention. Study recommendations call for a return to the role of the planning expert, to proactively address key land use planning issues such as transportation planning and land use conflict before problems occur. Such a move would concomitantly benefit all community residents, not only those belonging to religious communities. This is because two of the more challenging dimensions of place of worship development: transportation planning and neighbour relations, are issues common to suburban land use development, regardless of the religion, ethnicity or race of the participants. Recommendations also suggest that multicultural planning must be a collective project, requiring the involvement of many actors, including urban academics, immigrant communities and their advocates, political and community leadership as well as urban practitioners both inside and outside of the municipal planning department.

Thus this study contributes to the broader project outlined by Graham and Healey (1999), to abandon the static, object-centred, Euclidean perspectives of the city still held by many urban planning practitioners. They exhort planners to replace this out-moded approach with an understanding of place that recognizes relational conceptualizations and addresses the underlying relations and processes, the multiple meanings of space and time, the

generation of power geometries and the active negotiation of these power geometries "by the power of agency through communication and interpretation" (Graham and Healey 1999, p. 642). As such, this study investigates one such newly emerging layer of meanings, relations and processes by recent immigrant religious communities. At the same time, the study attempts to carry through its findings to examine how they might be translated into the effective planning and management of the multicultural city.

1.1.   *Place of worship development and multicultural planning*

The point of departure for this research was the intersection between 1) increasing urban ethnoracial diversity and 2) urban development. As an urban planning academic, I approached the urban development through only one lens: urban land use planning. This allowed me to focus on a particular set of questions and variables. However, I have taken this approach with the recognition that urban planners are only one of many, and certainly not the most powerful of actors in the complex social, political and economic systems that determine urban development.

Urban planning itself is by no means a simple term. Urban planning generally refers to a broad, multidisciplinary group of professionals (Hodge, 1998). The orthodox urban planner deals primarily with land use issues, through policy and implementation of urban land development. However, as with many professions, there is no standard job description of a municipal planner and most deal with a wide variety of projects and issues that combine and transcend the boundaries of traditional academic subject fields. Furthermore, there is significant professional and academic discourse regarding the appropriate role of the planner (*e.g.* Gunton, 1984 which has yet to yield universal consensus.

There are four Canadian studies that have examined planning issues related to places of worship. Two of these studies examined Muslim communities in Toronto (Isin & Siemiatycki, 1999; Qadeer & Chaudhry, 2000) and the third touches upon general issues related to minority religious community place of worship development in Montréal, but focuses its in-depth analysis on orthodox Jewish neighbourhoods (Germain & Gagnon, 2003; Gagnon & Germain, 2004). The fourth examines the experience of a Laotian Buddhist community in Caledon, a municipality in the ex-urban fringe of the Greater Toronto Area and examines the role of social capital in the development of the temple (McLellan & White,

2004). As with other cases related to ethno-cultural diversity (Qadeer, 1997; Moore Milroy & Wallace, 2002; Wallace & Frisken, 2000), scholars in three of these studies noted that planners reacted in an *ad hoc* manner to issues arising from land use conflict related to places of worship. Qadeer and Chaudhry (2000) and Isin and Siemiatycki (1999) find that while not well-prepared to deal with newcomer places of worship, current planning practice has not prevented the building of any mosques. In contrast, Germain and Gagnon's (2003) preliminary findings of 16 cases in Montreal show that over the last 10 years, there have been multiple refusals to permit building as well as many zoning barriers to the construction or renovation of places of worship. Three of the studies also demonstrate the critical role that neighbourhood social, and particularly ethnic relations play in the ways in which planning issues related to places of worship Germain & Gagnon, 2003; Isin & Siemiatycki, 1999; McLellan & White, 2004). Germain and Gagnon further highlight the political and economic factors in effect when places of worship, a tax-exempt land-use, are seen to threaten valuable land in short supply.

The place of worship literature sits within the broader, relatively recent multicultural planning literature. In response to rapidly diversifying, immigrant-receiving cities across Western nations, scholars have examined the need for greater sensitivity to this burgeoning diversity. In their arguments supporting ethnoracially sensitive planning, planning scholars and practitioners assert two key premises (Sandercock, 1998b; Qadeer, 1997; Qadeer, 2001; Burayidi, 2000b; Moore Milroy & Wallace, 2002; Wallace, 1999; Wallace, 2000; Thomas & Krishnarayan, 1994a; Thomas, 2000a; Royal Town Planning Institute & Commission for Racial Equality, 1984). First, as servants of the public domain, planners must consider and address the needs and values of all community members, including ethnoracial minorities. This public duty means that planners should maintain fair and accessible planning processes that facilitate inter-cultural communication and overcome racial or ethnic discrimination. Second, planning practice should reflect multiculturalism.[6] Human rights arguments have been forwarded by several scholars in support of both equitable treatment (Fenster, 1999b;

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[6] For example, Kymlicka's liberal theory of multiculturalism argues that because no state is culturally neutral and because autonomous individuals require membership and maintenance of their own culture, a liberal state must facilitate access to societal culture, in order to provide freedom of choice (Kymlicka, 1997; Kymlicka, 1995; Kymlicka, 1998).

Fenster, 1999a), and in the case of Canada's Charter of Rights and Freedoms and federal policy, multiculturalism (Bennet, 2003; Wallace & Moore Milroy, 1999).

Multiculturalism can be defined as "a doctrine and corresponding set of practices that officially acknowledge and promote a society in which diversity is defined as legitimate or integral" (Fleras and Elliot 1999, p. 438). Implicit in the advocacy of a multicultural approach to urban planning is the idea that planning practice control aspects of the material world that have a significant impact on how individuals and communities *live out* their culture. Therefore, through the consideration and integration of cultural needs and values into planning policy and practice, planners can facilitate or allow the development of a *spatial* multiculturalism.

The empirical literature related to issues of planning and ethnocultural diversity can be categorized by three approaches, which in turn describe three different phenomena of concern. The first approach identifies specific cultural needs of ethnocultural groups that are not currently addressed in planning policy and practice (Qadeer, 1997; Qadeer, 2001; Qadeer, 1994; Qadeer *et al.*, 2000; Sandercock, 1998b; 1998; Sandercock, 1996; Sandercock, 2000; Sandercock, 2002; Sandercock & Klinger, 1998a; Sandercock & Klinger, 1998b; Sandercock, 1997; Ameyaw, 2000; 2000; Burayidi, 2000a; Burayidi, 2000b; Burayidi, 2003; Dinero, 2000; Meyer & Reaves, 2000; Sen, 2000; Stein & Harper, 2000; Wallace, 1999; Wallace, 2000; Wallace *et al.*, 1999; Fraser, 2000; Bennet, 2003; Watson & McGillivray, 1995). This perspective identifies the ways in which current practice supports the mainstream cultural paradigm to which minority groups must adapt. When conflicts and issues arise, the source of the problem is cultural difference. Scholars in this perspective identify the ways practice can accommodate or be more flexible towards different ways of knowing and being in Canadian society. In planning, cultural issues have arisen in areas of neighbourhood design, housing, retail/ commercial services, transportation, places of worship, heritage preservation, parks and open space planning, and manufacturing (Hoernig, 2003). These areas are the mainstay of planning practice. In this respect, land use issues or conflicts are not unique to ethnoracially diverse communities; every community must negotiate and contest various interests and values. The critical question here is whether or not Canada's espoused multiculturalism policy extends to spatial manifestation of multiculturalism.

The second group of issues arises not as a result of cultural difference, but rather because of the participants' membership in a particular social group: ethnic, religious, and racial or all three. In such cases, the issue is not that of unmet cultural needs. Instead, problems that arise are reflective of broader tensions and conflicts between ethnic, religious and/or racial groups. In this set of issues, problems occur because membership in one or more of these social groups results in a negative outcome or effect. In planning practice, the concern is that members or communities of racial or ethnic minorities face greater barriers, endure longer delays or experience poor treatment solely because of their social membership. This treatment can occur both within and outside of the planning profession. Advocates of this perspective insist that both sources should be of concern to public sector planners, as key facilitators of and actors in the planning process (Madden, 1981; Thomas, 2000c; Thomas, 1993; Thomas & Krishnarayan, 1994c; Thomas, 1997; Thomas *et al.*, 1994a; Thomas & Krishnarayan, 1994b; Thomas, 1994; Thomas, 2000b; Thomas, 2000a; Ahmed & Booth, 1994; Royal Town Planning Institute *et al.*, 1984; Bollens, 1996; Ratcliffe, 1999; Ratcliffe, 1998).

The third approach brings together the previous two perspectives and analyzes the finely-textured nature of identity and its implications. In this conceptualization, it is the intersections of several characteristics of identity (*e.g.* visible minority, single parent woman) that constitute the kinds of "difference" that have impact on how marginalized people negotiate their lives (Fincher, 2003; Jacobs, 1998; Jacobs *et al.*, 1998; Pratt, 1998).

It is critical to make these distinctions at the forefront, and to carry them through the research exercise, not only because each describes a different set of interacting variables but also because each demands a different response from planning practice, education and research. In the Canadian literature, there are now four exemplar cases of land use conflict relating to ethnic diversity that highlight the importance of these distinctions: monster homes in Vancouver (Ley, 2000; Li, 1994; Lee, 2002; Ameyaw, 2000), Asian theme malls in Toronto (Qadeer, 1997; Qadeer, 1998; Wang, 1999; Preston & Lo, 2000), funeral homes (Smith, 2001; Smith, 2000; Qadeer, 1997) and places of worship (Isin & Siemiatycki, 1999; Qadeer & Chaudhry, 2000; Germain & Gagnon, 2003).[7] All four cases involve some cultural

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[7] The international literature also reports on places of worship conflict (Sandercock & Kliger, 1998a; 1998b) as well as ethnic retail (Woulds, 1994; Muller, 2001), street vending and hot food takeaways (Thomas,

conflict in land use. Unharmonious ethnic relations are also implicated in each case. However, none of these studies compare different ethnic or racial groups to examine the significance of ethnic or race relations. Furthermore, none has examined the ways in which these conflicts compare to other types of land use conflict. This question - what is different about planning issues related to ethno-cultural diversity - is a critical step in developing a better understanding of these issues, and in determining what planners need to do to address them.

Lee's (2002) findings show some progress in this direction. Her study of Vancouver's neighbourhood visioning process finds that in many cases, recent immigrant communities hold neighbourhood or community values that do not differ substantially from those of long term Canadian residents. However, her findings also point out several areas such as community services, transportation, housing, and recreation, where the preferred means by which these values are realized, diverge from Anglo- or Euro-Canadian cultural norms.

Interestingly, while the empirical literature has not drawn clear distinctions between cultural, ethnic and racial issues, the prescriptive literature does provide direction for dealing with these two sets of issues. Advocates of culturally sensitive planning lay out several directions for development and change: 1) a better understanding of the cultural foundations of planning practice and institutions, 2) improved inter-cultural communication, 3) sensitivity to alternate epistemologies, 4) training and professional development in cultural education, and 5) recognition and accommodation of ethno-culturally specific needs in policy and implementation tools and strategies (Sandercock, 1998b; Moore Milroy & Wallace, 2002; Wallace & Moore Milroy, 1999; Qadeer, 1997; Qadeer, 2001; 2000; Burayidi, 2003; Fraser, 2000; Woulds, 1994; Wang, 1999). These are deemed necessary in order to identify and negotiate the ways in which current planning practice can be more flexible in addressing cultural needs.

Proponents of greater attention to racial and ethnic discrimination do not require changes to specific policies or practice in terms of technical issues, design features, land use policy or implementation tools. In order to address discrimination, scholars emphasize

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1994; Sandercock, 1996; Sen, 2000), heritage (Sen, 2000; Sandercock *et al.*, 1998b; Dubrow, 1998; Majury, 1994; Neill & Schwedler, 2001; Neill, 2001), small-scale manufacturing (Watson & McGillivray, 1995) urban renewal (Khakee & Thomas, 1995; Khakee, Somma, & Thomas, 1999), urban parks and public space planning (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1995; Low *et al.*, 2005).

professional development and training, equality auditing, changes in human resources policy and the monitoring of planning practice to assess ethnic or racial differences in application refusal rates (Royal Town Planning Institute & Commission for Racial Equality, 1984; Ahmed & Booth, 1994; Chapman, 1994; Davies, 1995; Thomas, 2000a; Khakee *et al.*, 1995).

Germain and Gagnon's (2003) recent findings highlight the importance of this distinction. They describe a situation in which numerous place of worship applications have been refused in Montreal. The factors influencing these refusals included general uncertainty on how to deal with the high volume of applications for places of worship and concern for municipal tax revenue and the historic preservation of existing unused heritage churches. None of these factors is related to any particular cultural need of religious communities that sits outside current planning practice in Montreal. Rather, the situation relates to the ability of ethno-religious communities to equal access to the same social infrastructure that is readily available to dominant religious communities. This case points to the need for fair treatment, not cultural accommodation.

Two further examples are illustrative of a careful analysis of issues related to ethnic diversity: Li's portrayal of the "monster homes" debate in Vancouver (Li, 1994) and Edgington's analysis of Chinese opposition to the siting of group homes (Edgington, 2002. Here the cases have been analyzed from both cultural and racial conflict perspectives. However, their analysis does not include a comparison with land use applications or conflicts where there is no striking difference in racial or ethnic composition of the communities in question. In all three cases, Germain and Gagnon's places of worship study, as well as the "monster homes" and group home siting debates, this type of comparison would be fruitful and would bring the multicultural planning discourse into the broader discussion of the capacity for change in planning practice. In this respect, a broader comparison of planning issues related to ethno-cultural diversity with a) the efforts of "radical" projects such as feminists, environmentalists, or poverty advocates and b) those of more mainstream ones such as downtown housing or mixed use development, may illustrate the conservative nature of planning and from a political-economy perspective, its sensitivity to power. For example, Ley's (2000; 2005) analysis of the "monster home" debate in Vancouver asserts that the Chinese community's capacity to mobilize politically allowed it to participate in and influence planning processes and outcomes.

1.2. Research Problem

This research sits at the intersection between applied, policy research and empirical work oriented towards conceptual concerns. The research questions can be summarized by three inter-related concerns: first, the empirical documentation of development experience of recent immigrant religious communities, second, the planning influence of and response to place of worship development and third, the understanding of what implications may arise from these changes. This study also sits within the literature related to planning and difference. I examined the intersection of two dimensions of difference – religion and ethnicity. Within this area, I investigated immigrant, religious communities (comprised of recent immigrants from other-than European ethnic groups, primarily from minority religions). Here, I explored one planning issue: places of worship development (See Figure 1-2).

1.2.1. Research objectives

Several objectives were formulated for this study. They were:

1. To document and understand experience of recent immigrant religious communities in the development of places of worship
2. To compare the development experiences of Buddhist, Christian, Hindu, Muslim and Sikh communities
3. To examine the relationships between religion and culture, land use patterns and land use planning issues.
4. To document and explore land use planning implications of and municipal responses to recent immigrant place of worship development.

1.2.2. Research questions

The study objectives were pursued through the following research questions:

1. What have been the experiences of recent immigrant religious communities in the development of their places of worship?
   a. What are the spatial needs of religious and cultural practices of their communities?
   b. (How) do these needs differ among religious communities?
   c. How do religious communities address their needs to create religious and cultural space?
   d. How does municipal planning practice influence place of worship development?

2. (How) has municipal planning practice responded to recent immigrant place of worship development?

3. What are the municipal planning implications of minority place of worship development?

Figure 1-2: Places of worship research within the field of planning and difference
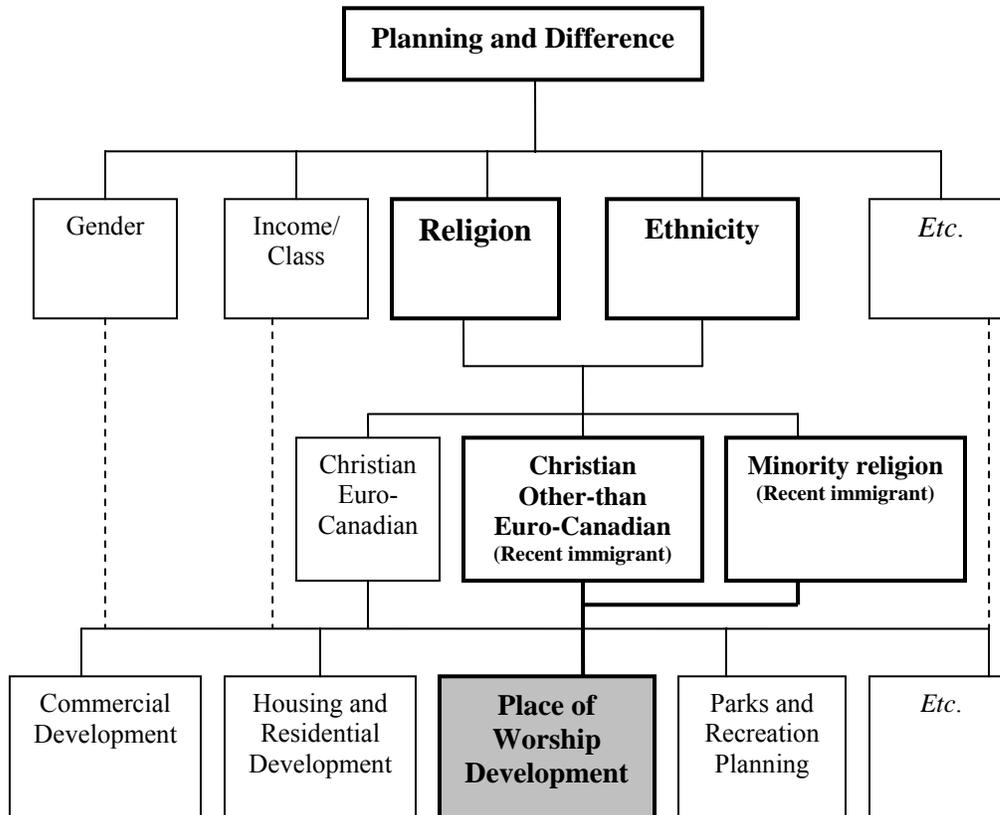
1.3. *Thesis outline*

This thesis has eight chapters. This chapter has outlined the research problem, summarizing the urban planning literature related to ethnoracial diversity. Chapter two explores the literature and examines the development experience of recent immigrants. It reviews the planning response in both theory and practice. It also presents the conceptual framework for the study.

Chapter three outlines the data collection methods used to approach this study, provides a rationale for the method used, and describes the approach to analysis. A qualitative research approach was used in this study. The study area was comprised of three communities: Mississauga, Brampton and Markham. Data collection methods included visual surveys, participation observation, key informant interviews, and archival research.

Chapter four provides the policy context of place of worship development. It first examines the policy context related to suburbanization. Second, it reviews policy related to ethnic, racial and religious diversity, looking at the role of multiculturalism and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms at federal, provincial and local levels. Next, it presents study findings on the local municipal place of worship policy context for the three study municipalities: Mississauga, Brampton and Markham.

Chapter five presents the study findings on the spatial needs of Buddhist, Christian, Hindu, Muslim and Sikh communities by examining religion, culture and the organization of space, time and social activities.

Chapter six presents study findings related to the religious community experiences of place of worship development. It begins with the chronological presentation of religious community experiences and issues, through the development process. Next, it examines religious community coping strategies. Third, it presents three sets of three religious community respondent narratives of their development experience. Finally, it discusses the research findings of the development experience, in relation to the study's conceptual framework.

Chapter seven explores the implications for planning policy and practice. It begins presenting study findings on land use implications. Next, it discusses implications for planning policy and practice, examining religious community experience of development within the broader context of multicultural planning. It provides several recommendations for future planning practice.

Chapter eight concludes the study, summarizing study findings, outlining its empirical and conceptual contributions, and providing several directions for future research.

Chapter 2: <u>Immigrant communities and the urban development experience</u>

2.1. *Introduction*

This chapter develops the conceptual foundations of this study through four sections. First it describes the social geographical context of the study, briefly outlining the urban profile of Canadian immigration, highlighting important trends that have contributed to the formation of religious minority communities examined in this study. Second, it provides an overview of the empirical record of the urban development experience of minority religious communities and other immigrant individuals and groups. Third, it further examines the current literature regarding the urban planning responses, both academic and professional, to ethnoracial diversity. From this review, the chapter finally introduces the conceptual framework used to orient the remainder of the study.

2.2. *Canadian immigration and urban settlement*

An important component of the broader context of the study lies in the urban geography of immigration because immigration has been the major source of growing Canadian urban religious diversity. Three major trends describe Canadian immigration of the past three decades: population growth, concentration (settlement) and ethnic diversity (Li, 2003; Beaujot, 1999). Annual immigration intake since 1990 has averaged 220 000 (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2001). Immigration currently accounts for more than half of Canada's population growth (Li, 2003), although this growth has not significantly altered the Canadian population in terms of fertility, mortality, age or sex structure (Beaujot, 1999). Immigration by census metropolitan area (CMA) shows substantial urban concentration of immigrant settlement, with 85 per cent of all immigrants found in Canada's 25 CMAs (Wallace & Frisken, 2000). Fifteen CMAs host proportions of foreign-born populations higher than 15 per cent (Statistics Canada, 2003b). The highest numbers of foreign-born populations occur in the three largest CMAs, Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver. Trends in immigration by country of origin show a huge shift from the dominance of European, particularly British immigrants pre-1960 to the current trends in which more than half of immigrants come from Asia, Latin American and Africa (Li, 2003; Beaujot, 1999). One important outcome of this shift in country of origin has been the rise in the proportion of

visible minority populations, from 6.3% of the Canadian population in 1986 to 13.4% in 2001 (Li, 2003; Statistics Canada, 2003b). Other important urban trends include differing proportions of immigrant types and origins (*e.g.* See Table 2-1). This uneven national distribution of immigrants and of immigrant type across the Canadian urban system has had important implications for regional growth, the distribution of labour, the provision of settlement services, local community dynamics and many other integration issues.

Table 2-1: Inflow statistics to Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver CMA

Inflow by class 1981-95 % distribution	Toronto	Montreal	Vancouver
Family Class	42	31	37
Refugee Class	12	12	7
Economic Class	38	49	48
Inflow by region 2000 % distribution	Toronto	Montreal	Vancouver
Africa & Middle East	16.1	29.7	9.8
Asia and Pacific	59.1	31.3	73.5
Europe & UK	15.3	25.2	10.7

Source: (Citizenship and Immigration Canada & Informetrica Limited, 2001; Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2001))

These trends have resulted in two key impacts on the Canadian urban system. First, immigration has resulted in the rapid change in demographic composition of large metropolitan areas and an unbalanced distribution of immigrant settlement across the system. Toronto and Vancouver stand out as the two CMAs with not only the higher proportions of foreign-born residents (43.7 and 37.5 respectively in 2001) but also the highest growth since 1991 (5.7 and 7.4 % respectively). A second tier of metropolitan regions has proportions between 20 and 25%,[8] none of which have grown by more than 2% between 1991 and 2001. A third tier of regions has foreign born proportions between 15% and 20%, again, none of which have increased between 1991 and 2001 by more than 2% and many of which have seen their foreign-born proportions declining (Statistics Canada: 2003).[9]

The second impact is increase in ethnoracial diversity of urban communities. In general, immigrant origins have changed dramatically in the period from 1960 to present day, as illustrated in Figure 2-1. Before the 1980s, the majority of immigrants came from Britain

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[8] Hamilton, 23.6%, Windsor, 22.3%, Kitchener,22.1%, Abbotsford , 21.8%, and Calgary, 20.9% (Statistics Canada: 2003)

[9] These are London, 18.8%, Victoria, 18.8%, Montréal, 18.4%, Edmonton, 17.8%, St. Catharine's-Niagara, 17.8%, Ottawa-Hull, 17.6%, Winnipeg, 16.5%, and Oshawa (15.7%) (Statistics Canada: 2003).

and Europe (67%). In the period of 1991-1996, this proportion had reduced to 21%, and 56% now came from Asia. Through this period, immigration from the Middle East and Africa also increased from four to ten percent.
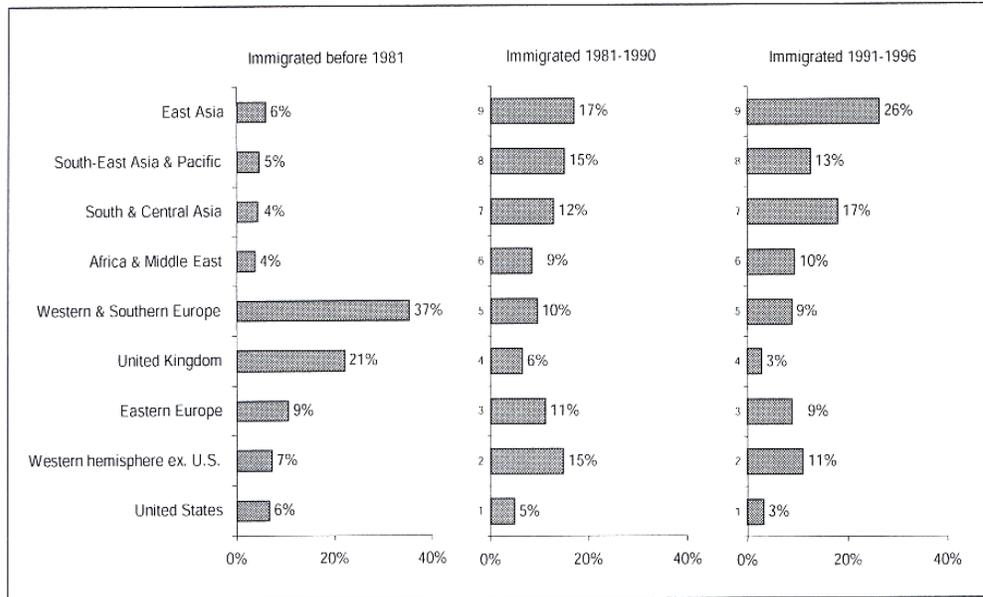
Figure 2-1: World regions of birth of Canada's immigrants by period of landing, Canada 1996

The impact of this shift has been felt unevenly across Canadian urban regions. Again, Toronto and Vancouver CMAs have the highest proportions of visible minorities (36.9% and 36.8% respectively in 2001) and highest growth rates during the 1991 to 2001 period (12.9% and 11% respectively). Cities within these regions have even higher proportions many approaching or surpassing "minority" status. For example, Richmond and Markham host visible majorities at 59% and 55.5% respectively. All other urban regions have visible minority populations below 18% of their total populations. The ethnic profiles of immigrant receiving communities vary considerably, in terms of diversity and proportions. For example, for the immigrant cohort arriving during the 1990s, Montréal's largest communities are from Haiti, China, Algeria and France, Kitchener's are from Yugoslavia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Romania and China, Toronto's largest groups are from China, India, the Philippines and Hong Kong, and Vancouver's are from China, Hong Kong, Taiwan and India (Statistics Canada: 2003). This brief snapshot illustrates that even foreign-born or visible-minority statistics conceal tremendous diversity of settlement patterns across the national urban system.

Urban concentration in large metropolitan regions and increased ethnoracial diversity are directly related to increased urban religious diversity which is similarly concentrated in urban areas (Statistics Canada, 2003a). During the 1990s, 32% of the 1.8 million new immigrants belonged to four minority religions: 15% to Islam, 7% to Hinduism, and 5% to Buddhism and Sikhism (Statistics Canada, 2003a, p. 8). Table 2-2 compares the populations and percentage distribution of selected religious communities in three CMAs highlighting comparing the relative size of minority religious communities to three Christian communities. Table 2-3 shows population change for the decade 1991 to 2001 in five CMAs and illustrates the rapid recent growth of minority communities relative to the growth (or decline) of three Christian communities, to the sector of the population claiming no religion and to the population increase of the CMAs as a whole.

Table 2-2: Population of selected religions for selected CMAs 2001 (20% sample)

	Toronto		Montréal		Vancouver	
		% distribution		% distribution		% distribution
Total population	4,647,955	100	3,380,640	100	1,967,475	100
Roman Catholic	1,553,710	33.4	2,510,335	74.3	360,620	18.3
No religion	770,850	16.6	250,600	7.4	676,175	34.4
United Church	320,880	6.9	32,530	1.0	149,295	7.6
Adventist	22,195	0.5	5,855	0.2	3,275	0.2
Muslim	254,110	5.5	100,185	3.0	52,590	2.7
Jewish	164,510	3.5	88,765	2.6	17,275	0.9
Buddhist	97,170	2.1	37,835	1.1	74,550	3.8
Hindu	191,305	4.1	24,075	0.7	27,410	1.4
Sikh	90,590	1.9	7,930	0.2	99,005	5.0

Table 2-3: Percentage change 1991-2001 selected religions for selected CMAs 2001 (20% sample data)

	Toronto	Montréal	Vancouver	Ottawa-Hull	Kitchener
Total population	20.1	6.6	24.2	13.9	16.0
Roman Catholic	14.1	1.6	18.4	7.8	13.2
No religion	39.3	51.0	39.1	48.3	62.2
United Church	-10.1	-17.4	-16.1	-3.2	1.8
Adventist	49.5	41.6	28.4	57.9	-18.4
Muslim	139.8	143.0	125.4	136.7	137.2
Jewish	8.8	-8.2	19.7	14.2	28.8
Buddhist	100.8	35.3	135.6	65.6	66.0
Hindu	112.2	74.8	84.2	69.1	46.0
Sikh	118.5	103.3	99.5	67.9	111.8

2.3.   The development experience

The next section examines the empirical findings of the urban literature describing development experiences of immigrant and minority religious communities. In particular, this review focuses on those studies which recount how individuals and communities experience the process of planning, renovating, building and/or expanding a physical structure in the city. It also analyzes the findings to examine how scholars identify and investigate relationships between key variables influential in the ways in which development experiences unfold.

It is important to first contextualize the development experience of recent immigrants within the broader immigrant experience. Observers of immigrant settlement and integration have noted the multiple challenges that immigrants face upon arrival in Canadian cities. Immigrants must find housing, secure employment, acquire or improve language skills, upgrade their education or obtain Canadian professional credentials, access health care, help their children settle into schools and adjust to Canadian society, and cope with the general social and individual challenges of adapting to a foreign culture, a different climate and a new urban environment (Mwarigha, 2002; Omidvar & Richmond, 2003). For refugees fleeing dangerous or violent circumstances these challenges are further compounded by their need for psychological and emotional recovery. The entire immigrant settlement process occurs in at least two phases (Canadian Council for Refugees, 1998). The first phase, settlement, is the initial period during which immigrants acclimatize to their new surroundings, find work and housing, and adapt to a new way of life. The second phase, integration, refers to the long-term process through which immigrants gradually come to participate fully in all aspects of society.

Empirical findings of the economic integration of recent immigrants, while mixed in their results, generally show that for many, particularly visible minorities, this process can be difficult. Earlier work such as Porter's (1965) vertical mosaic thesis argued that for the period of 1931-1961, occupational stratification favoured first the British, second the French, and all other ethnic groups distributed below. Lian and Matthews' (1998) update in 1995 indicated that race rather than ethnicity has been a major factor in disadvantage for Canadians. Ley and Smith (1997) examined the underclass thesis in Canada and assert that socio-economic variables, rather than ethnic or racial ones, are the primary determinants of

disadvantage. While they remain cautious about the extent of increasing inequality, Bourne and Rose (2001) concluded that economic restructuring, in addition to demographic change and shifts in living arrangements, leave immigrants at a disadvantage, particularly those most vulnerable groups. Others have documented that over the last decade, immigrant labour market rewards have decreased (Reitz, 2001; Human Resources Development Canada, 2001), while immigrant poverty has increased (Kazemipur & Halli, 2001; Basavarajappa & Jones, 1999; Ornstein, 2002).[10] Omidvar and Richmond's (2003) review of research charting immigrant economic status is pessimistic, citing deteriorating immigrant economic performance in rates of unemployment and underemployment, poverty and income discrimination for visible minorities.

The shifting role of religion in Canadian society is also a significant contextual dimension influencing the experiences of recent immigrant religious communities. While Canada is purportedly a secular society, scholars have observed that until the mid-twentieth century, Christianity was Canada's shadow establishment (Van Die, 2002) with considerable influence from both Protestant and Roman Catholic churches in social and political life. Despite this influence, religious studies scholars have noted two important trends in the secularization of Canadian society over the past century. The first trend is the dramatic decline in active participation in religious institutions, as evidenced by weekly church attendance, (for example, from 67% in 1946 to 35% in 1986 (Bibby, 1987 p. 17) and the corresponding increase of persons claiming no religious affiliation, nationally now at 16% (Statistics Canada, 2003b). The second trend, unlike in the United States, has been the wholesale absence of religion in major Canadian public policy debates in recent decades (Van Die, 2002; Biles & Ibrahim, 2005). It is within this context that immigrant religious communities enter a new society and embark upon the consequent processes of the "renegotiation and transformation of religious identity, beliefs and values" (Bramadat and Seljak, 2005, p. 226).

Finally, several general characteristics of urban change, land-use issues and conflict are also notable to the context of the recent immigrant religious community development

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[10] Ornstein's (2002, p.97) study of ethnoracial inequality in Toronto based on 1996 data reveals that the incidence of poverty in non-European ethnoracial groups is much higher than European ethnoracial ones (36.9 percent of all families are non-European, and yet they account for 58.9 percent of all poor families).

experience. Change is a constant feature of urban communities. Even without immigration shifting demographic patterns, domestic and intra-urban migration, and various other socio-economic factors in addition to broader economic, political and environmental dynamics, interact and result in urban change. The outcomes of these changes include the turnover, infill or expansion of residential neighbourhoods, the (re)development of commercial and industrial areas, the creation of physical and social infrastructure, and the shifts in the spectrum of social needs, values and demands. The combination of these social and land-use changes leads to the development of new land-use planning policies practices and in many cases, land-use conflict (Forester, 1989; Susskind & Cruikshank, 1997). Immigration adds yet another dimension of complexity to this cauldron of urban change, expanding the spectrum of needs and values of urban residents. But land-use conflict is by no means unique to immigration-induced effects.

2.3.1. Religious community experiences

The empirical record of recent immigrant religious community experiences of place of worship development spans many immigrant-receiving nations, namely Canada, the U.K., Australia, Western Europe and the United States. In general, the relationship between religion and immigration settlement and integration has been poorly documented and understood, despite decades of research into the American and Canadian immigrant experience (Ebaugh & Chafetz, 2000b; Warner & Wittner, 1998), although over the past five years more scholarship has emerged in this area (Bramadat, 2005; Bramadat & Seljak, 2005; McLellan, 1999; Nye, 2001; Beattie & Ley, 2001; Hirschman, 2004). Smith observed that for many, immigration is an intensely "theologizing experience" (Smith, 1978) as people struggle to cope with the inevitable disorientation that so often accompanies settlement and integration processes. In home countries, religion is taken for granted. The immigration experience forces newcomers to re-examine their relationships to their belief and value systems, including their faith, and in this way religion often takes on a more prominent role in life of immigrants than it had in the previous life in the homeland (Ebaugh and Chafetz, 2000, p. 18).

For many immigrants, religious institutions become key sites for access to practical as well as social and emotional support for the day-to-day problems of adapting to the host society (Min, 2002; Beattie & Ley, 2001; Ebaugh & Chafetz 2000b). Ebaugh and Chafetz

(2000, p. 18) have also observed the role that religion plays in the maintenance and reproduction of ethnic identity; "religious rituals, with their symbolic re-enactments of and ties with tradition, often serve as primary mechanisms for the reproduction of culture," including the dynamics of second generation identity renegotiation.

One important way in which these three elements - immigrant support, ethnic identity and second generation relations - are played out in the development of recent immigrant places of worship has been through the expansion of functions played by these institutions. Ebaugh and Chafetz (2000, p. 358-361) have conceptualized this expansion through the community centre model of places of worship. This idealized model occurs when in addition to religious rituals, study and education, a religious community has 1) communal celebration of secular holidays; 2) provision of secular services (native culture and language, GED, ESL, citizenship); 3) formal provision of mundane services for members (financial planning, job listings, health services, emergency financial, food, housing aid, counselling/self-help *etc.*); 4) recreational facilities and; 5) a community hall for social activities. The findings of Ebaugh and Chafetz (2000) study of 13 religious communities in Houston shows that few communities meet all five components of the model, but rather provide varying combinations of services from the five areas.

The research addressing place of worship development can be sub-divided into three main conceptual approaches (discussed in further detail in Section 2.6). One area, more closely aligned with the orientation of this research, examined at least in part, municipal planning approaches and responses to minority place of worship development. Here scholars examined how municipal planning has responded (positively or negatively) to the needs of religious community (Chaudhry, 1996; Qadeer & Chaudhry, 2000; Gale & Naylor, 2002; McLellan & White, 2004; Nye, 2001), how municipal conceptualizations of space have shaped the parameters of land use conflict (Gale, 2004) or how they differ from other "investments of meaning" (Kong, 1993, pl 342), specifically those of religious community members. Two studies examined the ways in which municipalities support place of worship development (Waitt, 2003; Gale, 2004).

A second area more broadly addresses the social geography of place of worship development experiences and issues. Here several approaches are taken: urban citizenship (Isin & Siemiatycki, 1999), neighbourhood dynamics (Gagnon & Germain, 2002; Gagnon,

Dansereau, & Germain, 2004; Germain & Gagnon, 2003; Rowley & Haynes, 1990), changes in social and cultural reproduction (Beattie & Ley, 2001; Prorok, 1994), spatial succession processes (Beattie & Ley, 2001; Numrich, 1997), and surveys of changing religious landscapes (Numrich, 1997; Peach & Gale, 2003; Prorok, 1986). The third area is comprised of the growing field within religious studies examining development of immigrant religious communities from more sociological and/or congregational perspectives (Bhardwaj & Rao, 1998; Ebaugh & Chafetz, 2000a; Ebaugh & Chafetz 2000b; Ebaugh, O'Brien, & Chafetz, 2000; Mehta, 2004; Numrich, 1997; Nye, 1993; Vertovec, 1992; Warner, 1998; Warner & Wittner, 1998).

The findings of this body of research offer several relevant insights in relation to the development experience of immigrant religious communities. Only one study has made the entire development process a major focus of the work (Nye, 2001); nonetheless, a number of factors stand out as contributing to both the development experience of recent immigrant religious communities as well as the material outcomes of place of worship development. Overall, several scholars have pointed out that place of worship development is a long-term process that usually includes a number of stages, from temporary locations in homes or rented facilities to the renovation or construction of a more permanent facility (Ebaugh & Chafetz, 2000b; Eck, 2001; Peach & Gale, 2003; Qadeer & Chaudhry, 2000).

Ebaugh and Chafetz (2000) analyzed the neighbourhood location of places of worship from their sample of 13 recent immigrant religious institutions including both Christian and minority religious communities. They examined more broadly the relationships between metropolitan economic changes, residential dispersion patterns of immigrant populations and demographic profiles of neighbourhoods. In particular, they described shifts in Houston's boom-bust, petroleum-based economy, and its impact on residential neighbourhood development, and on neighbourhood composition and change. During the boom periods, middle-class residential neighbourhoods developed quickly and were settled by Caucasian, Euro-American households. During the bust period, the composition of these neighbourhoods shifted with the settlement of recent immigrant families. Ebaugh and Chafetz argued that these factors have affected the location of religious institutions, the size and composition of membership and institutional plans to build or expand a place of worship.

Numrich's (1997) Chicago study of recent immigrant place of worship location cited post-World War II socioeconomic restructuring of the metropolitan region as a major filtering factor in the location of new religious centres. He observed that place of worship siting shadows immigrant settlement patterns, clustered on the north side of the city, and about 60% in suburban locations. But his analysis of locations relative to the median family income levels of these areas also suggested a correlation between certain religious communities and their location in wealthier regions of the city.

Type of community has also been implicated in location decisions. Ebaugh and Chafetz (2000) distinguished between two ideal community forms: parish (McKinney, 1998) and niche (Ammerman, 1997) congregations. Briefly, the parish congregation is characterized as one which is "a geographically defined division of a larger religious body … located in an area where most congregants live" (Ebaugh and Chafetz 2000, p. 24) with social networks based on family and neighbourhood relations. In contrast, the niche congregation draws its dispersed members from a regional area, because of its "specialized identity in terms of ethnicity, style of worship, interests or other tastes" (Ebaugh and Chafetz 2000, p. 25). Ebaugh and Chafetz's findings show that in practice, communities fit along a spectrum between the two types, displaying characteristics of one or the other, or both ideal forms. They use the concept of congregation form to further examine the relationships among the location of a place of worship, the residential location of its congregants and the types of relations the religious community sustains with the residents of its surrounding neighbourhood.

Likewise, in his Chicago study Numrich (2000, p. 62) found that "diffuse settlement and increased mobility typical of suburban immigrant populations have created 'commuter' religious centers that draw much (sometimes all) of their congregations from outside the municipalities in which they are located." He pointed out that 14 suburban municipalities with less than 250 Indian residents each, nonetheless contained Indian religious centres. He contends that this type of suburban location has caused significant hardship for some inner city dwelling congregants, and resulted in the opening of smaller centres within the inner city areas. But relocation of religious centres to suburban locations has also resulted in the secondary residential settlement of community members adjacent to suburban religious facilities.

Several studies have cited cases where location decisions are made because of theological reasons, such as the sacredness of a particular site (Johnson & Costa, 1997; Numrich, 1997; Waitt, 2003; Prorok, 1994; Prorok, 1986) or in order to accommodate prayer within a work environment (Gagnon & Germain, 2002; Numrich, 1997). Prorok (1986; 1994) pointed out the challenges Hindu communities experience finding a location which is simultaneously "god-oriented" and "devotee oriented." Whereas traditional Hindu values of sacredness are associated with natural features such as running water, surrounding forests or pastureland, high elevation like hilltops or mountains, and qualities like remoteness (Prorok 1994, p. 99), the practical realities of North American or Western European life often dictate the importance of other factors such as affordability and accessibility. Affordability, accessibility and appropriate zoning are also factors noted by several scholars in the locating of places of worship (Bhardwaj & Rao, 1998; Johnson & Costa,1997; Numrich, 1997; Numrich, 2000; Sugunasiri, 1989; Tillman & Emmett, 1999).

Various challenges to place of worship development have been documented. Many communities have had difficulties gathering sufficient funds (Gagnon & Germain, 2002; Numrich, 1997; Nye, 2001). Others have struggled to acquire planning permissions (McLellan & Smith, 2004; Nye, 2001; Germain & Gagnon, 2003; Heine, 2001; Isin & Siemiatycki, 1999). For example, during the 1990s, the City of Montréal imposed a moratorium on new place of worship development when the volume of applications exceeded the municipality's capacity to deal them. In a village outside London, an English ISKCON temple fought for 20 years to acquire its planning permissions (Nye 2001). A Laotian Buddhist temple in Caledon, Ontario faced numerous difficulties acquiring planning permissions and had to obey numerous restrictions beyond those required of neighbouring churches. Kong has documented how through an ideology of progress through redevelopment, Singaporean authorities have expropriated land and destroyed existing religious centres when properties were deemed to be needed for other land uses like public housing or urban renewal projects (Kong, 1993).

Several land use planning issues have also been recounted, many of these influential in the difficulties communities have faced in acquiring planning permissions. So-called nuisance issues such as traffic, parking, and noise are commonly reported (Dunn, 2001; Gagnon & Germain, 2002; Germain & Gagnon, 2003; Johnson & Costa, 1997; Nye, 2001;

Gale & Naylor, 2002; Isin & Siemiatycki, 1999; Naylor & Ryan, 2002). Many scholars have documented neighbourhood residents' often xenophobic or discriminatory concerns regarding the relationship between the introduction of a minority place of worship and the subsequent deterioration of neighbourhood amenity, depreciation of property values or undesirable turnover of neighbourhood demographics (Dunn, 2001; Gagnon & Germain, 2002; Gale & Naylor, 2002; Isin & Siemiatycki, 1999; Naylor & Ryan, 2002; Peach & Gale, 2003; Rowley & Haynes, 1990). Fiscal issues were significant in several Montreal municipalities examined in Gagnon's study (Gagnon & Germain, 2002; Gagnon *et al.* 2004; Germain & Gagnon, 2003), where municipal and political arguments have been forwarded regarding lost revenue during place of worship due to tax-free status of the properties as well as questions of who should bear the costs of regional facilities that do not exclusively serve local residents.

For many studies, xenophobia and discrimination appear to be clear factors in the opposition of place of worship development (Dunn, 2001; Isin & Siemiatycki, 1999; McLellan & Smith, 2004). Yet for some others, the factors most relevant to either the emergence or absence of such conflicts are not entirely clear. In several studies the descriptions of data collection methods and empirical detail of the development process are not sufficient to fully understand what factors were involved (Eck, 2001; Johnson & Costa, 1997; Gale & Naylor, 2002; Gale, 2004; Naylor & Ryan, 2002; Peach & Gale, 2003). These studies cite examples of land use conflict related to place of worship development, often quoting inflammatory comments by opposing residents, but provide little further information regarding the nature of the property and proposal, relevant planning policies and regulations, the history of the neighbourhood and of the religious community in the area, or the political and bureaucratic responses to the proposal or to the opposition. These cases are also often single cases in a given municipality, and no comparisons are given to other place of worship developments or planning disputes. As such, it is difficult to assess the severity of situation, particularly since neighbourhood opposition to new development, especially large projects, is not uncommon to land-use planning practice.

In contrast to these negative experiences, several studies have shown that political and municipal agents can also be strong supporters of minority places of worship. Waitt's study tells the story of how the political leadership of Wollongong, Australia's former "rust

city," provided support for the development of a Fo Kuang Shan Buddhist temple, in hopes that as a tourist attraction, it would improve the city's economic prospects. Gale (2004) documented the shift of Birmingham's political orientation to view a new mosque as an important landmark for the city's multicultural image. Similarly, Gale and Naylor's (2002) study of three recent immigrant place of worship developments illustrated how local government financial and verbal support demonstrated the desirability of such projects in jurisdictions where interactions between minority religious communities and local government have been positive.

Several scholars examined municipal government and planning department responses to place of worship development through specific policies or practices. Qadeer and Chaudhry (2000) described planning policy changes that took place in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) during the 1990s, such as the shift to more inclusive wording (place of worship replacing church) and changes in the calculation of parking standards to account for places of worship without pews or chairs. However, they also noted that many other features of Official Plan policy and zoning by-laws in relation to places of worship vary considerably across GTA municipalities. In a similar vein, Germain and Gagnon (2003) charted a series of events over the 1990s during which Montreal region municipalities have used a variety of policy and statutory means to address place of worship development, through zoning by-laws and special permissions. They note four issues which have lead to increasing limitations put on place of worship development: scarcity of land, municipal need for property tax generation (from which religious properties are exempt), political sensitivities to neighbourhood residents' complaints of traffic, parking and noise generated from places of worship, and municipal reluctance to host projects whose membership draws from other municipalities. McLellan and White (2004) documented a series of poor decisions, by municipal staff, political leadership and local media which exacerbated an already tense conflict surrounding the Laotian Buddhist temple in Caledon.

Research in the religious studies field has documented the adaptations of immigrant and minority religious communities to their host society in the development of their religious facilities. These include modifications in community formation and religious rituals (Mehta, 2004) in response to resource availability, lifestyle changes, congregational characteristics, particularly multiethnic membership (Beattie & Ley, 2001; Numrich, 1997). Many studies

observe the inclusion of cultural and social activities in place of worship activities, supporting Ebaugh and Chafetz's community model (Beattie & Ley, 2001; Mehta, 2004; Min, 1992; Min, 2002; Numrich, 1997; Prorok, 1994; Tillman & Emmett, 1999). Spatial modifications have also been made by communities, to adapt to worship in North America. Mehta (2004) noted changes Hindu communities have made to address both the inclusion and separation of sacred and social spaces within a single building. Gagnon and Germain (2002) documented how Muslim communities in Montreal have established more temporary and flexible prayer rooms to accommodate prayers during work hours, in addition to larger, community-oriented mosques.

2.3.2.   **Other recent immigrant development experiences**

Drawing from the broader urban literature, three well-documented land-use planning conflicts: mega-homes, Asian malls, and funeral home development, are illustrative of the factors and issues related to recent immigrant development experiences. The mega- or "monster" home debate in Vancouver took place during the late 1980s and early 1990s in the long established Anglo-Canadian neighbourhoods of Kerrisdale and Shaughnessy (Ley, 2000; Ley, 1995; Mitchell, 1997; Li, 1994). While conflicts over so-called "monster-home" are common to many communities across Canada (see for example Ontario Municipal Board, 2002; Ontario Municipal Board, 2001a; Ontario Municipal Board, 2001b), this particular controversy stands out because of the scale and duration of the debate and its polarization of opponents and proponents largely along ethnic lines. The conflict developed as wealthy Hong Kong immigrants settled into these wealthy neighbourhoods and purchased properties which were then demolished and rebuilt suited to the newcomers' preferences. These new homes were large, usually more than 4,000 square feet, with narrow setbacks, large windows and minimal vegetation. The size, architectural style and site design of these homes departed significantly from the neighbourhood's "leafy, landscaped streets and gardens with character homes, including mansions frequently of Georgian, French, Dutch, or especially Tudor revival styles" (Ley 2000, p. 28).

Opposition to this development from existing homeowners rapidly became a public and political debate and was reported widely in the local, national and international media. Accusations of racism and intolerance were made on both sides. Many questioned whether the debate was really about neighbourhood design, or if unwanted Chinese neighbours were

at the core of the issue. Several community-based groups of both long-term Anglo-Canadian and recent Chinese Canadian residents were formed and became politically active in the debate. Through several political and bureaucratic interventions the issue was finally resolved through planning regulations. Over time a facilitated process involving both residents groups developed zoning-bylaws with specific design criteria to accommodate new residential development, while at the same time addressing long-term residents' concerns.

The second example, conflict over Asian theme malls, also emerged during the early 1990s. As described in detail above these malls broke from conventional retail practice in several ways. The case of a proposed mall in Richmond Hill, Ontario illustrates several features of this conflict (Preston and Lo, 2000; Wang, 1999). Opposition to the mall came from local ratepayers associations, neighbours and local merchants. The central focus of their opposition was the regional draw of the mall, located in an area which had been designated for neighbourhood commercial use. Opponents feared the mall would generate more parking and traffic than the site and surrounding infrastructure could accommodate. They were also concerned that the condominium model used to develop the mall would not adequately manage its retail mix, and thus economic viability, over the long-term. Complaints were even made about the potential odours generated by the many restaurants. Both opponents and supporters of the mall were of Chinese descent, muddying the waters of ethnic conflict. Debate over this development was appealed to the Ontario Municipal Board, the quasi-judicial forum that Ontario uses to settle land-use planning disputes. However, while the mall won its appeal, it was not constructed.

The final example of conflict involves the location of funeral homes in residential areas. In cities such as Ottawa, Mississauga and Markham residents from various cultural and religious communities, particularly Chinese but also including Hindu, Islamic, and Buddhist communities, have opposed proposed funeral home developments in residential zones (City of Ottawa, 1999; Smith, 2000; Paper, 1997; Fong, 1997; City of Mississauga, 2004). Opponents have argued that in the traditional belief systems of their communities, "the worlds of the living and the dead are kept strictly apart" (City of Ottawa, 1999, p. 14) and it would be unthinkable to live beside a funeral home. Some have expressed concern that the presence of the dead would bring bad luck or would make individuals feel "fearful and deeply uncomfortable" (Fong, 1997. p. 3). Others predicted that the development of a funeral

home would adversely affect the resale value of their properties (City of Ottawa, 1999). To date, these arguments have not been successful in preventing the development of funeral homes. Advocates sensitive to this issue proposed the establishment of minimum separation distance between funeral homes and residential areas. However, neither municipalities nor higher courts have yet accepted these cultural values as sufficient grounds for justifying this type of planning requirement (City of Mississauga, 2001).

2.4.   *Planning responses to ethnoracial diversity*

2.4.1.   Planning theory

The academic response to ethnoracial diversity is relatively recent, but builds upon the discipline's gradual movement towards addressing social concerns and processes. Modern urban planning arose as a profession and academic discipline in the early 20th century in reaction to the poor appearance, living and health conditions of the 19th century industrial city. Through movements such as the Garden City, City Beautiful, and Radiant City, social justice, public health, environmental quality and aesthetics strongly influenced early work in planning practice and the academe (Campbell & Fainstein, 1996; Fishman, 1998; Fishman, 2002; Grant, 2006). As planning practice became more entrenched within the public bureaucracy, property development became the primary instrument of urban-based, planned change (Qadeer, 1997 p. 483). As a result, the original ideals of planning became diluted. However, one original function of urban planning has remained: the co-ordination of development in an integrated, equitable fashion (Hodge, 1998).

The rational comprehensive model of mid-20th century planning saw the planner as a technical and scientific expert who, from among a variety of alternative development scenarios, would determine the ones that would best serve the public interest, and from these, devise appropriate policy and implementation plans (Alexander, 1992; Leach, 1982). Over the century, critics have portrayed this approach as too technocratic, unrealistic, ineffective and unjust, given social, political and economic realities (Fainstein & Fainstein, 1996; Sandercock, 1998b). In response to these criticisms, as well as to broad theoretical shifts in social science and to changing social, economic and political landscapes, planning research and practice changed in some significant ways. It began to recognize community diversity and change, plural and dynamic public interests, the limitations of technical experts, the

strengths of community local knowledge and input, and the role of many different actors in the planning and implementation processes of urban development.

Planning theorists began to study specific disadvantaged social groups, examining both their particular needs and how their exclusion from planning processes thwarted the satisfaction of these needs. In the U.S. several planning scholars have examined planning, poverty and race and studied the ways in way racist land use policy disadvantaged and excluded African-American and poor families (Catlin, 1993; Catlin, 1997; Krumholz, 1997; Manning Thomas & Ritzdorf, 1997; Silver, 1997).[11] The feminist project examined how gender and gender relations have shaped urban form and structure, and planning research and practice.[12]

A common thread throughout planning and difference literature has been the theme of citizen participation in the planning process. A touchstone work, Arnstein's (1969) widely-cited ladder of participation catalyzed debate and action around inclusionary planning processes. Several planning approaches are related to this theme. One has been advocacy planning (Davidoff, 1965) in which the planner works for the inclusion of planning issues related to marginalized people through direct advocacy and support. Another has been Friedmann's (1973) transactive planning which promoted a model of mutual learning between planners and the communities they serve. Along similar themes, equity planning argued for practices that promote equity in planning outcomes, focusing again primarily on disadvantaged groups (Krumholz, 1986; Krumholz & Forester, 1990; Krumholz, 1997; Metzger, 1996). Another area of research has consciously incorporated the dynamics of power relationships and conflict into the conceptualization of effective planning practice leading to a body of work on consensus building and collaboration (Healey, 1997; Healey,

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[11] These scholars have investigated numerous discriminatory planning practices in relation to African-American communities such as mortgage refusals, questionable lending patterns and insurance rates, exclusionary zoning, poor access to municipal services, higher rates of location of environmentally toxic sites *etc.*

[12] For example, feminist researchers have examined 1) definitions and valuations of work, and how pay and unpaid work is accommodated or ignored in planning research and practice (Moore Milroy, 1991a; Moore Milroy, 1991b); 2) changing gender roles, *e.g.* the development of the dual role of women as homemakers and wage earners, the implications of this development for women's use of time and space and ways in which urban infrastructure facilitates and produces barriers to women performing this dual role (MacKenzie, 1988; Michaelson, 1988); and 3) experiments into alternative housing and neighbourhood designs that facilitate women's domestic work (Birdsall, Clifton, & Wood, 1992; Després & Piché, 1992; Hayden, 1986; Hayden, 2002).

1998; Innes, 1996; Innes & Booher, 1999; Susskind & Cruikshank, 1997; Margerum, 2002), often framed within communicative action theory (Innes, 1995; Healey, 1996).

During the early 1980s, planning scholars finally began to acknowledge and explore planning issues of difference and exclusion as they related to culture and ethnicity. This work began primarily in the UK in part in response to the Midlands' race riots leading to the establishment of the Royal Town Planning's commission on Race and Planning (Madden, 1981; Royal Town Planning Institute & Commission for Racial Equality, 1984). In this early work, issues of race, culture and ethnicity were somewhat conflated such that issues of racial difference and equity claims and those of cultural difference and claims for accommodation were bundled together under the larger umbrella of race. These issues were later teased apart, as urban scholars examined the complexity of culture and race issues (Amin, 2002; Ratcliffe, 1992; Ratcliffe, 1998; Thomas, 2000a).

In Canada and the US, a body of literature has developed under the framework of multiculturalism. Qadeer (1997, p. 482) defines multiculturalism as "a public philosophy [that] acknowledges racial and cultural differences in a society and encourages their sustenance and expression as constituent elements of a national social order." In this conceptualization of the interface between planners and immigrants, key issues lie in cultural differences. The main argument of the multicultural planning literature is that planning practice should become sensitive to culture and accommodate the varying cultural needs of its constituents. Proponents of this view identify universalism and assimilationist assumptions as the primary weaknesses in orthodox planning practice. They argue for culturally sensitive planning that seeks equality in outcomes, rather than in treatment (Wallace & Moore Milroy, 1999; Fraser, 2000; Wallace, 1999; Lee, 2002). As noted by Hiebert (2000, p. 32) issues relating to immigrant ethnocultural diversity "[ask planners] to define, in locally relevant ways the meaning of Canadian multiculturalism."

A third twist in the planning literature related to ethnoracial diversity has been work that explores the concept of social difference. While this work has figured more prominently in urban social geography literature, it has also been incorporated into the work of some planning scholars. This literature makes several key assumptions. A first is that "a politics of difference … is enacted around the multiplicity of identity forming axes and processes of social life" (Gibson, 1998 p. 304) affirming that there is no single identity. A second axiom

assumes that identity is "embedded in frameworks of power" (Jacobs and Fincher 1998, p. 6). It recognizes that institutions and government confirm rights and privileges which are "complexly entwined with material conditions" (Jacobs and Fincher 1998, p.9). As well, the social difference literature takes difference as a point of departure, rather than viewing difference as "different" (Wallace & Moore Milroy, 1999).

This approach investigates not only the impacts of the "politics of difference", but also "how disadvantage is made and remade by empowered institutions and the morally laden discursive fields by which specific subjectivities – like "blacks," or "single mothers," or "prostitutes" – come to be known" (Jacobs and Fincher 1998, p. 12). Sandercock (1998) has incorporated this approach into her some of her work and has asked how those who benefit least from hierarchies of power, are able to negotiate and contest these ascribed identities. Her insurgent planning (1998, 2003), "a thousand tiny empowerments" argued that empowerment must involved recognition of the means by which disadvantaged people are able to contest and face their disadvantage. She has followed the lead of advocacy, equity, collaborative and communicative planning approaches, investigating various case studies of empowerment. Sandercock has insisted that planners and professional planning practice can have a more positive influence on the urban lives of marginalized people. By understanding both the ways disadvantage is created and the means by which the disadvantaged are able to react against their positions, planners can identify policy, implementation, communicative means of supporting those efforts.

An important strength of the difference literature is its ability to identify critical intersections, *i.e.* those particular combinations of characteristics that may be more significant that any one feature of identity. For example, when socio-economic disadvantage are compounded by other barriers, such as those due to discrimination, the result can be what Hiebert calls the "triple jeopardy", in reference to the low economic performance of female immigrants of visible minorities (Hiebert 2000 p. 35). Similarly, Ratcliffe (1998, p. 367) describes in his observation of ethnic minority housing needs in Bradford, England, as a " complex matrix of interlocking planning issues." In this case, poverty, poor housing stock, resulting health issues and unresponsive (under-resourced) public sector combine to create urgent needs for ethnic minorities.

2.4.2. Planning practice: implications and responses

The central thrust of urban planning literature related ethnoracial diversity and urban development has been to better understand the implications of diversity for practice in order to assist or urge practitioners and organizations to respond more effectively, sensitively and equitably to minority individual and group needs. Researchers in this field have identified issues within all steps of the orthodox rational comprehensive planning process. This section outlines their findings in relation to the implications for planning practice and the documentation of practitioners' responses.

Implications for practice

In the area of planning research, several studies have noted that municipal data collection activities should include data on variables such as race, ethnicity, mother tongue, immigrant status *etc.* in order for planners to better understand the composition of their community overall, as well as particular districts and neighbourhood and to anticipate where different values and needs may arise (Moore Milroy & Wallace, 2002; Royal Town Planning Institute *et al.,* 1984; Davies, 1995; Qadeer, 1997; Sandercock, 2002; Sandercock & Kliger, 1998a; Sandercock & Kliger, 1998b; Preston & Lo, 2000). Second, researchers have insisted that data analysis also needs to be sensitive to cultural difference, because even basic concepts can be complicated by differing cultural assumptions about appropriate land use and related behavioural patterns (Qadeer, 1997; Sandercock, 1998a; Myers, Baer, & Choi, 1996; Ratcliffe, 1999; Ratcliffe, 1998). For example, Myers *et al.*'s (1996) study of the concept of overcrowding and household density, highlighted significant cultural differences in how overcrowding is defined and problematized. In the Euro-American view, high numbers of people sharing a household, signifies poverty, and is also associated with social dysfunction. Yet in some Latino and Asian cultural communities, whose members do not highly value privacy and individual space, greater density is preferred. Furthermore, the study found that income was not correlated with greater individual space within the household. That is, even when household income was higher, households had higher densities than Euro-Americans; this demonstrates that in a cross-cultural context, household density is not necessarily a function of poverty, but rather of cultural preference. However, in his thoughtful paper on housing policy in Bradford, Ratcliffe (1998) cautioned against crude ethnic stereotyping that

can miscalculate community needs. He reported on a housing study that identified key but overlooked issues related to housing needs of several ethnic minority communities: household projections, fertility rates, changing spatial patterns, attitudes to the housing market and net migration. He argued forcefully for data collection and analysis (and subsequent policy development) that is sensitive to interlocking issues, that is, not only ethnic and cultural difference, but also to internal ethnic community diversity (in terms of income, employment status, ability *etc.*) and social (particularly inter-generational) change.

A third area of concern is public participation and planning. Scholars insisted that planners need to carefully consider their methods for incorporating public participation into planning processes and should be sensitive to the characteristics of ethnoracial populations within their communities because traditional means of communication and outreach are not equally effective for all groups and in the worst cases, exclude minority groups, often those with other dimensions of disadvantage such as low income and education. This is particularly important in areas where particular groups may be or have been adversely affected by planning policies or programs. Several Israeli studies have demonstrated these issues in cases related to relocation and resettlement programs of Bedouin and Ethiopian communities (Dinero, 2000; Fenster, 1996; Fenster, 1998; Fenster, 1999b) and the impacts of highway planning on Arab settlements (Khamaisi & Shmueli, 2001). Similar arguments are made by several studies of the impact of urban renewal on inner city ethnic minority communities which occupy low socio-economic positions (Khakee, Somma, & Thomas, 1999b; Khakee, Somma, & Thomas, 1999a). Another related set of arguments, issues and examples are provided by Low *et al.*'s (2005) study of public space and parks planning and management in ethnoracially diverse communities.[13]

In the area of planning policy development, several studies underlined the importance of the acknowledgement of ethnoracial diversity in community plans, as well as the municipal commitment to addressing needs and values that flow from such diversity. Scholars note that the absence of direction in the area of ethnoracial diversity in upper level

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[13] In this case, the authors argued for inclusive planning and management not only on ethical grounds *i.e.* parks and public spaces should benefit all residents; heritage conservation should reflect the history of minority, as well as majority communities. They also emphasized that in this political-economic climate where adequate parks funding is often in jeopardy, pragmatic arguments for inclusive planning and management are also prudent, given that parks and public spaces which reflect the needs of and are enjoyed by a broad spectrum of a community's residents are more likely to be supported politically and financially by a larger constituency.

(provincial and regional) government policy documents (Fraser, 2000; Lee, 2002; Moore Milroy & Wallace, 2002) leaves lower local levels of government with little guidance or assistance through which to address policy making. Likewise, community and district or secondary plans of many local jurisdictions have failed to acknowledge the existence of diversity, let alone any municipal intent to address diverse needs (Ellis, 2001; Fraser, 2000; Lee, 2002; Moore Milroy & Wallace, 2002; Preston, 2000; Qadeer, 1997; Qadeer & Chaudhry, 2000; Royal Town Planning Institute, 2003). Advocates argued that without this minimal acknowledgement, planning issues related to ethnoracial diversity *e.g.* housing, places of worship, community facilities and commercial activities, will continue to go unaddressed. A second point related to the previous discussion of cultural difference has been made by critics who have observed that planners also assume that land use policy is culturally neutral and base their underlying assumptions about land use on the universal needs or patterns of the user, privileging mainstream cultural patterns (Bennett, 1998; Burayidi, 2000b; Burayidi, 2003; Qadeer, 1997; Sandercock, 2003; Sandercock, 1998a; Harris & Thomas, 2004). As discussed earlier (Section 2.2.2), land-use conflicts have revealed the ways in which land use policies related to residential and retail development, and special uses such as funeral homes can conceal cultural assumptions not shared by all in ethnoracially diverse communities.

Planning scholars have also looked to planning implementation, and the multiple ways in which plans and policies are realized. Studies from the U.K. have pointed to a number of problem areas in the development review and appeals processes, where newcomers may misunderstand the process, face discrimination or encounter other barriers (Ellis, 2001; Royal Town Planning Institute *et al,* 1984; Royal Town Planning Institute, 2003; Thomas, 2000b; Thomas, 2000a). Qadeer (Qadeer, 2005, p. 11) has further argued that "cultural and religious requirements should be recognized as legitimate grounds for minor variances and exceptions to zoning and site plan regulations," and be reflected both in planning documents and practice. In order to address these issues, several works have advocated for monitoring processes which track applications through review processes to compare approval and refusal rates across ethnoracial communities (Ellis, 2001; Khakee & Thomas, 1995; Royal Town Planning Institute, 2003; Moore Milroy & Wallace, 2004). Others urge practitioners to develop performance-based criteria and evaluate policy and

assess its effectiveness for ethnoracial minority communities (Moore Milroy & Wallace, 2004; Qadeer, 1997; Thomas, 2000a; Royal Town Planning Institute, 2003).

Finally, a sixth area of concern to professionals addresses planning education and professional development. Multicultural planning advocates have called upon planning schools to incorporate ethnoracial diversity components into curricula and insisted that professional organizations also support practitioners through information-sharing channels among municipalities, ethnoracial sensitivity training, professional development programs and information addressing best practices related to ethnoracial diversity issues (Burayidi, 2000a; Burayidi, 2000b; Burayidi, 2003; Goonewardena, Rankin, & Weinstock, 2004; Moore Milroy & Wallace, 2004; Rahder & Milgrom, 2004; Sandercock, 1998b; Sandercock, 2003).

Responses in practice

Public sector planners and planning departments have responded to ethnoracial diversity in a number of ways. Of note, much of the literature describing these responses has come from the U.K., in part due to the Royal Town Planning Institute's early work on race and planning in the early 1980s and the positive responses of several jurisdictions, particularly in the Midlands area of England.

Work in the area of communication and community outreach has the objective of bringing about more effective participation in planning policy development from underrepresented immigrant groups. Communication has been enhanced through multilingual language services, for example multi-lingual phone lines, promotional videos produced in minority languages, and the translation of documents such as community surveys, public notice summaries or summaries of key planning documents (Chapman, 1994; Lee, 2002; Royal Town Planning Institute, 2003). Community outreach has taken the form of planners' presentations to community groups, "meet the planners" type sessions at ethnic community centres, and advertisements in ethnic media (Ball, 1998; Fraser, 2000; Lee, 2002; Royal Town Planning Institute, 2003). More focused efforts have included focus groups facilitated by minority language speakers (Lee, 2002) or advisory groups targeting specific minority groups (Ahmed & Booth, 1994). These efforts have reportedly been well-received and led to higher rates of participation among recent immigrant and minority populations. However, some problems have been encountered. Lee (2002) noted that although focus groups enhanced ethnic minority participation, such a forum does not facilitate inter-ethnic

interaction and discussion, an important dimension of community-building in multi-ethnic neighbourhoods. In their research on Central Area Plan advisory groups targeting Afro-Caribbean and Asian communities, Ahmad and Booth (1994) observed that even though greater ethnic community participation had been generated, there was a high turnover of community representatives on the advisory panels and that it was difficult to fully engage communities in long-term planning policy issues. However, this latter problem appears to be a universal one in participatory planning, rather than an issue unique to immigrant and minority populations.

In the area of substantive changes in planning policy to address specific cultural issues, several studies document changes, such as Qadeer and Chaudhry's (2000) work on place of worship policy and Wang's (1999) study of Asian retailing. The East Midlands Branch of the Royal Town Planning Institute (2003; 2005) is one organization which has made considerable efforts promoting policy change. It developed a policy statement and action plan for race equality in 2003 and 2005, and has developed a document promoting best practices by member municipalities which have made significant changes to address ethnoracial issues in the areas of development control (including application monitoring), development plans (with policies acknowledging and expressing support for ethnoracial diversity), consultation and communication practices and information provision (Royal Town Planning Institute, 2003). This organization has also promoted the recruiting and hiring of ethnoracial minority staff.[14]

2.5. *Conceptual framework for the analysis of minority religious community development experience*

This section presents the conceptual framework within which this study is anchored. A key step in the social science research process (Babbie & Benaquisto, 2002; Bryman, 2001; Nachmias & Nachmias, 1992), conceptualization clarifies and defines the key concepts

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[14] Ahmed and Booth (1994) examined Sheffield's efforts to address staffing and professional development issues, through the use of a race advisor, the provision of reference material on ethnoracial minorities and the arrangement of awareness and sensitivity training for all staff. However, they observed that while well-intended, some of these initiatives have been counterproductive to their goals. For example, in the case of sensitivity training, they question whether such programs are capable of changing deeply entrenched attitudes and claimed instead that this training can sometimes just produce "better racists," by simply equipping staff with politically correct jargon. They also detected problems with the race advisor position, whereby all race related issues were simply abdicated to the race advisor.

used in research, explains their operationalization and maps out the relationships between concepts in order to provide the general structure and direction of the study. It was challenging to develop a conceptual framework for the analysis of place of worship development because no studies (to my knowledge) have taken this particular approach to research in this area. My point of departure was to take a relational view of the city which argues that dynamic social relations and processes are the foundation of the assembly of the physical objects which make up the form and structure of the city (Graham & Healey, 1999). In this case, the objects of interest are a type of community facility, places of worship built for recent immigrant, minority religious communities. The topic is approached by examining the ideas and processes which contribute and respond to their establishment. While the previous review focused upon the findings of the empirical literature, here I will return to the same literature, as well as two studies from the property research field to draw out a conceptualization of the place of worship development experience.

2.5.1. <u>The concept of development experience</u>

The study is built around the concept of the development experience of the religious communities. In order to address the research questions, I needed to be able to understand how and why religious (immigrant) actors make decisions: what role religion and culture play, what other factors influence their decision-making, what difficulties religious communities face and how they have addressed (or have been unable to address) both opportunities and challenges. With this fuller understanding, I then examine the relationships between place of worship development and planning practice.

Urban scholars in the area of ethnoracial diversity have approached the development experience in a number of ways, although none have explicitly conceptualized the development experience *per se*. Several have used the concept of citizenship. For example, in her study of planning amidst ethnoracial diversity, Wallace (1999) examined two case studies in Markham and Toronto and focused her analysis of the planning process on citizenship by examining inclusion, representation, distribution of power, sources of influence, social structures and associations, solidarity and tolerance. Other studies sharing a similar focus include Isin and Siemiatycki's (1999) study of three conflicts relating to mosque development, and Kkahee, Somma and Thomas' (1999b) edited compilation of studies of social exclusion of ethnic minorities in urban renewal schemes in several Western European

countries. These studies focus their attention on participation and inclusion of the perspectives of supporters and opponents in planning decision-making processes. As such, this conceptual approach has been an effective means of addressing questions of equity in planning and relating them to larger issues related to democracy and multicultural citizenship. An important and related sub-theme to these and other works, such as the studies on the mega-home debate in Vancouver and the Asian theme mall issues in the Greater Toronto Area, has been the role of fear, xenophobia and discrimination in emergence of land-use planning conflict and its influence on the ability of minority communities to carry out their development plans.

The mega-home, Asian theme mall and funeral home debates also bring up differences in cultural values. In the mega-home debate long-term Anglo-Canadian residents' values for streetscape character, including architectural themes, vegetation and wide setbacks were pitted against incoming residents from Hong Kong and Taiwan who preferred large homes to suit extended families, on properties with narrow setbacks and little vegetation. In the Asian theme mall debate, cultural values and preferences were also implicated in the conflict. In this case, business practices (Asian practices of developing large condominium malls, with restaurant anchors, and small units), and shopping and dining behaviour of potential customers, clashed with a policy and regulatory environment that was unprepared for this new type of retail development, as well as a social climate which was equally wary of the potential problems with the change in commercial activity. Land use planning policy and regulations have been key factors in several studies, where the policies and regulations at the time of the conflict did not regulate the features debated nor were municipal practitioners able to foresee the conflicts or respond appropriately to circumvent them (Qadeer, 1997; Thomas, 1994; Woulds, 1994). Related work by Gagnon (Gagnon & Germain, 2002; Gagnon *et al.,* 2004; Germain & Gagnon, 2003) takes a more sociological perspective and examines social and political dynamics, in addition to bureaucratic and professional planning in the unfolding of place of worship land use planning issues. This work concludes that these socio-political dynamics are responsible for the resolution of planning debates, rather than the

influence of planning practitioners. However again, by-and-large this work takes a conflict-oriented approach.[15]

Another research approach has been to evaluate the development process of ethnic and/or racial minorities by assessing the municipal planning system primarily through interviews and questionnaires of municipal staff (particularly planners) and content analysis of official planning documents such as policy plans (Davies, 1995; Ellis, 2001; Fraser, 2000; Khakee & Thomas, 1995; Thomas, 1993; Thomas, 1997; Sandercock & Kliger, 1998a; Sandercock & Kliger, 1998b; Moore Milroy & Wallace, 2004; Wallace & Frisken, 2000; Watson & McGillivray, 1995). This conceptual orientation and research method take an indirect approach to the question of the development experience of ethnic, racial and/or religious minorities by providing the policy context.

These approaches address broader questions of citizen participation in urban development decision-making and in particular, the openness of the planning system to disadvantaged groups and/or those who hold different beliefs and values from the mainstream population. Yet they do not examine the experiences of development themselves in sufficient detail to assess the full development process in which immigrant individuals or groups have been engaged. Nor do they provide sufficient insight into which issues are priorities for ethnic, racial and/or religious minorities.

Three exceptions were helpful in conceptualizing the development experience. One was Nye's comprehensive, historical study of the development of an English International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON) temple. In ethnographic detail, the case study explored numerous factors in the 20 year conflict:[16] local and national planning legislation,[17] the physical characteristics of the temple site and its surroundings, the lack of national legislation regarding freedom of religion, local residents' opposition, planning authorities' responses, the religious community's status as a newly emerged religion as well as the various actions taken by ISKCON to lobby for support, explore alternative solutions and

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[15] It must be noted that Germain and Gagnon (2003) work does discuss other municipal issues related to restrictions placed on place of worship development, including municipal concerns for tax revenue, the large number of place of worship planning applications, particularly in relation to the high number of underused, historical place of worship sites within the central city of Montréal.

[16] In this case, a small theological ISCKON college sited within a small village in the Greenbelt became a tremendously popular location for deity worship for Hindus across the UK, creating massive traffic and parking problems, as well as local opposition to the disruption of quiet village life.

[17] Most relevant to the case was the Green Belt legislation.

work with local authorities. Another was McLellan and Smith's (2004) study of a Laotian temple development in Caledon, Ontario, although because the study began with the purchase of the property again we know less about the steps leading the community's purchase. Yet McLellan and Smith's analysis took note of the intersecting influences of xenophobia and ignorance of local residents, administrative blunders of local bureaucrats and politicians (*e.g.* scheduling a public meeting a week before the results of background studies had been released), and poor journalism practices of local media (presenting only the opponents side of the conflict). They also provided extensive analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of social capital resources of the Laotian Buddhist community and their impact on the unfolding of the dispute. The third was Gagnon's work (Gagnon & Germain, 2002; Gagnon *et al.*, 2004; Germain & Gagnon, 2003) whose analysis examined demographic change, socio-economic community characteristics, local civil society and political involvement, as well as the roles of media and community leadership. Through this analysis, place of worship-related conflicts were studied in relation to local political and social dynamics, in order to understand how debates were constructed, how public space was defined and what land use issues were influential in the emergence of conflict.

While these cases provided valuable contributions to the many factors involved in place of worship conflicts, I needed to more directly conceptualize the actual development experience, from the perspective of the ethnic, racial or religious minority individual or community, in order to address the research questions. From the empirical literature, it was clear that the development experience could be conceptualized as a long-term process that begins with the religious community articulation of the idea to establish a religious facility and continues as long as a group of people pursues this idea, fully realized or not. Therefore, the development experience includes the planning, fund-raising, designing, site search, lease or rental of temporary spaces, purchase of property, and the renovation, construction and/or expansion of a permanent facility or facilities. In order to more closely examine this process, I looked to two other sources outside of the multicultural planning literature.

Urban development scholars have tried to better understand the behaviours and attitudes of property owners in order to improve our understanding of the development process. This scholarship provided another useful approach to understanding the development experience of religious communities. One important work is Goodchild and

Munton's 1985 study of landowner behaviours. They note that landowners constitute a heterogeneous group and that their decision-making results from the interactions of multiple factors. From their analysis of landowner decision-making, they derive a decision model that is determined by the interaction among three components (See Figure 2-2): 1. landowner characteristics; 2. site characteristics; and 3. contextual factors. Although this model was developed to conceptualize the selling behaviour of property owners, most of the elements of the model are relevant to the place of worship development experience, thus the Goodchild and Munton framework provides a useful heuristic with which to analyze the experience of religious communities of this study in the site search and development process, most notably searching and purchasing behaviour.

The second conceptualization useful to this study is Healey and Barrett's (1990) application of Giddens' structuration theory to land development and landowner decision-making. Using Giddens' conceptualization of structure and agency, they focus on the ways in which individual agents "draw upon *resources*, *sanctioning rules* and *rules of meaning* to determine what they do" (Healey and Barrett, 1990, p. 94; *italics* in original). Expanding upon these three elements, they advocate for research emphasis on:

> (a) the *resources* for development, as channelled via the financial system and the interrelation of supply and demand; (b) the politico-juridical *rules* which limit the construction of development opportunities; (c) the *ideas* and *values* people hold about what they should build, what they would like to occupy and what kind of environment they seek.

In particular, Healey and Barrett (1990, p. 98) suggest that:

> the interrelation [between context and agency] may be observed through the way in which agencies, individuals and organisations define and implement their strategies in relation to the *rules* they acknowledge, the *resources* they draw upon and seek to accumulate and the *ideas and ideology* they assert in determining and justifying their strategies.

Again, their research orientation is clearly towards larger-scale landowners and developers, unlike religious communities who tend to own and develop only one or two properties. Nonetheless, their conceptualization of the relations between structure and agency is pertinent to place of worship development and complements the Goodchild and Munton framework. In particular, Healey and Barrett's emphasis on ideas and values addresses an aspect missing from the Goodchild and Munton's model, and allows for the inclusion of

cultural and religious ideas and practices, as well as immigrant settlement and integration needs. Meanwhile Goodchild and Munton include several other elements (*e.g.* site characteristics) in their framework which are not well-addressed by Healey and Barrett.

Figure 2-2: Landowner behaviour: constraints and the development process

LANDOWNER CHARACTERISTICS

1. **Legal personality** (individual, owner, company *etc.*)
2. **Occupancy status** (owner-occupier, landlord *etc.*)
3. **Sources of income/ wealth**
4. **Family/personal characteristics**
5. **Means of acquisition** (inheritance, purchase *etc.*)
6**. Knowledge** and **Attitude to Risk**

SITE CHARACTERISTICS

1. **Size**
2. **Current use** and **level of fixed investment**
3. **Location** in relation to existing development, roads and services
4. **Physical characteristics**
5. **Planning status** (P.P. /O.P.P given, zoned for development, green belt *etc.*)

CONTEXTUAL FACTORS

1**. Land Prices** – current state of the land market; activity in the economy and state of the development industry
2. **Taxation policy** – for revenue, capital gains and development gains
3**. Land policy** – compensation and betterment, compulsory purchase powers, nationalization of development rights *etc.*
4. **Planning policy** – growth or restraint area; decisions on appeal (*i.e.* reflection of central government attitudes to local policy stands)

*Response to all these factors is significantly affected by **expectations** as to **political change**

DECISION MODEL
Relating to:

i) If and when the land will be sold (financial decisions)
ii) Participation of the owner in the development process (operational decisions)
iii) Land management policy during the 'ripening' period (management decisions)

Source: Goodchild and Munton 1985: Figure 1.2 in Kivell 1993, p. 126

2.5.2. <u>Conceptual framework for analyzing development experience</u>

I developed a conceptual framework for analyzing religious community experience of place of worship development that incorporates the key elements from the previous literature review and maps out the relationships between the various factors influential in this process.

It is illustrated graphically in Figure 2-3. As detailed in Chapter 3, the study focuses data collection on the municipal policy context and religious community experiences of place of worship development in order to 1) maximize comparison among different religious communities and 2) explore implications for municipal planning policy and practice.

Religious community spatial needs and preferences

In this conceptual framework, religious community spatial needs and preferences are determined by three main factors: culture and religion, religious community composition and immigrant settlement and integration needs. Spatial needs and preferences include site characteristics (location, proximity, zoning, special features, size *etc.*) and building characteristics (architectural features, types of rooms *etc.*).

Religious community characteristics

My interest in this study was to examine differences in place of worship development experiences among immigrant communities of five religions: Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism, Islam and Sikhism. The framework assumes that differences in community composition would impact community cultural and religious practices, and settlement and integration needs, and thus indirectly affect spatial needs and preferences. Religious community composition would also directly influence spatial needs and preferences by other qualities such as size and residential location of community members. Here, religious community characteristics would also include the financial resources (Goodchild and Munton, 1985; Healey and Barrett, 1990) and human resources (McLellan & Smith, 2005) which would further influence knowledge and risk (Goodchild and Munton 1985).

Figure 2-3: Conceptual framework for analyzing religious community development experience
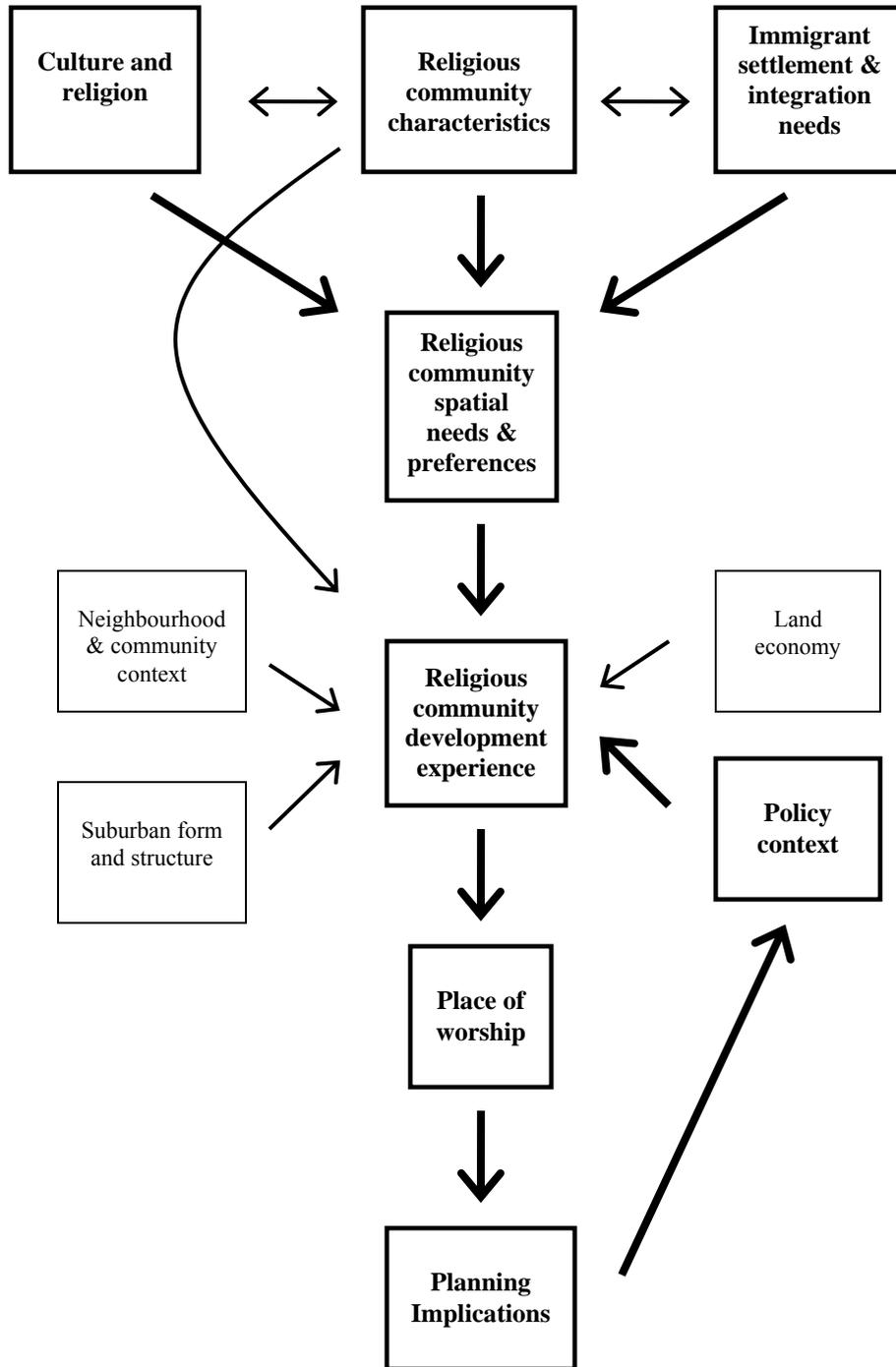
*Bolded lines and text indicate the elements directly investigated in this study

Culture and religion

Culture and religion are also assumed to play a significant role in the place of worship development experience, as demonstrated in the multicultural planning literature (Burayidi, 2000b; Burayidi, 2003; Qadeer, 1997; Qadeer & Chaudhry, 2000; Sandercock & Kliger, 1998a; Sandercock & Kliger, 1998b; Sandercock, 1998b; Sandercock, 2003; Thomas, 1997; Thomas, 2000c; Moore Milroy & Wallace, 2004; Wallace, 2000). Culture, a notoriously multi-defined term in anthropology and sociology (Fleras & Elliot, 2003; Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1952) can be defined as the collection of "shared beliefs, sentiments, norms, values, attitudes and meanings" (Moore, 1997, p. 219) held by individuals. The totality of the actions and ideas of the individual are influenced by these cultural constructs, and they determine deeply held beliefs related to basic concepts such as notions of time, space, family, social, political and economic relations (Spiro, 1987). Recent scholars have emphasized that culture is not "a reified entity or a bounded, internally consistent domain, in abstraction from social and historical reality" (Turner 1993, p. 421), but rather a dynamic and contested set of ideas subject to multiple influences, shifts and exchanges and must be contextualized and understood within broader, dynamic social processes (Lecompte, 2002; Turner, 1993).

Similar themes are discussed in work examining the relationships between culture and space (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992; Gupta & Ferguson, 1997; Hastrup & Olwig, 1997). Hastrup and Olwig (1997, p. 4) emphasized that "cultural spaces are constructed within an equally constructed spatial matrix … defined through practice rather than by preestablished social structures or the fixed coordinates of a semantic space." Along the same vein, Gupta and Ferguson (1997, p. 5) observe that culture is reinterpreted and reappropriated through complex processes in which "cultural forms are imposed, invented, reworked and transformed." As such, these perspectives underline the dynamic ways in which culture is practiced and asks what are the processes and practices of place-making and how do people react reflexively toward the social and economic processes in which they participate.

The relationship between religion and culture is itself contested, particularly by some members of religious communities who would like to establish clear definitions of religious truths in relation to particular beliefs or practices, free from the influence of differing cultural practices. For the purpose of this study, I did not embark into the debates that such an exercise incites. Rather, I followed Geertz (1966) to conceptualize religion as a cultural

system of beliefs. While his conceptualization goes on to outline the ways in which religious beliefs are held and maintained, my primary concern remained with the implications of religion as a system of beliefs for the ways in which members of religious communities organize themselves and space in relation to their places of worship. I explored cultural and religious beliefs and practices in the organization of three elements: time, space and social activities in order to understand how spatial needs and preferences have been defined by religious communities during the place of worship development process.

<u>Immigrant settlement and integration needs</u>

Ebaugh and Chafetz's Houston study of immigrant religious communities, as well as other literature discussing relationships between religion and the immigrant experience (*e.g.* Korean churches in the U.S [Min, 1992; Min, 2002], Buddhist communities in Toronto [McLellan, 1999], German immigrant churches in Vancouver [Beattie & Ley, 2001]) have indicated that that settlement and integration needs also play a significant role in the function of places of worship and are therefore also incorporated into this framework.

Religious community development experience

In the conceptual framework, the development experience itself represents the chronological steps taken by the community to develop a physical facility: the determination of needs, spatial criteria, the search processes for temporary and permanent worship facilities, the establishment of temporary location(s), the establishment of a permanent location, and renovation, construction, and/or expansion processes. The experience also includes the resources required, enabling factors, barriers or difficulties encountered, as well as strategies used to address problems or facilitate the development process.

The development experience is determined by six factors: the spatial needs and preferences and religious community characteristics described above, the neighbourhood and community context, the land economy, the policy context and suburban form and structure. Only three of these factors were investigated directly by this study: the policy context, the spatial needs and preferences and religious community characteristics.

<u>Policy context</u>

The policy context refers to the public policies and regulations organized to pursue goals of the public sector (Howlett & Ramesh, 1995) whose significance has been noted by

several scholars (Fenster, 1999a; Wallace & Moore Milroy, 1999; Qadeer, 1997; Qadeer & Chaudhry, 2000). This study investigates primarily land-use planning policy, although policy related to ethnoracial diversity is also examined. This framework conceptualizes a reciprocal relationship between public policy and place of worship development, particularly in the case of place of worship development, its planning implications and consequent impact on municipal planning policy and practice.

Neighbourhood and community context

This context refers to immediate neighbours as well as residents in neighbourhood or communities surrounding the place of worship. Previous studies of place of worship conflict have identified this context as a key factor in the emergence of conflict (Dunn, 2001; Gagnon & Germain, 2002; Gagnon *et al.,* 2004; Germain & Gagnon, 2003; McLellan & Smith, 2004; Isin & Siemiatycki, 1999; Nye, 2001), although none have identified its influence in cases where conflict is not present. In this study, neighbourhood and community context are examined primarily from the perspective of religious community representatives and municipal planners.

Land economy

The land economy refers to state and activity of the property market and development industry. This framework assumes that the land economy is a significant factor in the options available to religious communities as well as in their decisions to purchase property, relative to their financial resources and borrowing capacity (Goodchild & Munton, 1985; Healey & Barrett, 1990). This factor was not investigated in detail. Again, it was examined indirectly, from the perspective of the religious community representatives.

Suburban spatial context

This framework assumes that spatial context influences further urban development. Here the suburban spatial context includes suburban form and structure, as well as the location and proximity of existing development, road networks and services, as included in Goodchild and Munton's model (Figure 2.2; 1985) as well as the location, proximity and arrangement of different land uses, particularly residential neighbourhoods and commercial districts.

Place of worship

The development experience results in the establishment of a place of worship, temporary or permanent. Its form, its functions and the characteristics of its site were all investigated in this study. These characteristics also accord with site characteristics included in Goodchild and Munton's model (Figure 2.2).

Planning implications

Planning implications, as discussed earlier, include many elements of the planning process such as activities related to both policy development and implementation, as discussed in the previous discussion of planning implications and responses.

2.6.   Conclusion

This chapter reviewed the literature which informs the conceptual basis of the study. By examining the empirical record of recent immigrant development experiences, of both religious communities and other individuals and groups, and drawing upon work from the property research field, the review identified a number of important factors in the place of worship development process: community characteristics and needs, property characteristics, and policy, social, economic and spatial contexts. These elements were incorporated into a conceptual framework which serves as an analytical tool for the study.

Chapter 3: <u>Methodology</u>

3.1. Introduction

This chapter addresses the study methodology, outlining research design, data collection and analysis methods and study limitations.

3.2. Research design

The research problem under investigation had three key dimensions: 1) an empirical examination of the experience of minority religious communities of place of worship development, 2) the role of public planning practice in this experience and 3) the implications of place of worship development for municipal planning theory and practice. The population of interest included one set of sub-groups, religious communities, of a larger population, recent immigrants. The research was designed to investigate an empirical phenomenon, but in such a way that applied issues could be explored and understood in detail.

Urban planning research is typically policy-oriented research where external validity is highly valued. Context is very important as research tends to address multidimensional issues which are determined by many variables of interest. The strong policy orientation means that the researcher must understand the municipal policy-making context including the power, authority and mandate of municipal planners, their roles within their institutions and their institution's position within local and regional political, economic and social systems. Normative questions have greater emphasis than theoretical ones; accordingly, the researcher must understand and address the role of the values of study participants, study users, and the larger community in question in addition to her own set (Majchrzak, 1984). She also needs to consider what variables are malleable by policy or practice, and how study users might incorporate the information and recommendations put forward by the research (Majchrzak, 1984).

The study's research questions concerning religious community and municipal experiences of place of worship development required the collection of narratives from both groups. In order to address questions relating to planning policy implication, data collection and analysis needed to draw out relationships among 1) religious community practices and spatial needs, 2) consequent land use patterns and 3) planning practice. These dimensions of

the research exercise mandated a qualitative approach, seeking multiple, subjective perspectives (Lofland & Lofland, 1995; Creswell, 1998). An iterative research process emerged, as demonstrated by the following chronology of data collection activities.

3.2.1.   Research chronology

The research design consisted of three phases. The first phase explored the range of potential issues related to place of worship development, and helped me to address practical issues related to data collection. During this stage, I chose the study municipalities, conducted initial visits and interviews with municipal planners to understand current and historical municipal policy and practice approaches to place of worship development. In the second phase, I carried out data collection among religious communities of the study populations. In the third phase, I returned to municipal planners to follow-up on issues identified through religious community research.

Phase One: Recognizance Study	Phase Two: Survey of Religious Communities	Phase Three: Follow-up interviews
a. Demographic analysis of municipalities b. Visual survey of places of worship c. Preliminary municipal interviews	a. Pilot interviews b. Participant observation c. Key informant, semi-structured interviews with representatives of religious communities d. Preliminary analysis	a. Follow-up interviews with municipal planners

3.3.   Data Collection

3.3.1.   Phase I: Recognizance study

I first conducted an extensive recognizance study in order to define the scope of the study. In this phase I conducted visual surveys and examined the demographic and urban development profiles of communities in the Greater Toronto Area.

Visual surveys

I conducted visual studies in both the Greater Vancouver and Greater Toronto Area, focusing primarily on suburban municipalities. In both cases, I consulted telephone directories and the internet to identify minority places of worship. Then I drove to their locations to take photographs and to get an initial visual impression of what surrounding neighbourhoods and districts. I took note of the place of worship location, proximity to other urban features and the character of the surrounding landscape. In many cases I took photos

not only of the place of worship but also the landscape around the facility. The visual survey alerted me to the fact that change was on-going as regards to form and location of sites of religious assembly and neighbourhood arrangement. For example, in Mississauga, there are several older parts of the city which were once hamlets or villages. These locations have large, old Christian churches in traditional architectural styles. Newer places of worship were found in commercial and industrial areas, in different forms as described further in Chapter 6.

Municipal profiles

I examined census data related to municipal demographic profiles to determine the most appropriate municipalities to study. In particular, I compared proportions of foreign-born residents and religious communities. I also collected and compared data on recent place of worship applications and planning reports on place of worship development. Based on these data, the results of the visual survey, and municipal planning studies, I chose Mississauga, Brampton and Markham. All three had significant and growing minority religious communities and all had conducted at least one study related to places of worship. From all three municipalities, I collected municipal official plans, land use policies, studies, memos, meeting minutes, land use applications related to places of worship, and municipal inventories of places of worship.

Municipal interviews at the Town of Markham

I began municipal interviews with the Town of Markham because it had conducted an extensive study of places of worship. I spent three days of informal interviewing, gathering application data and "hanging out" (Bernard, 1995): engaging in informal discussions with planners in the lunch room and during coffee breaks. My initial research plan had been to compare place of worship development experiences through both application documentation and interviews, in order to directly compare the experiences of the four communities against Christian communities. I realized that these initial ideas and questions were not feasible. First, I discovered that it would be difficult, perhaps impossible for all three municipalities to track and retrieve all of the land use applications associated with places of worship, due to

inconsistency in the organization, management and storage of municipal land use application data.[18]

I also found that there was considerable concern regarding confidentiality. I was told several stories about racial and inter-ethnic conflict, but in every case, I was told these stories only on the strict condition that they would be off-the-record. This was frustrating for me, as I would not be able to use any of the information that they provided to illustrate interesting problems related to religious diversity, inter-ethnic relations and places of worship. Following the modifications made to the research design described below, I conducted two more preliminary interviews with planners in Mississauga and Brampton. In my interviews, I asked basic questions regarding significant issues and policy responses to place of worship development.

Modifications to research design

As a result of these initial activities, I re-designed my study to interview religious communities in the three municipalities of Markham, Brampton and Mississauga. I designed a three-phase study. The first phase included the preliminary municipal interviews in which I explored the basic issues from the municipal perspective. Second, I interviewed a cross-section of religious communities, representing the diversity of the four religious communities, and I included several immigrant Christian communities for comparison. Third, I conducted follow-up interviews with municipal planners, to further investigate issues identified in the religious community interviews.

3.3.2. Phase II: Survey of religious communities

Pilot interviews

I conducted seven pilot interviews with religious community members from each of the four minority religious communities (3 Muslim, 2 Hindu, 1 Sikh and 1 Buddhist) and two pilot interviews with religious community representatives in the Waterloo Region, one with a

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[18] Every municipality has its own filing system. For example, in Markham applications are stored not by property, but by application type. With limitless access to files, the planner conducting research at the Town of Markham had spent two years compiling land use application data. Therefore, it was clear that this was not something I could undertake with the other two municipalities.

Buddhist community and another with a Sikh community. Through both activities, I refined the interview guide and learned more about culturally appropriate behaviour.[19]

Participant observation

I attended a number of activities at several of the places of worship in the study, as well as several with which I was unable to obtain an interview. I attended these activities for several reasons: to gain a better understanding of the basic practices of the religious communities, to identify and negotiate field entry with key gate keepers, to learn how to ask appropriate questions, (Bernard, 1995; Maxwell, 1993) and to directly observe some of the planning issues identified in the study. I attended a Buddhist *Vesak* celebration, an informal meal, a repentance ceremony and meditation at three Buddhist temples. I attended a Sikh *Vesakhi* celebration, sat and observed the *kirtan* and ate several times at the *langar* (community kitchens/ dining halls) of three Sikh gurdwaras. I also attended a one day Sikh Youth Forum, at the University of Toronto, Erindale campus in April 2004. I attended a Hindu *Divali* celebration and *pujas* at five different temples. I attended an open house at a mosque, a community fund-raising dinner for a new mosque and three *Ramadan* community dinners. I also attended a two-day conference on Islam, held at the University of Waterloo, March 2004. Field notes were recorded following my participation in these activities.

Other experiences of the past fifteen years have complemented my general knowledge and understanding of Hinduism, Islam, Sikhism and Buddhism and recent immigrant communities in general.[20] Through these experiences, I learned generally about the wide spectrum of issues facing recent immigrant individuals, families and communities in

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[19] For example, religious rules and conventions in greetings, dressing, movement within the place of worship *etc.*

[20] I will briefly summarize several key highlights. My current Taiwanese room-mate was partially raised by her grand-parents, who are practicing Buddhists. We have discussed her experience of Buddhism through living with them. My previous room-mate of one year is a practicing Hindu. We had many conversations together about the role of Hinduism in her family and community life in Tamil Nadu. I was first introduced to Islam at the international college I attended in my late adolescence, and joined fellow Muslim classmates for a week of the Ramadan fast. For two years I taught English as a Second Language to co-residents at the University of Waterloo UW Place family housing complex. Most of my students were Shi'a (Iranian) and Sunni (Pakistani, Jordanian, Egyptian, Syrian, and Bangladeshi) Muslim women and we discussed the role of Islam in their day-to-day lives, and some of the differences between Shi'a and Sunni practices. One of my best friends was raised Sikh, and through her I have learned much about Sikhism. A previous room-mate of two years was an international student from Dar es Salaam, Tanzania; I joined her in numerous Tanzanian social activities. Finally, I volunteered for two years for the Kitchener-Waterloo Community Coalition on Refugee and Immigrant Concerns (CCORIC).

their day-to-day experiences of settlement and integration into Canadian society, including the role of religion and places of worship. This knowledge has been critical in helping me to contextualize this research within the broader immigrant experience of adaptation and integration. It has also provided me with a strong foundation through which to understand and investigate issues related to planning practice.

Population and Sampling

I broadly defined my population as those religious communities that had recently (in the last 10 years) developed, expanded or renovated a place of worship. I examined communities from five religions: Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism, Islam and Sikhism. In choosing these religious communities, I considered several factors. First, due to earlier immigration trends, the social history of Canada has been heavily influenced by Protestant and Catholic communities. Accordingly, until recently Ontario urban land use policies have been geared towards churches, not the places of worship of other religions (Qadeer & Chaudhry, 2000). Therefore, I wanted to further investigate the experience of other-than-Christian communities. Second, as discussed earlier, previous places of worship studies have primarily examined only one religious group.[21] I wanted to investigate a spectrum of other-than-Christian places of worship in order to compare religious and cultural spatial requirements, as well as development experiences. Third, I chose to study these particular four minority communities because all four groups have experienced high growth over the past decade, all have significant populations in at least two of the three municipalities, all include recent immigrant communities and from my preliminary research, all followed religious practices which differed significantly from Christian worship practices. Finally, I included several ethnic Christian churches in order to draw comparisons between the experiences of recent immigrant Christian communities with minority religious communities.

The religious communities of the five religions in the three study municipalities are characterized by tremendous diversity exhibited through the number of religious denominations and ethno-religious communities. In order to understand the spectrum of

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[21] Although Gagnon's work (Gagnon & Germain, 2002; Germain & Gagnon, 2003; Gagnon *et al.*, 2004) examined a number of religious communities, the focus of their in-depth analysis was on two Jewish communities.

religious and cultural practices and corresponding spatial expressions and needs, I wanted to capture this diversity through my sampling.

I encountered several challenges in developing a sampling frame. I learned from my recognizance study that religious communities are in some ways difficult to track because there is considerable turnover in place of worship location, particularly young congregations and those in temporary locations. While all three municipalities had lists of places of worship, these were not kept up-to-date annually. As such, I had to develop my sampling frame by supplementing the municipal lists using telephone directories, internet searches and personal contacts.

A second difficulty I encountered was learning how to identify those religious communities which had been recently *developed*. I became more sensitive to the fact that *development* and consequent interactions between the religious community and the land use planning system, could take place at many points along the place of worship development process, from temporary location, to permanent location and expansion. As a result, I could not rely on the date of construction of a place of worship alone to indicate whether or when the community interacted with the planning system. Accordingly, my definition of "recent" became quite loose, and I began to choose to interview religious communities who had *any* development activity in the last 10 years, rather than strictly choosing only those places of worship which had been constructed during the past ten years.

In the end, my sampling strategy became highly purposive (Bernard, 1995). I chose my sample based on the denomination type (attempting to capture as large a range of denominations and ethnic groups as possible for each religion), tenure types (both owned and leased), building forms (residential, commercial, industrial and traditional) and location (to include communities in all three major land use designations - industrial, residential and commercial as well as communities in each of the three municipalities).[22]

Field entry issues for interviewing

Typical of qualitative research, I encountered a number of issues entering the field (Bernard, 1995, p. 143). With religious communities these issues included developing trust, knowing appropriate religious and cultural modes of conduct (dress, conduct, greetings,

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[22] Table 3-1 lists interviews, while Table x, in Chapter X, illustrates tenure types, forms and locations

appropriate comments and questions), negotiating key gatekeepers and gaining field entry, establishing communication with an appropriate contact who could speak English as well as understand and have an interest in the research. For municipal interviews, establishing trust was also important because of the political sensitivity of issues related to minority religious communities in areas related to racism, discrimination and inter-ethnic conflict.

I tried to address these issues by preparing well beforehand to understand basic issues relevant to both religious community representatives and municipal informants, by conducting pilot interviews, designing my entry protocol to use my personal network where possible, using site visits and using participant observation to demonstrate genuine interest.

Despite my approach, there were a number of religious communities with which I was unable to arrange interviews, despite multiple field visits, calls and emails. For some, it was not possible because of reasons like family illness, travel, and work schedules. For some others, the geographic distances and language barriers presented additional challenges.

Ethics, anonymity and research design

During the pilot stage, I encountered informants who would only tell me stories about the more sensitive issues related to religious communities and places of worship strictly off-the-record. Yet these were the very issues that I wanted to explore! Through many years of friendship and work with recent immigrants, I also was aware that many people are hesitant to discuss or report incidents of racism or discrimination, particularly to a Caucasian Canadian such as myself.

My solution to these issues was to devise a research strategy that would try to protect the identity of research participants as much as possible, in order to create an atmosphere in which people would feel comfortable to report controversial or sensitive material. Accordingly, the interviewing was conducted with the understanding that only public sources of data would be attributed to the cities and organizations researched in my research. All interview data would be presented in non-attributed form, and only the position and general type of organization of the interviewee would be revealed, not her name, the name of the organization or municipality. Therefore the results are presented two ways. All public data *e.g.* data from the internet, newspaper articles, field observations, municipal policies and documents, are presented as attributed data, that is, the name and location of the organization of interest is attributed. All interview data are presented in non-attributed form.

Key informant interviews with religious communities

Key informant interviews were conducted with representatives of the religious communities. In all cases, the representative was part of the community leadership (either current or former president, member of council or committee *etc.*) and most had been directly involved in the development process. Table 3-1 summarizes the interviews conducted for this study.

Table 3-1: Summary of Key Informant Interviews

Religious communities	Subgroup	Total # Interviews	Total # respondents
Pilot interviews			
Religious community members	Buddhist (1), Sunni Muslim (3), Sikh (1) and Hindu (2)	7	7
Religious community representatives	Buddhist/Theraveda	1	3
	Sikh	1	1
Planner		1	1
Pilot interviews subtotal		**10**	**12**
Study municipalities interviews			
Buddhist	Theraveda	1	1
	Mahayana	2	3
	Humanistic	1	1
Muslim	Sunni	7	8
	Ahmaddiya	1	2
	Shia	1	1
Sikh	Nanaksar	1	1
	Other	3	3
Hindu	Various	6	8
	Arya Samaj	1	1
Other than Euro-Canadian Christian	Other	1	1
	Chinese	5	5
Euro-Canadian Christian	Protestant	1	3
Religious community subtotal		**31**	**38**
Planners	Pre-survey interviews	3	3
	Follow-up interviews	3	2*
Planner interviews subtotal		**6**	**5**
Study municipalities interviews subtotal		**37**	**43**
Total interviews		**47**	**55**

*Five people were interviewed in the follow-up interviews; however, three of them were the same interviewees from the pre-survey interview, so they are only counted once in the tabulation of respondents.

The place of interview was chosen by the interviewee. Almost all interviews were conducted at the place of worship of interest.[23] In more than half the cases (as well as many with which I did not conduct an interview), I made a preliminary visit(s) to the place of worship itself to meet religious personnel, explain my study and try to identify the most appropriate person to interview. This was because telephone and email contacts were often ineffective means of contacting the most appropriate person. For those communities with which I was successful at arranging an interview, I would set an interview date. On the day of the actual interview, when possible, I would arrive early or stay after the interview, to observe whatever activities were taking place, to have a tour of the facility and often to eat with the interviewee and other religious personnel or devotees.

Interviews with religious communities were semi-structured. The interview guide was divided into four basic sections (See Appendix I) and covered the following topics: 1) building and site features 2) building function and use 3) characteristics of the religious community 4) development history and background 5) commentary on place of worship conflict.

Interviews with municipal planners were also semi-structured. For all three municipalities, I gained entry through the head of the department. In all three cases, I was referred to the policy planner had been the key person working on departmental issues related to place of worship development. In two of three cases, the planner suggested and arranged for a second planner to attend the follow-up interview to augment the discussion. Preliminary interviews addressed 1) municipal past policy 2) implementation issues and 3) process issues. The follow-up interviews addressed 1) clarification of municipal policy 2) zoning issues 3) religious neighbourhoods 4) defining compatible use 5) parking and transportation issues 6) commentary on place of worship conflict (See Appendix I).

3.3.3.   Phase III: Follow-up interviews

The follow-up interview with planners was designed to clarify and seek municipal perspectives on issues identified from preliminary analysis of interview and archival data. A pilot interview was first conducted with a local practicing planner.

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[23] Two interviews were conducted at the local coffee shop, at the request of the interviewees.

3.4.   Quality in Research Design, Methods and Analysis

Research quality must be addressed in all stages of the research process: design, data collection, analysis and presentation. At the same time, many of these activities overlap and quality must be considered throughout the design as a whole. Four key concepts are used to establish rigour in qualitative research. Table 3-3 describes these concepts in research quality, with a description of how this study has addressed each of these concepts.

Table 3-2: Research Quality

Tests of Research Design Quality	Questions	Techniques	Current Study
Credibility (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) Construct Validity (Yin, 1994)	Do the study findings accurately reflect the phenomena studied? Is the correct operational measure being used to study the given concept?	Rigorous techniques for data collection and analysis - these include triangulation, establishing chain of evidence, testing rival explanations and negative cases Credibility of researcher (training, experience, track record, and status)	Several data collection methods were used to explore the research topic, including archival research, secondary data collection, visual survey, participant observation and interviews with religious and planning representatives in order to provide triangulation through data sources and data collection methods. Findings were shared with study informants and their comments incorporated into the final text. The credibility of researcher is demonstrated through the research training through university coursework, past experience in several research projects and by the ethics approval process.
Internal Validity (Yin, 1994)	Are the links between data valid? Are there causal relationships between conditions and data, or are these relationships spurious?	Provide an orderly description of rich, descriptive detail (Lofland, 1971 p.59 in Patton 1990, p. 490)	Study provides a detailed description of the research findings.
External Validity (Yin, 1989) Transferability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985)	Are the study findings generalizable beyond the specific situation studied? Can the findings be applied to other situations with similar conditions? (Patton, 1990, p.489)	Focus not on the "literal replication" of cases, that is the study's ability to predict, but rather upon the "theoretical replication" of the cases, that is how different results are produced for predictable reasons (Yin, 1994, p. 46).	The emphasis of the research on the context influencing the emergence of planning issues related to places of worship allows the research results to inform practice in other areas.
Reliability (Yin, 1989) Dependability/ Confirmability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985)	Is the study repeatable? Can the reader determine if the research process was adequate and that the findings flow logically from the methods and the analysis?	Establish a chain of evidence.	Detailed description of the research process and findings.

Triangulation is one issue in research quality which deserves further comment in relation to this study. Triangulation has been presented as a strategy of validation and a means of strengthening research objectivity (Flick, 1992). In this view, there are several types of triangulation: data, methods, theory, and investigator, all of which can be used to "maximize validity" (Denzin, 1978, p. 304 in Flick, 1992). Critics of this view point out that Denzin's definition of triangulation as a means of validation and greater objectivity takes a narrow, positivist approach which "assumes one reality and one conception of the subject under study" (Flick, 1992, p. 178). In contrast to Denzin these writers endorse an interpretative approach, in which triangulation does not necessarily increase the validity or accuracy of research findings, but rather, increases range, depth and understanding of one's data (Fielding & Fielding, 1986; Flick, 1992). In this research, triangulation of data sources and data collection methods was used (See Figure 3-1). Triangulation is critical to the validity of the research, not because it uncovers "objective reality," but because it increases the understanding of the multiple perspectives at work. In this study, the religious community experience of place of worship development was researched using three data collection methods: interviews, content analysis of municipal documentation, and observation. Interviews were conducted with both religious community representatives and municipal planners. Municipal documents included memos, committee meeting minutes, policy documents, land use applications and municipal inventories. The combination of these methods and data sources allowed me to observe in person, the sites, buildings and neighbourhoods in question, to hear the experiences of the communities themselves, as well as the perspectives of municipal planners on those experiences in general.

3.5. *Ethics*

This research was conducted in accordance with the standards of the University of Waterloo's Office of Human Research Guidelines for Research with Human Participants (following the Tri-Council Policy Statement (Canadian Institutes of Health Research, Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council of Canada, & Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, 1998). These standards include: honesty of conduct, protection of confidentiality and anonymity, the use of informed consent, and the principle of reciprocity.

Figure 3-1: Triangulation: multiple data collection methods & sources to investigate religious community experience of place of worship development and planning implications
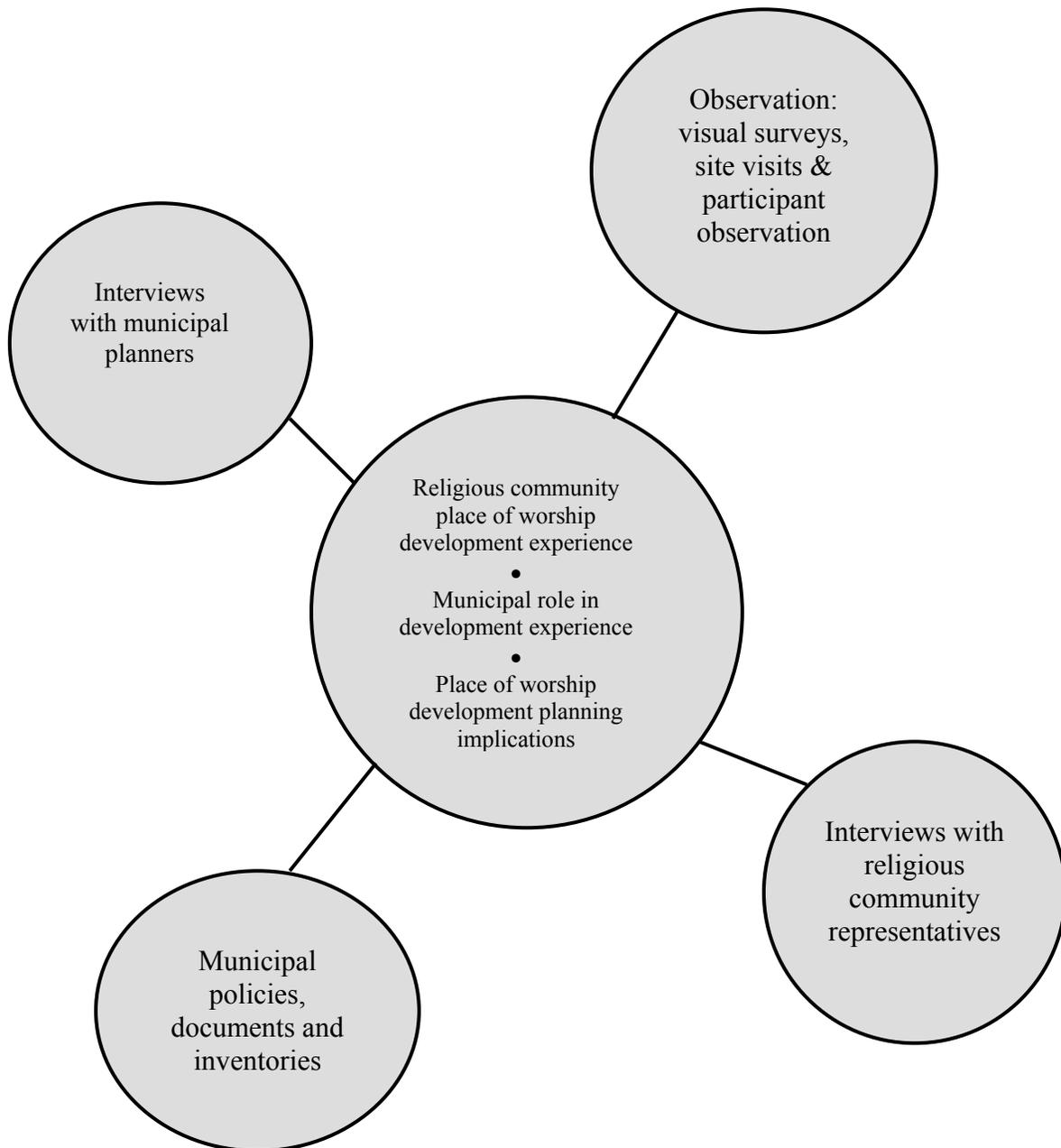
Adapted from Yin 1994, p.93.

Potential research respondents received an invitation to participate the study through an information letter about the research, by email, fax or in person. They were then contacted by telephone to discuss the research further. If the person was willing to participate in the

research, an interview was arranged.[24] At the interview, the research process was again described to the participant and their consent was again formally obtained through the signing of a consent form. Draft copies of the research findings chapters were provided to the research participants. Their comments were used to finalize the thesis. A summary report will be prepared and distributed among the research participants.[25] They have been notified that the thesis is available if they should be interested in acquiring a copy.

3.6.   *Data Management and Analysis*

Data from participant observation were recorded in the form of notes taken either during or immediately after the interaction. All interviews were digitally recorded with permission from participants. The interviews were transcribed. Notes were taken from municipal archival data from the reading and analysis of the documents. Analysis was conducted with the assistance of NVivo[26] qualitative research analysis software. NVivo was

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[24] No community representatives refused outright to participate in the study; however, in three cases (1 Pakistani, Shia mosque, 1 Iranian Shia mosque and 1 Hindu mandir) I was unable to get in touch with an appropriate, English speaking representative. In two cases (2 Sunni Muslim) after talking to the appropriate representative and faxing further information, I was not able to again reach the contact person, nor did they return my calls. In the case of the three Ismaili communities which tend to be highly organized, close-knit communities, I could not visit the Ismaili Khana because I knew that non-Ismailis are not allowed in the building. I tried through several contacts to find and get in touch with the appropriate contact. I finally did talk to one, but after a couple of contacts, he did not follow through as requested and I decided not to include this community for the doctoral work. There were another five communities (1 Sikh, 1 Shia Muslim, and 3 Hindu) where illness or travel of the key contact prevented the interview from taking place.

[25] This report will be the basis for a development guide that will be proposed to the three municipalities as well as the Ontario Professional Planning Institute and Canadian Institute of Planners. As I discussed during the study interview, if accepted, the research participants will be invited to participate in this development guide. Many participants expressed interest in this project.

[26] NVivo is analytical software that facilitates qualitative data analysis (see (Hinchliffe, Crang, Reimer S.M., & Hudson, 1997; Lonkila, 1995; Richards & Richards, 1991; Richards & Richards, 1993; Richards, 1999). In the "pen, highlighter and paper" method of analysis, the analyst manually codes text by highlighting key words, sentences or passages, assigning and grouping text under a code and later grouping codes into broader themes. In the software method of analysis, this process takes place digitally. All study documents are converted or transcribed into digital form (rich text format) and entered into the system. The software facilitates the management and analysis of high quantities of data within a dynamic, iterative and flexible system of coding that also helps the analyst to record ideas as they develop through the analysis process. As such, this system allows all study data to be managed and analyzed within a single, cross-referenced system. There are many advantages to this method. Coding can be done deductively, through preconceived concepts, and inductively as the analyst reads through the study documents. The analyst is able to create hierarchies of coding (called trees, with "sibling" and "children" nodes), through of a system of nodes (in the vocabulary of NVivo), which themselves can be subjected to meta-analysis through analysis of node attributes. The software allows the analyst to easily combine or subdivide codes as necessary. Within a single code (itself a separate document which compiles all selected text under this code), features of the software allow the analyst to keep track which interviews the selections were taken from and to easily move back and forth between the original document and the code document. Reflections and further analysis ideas can be attached through "memos" to nodes.

used primarily as a data management tool, through which to manage the coding process and results.[27]

The spatial pattern analysis of place of worship development data from the visual survey, secondary and archival data collection took place in several stages. Initial analysis took place through the observations made during the visual surveys and from municipal place of worship studies. Location data were then compiled from municipal inventories, supplemented and confirmed by internet searches and fieldwork, and analyzed by date, zoning and religion. Subsequent spatial pattern analysis was undertaken by form, location, clustering and religious neighbourhoods through comparison of both visual survey and location data.

The analysis of interview data, field notes and archival data followed an iterative process of open and focused coding (Strauss, 1987; Lofland & Lofland, 1995), using descriptive and interpretive coding (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Morse & Richards, 1994). Descriptive coding is the most basic of coding techniques. Here data are assigned to various categories based on basic criteria. Little or no interpretation is required. Descriptive coding was used to organize religious community place of worship activities, spatial requirements, the identification of planning issues and challenges.[28]

Interpretive and pattern coding require analysis in which the analyst is the primary analytical tool. Here, the research context, other mediating variables as well as the knowledge and skills of the analyst, are used to interpret text for explicit and implicit meaning. Interpretive and pattern coding were used to identify key factors in place of worship development, to examine the interplay of these factors throughout the development process, and to categorize religious community actions by coping strategies exhibited

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[27] Some analysts find it useful NVivo's search tools to aid in their analyses. For example, they run a search of all the passages in which a particular word or phrase is used within all the documents. This technique was not particularly effective in this study. Instead, I went through the study documents and coded text manually.

[28] Here I used interview transcripts and observation notes. Hierarchies were established using NVivo's tree function. Before beginning the analysis, I established many hierarchies under which sub-categories and sub-sub-categories were created. For example, I created a tree under the theme "cultural issues." This node had three children nodes: time, space and social organization. Each of these had more children nodes. As I went through the texts, using the coder, I selected text and entered it into the appropriate code. The software coder allows you to add new codes as you work, including "in-vivo coding" from which the software derives its name.

through their behaviour.[29] Following this coding, diagramming techniques (primarily matrices and concept charting (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Lofland & Loftland, 1995) were used to explore and denote relationships between study analytic categories.

3.7.   *Limitations and reflections*

Several limitations of the research design, data collection and analysis methods deserve discussion. The decision not to attribute religious communities to municipalities (in order to protect anonymity of study participants and to elicit greater response in relation to sensitive issues) limited the comparative power of the study in terms of inter-municipal comparisons. Because religious communities were not attributed to their corresponding municipality, I was not able to compare religious community development experiences by municipality.

The anticipated trade-off was that this loss would be compensated by the reporting of other, sensitive material. Here, the technique itself did not provide the anticipated results.[30] There were few sensitive issues reported related to discrimination, neighbour conflict or difficulties with municipal staff. In two cases where community representatives had sensitive material to share, they still asked for the material to be off-the-record despite confidentiality assurances. However, because the research design improved my ability to establish respondent trust, this dimension of the design strengthened the internal validity of study findings of the relatively few numbers of sensitive issues reported.

Another limitation of the study was the use of a single religious community representative to collect data on religious community place of worship development

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[29] For example, through analysis I began to observe that different communities had different means through which to address different issues that they encountered through the development process. As these means were the ways by which communities responded to change and challenges, following Kong's (1993) description and analysis of devotee cognitive adaptive strategies, I began to think of these actions in terms of development coping mechanisms or strategies. As I selected and collected passages illustrating these coping strategies, I began to distinguish between different ways of coping. From these observations I created another set of nodes that were eventually grouped into five categories (*e.g.* adaptation, accommodation *etc.*) described in Chapter 6. As I carried out this coding strategy, I experimented with different matrices to further analyze these actions and perspectives, leading me to tease out the issue of concern, the action carried out, the result of the action, and the communities involved.

[30] This should not be interpreted as meaning that no significant conflicts have occurred at all in the three communities. The widely reported Islamic Society of North America case (Isin & Siemiatycki, 1999) on South Sheridan Way, as well as two cases in Markham (one mosque and one mandir), are three cases involving conflict known to the researcher. For reasons discussed above, I was unable to include these cases in this study. However, given its methodology, the study findings show that conflict is not typical of the religious community development experience.

experiences. Again, this design decision represents a trade-off, increasing the quantity and diversity of religious community types at the expense of detail and internal validity of each single religious community narrative. In this study, the design which increased the ranges of experiences collected strengthened the internal validity of the study findings of the lack of conflict experienced by religious communities across the 30 communities.

The use of a single religious community representative also limited the validity of the study findings in that this method is vulnerable to both the weaknesses of the single respondent's memory and the selective emphasis of the individual, who may be motivated in various ways to present him or herself and his or her community in a particular light. Here, the representative's narrative is indeed a representation by the individual of his or her community. Given the study's central concern for the planning implications of the religious community experience and the respondents' awareness of this concern, the respondent's presentation of his or her community's perceptions of the development experience are sufficient for the purposes of the study, even if they do conceal (intentionally or not) certain details of the community's experience.

3.8.   Conclusion

A qualitative, multi-method approach was used in this study. I examined place of worship development in three suburban municipalities: Mississauga, Brampton and Markham. I collected data in three phases using archival and secondary data collection, visual surveys, participant observation, semi-structured interviews with representatives of religious communities from five religions and semi-structured interviews with policy planners from three municipalities. The research design allowed me to capture a range of religious community experiences, across a number of variables including religious community, place of worship type, form and location. Due to the approach used to protect religious community anonymity, the design limited my ability to make inter-municipal comparisons across the religious communities. However, comparisons are made on general issues related to policy and the research design strengthens the study findings in relation to sensitive issues.

Chapter 4: <u>The public policy context</u>

4.1. Introduction

This chapter begins to explore the second, third and fourth research questions: how municipal planning practice has influenced and responded to place of worship development, and the implications of this development for planning practice. Here, data concerning the development of municipal land use policy in relation to places of worship are presented, and a preliminary discussion is forwarded regarding the relationship between municipalities, planning practice and place of worship development. This discussion is continued in a more integrative manner in Chapters 6 and 7.

As several scholars have argued (Wallace & Moore Milroy, 1999; Fenster, 1999), issues related to ethno-racial diversity must be understood within the overarching legislative and policy frameworks which delimit the ways in which diversity is negotiated and expressed. Planning issues related to ethno-racial diversity must also be understood within the broader public policy context of the specific issue under examination. Public policy is developed through a complex, cumulative, dynamic and multi-faceted process. It includes a variety of instruments and is determined by the actions of a network of actors and organizations. Public policy options and outcomes are bound by prevailing social, economic and political conditions in addition to whatever specific factors are at work in the particular policy domain in question (Howlett & Ramesh, 1995). In the case of land use planning, these can include factors such as existing urban form and structure (*e.g.* Willson, 1995).

This chapter examines two areas of public policy related to place of worship development: land use planning policy and policy related to ethnic, racial and religious diversity. This chapter begins with a brief overview of both policy areas. Next, it provides profiles of the three study municipalities. Then I continue on to describe the historical development of place of worship related land use policy and conclude with a comparative discussion of place of worship land use policy in Mississauga, Brampton and Markham.

4.2.   Urban development and planning policy

Canada's population is overwhelmingly urban with 79.4% of Canadians living in a centre of 10,000 people or more (Statistics Canada, 2002b, p. 5). Urban growth is unevenly distributed nationally, with the greatest regional increases concentrated in four large

metropolitan areas[31] (Statistics Canada, 2002b). In addition to metropolitan concentration of growth, development of the past five decades has been predominantly suburban, contributing in several regions to the so-called "donut" growth patterns (Statistics Canada, 2002b), whereby suburban population and economic growth exceeds that of its central city.

Immigration and the concentration of economic and population growth in the suburban parts of a small number of large, urban regions, form the backdrop of this study. The three municipalities chosen for this study, Mississauga, Brampton and Markham are located in the economically strong, greater Toronto metropolitan region which in 2001 hosted a foreign-born population of 43.7 % (McIsaac, 2003). All three case study municipalities developed rapidly over the past 50 years and combine an initial wave of industrial and manufacturing growth (particularly Mississauga and Brampton) as well as more recent growth in the high technology sector (especially Markham).

Mississauga, Brampton and Markham can be described as having a dispersed urban form, typical of Canadian and American suburban communities of this period of development. As several scholars have noted (Bourne, 1997; Filion, 2000; Grant, 2006; Harris & Larkham, 1999), public policies at national, provincial, regional and local levels contribute collectively to the development of this form, in concert with other economic and social factors. In particular, policies such as those relating to national housing and mortgaging, provincial, regional and local investment in transportation and urban services infrastructure and segregated land use, supported by high automobile use and low energy prices, have provided a strong market demand for suburban residential development.

The relationship between suburban form and residents' values warrant additional attention here. While only one of the many factors influential in the complex system of suburban development, this relationship is related to place of worship development, discussed further in Chapters 6 and 7. In terms of general design, the residential component of suburban communities is characterized by low density housing frequently dominated by single-family homes occupying large lots with wide setbacks.[32] Both design and regulation

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[31] The extended Golden Horseshoe (Niagara-Kitchener-Barrie-Toronto-Oshawa area), the Montréal region, the lower mainland of British Columbia and the Calgary-Edmonton corridor in Alberta

[32] Suburban form in Canada was significantly influenced by Howard's Garden City model, through the advocacy of Thomas Adams (Grant, 2006; McCann, 1999). While residential development over the past half

exclude most other land uses from residential neighbourhoods. Traffic is carefully controlled and internal neighbourhood traffic minimized, in many communities by curvilinear streets and cul-de-sacs, with traffic quickly funnelled to wide arterials, often buffered by landscaping or sound barriers. The entire community is oriented almost exclusively to the automobile. Auto accessibility demands not only high capacity arterial network but also large parking lots. While transit has been incorporated in some communities, it is rarely complemented by other aspects of neighbourhood design such as street layout, pedestrian-oriented environments, or the close proximity of amenities (Filion, 2000; Grant, 2006; McCann, 1999; Smith, 2006). The net result of such development is an environment that attracts and privileges those residents who value privacy, quiet, open space and homogeneity (Grant, 2002), what Fishman (2002) refers to as a "bourgeois utopia." It is an environment which many residents fiercely protect, as numerous studies of conflict and NIMBYism illustrate (Dear, 1992; Pendall, 1999; Preston & Lo, 2000; Ray, Halseth, & Johnson, 1997; Rose, 1999). It also remains a very popular development paradigm in Canada despite recent efforts by proponents of New Urbanism and transit-oriented forms development to shift consumers' demands (Grant, 2002).

Land use planning in Ontario is structured by a three-tiered system of provincial, regional and local land use planning policy, supported by a plethora of supporting legislation and regulation in areas of environmental protection, building construction, public health *etc.* According to the Planning Act (Government of Ontario, 1990), communities must create a community-wide Official Plan, which outlines general goals, objectives and policies for development of the community. The plan must conform to provincial and where applicable, regional policy. Official plans sketch out broad land use and development objectives and a number of planning tools are used to implement these policies. These include secondary or subdivision and special area plans, zoning by-laws, and site plans.

4.3. Ethnicity-, race- and religion- related legislation and policy

The two primary vehicles for legislation and policy related to ethnicity, race and religion are the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* and official multiculturalism.

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century has abandoned many elements of this ideal, several key components have been maintained, notably land use segregation, low density development and abundant open space (McCann, 1999; Smith, 2006).

Human rights are recognized and protected at both federal and provincial levels. Multiculturalism is entrenched in the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* and federal legislation, but its status at the provincial, regional and local levels is less clear.

Since Confederation, human rights protections have developed incrementally and the 1982 amendment of the Canadian constitution with the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* provided a significant advance in their implementation. The *Charter* follows "the principle that the exercise of power by the many is conditional on respect for the rights of the few" (Sharpe and Swinton, 1998 p. 232). These rights can be appealed through the formal court system under the *Charter* or to the quasi-judicial provincial Human Rights Commissions under provincial legislation (Wallace & Moore Milroy 1999). In Ontario, the Ontario Human Rights Commission addresses human rights under the Ontario Human Rights Code. Its protection of religion includes "the practices, beliefs and observances that are part of a faith or religion" (Ontario Human Rights Commission, 2005) and primarily deals with employment issues related to dress codes, observances of prayer and time off for religious holidays.

There are several sections of the *Charter* related to issues of culture and religion: sections 1, 2, 15 and 27. As Sharpe and Swinton (1998, p. 232) observe, the language of the Charter "seems to define a zone of autonomy for the individual within which the state may not intrude," outlined in Section 1. This "zone of autonomy" is defined in terms of religion and culture in a number of ways. Section 2 includes the protection of an individual's freedom of conscience and religion, such that no state actions should result in a serious burden on an individual's beliefs or practices. Section 15 guarantees protection from discrimination, including administrative,[33] formal[34] and substantive[35] equality. Finally, Section 27, perhaps the most controversial and challenging provision of the Charter, is an interpretational rule that calls for the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canadians.

Multiculturalism as an official doctrine emerged in Canada in the aftermath of Quebec's quiet revolution. It was Prime Minister Trudeau's compromise to the demands of both francophone and recent immigrant communities for cultural recognition. Since that

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[33] Equality before the law
[34] Equality under the law
[35] Rights to equal protection and benefit of the law

time, official multiculturalism has shifted significantly in focus and program delivery. In general, the policy has changed from a largely symbolic one ("song and dance" multiculturalism (Padolsky, 2000, p. 146) supporting cultural events and organizations, to one which has been enshrined in legislation (the Canadian Multiculturalism Act 1988) and has increasingly addressed structural issues such as those related to discrimination and citizenship (Fleras & Elliot, 2003; Kobayashi, 1993).

Although multiculturalism has a strong presence federally, its record at lower levels of government is less impressive, particularly in the area of urban issues. In the case of Ontario, provincial legislation and policy provides little in the way of specific direction to municipalities in relation to ethno-racial diversity or multicultural issues. In 1977, the Ontario government adopted a Multiculturalism Policy which acknowledged diversity and its implications (Wallace & Frisken, 2000). This policy was supported by the New Democratic Party (NDP) government during the early 1990s with several programs and legislative initiatives in support of social equity. These efforts were dismantled and neglected by the subsequent Conservative government in the mid-1990s and they have not been substantially re-adopted by the current Liberal government.[36]

Provincial planning legislation itself provides little direction in terms of municipal management of diversity issues related to multiculturalism. In fact, the 1990 *Planning Act* has very little to say about social issues at all. In Section 2 it defines Provincial interest to include "(d) the conservation of features of significant architectural, *cultural*, historical, archaeological or scientific interest;" and "(i) the adequate provision and distribution of educational, health, *social, cultural* and recreational facilities" (*italics* added). In Section 16, in its description of Official plans, the Act also stipulates that an official plan,

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[36] The current Liberal government has appeared to make some effort towards greater acknowledgement of immigrant-related issues since coming to power in November 2002. In 2003, it re-organized its citizenship ministry now renamed the Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration. In November 2005, the provincial government signed an agreement with the federal government to provide additional funding to settlement programs and services. Further, in his October 2005 Speech from the Throne, Ontario Premier McGuinty spoke directly about immigrant related diversity, its importance to the Ontario economy and improvements to the government's settlement programs and services (McGuinty, 2005). Recent (March 2006) Government of Ontario television advertisements describe provincial programs supporting recent immigrants, emphasizing their importance to the Ontario economy. In February 2006, the province announced a two year, $450,000 program called Community Builders which will support diversity awareness through NGO initiatives (Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration, 2006).

(a) shall contain goals, objectives and policies established primarily to manage and direct physical change and the effects on the *social*, economic and natural environment of the municipality or part of it, or an area that is without municipal organization (*italics* added).

At the regional policy level, Peel and York regions, the upper-tier governments for the three study municipalities, similarly provide little in the way of policy direction. In their 2000 study, Wallace and Frisken charted the efforts of Peel and York municipalities to address ethno-racial diversity. They generally observed these efforts have been minimal and frequently fall under the social planning and human services areas. More recently, the York Region's Human Services Planning Coalition developed an inclusivity plan for its human services (Human Services Planning Coalition & York Region, 2005). The Peel Region also has an inter-agency, umbrella organization, the Peel Multiculturalism Council, which is funded by various government (including the Regional government) and NGO sources. It runs independently of the regional government through a Board of Directors and directs awareness and equity related programs (Peel Multicultural Council, 2006).

At the local municipal level, the record is mixed. In general, central cities have made greater efforts to address diversity-related issues than their suburban counterparts (Edgington & Hutton, 2002; Frisken & Wallace, 2003; Germain, Dansersau, Poirier, Alain, & Gagnon, 2003). However, it is important to note that the broader policy context greatly influences municipal approaches to immigration and ethnoracial diversity. Frisken and Wallace (2003, p. 157-158) take note of several challenges that all municipalities face in addressing these issues. First, municipalities have no constitutional obligation to address immigration settlement. Second, with the exception of chartered cities such as Vancouver and Montréal, municipalities have limited autonomy over their affairs. What power they do have, remains at the discretion of their respective provinces. Third, municipal revenues are dependent on property taxes. This dependency makes them very sensitive to economic trends and beholden to new development to finance programs and services. Fourth, municipal governments are not included in federal discussions on immigrant related policies and programs (Federation of Canadian Municipalities, 2005). Lastly, national and provincial multiculturalism policies provide little in the way of practical guidance on how municipal governments should handle local issues related to immigrant residents and communities. In their study of the Greater Toronto Area, Frisken and Wallace (2003) further observed that shifting provincial funding

supports and policy directions, concurrent with rapid demographic change and increasing ethno-racial diversity, have made appropriate responses to planning and service delivery difficult. Linguistic and cultural barriers to communication have also presented considerable challenges when ethno-cultural diversity is high. Yet, they note, effective communication is needed to inform immigrants about available services, to deliver services and programs, and to solicit input and feedback on programming and planning.

The cities of Toronto, Vancouver and Montréal have invested effort and resources into inclusionary policies, programs and services. They have focused on improved communication in service delivery. This has included translation services, multilingual web pages or literature, and the use of community-based ethnic organizations and media to distribute information (Edgington & Hutton, 2002; Frisken & Wallace, 2003; Siemiatycki, Rees, Ng, & Rahi, 2001). For example, Vancouver's CityPlan project made extensive use of facilitators, ethnic media, translated documents and a multi-lingual telephone line to implement their neighbourhood visioning process (Edgington & Hutton 2002; Lee, 2002). Other municipal endeavours have included staff training in areas like cultural sensitivity and race-relations and concerted efforts to develop a multicultural municipal workforce (Frisken and Wallace 2003). Municipalities have also developed specific programs to address immigrant resident needs in areas like affordable housing, and sports and leisure (Germain *et al.*, 2003a). Another approach has been to require that grants recipients of various public health, arts, economic development projects demonstrate that their organizations reflect the City's diversity, as in the case of the City of Toronto (Siemiatycki *et al.*, 2001).

In their study of municipal responses to ethnocultural diversity in Montréal and its adjacent suburban communities, Germain *et al.* (2003a) examine three areas of municipal program and service delivery: sport and leisure, planning for ethnic minority places of worship and social housing. They note that the presence of formal policies addressing ethnocultural diversity does not necessarily guarantee effective implementation of such policies. They observe that despite general policies, municipal actors tend to respond to many problem-solving and decision-making scenarios in an ad hoc or "trial and error" manner. Furthermore, study findings show that local community organizations have played a critical role determining the extent to which municipal responses to newcomer issues are implemented.

Overall, legislation and policy related to ethnicity, race and religion has been effective in some areas, but certainly not all. Human rights protections are able to provide some guarantee of equal treatment. The courts have made several rulings supporting the rights of cultural and religious minorities, such as in the areas of religious freedom and minority-language rights (Dickson, 1996; Sharpe & Swinton, 1998; Swinton, 1996). Recent Canadian human rights discourse has also begun to pay closer attention to intersectional analysis, which examines the ways in which the negative impacts of discrimination occur from several, rather than one single dimension of identity (Ontario Human Rights Commission, 2001). Multiculturalism has also addressed equal treatment through increased programming addressing racism and areas such as employment equity.

However there are limits to the potency of the current Canadian legislative and policy context in the area of ethnoracial and religious diversity particularly as it applies to urban issues. The empirical record of the effective use of human rights discourse to forward minority group rights in the case of cultural land use issues is sparse (Bennet, 2003; Wallace & Moore Milroy, 1999). Scholars argue that current human rights protections are limited in their effective use to address either equality or recognition issues of ethnic, racial and religious minorities. Bakan (1997) asserts that because of its defensive stance, the *Charter* is limited in the extent to which it can promote social equality and recognition. It can only address injustice at the hands of the state, but not private actors. Furthermore, it can limit or restrict government action, but cannot require it to act in a positive or proactive manner. The courts have yet to apply the Section 27 of the *Charter* in a consistent and meaningful way, again, because its provision for the *enhancement* of multiculturalism is difficult to enforce through the courts (Magnet, 1996). Overall, Magnet (1996) observes that the record of minority collective rights cases in the courts is very poor. While federal policy and programs are strong in the area of multiculturalism, municipal governments, the actors which are best positioned to address day-to-day urban issues related to ethnicity, race and religion, are not well-equipped with the authority, mandate or resources to effectively and proactively address issues of equality and cultural accommodation.

4.4. Local municipal policy context

This section provides profiles of each of the three study municipalities: Mississauga, Brampton and Markham, which are located along the periphery of the City of Toronto (See Figure 4-1) and within the Toronto census metropolitan area (CMA). Mississauga and Brampton are within the regional municipality of Peel, and Markham is in the York region.

Figure 4-1: Study communities
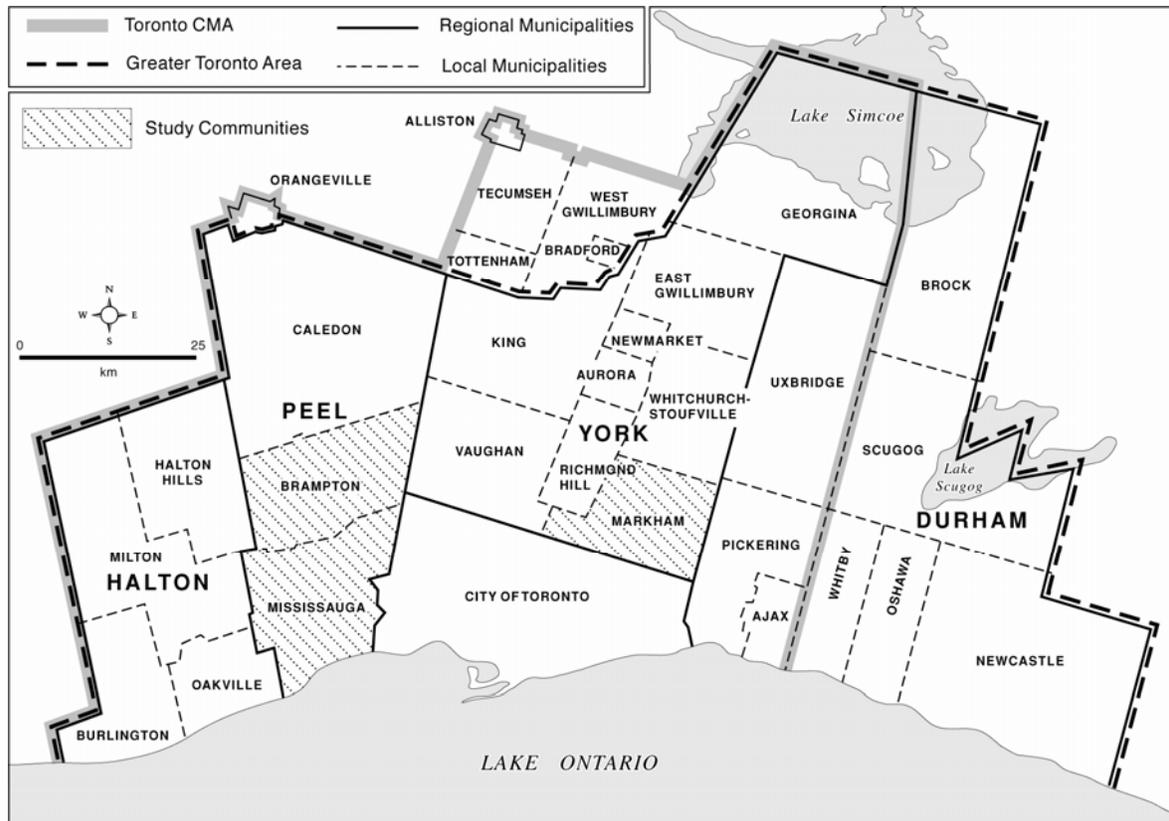
4.4.1. <u>Mississauga</u>

Mississauga is ranked as Canada's sixth largest city with a population of 612,925, land area of approximately 288 sq km and a moderate population density of 21.25 persons per ha (City of Mississauga 2002). In the period 1996-2001 its population growth rate was significantly high at 12. 6%. The area was acquired by the Crown and settled during the 19th century by the typical Canadian mix of British colonists – Irish, Welsh, English and Scots, many of whom were United Empire Loyalists (City of Mississauga 2004). In 1850 the area was incorporated into the Toronto Township which developed into a rural agricultural area dotted with ten villages. The village of Malton developed in the north-east corner of the

Township as a distribution hub for agriculture due to its strategic location on the Grand Trunk railway. The transformation of the semi-rural Toronto Township to the sub-urban city of Mississauga took place during the post-war period. Transportation improvements (400 series, Queen Elizabeth way, Erin Mills parkway and GO train) were central to this process, as well as residential, industrial and commercial development.

Urban growth and demographic change

Despite its rapid growth over the last half century, Mississauga's population growth rates are expected to fall significantly over the next 20 years, as its greenfield land supply is exhausted and employment lands are built out (Planning and Building Department, 2003c; Planning and Building Department, 2003a). Accordingly, detached, single family dwelling unit construction projections are decreasing, whereas housing development, particularly apartments, is anticipated as Mississauga enters a stage of infill and redevelopment (Planning and Building Department, 2003b).

Immigration has been a significant contributor to Mississauga's population growth throughout the past century. Typical of Canadian communities, the origins of recent immigrants has shifted dramatically changing the ethnic diversity of its population. In the 1950s, over 80% of Mississauga residents were of British origin. This figure has now dropped to 34.4 % for the 2001 census. The City's population is 46.8% foreign born (slightly higher than the Toronto CMA's at 43.7%) of which 40.3% belongs to a visible minority (See Table 5-7 and 5-8). Ethnic origins include Canadian (17.2%), English (14.7%), East Indian (11.3%), Chinese (6.5%), Filipinos (4.2%), Jamaicans (3.5%) and Pakistanis (1.9%) (City of Mississauga Planning and Building Department, 2003a). The residential distribution of these communities is relatively dispersed. Most communities do not exceed 20% concentration by census tract, although the South and East Asian community does concentrate in the 20-50% range in 32 census tracts (City of Mississauga Planning and Building Department, 2003a).

In terms of religious diversity, Mississauga has experienced significant change over the past decade (See Table 4-1 and Table 4-12). Its current profile contains 18% or 110,000 people belonging to minority or non-Christian religions. Three of those groups, Muslims, Buddhists and Hindus, have more than doubled in size over the past 10 years at 241%, 177% and 139% respectively, while the Sikh population also grew substantially by 86%.

Table 4-1: Mississauga Religious affiliation 1991-2001

Religion	1991	%	2001	%	% change absolute number	% change by percentage
Mississauga					1996-2001	1996-2001
Total - Religion	463,388		610,815			
Catholic	200,515	43.3	257,440	42.1	28.4	-2.8
Protestant	153,650	33.2	133,205	21.8	-13.3	-34.3
Muslim	12,260	2.6	41,845	6.9	241.3	165.4
Jewish	1,800	0.4	1,905	0.3	5.8	-25.0
Buddhist	4,185	0.9	11,600	1.9	177.2	111.1
Hindu	12,185	2.6	29,165	4.8	139.4	84.6
Sikh	12,560	2.7	23,425	3.8	86.5	40.7
No religious affiliation	51,315	11.1	73,085	12.0	42.4	8.1

Source: Statistics Canada, 2002; Statistics Canada 1992

Immigrant related municipal policy

Municipal policy and practice specifically responding to or targeted at this demographic shift has been virtually non-existent. In their 2000 study on municipal responses to immigration, Wallace and Frisken (2000) find that up to the late 1990s, the City of Mississauga had been almost completely *inactive* in responding to immigrant-related issues, lacking any acknowledgement of multiculturalism, discrimination, access or equity issues. Since that time, there has been some minimal acknowledgement of diversity. In its 2000 Strategic Plan, the City recognizes "distinct and recognizable communities" (City of Mississauga, p. 3) and pledges to "offer a diversity of cultural opportunities" (City of Mississauga, 2000) focusing on support and recognition for cultural activities and public events. In 2001, the planning and building department produced a report *Mississauga: A City of Many Cultures* (Planning and Building Department, 2001) which summarizes census data related to immigration. Several similar bulletins have followed, again reporting on basic census data for the City, including ethnicity, religion and language (City of Mississauga Planning and Building Department, 2003a; City of Mississauga Planning and Building Department, 2003c; City of Mississauga Planning and Building Department, 2003b). Official plan policy goals and objectives do include provisions to provide for cultural, social and religious needs as well as a commitment to provide locations for community uses, including places of religious assembly.

4.4.2.   **Brampton**

Like Mississauga, the City of Brampton has been characterized by rapid growth over the past four decades, particularly during recent years, with a 21.3% growth rate over the 1996-2001 period. It is Canada's 14th largest city, with a 2004 population estimate of 372,000 within a land area of 267 sq km (City of Brampton, 2004). Its history is also agricultural, with settlements along the Etobicoke river valley. Until the mid-20th century, most of its residents were British. Its post-war experience of industrialization brought increased immigration from western and southern Europe. Cheap industrial lands and available labour attracted rapid industrial growth including many American branch plants (Loverseed, 1987). In the early 1960's, the City of Bramalea was developed by Bramalea Development Corporation on 8,000 acres as a self-contained, "satellite city" to address a shortage of industrial lands in the Greater Toronto Area. Its cheap industrial land successfully attracted further industrial development *e.g.* Ford Motor Company and Northern Electric (Northern Telecom) (Loverseed, 1987). In 1974 Brampton was created from an amalgamation of the Town of Brampton, the Township of Toronto Gore, and portions of the Town of Mississauga and the Township of Chinguacousy, including Bramalea (City of Brampton, 2005a). The GO transit train was also extended to Brampton during this period. Brampton also benefited from the development of the 400 series, including highway 410 which forms the north-south corridor of the City (Loverseed, 1987).

Urban growth and demographic change

Unlike Mississauga, Brampton's population growth is expected to continue to rise quickly and steadily over the next 25 years. It has significant quantities of land available for development. The City grew by over 20,000 per year in 2002 and 2003, and 30,000 in 2004 (City of Brampton, 2004). Immigration has been a major factor in its population growth. Almost 40% (129,280) of Brampton's population is foreign-born and 33.9% (43,880) of its residents have arrived in Canada since 1991. Visible minorities comprise 40.2 % of the population. Largest ethnic groups include Canadian (21.4%), English (17.1%), East Indian (16.9%), Scottish (11.4%), Irish (11%) Italian (7.9%) and Jamaican (5.8%) (Statistics Canada, 2006).

Brampton's religious diversity has also grown tremendously over the past decade (See Table 4-2 and Table 4-12). Its non-Christian population is 20.7% (67,070) of its total. Like Mississauga, Brampton's religious diversity has grown substantially since 1991: Sikhs by 300%, Muslims, by 146%, Buddhists by 159% and Hindus by 175% (Statistics Canada, 2006).

Table 4-2: Brampton Religious affiliation 1991-2001[37]

Religion	1991	%	2001	%	% change absolute number	% change by proportion
Total - Religion	234,445		324,390			
Catholic	88,770	37.9	113,900	35.1	28.31	-7.3
Protestant	93,590	39.9	90,705	28.0	-3.08	-29.9
Muslim	4,660	2.0	11,470	3.5	146.14	76.1
Jewish	805	0.3	610	0.2	-24.22	-41.8
Buddhist	1,290	0.6	3,340	1.0	158.91	81.7
Hindu	6,415	2.7	17,640	5.4	174.98	97.4
Sikh	8,630	3.7	34,510	10.6	299.88	188.0
No religious affiliation	25,435	10.8	36,010	11.1	41.58	2.3

Source: Statistics Canada, 2002a); Statistics Canada 1992

Immigrant related municipal policy

The most recent Official Plan document of the City of Brampton is the 2005 consolidation of the 1993 Brampton Official Plan (although the 2005 consolidation updates all amendments to the Plan, the policies themselves have not been re-written in 13 years). Not surprisingly, there is little in the way of acknowledgement of Brampton's significant recent immigrant population. Brampton's Official Plan policy description of social considerations makes no specific reference to immigration, ethnic or cultural diversity. In its discussion of community and social services, it refers to churches and community centres, yet makes no mention of places of worship of other religious communities. Its definition of community services includes "the range of social, recreational, educational and protective services that are provided for public benefit in a community" (City of Brampton 2005, p.

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[37] The "other than" Christian category is not included in the following three charts as there is a difference in the ways in which Statistics Canada tabulated the "other" categories in 1991 and in 2001. I have not as yet been able to determine how to merge the two categories together so for the time being, I have left out this category here, although the Ontario statistics included below demonstrates that this category has also increased significantly.

153), again without reference to religious services. The one reference to diversity is made in relation to housing, it states that its focus is "to meet the needs of a diverse community" (City of Brampton 2005, p. 8).

There is some evidence of Brampton's acknowledgement of its increasing diversity. Its 1993 Strategic Plan, under "Responsive and Caring Community", states its goal to "accommodate special needs groups, *multiculturalism* and a housing continuum" (City of Brampton, 2005a, p. 10; *italics* added). Most recently, the draft terms of reference for the place of worship policy review states that the study is necessary "in recognition of the need to attract and establish places of worship as a means of strengthening the spiritual and social fabric of the community" and it further recognizes the City's "rich and diverse ethnic groups"(City of Brampton, 2005b, p. 2). Wallace and Frisken (2000, p. 21) document minimal efforts made by the City to address immigrant related diversity up to 1999: a 1990 Brampton Race Relations Action Council (citizen-run but reporting to City Council and provided with municipal core funding and in-kind support), the Mayor's monthly breakfast for multi-faith leaders, and a 1996 policy principle "to support the multicultural strength of the City."

4.4.3.   **Markham**

The Town of Markham, like both Brampton and Mississauga, is an amalgamation of several municipalities. It was created in 1971 from the Township of Markham and has also experienced high rates of growth over the past forty years, again in part as a result of immigration. The Township area was settled in the early 19th century by Pennsylvania Germans, United Empire Loyalists, and French and British agricultural immigrants (Town of Markham, 2006a) who established several small communities serving the area's agricultural communities. The post-war period brought a steady increase of population and economic growth, typical of the Greater Toronto Area outer suburban municipalities. In 1971, as a result of its regional planning efforts, the Province of Ontario established the Regional Municipality of York, and at the same time, reconfigured the boundaries of the Region's local municipalities (Town of Markham, 1987b). The Town of Markham was created from the Township of Markham, although several portions of the former Township were amalgamated into neighbouring municipalities (Town of Markham, 1987b). Since its creation, the Town of Markham has experienced the most growth of the ten local

municipalities of York Region, rising from a population of 37,500 in 1971 to 217,800 in 2001 (York Region, 2002). As in Mississauga and Brampton, immigration has played a major role in this population growth.

Urban growth and demographic change

The Town of Markham is expected to continue to grow significantly over the next 25 years, although not as rapidly as it has over the past 35 years. Growth is projected to maintain current rates until 2011 and slow down during the subsequent twenty years (Town of Markham, 2006b). Consistent with population projections, high growth in single- and semi-detached home development is projected to continue until 2011, at which time it will decline, and apartment type development will increase.

Markham's immigrant-related growth is also very significant. Its foreign born population is the majority, at 52.9%, Furthermore, 41.9 % of that total foreign-born population has arrived since 1991 (Statistics Canada, 2006).Visible "minorities" are also the majority comprising 55.5% of the total population. Largest ethnic groups include Chinese (37.1), Canadian (14.1%), English (13%), East Indian (9.3%), Scottish (8.1%), Irish (7.2%), Italian (5.7%) and Jewish (4.9%). Markham's religious diversity is also significant (See Table 4-3 and Table 4-12). Its non-Christian population is 18% of its total and like both Mississauga and Brampton, it has grown significantly since 1991: Buddhists by 282.5%, Muslims by 119.7 %, Sikhs by 117 %, Hindus by 114%.

Table 4-3: Markham Religious affiliation 1991-2001

Religion	1991	%	2001	% l	% change in by absolute number	% change by proportion
Markham					1996-2001	1996-2001
Total - Religion	153,811		207,940			
Catholic	43,310	28.2	53,030	25.5	22.44	-9.4
Protestant	52,770	34.3	42,800	20.6	-18.89	-40.0
Muslim	5,015	3.3	11,020	5.3	119.74	62.6
Jewish	12,725	8.3	10,940	5.3	-14.03	-35.9
Buddhist	1,860	1.2	7,115	3.4	282.53	181.2
Hindu	5,555	3.6	11,890	5.7	114.04	57.8
Sikh	1,555	1.0	3,375	1.6	117.04	58.3
No religious affiliation	23,135	15.0	48,130	23.1	108.04	53.6

Source: Statistics Canada 2002; Statistics Canada 1992

Immigrant related municipal policy

Like Brampton, Markham's Official Plan has not been rewritten in many years. At the time of the writing of this thesis, the City was still working with its 1987 Official Plan. The latest consolidation was conducted in 2004 and was not yet publicly available. Accordingly, it is not surprising the Official Plan policies do not explicitly address ethnic-related diversity, other than general goals to provide necessary services and facilities, and to maintain and strengthen individual and community identity (See Table 5-10). Again, like Brampton and Mississauga, Wallace and Frisken (2000) observe that by 1999, Markham had very little in the way of policy addressing issues relating to ethno-racial diversity. The Town of Markham has had several committees addressing race and ethnocultural relations since 1989 and at the time of the writing of their report, the most recent was the Markham Race Relations Committee, which remains in existence today. Staff reported that the municipality follows a multicultural calendar, also posted on their website, and that they are instructed not to schedule public meetings on any important ethnic or religious holidays.

4.5. *Municipal policy approaches to places of worship*

This section compares the history of municipal approaches to place of worship policy in the three study municipalities. Next, it compares in further detail the specific provisions and restrictions in policy.

4.5.1. <u>Historical overview of place of worship policy</u>

Mississauga

The City of Mississauga views places of worship (in its terminology, places of religious assembly) development as just another private use. It has never viewed such as a community use *i.e.* one to which it has an explicit obligation to assist, outside of the normal range of obligations to private developers. As a result, policy research and development relating to places of worship has primarily addressed problems arising from transportation issues.

Over the past decade, the main concern of the City of Mississauga with places of worship relates to parking issues (Planning and Building Department, 2000). Until the early 1980s, parking requirements were based on a fixed seat calculation at a ratio of one spot per six seats. A 1987 parking study found that different denominations had different parking

demands. For a short period, the City attempted to address parking standards through a staff advisory committee, through the site plan approval process. This approach did not work well, particularly as some places of worship did not require site plans. As a result, in 1991, parking standards were again shifted to 1:4.5 parking space to fixed seat ratio and 27.1 spaces/ 100m^2 gross floor area (GFA) for non-fixed seating, or 27.1 spaces/ 100m^2 GFA where no fixed seating is used.

During the late 1990s, problems related to parking standards for places of worship were observed by councilors, and City staff in planning and by-law enforcement. Several emerging trends appeared to contribute to parking issues (Planning and Building Department, 2000; Planning and Building Department, 2002; Interview1 Municipal1). First, places of worship were providing many facilities and services besides those related to religious services. Of greatest concern were social or banquet halls within places of worship facilities. Second, the emergence of new religious communities, many of which were serving regional, rather than local congregations, contributed to an increase in demand for place of worship sites and parking. Third, a highly contentious conflict developed in a residential neighbourhood in relation to a religious school which from the City's perspective, was also serving as a place of worship. This raised concerns regarding the relationship between schools, places of worship and parking. Fourth, parking management issues were emerging for places of worship where service times or events overlapped, particularly on Sundays. As a result of these concerns, in July 1997, the Planning and Building department was requested to study parking issues related to regional places of worship and multi-use institutions. The study, outlined in a 2002 report, found that most places of worship encountering parking problems were those developed before the 1987 policy. After a public meeting was held in May, 2002, Council adopted the parking standards recommended in the report with the additional requirement of 10.8 spaces/100 m^2 GFA for those places of worship with a social or banquet hall equal to or larger than the worship area.

Brampton

A key component of the City of Brampton place of worship policy since the 1980s has been the site reserve system for Secondary Plans (City of Brampton, 1999; City of Brampton, 2005b). Under this system, as outlined in policies 4.8.6 of the Official Plan, sites are reserved through the secondary planning process whereby the City designates 1 site per

5000 projected population. For example, the Sanderingham-Wellington (Springdale) Secondary Plan had 19 designated places of worship sites, each allocated to a specific (Christian) denomination.

In 1999, in response to concerns expressed by the development community, and in discussions with members of the Inter-Church Regional Planning Association, municipal staff noted that the reserve system was not working as intended. In part this was because the designated lands were too expensive for many religious communities (greater than $200,000/ acre) and because many religious communities were developing sites in the urban periphery or in cheaper industrial zones (City of Brampton, 1999). As a result, an Official Plan Amendment (OPA) (OPA 93-148) was proposed and then adopted to reduce place of worship reserve period from the date of Secondary Plan registration from 5 years to 3 years and to remove the requirement that 95% of occupancy permits be issued before a reserve site is released (City of Brampton, 2000a).

At this time, municipal staff was also directed to investigate the church campus concept, where two or more religious communities purchase and develop land together, such that some common community facilities are shared among partners in the campus (City of Brampton, 2000b). Staff had discussions with religious representatives who had experience with two such campuses in Mississauga and also with Mississauga municipal staff. Staff found that the experience of these campuses had not been entirely positive; difficulties arose from the overlapping of peak activity periods of the religious communities involved, incomplete implementation of the full design concept, and inter-community political problems (City of Brampton, 2000b). Mississauga staff had not been directly involved with the campus concept and it was not something that the City of Mississauga actively encouraged (City of Brampton, 2000b).

In 2004, issues related to the reserve system re-emerged as staff again observed that the system was not working as intended (City of Brampton, 2005b). Reserve sites were not being purchased by religious communities, thus staff time was required to re-process reserve sites. Furthermore, religious communities were purchasing sites in industrial and commercial areas. Since 2000, 18 applications had been approved by the Committee of Adjustment to permit places of worship in non-residential areas. Staff was directed by Council to re-examine the issue and in May 2005, terms of reference were established to conduct a further

study. At the time of the writing of this thesis (February/March 2006), the City had just retained a consultant to conduct the study.

Markham

The Town of Markham has undertaken the most extensive study of places of worship of the three municipalities so for this municipality, archival material was readily retrievable, including past meeting minutes, reports, policies, committee meeting minutes and land use applications. The policy had two key components: direction regarding the location of place of worship development in the Official Plan and a process of reserving sites in secondary plans (Macaulay Shiomi Howson Ltd, 2002; Town of Markham, 2001). In the early 1960s, Official Plan policy permitted places of worship in all residential and rural areas. Consistent with Clarence Perry's neighbourhood unit concept of planning, places of worship were "encouraged to locate close to community activity where they would complement other community services" (Town of Markham 2001, p.2). Through several studies and Official Plan reviews, the Town first restricted place of worship development in 1987 in order to preserve agricultural areas. Later in 1993 and 1995 (OPA 26), it expanded its Official Plan policy to allow place of worship development in most industrial and commercial zones (Town of Markham 2001, p. 2; Town of Markham, 1988).

Administrative policies related to place of worship site reservation were established in 1977 whereby place of worship sites were identified in secondary plans, set aside and held in escrow by the Town for a period of 5 years from the date of plan registration for the sole purpose of sale to religious organizations. The Town established and controlled the sale price, and if the property was not sold, prior to returning the site to the developer, the Town retained the option of acquiring the site for community uses (Town of Markham 2001, p. 3; Town of Markham, 1988; Macaulay Shiomi Howson Ltd, 2002)

The history of the place of worship development illustrates the ways in which place of worship policy was maintained over time through the explicit rationale for place of worship policy as well as through changes in policies themselves. For example, the 1987 proposal for a task force on places of worship argues several reasons for municipal support for place of worship development arguing that religious communities are "vulnerable members of any municipality" because they are voluntary, rely on contributions, require

large properties and have no self-help power (Town of Markham, 1987a, Appendix 5, p. 1). The proposal goes on to say that:

> (d) They are often forced to compete with commercial users to purchase properties on main roads. This increases the financial burden on them in the acquisition of sites … (e) Places of worship generally need to be located in residential zones in order to serve the local community of which they are a part. There is often strong opposition by local ratepayers who support places of worship, but not in their backyards, a dispute ultimately requiring a political resolution.

The 1988 report further explains the rationale for place of worship policy:

> It is the normal practice of the Town of Markham that Community Use lands such as schools, parks, firehalls, bus loops *etc*. be set aside for public use … Such lands are often acquired by public agencies free of cost or at prices significantly below market value. Places of worship are also a recognized Community use necessary to serve the spiritual needs of the residents of the Town of Markham (Task Force on Places of Worship, 1988, p. 7).

This rationale has followed through to the present day. The 2003 Official Plan Amendment 115, in its introduction states

> 4.1.5 Town Commitment. The Town of Markham has long recognized the significance of places of worship to its residents, and the need to provide appropriate place of worship sites within the community.

The control of land value of places of worship was debated several times with arguments from both the perspectives of religious organizations and the development industry (Town of Markham, 1985; Town of Markham, 1988; Town of Markham, 1987a). For example, 1985 administrative meeting minutes report "the matter of church sites is getting out-of-hand in that church sites are being sold by developers for $350,000.00 per hectare." The minutes go on to describe a resolution to cap church land prices at $100,000 per acre. Several months later, another set of administrative minutes shows that in response to a representative of developers, the price was again changed to $150,000 per acre. The representative also requested the deletion of requirements for place of worship lands be held in escrow. This deletion was not carried through; both the administrative policy on holding lands in escrow and the policy of price control were maintained until 2003 with OPA No. 115.

In May 2001, Markham Town council directed staff to conduct a study to examine residents' needs, assess the appropriate role of the municipality in place of worship and evaluate the effectiveness of existing policies and administrative practices and development in relation to both residents' needs and the appropriate municipal role. The study was guided by Municipal staff and a consultant was hired to conduct an extensive study of issues related to places of worship. The 2002 consultant study conducted a survey of religious communities within the City, reviewed place of worship policy in other municipalities in southern Ontario, examined in detail the Town's policies, regulations and financial considerations and through a subcontracted transportation consultant conducted a review of parking standards (Macaulay Shiomi Howson Ltd, 2002). It addressed a number of key questions, as directed through the terms of reference, which included issues like development outside the urban area, possible future policy directions, and the feasibility of the current reserve system. The study also provided recommendations regarding parking and transportation regulations.

The 2002 study identified a number of key trends and issues in the Town (Macaulay Shiomi Howson Ltd, 2002). Parking and transportation were identified as key issues. The study observed the Town's growing ethnic and religious diversity, the increasing size of place of worship facilities (although not site size), a locational shift of new places of worship towards non-residential sites and the accommodation of facilities beyond uses accessory to worship activities by some groups. The study also observed that the size of places of worship is not directly correlated with the settlement pattern of the community's congregants. In other words, "there are large places of worship which serve a very localized community and small worship groups which serve congregations which largely live outside the Town" (Macaulay Shiomi Mowson Ltd. 2002, p. ii). The study proposed a number of changes to existing policy which were accepted and adopted through Official Plan Amendment (OPA) 115.

In general, OPA 115 provides specific direction regarding permitted uses in Official Plan designations and clearly specified a range of required planning approvals in different designations, based primarily on site size (Town of Markham, 2003). The OPA lays out a very detailed set of criteria to be used to evaluate place of worship applications, including in most designations, location on arterial or collector roads, and various specifications in terms of impact, traffic management and control, landscaping, buffering, and visual appearance. It stipulates various studies that may be required through the assessment process. The OPA

further provides definitions of accessory and auxiliary uses. Since the Town accepted the study's recommendations in relation to administrative policy for the site acquisition and reserve system through secondary plans, OPA 115 eliminated the system of establishing land prices and holding sites in escrow, but maintained the previous practice of reserving 1 place of worship site per 6000 persons, to be reserved for up to five years from plan registration for purchase by religious communities.

4.5.2.   Comparing municipal approaches

General approach

The principal difference among the three municipalities relates to their interpretation of the municipal role in accommodating place of worship development. Mississauga interprets place of worship development as a private use. As such, it does not treat it any differently than any other type of private land use. Both Markham and Brampton have taken a different approach and have interpreted place of worship development to be within the municipal mandate of providing community services. As one planner related:

> there's a general sense that church groups are beneficial to the community, they take care of social needs, provide social services, you know, sort of part of a … social support network and so you want to go a bit further and kind of assist that [development] more than, you know, any number of commercial enterprises that might be equally - what's the term? - inexperienced and bumbling their way through the planning process (Interview 2, Municipal 2).

The historical factors relating to these different approaches are not clear, and none of the interviewees could account for the particular approach of their municipality. In all three cases, the approach has been in place for at least 25 years. Further historical research is required to better understand the orientations of all three municipalities. Interestingly enough, these differences cannot be detected through official plan policy, as seen in Table 4-4 below, which compares Official Plan policy goals and objectives regarding community uses.

The consequences of these two different approaches have been significant and are evident a number of areas (See Table 4-5). First, they have influenced the extent to which Council and municipal staff have directed attention to the study of place of worship development. The Town of Markham has already studied, and City of Brampton is in the process of studying place of worship policy, taking a holistic approach which considers how

best to address the provision of such sites, with explicit recognition of the important role of religious communities within the municipality. In contrast, the City of Mississauga has only conducted studies to examine specific problem areas, namely parking standards and the use of private schools for places of worship.

Table 4-4: Official plan policy regarding community uses

	Official plan goals	**Objectives**
Mississauga	2.5.1.1 … to provide opportunities to meet the civic, cultural, educational, recreational, religious, social and emergency services needs of residents, employees and the travelling public, in co-operation with the appropriate public and private agencies and other levels of government.	2.5.2.2 … to assist other levels of government and public and private agencies to provide sufficient locations for other community uses, such as schools, places of religious assembly, and day care facilities, consistent with changing needs.
Brampton	… to ensure the effective allocation and integration of Community Service facilities within the City in accordance with identified need.	… to promote a "Healthy Community concept" through the allocation of Community Service Facilities to facilitate … an enhanced quality of life for Brampton residents. … To encourage and support a partnership with all community service providers toward the effective and efficient allocation of Community Services Facilities and for related activities including the development of a Community Services Plan and public awareness.
Markham	1.2 and 1.5 General goals regarding quality of life, developing Markham as a desirable place to live and protecting the heritage of the Town.	n/a

Second, this approach has affected the range of policy approaches used to address site provision. Both the City of Brampton and Town of Markham have had site reservation systems in their secondary plans for two decades. Until 2002, for the Town of Markham, this system included an administrative site acquisition policy whereby the Town held reserved sites for places of worship in escrow, and controlled the property prices to a minimum value. The City of Mississauga has never provided any such reservation system.

Third, the municipality's orientation toward places of worship has affected its treatment of development charges. In this area, the three municipalities exhibit a full

spectrum of approaches, somewhat in line with their ideological approach to religious communities. Brampton waives all development charges from places of worship development. Markham charges only the so-called hard and area-specific development charges, but not soft services development charges (*e.g.* fire, recreation *etc.*). Mississauga does not exempt place of worship development from any development charges.

The fourth area of difference is in the area of outreach. In their studies of places of worship policy, both Markham and Brampton have surveyed religious communities in their municipality in the development of place of worship policy. At the time of the writing of this thesis, Brampton had not yet completed its study. In its extensive study, the Town of Markham conducted a survey, interviews and focus groups to discuss various policy issues with religious communities. Further, upon the completion of its study and the implementation of a number of recommended changes to policy, the Town of Markham posted several web pages that describe in detail the Town's approach to places of worship including: options for the rental of Town facilities, related staff reports on places of worship, official plan policy, the OPA No. 115, current parking standards, and the site reservation policy, which provides information on currently available sites and developer contact information (www.markham.ca/markahm/Channels/planning/worshipgroup.htm). In contrast, and in keeping with its narrowly defined scope of interest regarding religious community uses, the City of Mississauga's approach to place of worship policy development has followed the standard rational comprehensive planning approach. In its 1999 review of parking and private school issues, the City of Mississauga conducted research and developed policy recommendations, which were then circulated to religious communities for comment, presented at a public meeting and then to City Council for approval.

Table 4-5: General approaches to PWs

	Brampton	**Markham**	**Mississauga**
Set aside land for PWs in new subdivisions	Yes	Yes	No
Policy to control land prices	No	No (formerly yes)	No
PWs exempt from development charges	Yes	Yes/No[38]	No

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[38] They are exempt from "soft" services such as fire, recreation and transit, but they are still required to pay for "hard" and area-specific service development charges.

Defining land use

The definition of land uses related to places of worship is another important dimension both in the comparison of municipal approaches but the issue also relates to later discussions of minority religious community concerns with place of worship development. Only the Town of Markham explicitly defines place of worship, but its definition seems to be consistent with the working assumptions used by the other two municipalities. Markham's definition sees a place of worship as "a premises used by a charitable religious group(s) for the practice of religious rites" (Town of Markham, 2003). Due to parking issues related to other uses, both the Town of Markham and the City of Mississauga have grappled with establishing a clear distinction between religious use and other uses. As illustrated below in Table 4-6, the Town of Markham explicitly defines accessory and auxiliary uses in its OPA 115, whereas the City of Mississauga discusses them in planning reports. Again, the City of Brampton is currently studying its approach to the distinctions between these definitions.

Table 4-6: Definition of accessory and auxiliary uses

Municipality	Term	Definition
Markham	Accessory	"subordinate and incidental to the practice of religious rites" *e.g.* classrooms, assembly areas, kitchen, residence for faith group leader, and offices (Town of Markham, 2003).
	Auxiliary	"Examples of auxiliary uses (which are associated with but not accessory to the principal place of worship use), include, but shall not be limited to, cemeteries, day care centres, schools, and assembly areas with potential occupancy greater than the worship area(s) such as banquet halls or recreation facilities" (Town of Markham, 2003).
Mississauga	Accessory	"… many activities such as religious education, small church groups meetings *etc.* are accessory" (Planning and Building Department, 2000, p. 10). "… both private schools and day care facilities are not currently considered accessory" (Planning and Building, 2000, p. 5) .

These attempts to clearly delineate boundaries between types of use stem from attempts to better address and regulate parking. As one planner explained (Interview2 Municipal1a), activities and behaviours related to some places of worship more closely resemble banquet halls than traditional places of worship.

Place of worship location and development criteria

Place of worship location is determined by land use designations in the Official Plan and in zoning by-laws associated with the given property. As discussed above, all three municipalities have observed the trend of religious communities locating in non-residential areas. Accordingly, the three planning agencies have moved toward a more flexible approach to the location of places of worship and allow this development in most land use designations and zones (See Table 4-7 and Table 4-8).

Table 4-7: Permitted location: Official Plan policy

Permitted location in zoning categories	Brampton	Markham	Mississauga[39]
Residential	All	All	All
Commercial/office	Some	Most	Most
Industrial	Some	Most	Most
Hamlet	N/A	All	N/A
Rural/agricultural	All	None	All
Institutional	All	All	All

Sources: (City of Mississauga, 2002; City of Brampton, 2005a; Town of Markham, 1987b; Town of Markham, 2003; Macaulay Shiomi Howson Ltd, 2002)

Table 4-8: Permitted location: zoning

Permitted location in zoning categories	Brampton	Markham	Mississauga
Residential	All	Requires zoning approval (except reserved sites)	Most
Commercial/office	Some	Requires zoning approval	Most
Industrial	Some	Require zoning approval	Some
Hamlet	N/A	Require zoning approval	N/A
Rural/agricultural	All	None	All
Institutional	All	All	All

Sources: Planning and Building Department, 2000; Macaulay Shiomi Howson Ltd, 2002; City of Brampton, 2005a

The key differences in their approaches can be seen in how each municipality deals with both location and development criteria. As discussed above, Brampton's current policies only deal with their site reservation system in secondary plans and do not explicitly address

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[39] Places of worship fall under community uses, when referred to by the permitted uses outlined in Official Plan general policies.

either location or development criteria. Accordingly, its policy does not clearly specify its approval criteria for many features of place of worship development.

One feature common in both the City of Mississauga and the Town of Markham is the requirement for places of worship to be located on major arterial or collector roads. All three municipal planners talked about the importance of this requirement in addressing peak demand traffic issues associated with places of worship. One planner (Interview 2 Municipal 2) also observed that this location was congruent with the desire of many religious communities to have a highly visible location. He cited examples of earlier churches which had been located interior to neighbourhoods built in the early 1970s, who experienced rapid decline because as local membership dropped, the community was unable to draw in other congregants because of their location's lack of visibility.

The City of Mississauga provides a generic set of location criteria, which applies to all designations. The Town of Markham has developed a more nuanced set of policies, tailored to each land use zone, but requiring more stringent assessments for larger sites. Both municipalities regulate a number of standard features including urban design, landscaping, traffic control, parking and infrastructure services (See Table 4-9).

The most contentious element of place of worship development standards is parking. It has been a challenging standard for municipalities to craft and highlights many of the challenges and weaknesses of land use regulation, which will be further discussed in Chapters 6 and 7. One planner (Interview 2 Municipal 3) observed that there are no well-established and accepted parking standards when it comes to minority places of worship, which has made it difficult for municipalities to deal with the parking implications of religious diversity. Chaudhry and Qadeer (Chaudhry, 1996; Qadeer & Chaudhry, 2000) have also noted that standards in the Greater Toronto Area vary tremendously. Currently, Markham and Mississauga's parking standards are relatively similar, whereas Brampton's standard is lenient in that no additional parking is requirement for social halls or gathering spaces (See Table 4-11).

Table 4-9: Regulated features

Official plan policy or zoning by-laws regarding	Brampton	Markham	Mississauga
Location on arterial or collector roads	No	Yes	Yes
Architectural control	No	No	No
Urban design	No[40]	Yes	Yes
Landscaping	No	Yes[41]	Yes
Buffering	No	Yes	Yes
Ingress and egress arrangements	Yes[42]	Yes	Yes
On-site parking	Yes	Yes	Yes
Provisions for off-site or shared parking	No	Yes	Yes
Height control	No	No	No
Traffic studies	No	Yes[43]	No
Engineering services	No	Yes	Yes
Stormwater management	No	Yes[44]	Yes
Other	No	Yes[45]	No

Source: Interview1 Municipal1; Interview1 Municipal2; Interview1 Municipal 3; (City of Mississauga, 2002; Town of Markham, 2003)

The first challenge relating to parking lies with establishing standards when religious communities' worship practices vary considerably, generating a wide range of parking demands. Over the past 15 years, all three municipalities have altered parking standards to include worship halls with no seating, in order to address communities that kneel or sit on the floor during worship (*e.g.* Hindus, Sikhs, Muslims and Buddhists). One planner described her municipality's struggle to develop appropriate standards that didn't discriminate against any one group, but that would effectively address parking demand. She used the example of mosques, some of which in her opinion create higher parking demands than other places of worship. This is because of the combined effect of two behavioural factors. First, many men drive alone or in pairs for weekday, especially Friday prayers, whereas in most other communities, during peak use periods, vehicles are carrying more than one person, often entire families. As such, this behavioural pattern generates higher numbers of vehicles. Second, the Muslim worship practice, kneeling in rows, allows for higher numbers of

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[40] Development design guidelines specify preferences in the following areas: site location, site access, setbacks, parking, landscaping and built form (City of Brampton, 2003)
[41] Tree conservation plan
[42] Addressed in Secondary Plan
[43] For applications with greater than 100 parking spaces
[44] Functional servicing plan to address provision of sanitary, storm and water services
[45] Archaeological resource assessment, heritage buildings structure and features assessment.

worshippers to occupy the worship hall compared to some other religious communities. She acknowledged that establishing a separate standard for any one religion would be highly discriminatory, a violation of human rights and contrary to land use planning principles of planning for use, rather than for users. For these reasons, the municipality settled on a parking standard that was an average of their estimates for parking demand.

Table 4-10: Official plan policies related to places of worship

Municipality	Official Plan Policy concerning
Brampton	Summary Policy 4.8.6 Eight separate policies describe the ways in which the City, the Interchurch Regional Planning Association and appropriate developers will work together to designate Worship Reserve sites in Secondary Plans, to be reserve for a period of three years after subdivision plan registration.
Markham	OFFICIAL PLAN AMENDMENT 115 (Town of Markham, 2003) 1. Permitted uses (see above Table 4-7) 2. Planning approvals • Official plan amendments for most sites greater than 2.0 or 2.5 hectares • Zoning approval for all other sites 3. Criteria for evaluating Place of Worship approval • for most zones, requires PWs to be located on arterial or major collector roads, except Industrial (General Industrial area) • "the impact …can be effectively managed to mitigate any negative effects on the amenity of the surrounding area … having regard for the type and character of surrounding uses …. with respect to factors such as noise and light, traffic and parking" • Traffic and parking: applicants must provide adequate and appropriate access for vehicles and pedestrians, mitigate negative effects, and provide special event plans for off-site parking
Mississauga	Places of religious assembly will be permitted provided they fulfill the following: • site located on arterial or major collector road • provision of adequate on-site parking • acceptable ingress and egress arrangements • adequate landscaping and buffering • sufficient capacity in transportation network • adequate engineering services • compatibility with surrounding land uses • a design harmonious with adjacent development Places of worship will be encouraged to share parking facilities wherever possible.

Sources: City of Mississauga, 2002; City of Brampton, 2005a; Town of Markham, 2003.

In all three municipalities, standards can be challenged but challenge requires that the religious community conduct a parking study to show evidence of current use and to justify suggested alternatives. The City of Mississauga, in particular, states in policy its willingness to consider shared parking arrangements. In some Business Improvement areas it also has a pay in lieu (PIL) program which allows property owners to pay a fee to the municipality, which is then put towards the construction of municipal parking. However, there was no evidence that this program had ever been applied to place of worship development.

Table 4-11 Parking standards

Municipality	Place of worship parking standards
Brampton	**1 parking space for every 4 seats** or where no seat is provided, for 8**.4 square metres of worship area** or portion thereof (no additional parking requirements for social halls, or any other gathering spaces).
Markham	The greater of either **1 space per 4 persons** of worship area capacity or **1 space per 9 sq m net floor area** of worship area and any accessory use areas **plus** the parking for all other uses as determined by residential and non-residential uses parking standards.
Mississauga	**1.0 space per 4.5 permanent fixed seating** plus 27.1 spaces for any non-fixed seating per 100 m^2 GFA – non residential, all in worship area or 27.1 spaces for all non-fixed moveable seating per 100 m^2 GFA – non-residential in the worship area or **6 spaces per 100 m^2 GFA -** non-residential, whichever is greater. Area for clergy, choirs, musicians *etc.*. included in parking requirement calculation; where banquet, community or multi-use hall is larger than worship area, parking required for hall in addition to worship area parking (10.8/100 m^2)

Sources: Interview1 Municipal1; Interview1 Municipal2; Interview1 Municipal 3

Site reservation system

The secondary plan site reservation system in place in both the City of Brampton and the Town of Markham provides a small number of sites in residential areas. Planners from both Brampton and Markham observed that the reservation system meets only a small part of the demand for place of worship sites in their respective municipalities. In Brampton, many sites have not been taken up during the reserve period because the cost is too high, and the sites are too small.

Addressing conflict

All planners interviewed acknowledged the difficulties of land use conflict related to place of worship development, particularly those involving minority communities. One commented: "it's such a sensitive issue when it becomes ethnically-based" (Interview 2 Municipal 1a) and another observed "the tone can get really, really nasty. Really nasty."

(Interview 2, Municipal 3). However, none of the three municipalities had any prescribed means by which to address land-use conflict directly. There are no formal processes or guidelines in place for planners in their dealings with any conflict, let alone conflict related to ethnic or religious communities. Nor do any mechanisms exist to guide or assist religious communities (or property owner for that matter) to proactively address neighbour or community relations. One planner mentioned that such guidelines do exist for group home providers, but that none are in place in Ontario (Interview 2, Municipal 3). In most cases discussed or cited by the planners interviewed for this study, conflict was addressed by the local councillor involved. Planners noted that if this person is skilled in the area of conflict management, s/he may be successful in bringing a positive resolution to the situation. In these cases, planners will be called upon to play an educational role, to talk to the parties involved, to explain the planning system and to identify and describe the planning issues relevant to the conflict. However, they also all observed that such efforts are contingent on the councillor's political motivations and that resolution may not be pursued if his or her interests lie with one side or the other of a conflict.

4.6. Discussion

All three municipalities have similar historical experiences of urban growth and development. They were initially settled and developed as agricultural areas, predominantly by immigrants from the British Isles, with gradual urbanization first concentrating in small hamlets and towns serving the commercial, service and industrial needs of the agricultural sector. Rapid urbanization has occurred for all three communities, although each sits at a different point along their growth trajectories; Mississauga is clearly the furthest along and will soon begin a new phase of in-fill development, whereas both Brampton and Markham have a decade or more of greenfield development ahead.

All three municipalities have had similar experiences in relation to general demographic trends, with pre-war dominance of immigrants from the United Kingdom, a general increase in immigrant settlement since the late 1970s and in the rapid recent growth non-Christian communities. However, significant differences exist in the demographic ethnic profiles. Markham's foreign-born and visible minority populations are, in fact, majorities, at 52.9% and 55.5% respectively. Brampton and Mississauga share very similar proportions of

visible minorities at about 40%, whereas Brampton's foreign-born population at almost 40% is approximately 7% lower than Mississauga. In terms of ethnic composition, Markham has the largest single other-than-Anglo Canadian ethnic group, with Chinese at 37.1%, greater than Canadian and English groups combined. Neither Brampton nor Mississauga's other-than-Anglo-Canadian populations are as proportionately large as Markham's Chinese community. Both Brampton and Mississauga have significant East Indian populations, at 16.9% and 11.3% respectively. In terms of their response to immigrant communities, minimal efforts have been made by any of the three municipalities to put in place policies or programs that address any immigrant or diversity-related issues.

Figure 4-2: Foreign- and Canadian-born, 2001

Mississauga   Brampton   Markham

% Canadian-born   % Foreign-born
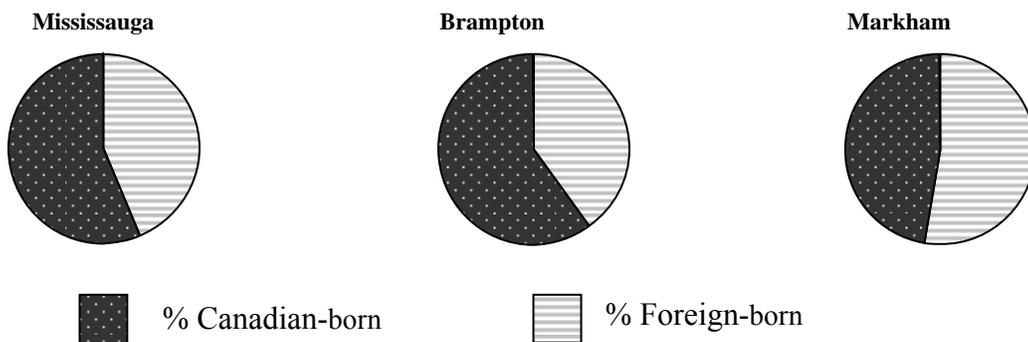
Source: Statistics Canada, 2002a

Figure 4-3: Religious affiliation, 2001

Mississauga   Brampton   Markham

Minority religions   No religious affiliation   Catholic

Christian other   Protestant
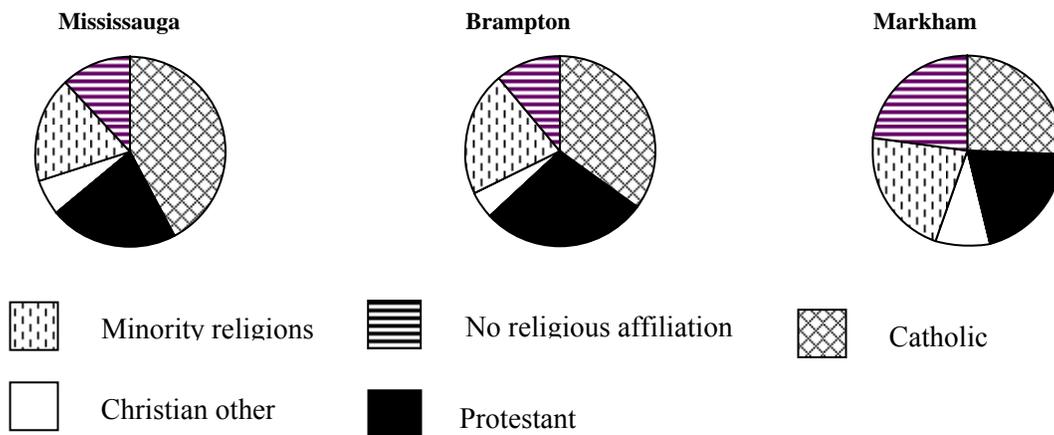
Source: Statistics Canada, 2002a

Table 4-12: Comparison of religious communities in Mississauga, Brampton and Markham

Religion	Brampton	Mississauga	Markham	Brampton % total	Mississauga % total	Markham % total
Total - Religion	324,390	610,815	207,940			
Catholic	113,900	257,440	53,030	35.1	42.1	25.5
Protestant	90,705	133,205	42,800	28.0	21.8	20.6
Christian Orthodox	4,285	19,090	10,265	1.3	3.1	4.9
Christian, n.*i.e.*	10,990	17,990	8,840	3.4	2.9	4.3
Muslim	11,470	41,845	11,020	3.5	6.9	5.3
Jewish	610	1,905	10,940	0.2	0.3	5.3
Buddhist	3,340	11,600	7,115	1.0	1.9	3.4
Hindu	17,640	29,165	11,890	5.4	4.8	5.7
Sikh	34,510	23,425	3,375	10.6	3.8	1.6
Eastern religions	585	1,690	460	0.2	0.3	0.2
Other religions	345	380	65	0.1	0.1	0.0
No religious affiliation	36,010	73,085	48,130	11.1	12.0	23.1
Other-than-Christian	68,500	110,010	44,865	21.1	18.0	21.6

Source: Statistics Canada, 2002a; Statistics Canada, 2006

Figure 4-4: Percentage minority population of total minority religious population, 2001

Mississauga   Brampton   Markham

Total = 110,010   Total = 68,500   Total = 44,865

Sikh   Other   Buddhist

Muslim   Jewish   Hindu
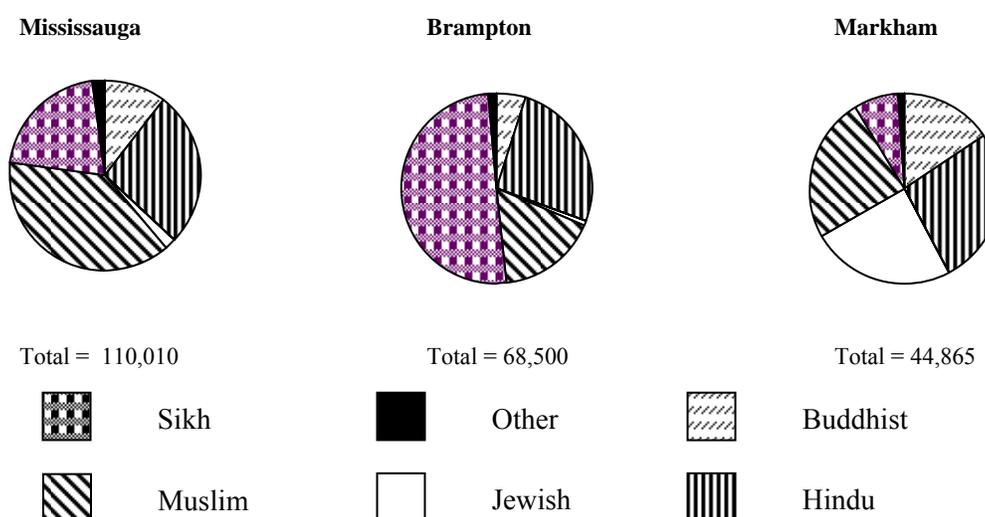
Source: Statistics Canada, 2002a

Issues of places of worship development have been significant to all three municipalities, resulting in the study and alteration of place of worship policy. These issues included parking, neighbourhood conflict, and changes in both functions and siting patterns of places of worship for all religious communities.

The policy responses from all three municipalities shows the way in which the urban planning response to diversity (here religious diversity) remains within the narrow confines of what are deemed to be land use planning issues, following the standard conceptual process of the profession over the past century. In this process, land uses are defined by broad categories of human activity (residential, commercial *etc.*). Planners then assess the various outcomes of such activity (transportation behaviour, spatial forms, site layout, *etc.*) and from the broad spectrum of these outcomes, determine the extent to which to regulate these outcomes. Ideally, these regulations are developed in communication (or collaboration, depending on the prevailing ideological approach) with the land users themselves, political leadership and the community at large. Regulations are commensurate with the municipality's broader vision of how to organize and co-ordinate the community's development, as outlined in the community's official plan, and importantly, based upon basic principles of what Ontario Municipal Board members like to call "good planning principles" (Ontario Municipal Board, 2006). In this context, "good planning" is generally meant to include the agreed-upon norms and standards of professional land use planners.

In this process, challenges arise when concurrent changes in land use, community values and behaviours result in some kind of discordance. In the case of place of worship development, the traditional location of churches in within residential neighbourhoods or in central or main street locations is no longer tenable. All three study communities have experienced tremendous growth over the past five decades. During this period, automobile use has increased in conjunction with the development of suburban community forms and structures that complement and reinforce this dominant mode of transportation. Mississauga, Brampton and Markham are prototypical cases of these trends. At the same time, secularization of society and the diversification of religious (and ethnic) communities have substantially altered the demographic profiles of all three communities. The former village main street areas of all three communities illustrate past Canadian patterns of place of worship location and function: central or neighbourhoods location, serving local, often pedestrian-oriented congregations, with peak use on Sunday mornings or afternoons, when the entire community recognized a universal day of rest.

This formula for place of worship development has been out-moded for many decades. For example, discussions with Brampton planning staff indicated that the ground-

breaking Bramalea plan of the late 1950s did not include any formal provision for places of worship. Furthermore, the pattern does not work well in the present suburban landscape. The volume of traffic and on-street parking associated with peak use times of places of worship, in the words of one planner, "overwhelms" host neighbourhoods, whose residents are often intolerant and vocally opposed to such patterns, particularly if they take place after the neighbourhood is established and when the incoming community is not seen to be part of the existing neighbourhood. One planner's (Interview 2, Municipal 1b) explanation for such neighbourhood opposition was as follows:

> You get issues when you have a change in a long-standing neighbourhood and all of a sudden that changes. In my mind, everything has a pattern, everything has an activity and neighbourhoods have a pattern and are used to certain activities happening at certain times. So if you get another group coming in adapting a site for their needs, that changes everything and all of a sudden you get stuff happening on Friday, whereas, wow! the neighbourhood was totally not used to that! And then you get conflict.

The policy history of the three municipalities describes three different trajectories in relation to place of worship development: two, Brampton and Markham, are attempting in some ways to develop a policy approach that recognizes the community value and importance of the use, the third, Mississauga, using a *laissez-faire* approach. Moreover, despite the efforts of both Brampton and Markham to study and address place of worship, the final result in the case of Markham (Brampton's has yet to be determined), is in many ways very similar to that of Mississauga – the broadening of designations where places of worship are permitted uses, the increase of parking standards and the location of places of worship on major arterials and collectors.

The responses documented here in all three municipalities have been directed at changes in both Christian and minority places of worship. The growing spectrum of religious practices described further in Chapter five has not made any explicit impact on policy development, separate from the universal concerns of parking and traffic. All three municipalities have acknowledged that the range of social and cultural activities has increased, as reflected in the increasing mix of facilities and land uses within place of worship development. Yet none of the three municipalities has formally acknowledged other religious or cultural uses of time or space requirements, described further in Chapter 5. In part, this oversight may reflect the relative absence of participation of minority religious

communities in policy development. (Surveys conducted by the City of Brampton and Town of Markham elicited relatively low participation from minority religious communities. In Mississauga, religious community participation (including minority religious communities) was solicited only during the final commenting stage, not during policy development stages.) Also, the general secularization of Canadian society over the past century and the absence of religion in public policy discourse (Bramadat, 2005; Van Die, 2002) contribute to the problem. Furthermore, it is important to note that neither Brampton nor Markham has conducted a full-scale review of their Official Plan in more than 15 years, a fact that in itself calls into question the ability of the municipality to understand the impact of recent immigration on their communities' values and visions of future development. On the municipal staff side, it is clear too that the small volume of place of worship development may not on its own warrant the type of religious literacy and further investigation necessary to fully understand the needs and impacts of religious diversity on place of worship development, or for that matter, on urban development in general.

Underlying these issues is the land use planning dictum to plan only for use, not users. As described above, this approach requires planners to reduce all social, cultural and religious behaviours to a set of technical issues with which land use planners are trained to deal. Remarks by all three planners highlighted this attitude, emphasizing that their role is to deal only with land use issues, as defined by their municipality's policy. For example, in discussing general planning issues related to ethno-cultural diversity, one planner (Interview 2, Municipal 1a) remarked:

> It's not a thing that comes up a lot. We get plazas that are ethnically oriented or churches that are ethnically oriented. From a land-use planning perspective, that's still retail and this is still a PRA [place of religious assembly]. And that might be a good place to be. We have to stick to land use planning.

The problem with such a narrow conceptualization of land use planning is that several elements are lost through this distillation process. One thing missing is any kind of municipal response to the changing spectrum of values and beliefs associated with a land use, such as places of worship. None of the three municipalities has explored whether or not their definition of place of worship, as a facility in which only worship takes place, is appropriate or universally reflective of the values and beliefs of their residents. Rather, their response has

been to maintain their concept of what does and does not constitute worship and what should and should not take place in a place of worship, and to define any other activities that fall outside of this concept, as accessory or auxiliary. Planners would probably argue that their need to address parking and traffic requires or justifies this type of delineation. However, their lack of knowledge of other religious beliefs and practices blinds them to the consequences of this definition and to the acknowledgement of the primarily traditional Christian orientation of this concept (discussed further in Chapters 5, 6 and 7). What makes this issue interesting is that this traditional definition has become obsolete for both minority religious communities *and* so-called mainstream Christian ones, hence the need for changes to place of worship policies. But the municipal planning response to this need for change has maintained a Christian definition of what worship does and should entail.

The second missing element is a broader ideological discourse about the mutually reinforcing relationships between physical and social community development and between spatial and social patterns. In the case of planning for places of worship, this discourse would explore questions about how the locations of places of worship build community cohesion or contribute to segregation or exclusion. Admittedly, this discourse is far from resolved in any dimension of land use planning (Greed, 1999; Hoernig *et al.*, 2005). Furthermore, basic concepts such as community and neighbourhood, and their relation to their physical environments are themselves contested terms (Galster, 2001; Baumann, 1996; Wellman & Leighton, 1979; Taylor, Shumaker, & Gottfredson, 1985; Kallus & Law-Yone, 1997; Fischer, Michelson, O'Brien, & Thorns, 1979; Banerjee & Baer, 1984). In this sense, questions related to places of worship development are far from unique. Planners interviewed in this study did acknowledge the tensions inherent in this discourse. One planner (Interview 2 Municipal 1a) explains her view of these tensions, in relation to a discussion of where places of worship should locate:

> I think the important thing is getting them on the major roads, so that they are not internal to neighbourhood, funneling the traffic by all of those homes all of the time. I know a lot have located in industrial areas, even in campus-type environments so that they're clustered. I'm of two minds of that. It keeps them away from the problems of the residential neighbourhoods – the traffic problems, the parking on the street, all of those things people don't like to have where they live. So, being in an industrial area kind of solves these problems.

But being a planner, and knowing how important these community uses are to a neighbourhood, and how we should be looking at them, as things that link the community together, people go to the same church, they have the extra bond, um, people being able to use the basement for cubs and scouts. I think we're really losing out on a fundamental element of our neighbourhoods, by moving them out to the industrial areas.

Maybe people don't feel as connected with some of the non-traditional religions. But it's too bad that they're moving out to the industrial areas because I think that we really are losing out on something that really should bind a neighbourhood together.

This quotation aptly outlines the difficulty for municipalities to satisfy through land-use policy two seemingly contradictory community values: 1) inclusive and inter-connected neighbourhoods and communities through the close proximity of community uses (places of worship) to residential neighbourhoods and 2) the maintenance of quiet, monofunctional suburban streets with low-volume traffic and perhaps for some, the creation of exclusive neighbourhoods.

4.7. Conclusion

This chapter has addressed the policy context of place of minority worship development, beginning with the broad areas of land use planning, human rights and multiculturalism. It highlighted current suburban development form. It explored the strengths and weaknesses of policy and legislation at federal, provincial, regional and local levels to address equity and accommodation issues for ethnic, racial or religious minorities. Next, profiles for each of the three study municipalities of Mississauga, Brampton and Markham were presented as well as their histories of place of worship policy development. These policies were compared, illustrating several differences in approach, yet in the end, resulting in several common policy features: the broadening of designations where places of worship are permitted uses, the increase of parking standards and the location of places of worship on major arterials and collectors The chapter ended introducing several tensions that reflect the challenges that accompany planning for religious (and more broadly, ethno-racial) diversity that will be explored further in Chapter 7.

Chapter 5: <u>Religion, culture and places of worship</u>

5.1. Introduction

This chapter explores in part the first research question: What have been the experiences of recent immigrant religious communities in the development of their places of worship? In particular, this chapter explores the relationship between culture, religion, and land use in order to investigate and compare the spatial uses and requirements of the five religious communities under study. The chapter follows the premise that both time and space are key inter-related, structuring dimensions of urban social life (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992; Harvey, 1990a; Laguerre, 2003). In this view, time and space are constructed and given meaning by social actors through their participation in and re-creation of social patterns related to both individual and collective behaviours, values and beliefs. Accordingly, the chapter provides an overview of the basic tenets of Buddhism, Christianity, Islam, Hinduism and Sikhism, and relates these beliefs and practices to the study communities' use of time and space through their religious, cultural and social activities. This chapter sets the stage for Chapters 6 and 7 which examine how these needs translate into land use planning issues for municipal policy or practice. The following descriptions are based on those provided by religious communities in the study interviews, supplemented by background literature.

It is important to make several introductory caveats. This research provides a cross-section of the tremendous diversity that exists within all world religions. Because of intra-religious diversity, one must be cautious in making generalized statements about any one particular religious practice. One important criticism of both multiculturalism and social science in general has been the accusation that some analysts essentialise culture, *i.e.* they present a view of culture which evades or cloaks the inherent heterogeneity within social groups, ignores the fluidity and porosity of socio-cultural boundaries that define these groups and denies the continuous dynamism inherent to any socio-cultural practice in response to changing social, economic and political environments (Turner, 1993). In the case of immigrant communities, several urban scholars have emphasized the cultural changes that take place in response to adaptation to host societies as well as to inter-generational negotiation (Amin, 2002; Ratcliffe, 1999; Baumann, 1996).

While I remain sensitive to intra-religious diversity within the sample, the following descriptions are indeed guilty of such charges of essentialism because they attempt to

identify the key or essential features of each set of religious practices. However, I argue that in the context of this study they are justified for at least two reasons. First, as Valins (2003) demonstrates in his study of Jewish *eruvim,* some religious communities maintain practices that purposefully and effectively prevent or slow down change, and perpetuate firm social-spatial boundaries. As it will become evident in the data presented below, recent immigrant religious communities are making concerted efforts to address internal social change by taking direct action to recreate, retain and sustain religious and cultural practices. Second, there are significant features that warrant identification because of their difference from existing Christian and secular practices and because their practice in Canada results in important consequences for religious communities and implications for urban policy, management and society.

5.1.1.   Buddhism

General features

Buddhists follow a set of doctrines and practices, or *dharma*, set out by Siddhartha Gautama in the sixth century BC. Through meditation, Gautama Buddha attained enlightenment[46] in his middle-age and spent the remainder of his life teaching to others his approach to the problem of human suffering. Buddhism encompasses a number of key ontological concepts concerning the nature of human existence and corresponding practices which provide relief from human suffering and promote compassion and social harmony (See also (Boisvert, 2005; McLellan, 1999; Harvey, 1990b).

After Buddha's death, Buddhism spread throughout Asia and developed into three main branches, *Theravada*, *Mahayana* and *Vajrayana* Buddhism.[47] Buddhism is now practiced throughout the rest of the world by both Asians and non-Asians. Within each branch, there are multiple schools; each variation takes a different approach to various

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[46] Enlightenment is a spiritual and mental awakening, in which one attains insight, illumination and wisdom and through this process is able to see the true nature of reality *i.e.* the impermanence and interconnectedness of all things, the causation and nature of human suffering, its relationship to human socio-psychological conditioning and the practices by which all people can access such awareness (Bowker, 2000; McLellan, 1999).

[47] Theravada Buddhism is practiced in southern Asia (Sri Lanka, Thailand, Burma, Laos and Cambodia), Mahayana Buddhism in central and northern Asia (China, Vietnam, Japan and Korea) and Vajrayana Buddhism, primarily in Tibet.

scriptures, the role of deities or *bodhisattvas,*[48] ritual, devotional and meditative practices, the roles of laity and religious personnel, and Buddha himself. Practice in Buddhism can involve many activities including:

> various types of meditation, chanting sutras and mantras, mindfulness training, devotional activities, prostrations to the Buddhas, striking bells, making vows, giving and providing service, performing acts of repentance and engaging in cultural, educational and charitable activities including the promotion of Buddhist teaching (McLellan 1999 p. 17).

Use of time

For the Buddhist communities interviewed for the study, the daily cycle of a Buddhist temple follows varying ritual and meditative practices of resident monks or nuns. Generally relatively small numbers of lay persons join these daily practices. In the one large temple included in the study, 20-30 volunteers and disciples participate in various daily activities related to the running of the temple, including cooking and office work. Various activities take place for laity during the weekday, generally in the evenings. In *Theravada* traditions, the laity provides all of the food for the monks; therefore, among other activities, they attend daily to bring cooked food.

Buddhists follow a lunar calendar but major religious events vary with the ethnicity and school of the Buddhist community. *Theravadin* Buddhists congregate once a month for one of the four holy days of the lunar cycle: *Uposatha* or *Poya Day* for the full moon. All Buddhists celebrate the *Vesak or Wesak* festival which commemorates the birth, enlightenment and passing of Gautama Buddha, generally the first full moon in May. *Mahayana* Buddhist communities may also celebrate *Bodhi* day, the day Buddha attained enlightenment. Different Buddhist communities observe various other days.[49] Many Buddhist communities also celebrate secular events such as national/ ethnic New Year celebrations and other cultural festivals. The communities in the study have adapted to the Canadian work week and move most events to weekends, although New Year celebrations are still held on the exact day.

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[48] In the tradition of the Mahayana Buddhists, the bodhisttva is an enlightened person who takes a vow to become a Buddha through compassion, "for the sake of all sentient beings" (Bowker, 2000).

[49] Dharma or Salha Puja day, (symbolic observance of the beginning of Buddhism) Sangha day or Magha Puja day (celebrating a historic gathering of Buddha with his best students), Pavarana day (end of rains retreat), Kathina ceremony (robe offering ceremony), Alambana (ancestor day), Avalokitesvara's (Kuan Yin) birthday (celebrating the perfection of compassion).

Definition and use of space

Architecture styles for Buddhist temples vary considerably and are generally unique to the regions in which the community has originated. There are a number of features common to most Buddhist temples as well as several features identified by respondents as important to Buddhist places of worship in Canada.

Most Buddhist temples feature at least one large shrine hall, with an altar area hosting one or more large statues of Buddha. This is the area where main services are held. Areas around the statues provide room for gongs, drums or bells for use during services, containers for burning incense as well as space for various offerings of food and/or flowers. No chairs or pews are used. Temple visitors are provided with kneeling pads, cushions or mats to sit on. Some temples also have a *bodhisttva* hall featuring statues of Buddha and various *bodhisttvas*. These statues may also be situated in different places throughout the place of worship site. There may also be one or more rooms for meditation or meditation classes. Buddhist temples also usually contain a kitchen and dining area. One temple included a tea room, which sells tea and light food. Another temple was investigating a way in which to develop one nearby. The temples also had an area which functioned as a small store, selling various religious paraphernalia and books.

The temples visited for the study also had other spaces for accessory uses such as offices and libraries. One temple coordinates the distribution of literature for a small publishing company associated with the religious community. Another had a large exhibition hall which displayed historical and cultural art work. This temple also had various rooms for computers (for employment search services), and for meetings and conferences.

Buddhist respondents stated a preference for natural features or terrain close to the temple. For example, respondent Buddhist one explains the community's current search for a new temple site:

> Buddhist 2: Oh! If it's close to water and forest, it would be great! But … I can't dream that much. (laughter)
>
> H. It's not a requirement ... ?
>
> Buddhist 2: It is a requirement, in fact, that is what we are looking for, but it is not, a piece, a parcel like that is not easy to come by.

Another respondent (Buddhist 1) talked about the importance of water:

We have opted for park-like setting with a stream, if possible a creek or something like that. Because water is, it is useful like if a new monk is to be ordained, trained and ordained. Ah, usually, in the traditional way, it is a beautiful ceremony done in water. You know, they build a structure in water and bless that area, dedicate that area.

Two temples have constructed large, ornamental gardens outside of their temples. A second had plans for a garden at its next location. A third had future plans for a large retreat centre, to be located in a rural setting within a two-hour drive of the GTA.

Buddhist temples require residential space for their monastic community either within or immediately beside the temple. Two temples were able to accommodate their residential needs, while for the two others insufficient space was a key concern. Monks and nuns also require space for various mediation practices; temples often include special spaces for walking meditation practice, such as circumambulatory paths, often incorporated into outside gardens or courtyards (Roberts, 2004).

Some Buddhist communities, particularly those with members from Taiwan, Korea, Japan, Hong Kong and Vietnam try to accommodate the ancestor veneration practices of their members. As one representative (Buddhist 2) explained "If their ancestors have a place in the temple, then their ancestors will have a place in paradise." Universally these practices are not essential to Buddhism yet they have been recognized by many Buddhist communities and form an important part of their religious experience at the temple. This practice also provides temples with a source of income through fees associated with the storage of the urns. The accommodation of these practices often takes the form of a memorial hall, where the names plates or the cinerary urns of ancestors are kept. One informant (Buddhist 2) explained the importance of the memorial hall within the temple, in contrast to visiting a cemetery:

To the cemetery, it is very inconvenient for the members. If they come to the temple, at the same time they can just go to the memorial hall, to do whatever they want, to contemplate inside … or to do meditation to pay respect and it really help the community because with them close, intimacy, it like a spiritual home for them. But if it is in the cemetery maybe for a particular day they will go but to the temple they come at least once a week. But the disciples come here more than once a week because we have … different functions going on, … maybe to … North America[ns] they don't understand this. You can interview different part of the Buddhist [community], they will tell you the same thing. Because to us, it is very

important and every time you will see the family, with the children, and the first thing they go is to the memory hall, to pay respect to their ancestors.

Provision for the permanent storage of cinerary urns in the form of an ancestor hall was important to two communities interviewed for this study. One has negotiated storage in a separate tower for short-term use, five to ten years. A second was investigating several alternatives including negotiating a partnership with a local cemetery or incorporating the storage of ashes within a memorial hall within the temple.

Two other practices relate to the use of outdoor or public space. One informant described his community's practice of constructing a pandal, as part of the outdoor celebration of *Vesak*. A pandal is a large platform and mural, sometimes several metres in length and height, ornately decorated with hundreds of electronic lights, depicting an image or several different images or stories associated with Buddha's life. Many lights and lanterns are also hung up outside and music is played in conjunction with this display and the festival's ceremonies. A traditional *Vesak* practice described by another community includes the use of outdoor and public space for a parade that includes many regional Buddhist temples in which every temple has decorates a float with flowers and leads a procession and then congregates for a large celebration. This community has not yet been able to organize and fund such a parade to date.

Religious and social activities

The four Buddhist communities interviewed for this study each identified their community's membership as primarily ethnic-based. One community attracted primarily Anglo-Euro-Canadians. The other three attracted members of their ethnic or national community, although of these latter three, all observed that there is considerable Euro-Canadian attendance of meditation training.

All four temples reported different patterns of attendance behaviour. Community members attend the temple for large religious and secular festivals. One community described continuous temple visitations for various temple programs throughout the week, with peak periods throughout the weekend. A second community observed that outside of major events, worship behaviour at the temple is somewhat irregular. Although this temple provides a weekly Sunday service, its abbot noted that most of the community's members have small domestic shrines and are able to conduct devotional and meditative practices at

home. As such, he observed that their temple attendance is patterned differently than some other religions which, for example, require weekly congregational prayers. In this way, he explained, community attendance at weekly events is less predictable than some other religious communities. The third community has monthly peak periods associated with a lunar ceremony. Its representative (Buddhist 1) described temple attendance in the following way:

> People go to Buddhist temple during the week for personal needs, such as, say in my family, there is a death anniversary coming for my mother or my father. So that's an occasion for that person and all the extended family to come to the temple and have a ritual for the dead, which usually takes forty-five minutes. This happens every evening. Or say your son or daughter is preparing for an important exam or an important interview. They come and they want ... protective chantings, these are practices that people have gotten used to.

The fourth community which is only two years old, temple attendance is primarily associated with particular programs.

Dharma, or religious classes or training are a key component to all the temples. All Buddhist communities interviewed also conduct retreats which incorporate meditation or mindfulness training. These generally take place during the weekend although some may be for a week or more. Other activities provided by temples include classes in song, dance, traditional games, language, calligraphy, Tai Chi, and vegetarian cooking. One temple provided tutoring for children and youth. Weddings are not held at temples, but families may come to the temple to receive blessings from the monks or nuns.

General co-ethnic interaction was also identified as an important activity for three of the temples, particularly for the elderly, as demonstrated by this quotation:

> You know that after the worship, every Sunday, we have a lunch, so people can make more relationship, because you know that every day … the old people, they just stay at home. Because of language, they cannot communicate with the other. So the Sunday is very important to them, they can come just see the [co-ethnic community members], talk [in their language], just like that, and they feel very good. They have only one chance to talk together, to speak [in their language], to see [other co-ethnic community members] (Buddhist 3).

5.1.2. <u>Christianity</u>

General features

Christianity[50] is based upon the belief that Jesus of Nazareth was the promised Messiah. Christians follow the teachings of Jesus' ministry and believe in his death, resurrection and ascension, which are recorded in the collection of scriptures compiled during the 4th century to create the New Testament (Bowker, 2000; Smith, 2001). Together with the Hebrew Bible, or Old Testament, this collection of scriptures composes the Christian Bible.

Christianity is divided into many denominations: the African denominations *e.g.* the Coptic and Ethiopian Orthodox churches, the Eastern Orthodox churches, *e.g.* Armenian, Syrian, Greek, Serbian and Ukrainian *etc.*, the Western Orthodox, or Roman Catholics, the largest Christian denomination, and the many Protestant denominations, whose roots lie in the 15th and 16th century European reformation movements. Through conquest, colonialisation, migration and evangelism, Christianity has spread throughout all populated continents.

As a result of its many denominations, Christians share few universal religious beliefs and practices. However, all Christians believe in one God and that human salvation from suffering will occur through belief or faith in God's actions through Christ. Most also support in various ways two basic sacraments: baptism and the Eucharist.[51] Other common religious practices include individual prayer and weekly attendance of church to participate in communal worship, usually accompanied by a sermon or related ritual (*e.g.* mass), usually including religious singing and music.

Use of time

Most Christian communities, except for the Seventh Day Adventists, congregate every Sunday in "commemoration of Christ's resurrection" (Bowker 2000, p. 563) and they have traditionally recognized this day as a day of rest. Some communities, like Roman

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[50] Christianity is one of the three monotheistic religions in the Abrahamic tradition. Abraham, "the patriarch of the Israelite people," (Bowker, 2000, p. 6), is revered by Jews, Christian and Muslims.
[51] Also know as Communion, Holy Communion, the Lord's supper and the Mass (Bowker, 2000, p. 183)

Catholic and some Protestant churches, also have a daily (usually morning) communal prayer.

Two major religious annual events celebrated by most Christians are Christmas (for most, December 25th), the celebration of the birth of Christ, and Easter, marking the resurrection of Christ, which is recognized by most Christians on the first Sunday after the full moon of spring equinox.[52] Both dates vary among Christian communities; for example, most Easter Orthodox churches follow the Julian, not Gregorian calendar.

Definition and use of space

Church architecture and symbolism, like Christian religious practices, vary considerably among denominations. Traditional Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox architectural styles are highly symbolic, including tall steeples, domes or bell towers, elaborate stained glass windows, and frequent use of images, carvings, statues and murals which relay biblical stories and themes. In contrast and in keeping with their doctrinal interpretations, Protestant churches are architecturally simpler, emphasizing functionality over symbolism. Despite these differences, many interior features are common to most churches, including "a gathering space, a sanctuary with an altar and lectern or pulpit, congregational seating (pews, benches or chairs), a baptistery, a music area and supporting spaces" (Roberts, 2004, p. 35). Some churches have both a large sanctuary and a smaller chapel used for family or small group services and activities; these may be separate buildings or included within one large building.

Churches visited during the fieldwork included a number of other spaces: offices for clergy and other religious personnel, various classrooms or meeting rooms for fellowship groups, kitchen and dining/ social gathering areas, gymnasiums, bookstores, libraries, and

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[52] Other significant events include Good Friday, the day of Christ's death, Holy Week, the week leading up the Christ's death, Lent, the forty day period of fasting before Easter, All Saint's Day (November 1st) and All Soul's Day (November 2nd). Roman Catholic churches celebrate a number of feasts honouring important saints. Eastern Orthodox churches, like the Greek Orthodox church, celebrate 12 feast days throughout the year, marking events like the Epiphany (Celebrated on January 6th, it is the celebration of the baptism of Jesus, and also by Western churches, the arrival of the Magi.), the Annunciation (Also known as Lady Day, the day on which the Angel Gabriel announced to Mary that she would conceive a son, Jesus (Bowker, 2000, p. 43)), Ascension (Christ's ascension to Heaven, 40 days after Easter), the Pentecost (The date when the "Holy Spirit descended on the apostles with the noise of a strong driving wind in the form of tongues of fire, so that they began to speak in foreign languages" (Bowker, 2000, p. 441) and the Transfiguration (Celebrated on August 6th, this celebration marks the appearance of Jesus with Moses and Elijah (Bowker, 2000, p. 601)).

child care facilities. Only one church (Roman Catholic) visited included residential quarters for religious personnel. The churches in this study use parks for community picnics or sports activities. Several churches also rent other facilities for summer youth camps.

Five of the churches included in this study were developed as local or neighbourhood parishes, located to serve (or attract) a congregation which was located within surrounding neighbourhoods. Two of the Chinese churches observed their preferences to be located close to retail plazas with dim sum restaurants, noting the favourable behavioural pattern of Cantonese and Hong Kong parishioners to combine church attendance with gatherings of friends and families to eat dim sum together. Another church served a more regionally dispersed, ethnically-based congregation, although a majority of its congregants live within an easy commute to the church.

Religious and social activities

Most churches have a defined congregation: that is, a membership of people who may or may not necessarily attend regularly but who belong to it. The ethnic composition of churches varies greatly. Some churches, like those examined in this study, are oriented towards one particular ethnic or language group. In the case of the Chinese churches in this study, they generally catered to the broad ethnic category of Chinese, and all accommodated at least two, and sometimes three linguistic congregations (Cantonese, Mandarin and English), through sermons as well as activities and programs tailored to those groups. Congregations were comprised of between 40-50% recent immigrants.

In addition to Sunday services, the churches in this study provide a number of other services and activities, including religious classes and study groups, secular classes (*e.g.* English as a Second Language, cultural activities like calligraphy), informal counseling from clergy members, recreational activities (*e.g.* dancing, sports). They also provide lifecycle religious services for baptism, weddings and funerals.

5.1.3. Hinduism

General features

Unlike most other religions, Hinduism has no singular founder or beginning point. It is estimated to be around 3000 years old (Lipner, 1994). Due to the tremendous diversity among its practicing communities, it defies simplistic definitions and is perhaps best

described as "a synthesis of many different beliefs and practices, modes of living and thinking" (Michell, 1977, p. 14). Part of its diversity has evolved through intimate connections to specific sacred places and local traditions (Klostermaier, 1994); throughout India there are countless natural features, *e.g.* trees, rivers, hills which manifest divinity in one way or another. Hinduism has been influenced by many scriptures and literatures. Most Hindus identify the Vedas as principal sacred scriptures.[53] Because of its worship of many deities, Hinduism is labeled by many observers as a polytheistic religion, yet as most study informants were quick to point out to me, Hindus believe in the single unity of God, of which the various deities and humans are different manifestations. Several key concepts in Hinduism are dharma,[54] "the rule of right thought and action" (Ruparell, 2001, p. 169 *samsara*, the cycle of birth and death, determined by *karma*, the principle of cause and effect, and *moksha*,[55] the release or liberation from this continuing cycle of this illusory world.

Key elements of Hindu religious practices relate to the veneration of deities. Although there are reputedly thousands of deities, four key gods are *Vishnu* (maintainer of the universe), *Shiva* (the destroyer) *Brahma* (the creator) and *Shakti* (also Devi, the female, divine mother and manifestation of energy). Hindu denominations can be categorized by the deities whom they worship: *Vaishnavas* (*Vishnu*), *Saivism* (*Shiva* or *Siva*), *Shaktism* (*Shakti* or other forms such as *Kali*, *Durga*, *Lakshmi etc.*) or *Smartism*, whose followers may follow any deity of their choosing (Lipner, 1994). Devoted Hindus have domestic shrines with small statues and pictures of their favourite gods. In the mandir,[56] a *murti (*a statue of a deity), is the embodiment of the divine. Most mandirs visited for this study had 6-12 *murtis*.[57] Some

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[53] Other key texts are the Upanishads, the Puranas, the two great Indian epics, Mahabharata and Ramayana, and the Bhagavadgita (the Song of the Lord).

[54] Dharma, in Hinduism, has been a widely debated term among Hindu religious scholars (Lipner, 1994). Bowker (2000, p. 155) defines is as a concept "referring to the order and custom which make life and a universe possible, and thus to the behaviours appropriate to the maintenance of that order."

[55] Four religious paths lead to moksha: Dhyana-yoga (the path of meditation), Jnana-yoga (the path of knowledge), Karma-yoga (the path of self-less action) and Bhakti-yoga (the path of devotion) ((Lipner, 1994)).

[56] A mandir is a Hindu temple. Although many use the terms mandir and temple interchangeably, I will use the word mandir exclusively to refer to a Hindu temple, in order to distinguish them from Buddhist or Sikh temples.

[57] The most common of were Vishnu and his consort Lakshmi (Goddess of prosperity), Shiva and consort Parvati (also known as Durga, Lalitha, Ambika, goddess of the household, marriage, motherhood and family) Brahma and his consort Saraswati (Goddess of knowledge and arts), Rama (An incarnation of Vishnu) and his consort Sita (An incarnaton of Lakshmi), Krishna, Ganesh (The god with the elephant head, the son of Shiva and Parvati, and the remover of obstacles) and Hanuman (the monkey god, an incarnation of Shiva).

Hindu communities, such as the Arya Samaj, do not venerate any deities but base their religious practice primarily on the Vedic scriptures.

Specific religious practices vary considerably among different ethnic Hindu communities. Main religious rites include 1) lifecycle events, 2) *devapuja* or *puja* 3) festivals and 4) in India, pilgrimages to important sacred rivers, mountains, temples and cities (*e.g.* the city of Varanasi) (Flood, 1996). The *puja* or deity worship, is a religious ceremony that can be performed by an individual or family at the domestic shrine, or communally, at the mandir. *Murtis* are prepared for divine presence, through pouring, rubbing or anointing the body of the deity with various substances like milk, ghee (clarified butter), curd, scented oils *etc.*, and dressing the deity with various flowers, ornaments, and clothes. Offerings of spices, flowers, fruit, or food are made to the deity, accompanied by the burning of incense and oil lanterns (*arati*). These offerings are accompanied by chanting *mantras*, *bijas* (sacred syllables), making symbolic hand gestures (*mudras),* singing devotional hymns (*bhajans),* ringing bells, blowing horns or playing other instruments. Following the *puja*, offerings may also be made to the whole attending congregation by way of *prasad,*[58] or other items such as fruit, or religious literature.

Hinduism spread from India to south-east Asia in the medieval period and over the past 200 years, through colonialism, (*e.g.* indentured labour practices) and now through immigration, throughout the remaining continents (Flood, 1996). There are many different Hindu movements, many associated with a particular lineage of gurus.[59] Several of the mandirs visited during this study had a statue or pictures of the particular saint or guru held in esteem by the mandir community.

Use of time

A traditional mandir daily cycle consists of rituals at sunrise, noon, sunset and midnight. During the week, many mandirs in the study area are open twice a day, from early morning until early afternoon, and again in the evening. Others are open only a couple days a

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[58] *Prasad* is an offering of food; the mandirs visited in this study provided small portion of a sweet mixture of ghee, flour and sometimes with fruits mixed in. They all also offered a vegetarian meal following the *puja.*

[59] Some of the larger Hindu movements include International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON), the Center of Satya Sai Baba, Arya Samaj, RamaKrishna Mission, Chinmaya Mission (Centre for Faith and the Media, 2006b; Larson, 1994).

week, in addition to weekends. Large mandirs are open throughout the day, every day of the week. Attendance occurs throughout the day, but is reportedly higher during evening events. Individuals and families often attend the mandir in relation to a special events associated with a family's preferred deity, to mark a significant family event, like a birthday or anniversary, or an important life event, like an exam or job interview.

Weekly cycles vary tremendously, the larger mandirs visited in this study were offered numerous *puja* and festival events every month. Key annual religious ceremonies and festivals vary tremendously from mandir to mandir, depending upon the deities venerated in the mandir, and the ethnic composition of regular worshippers. *Divali*, the festival of lights, is a four day New Year festival celebrated by all Hindus in late autumn. The festival of *Holi*, the spring festival, is also celebrated widely. However, most other main festivals are identified with specific regional communities (Venkatacharya, 1990). Most celebrate the birthdays of key gods (*e.g.* Shiva, Durga, Rama, Hanuman, Krishna, or Ganesh).

Definition and use of space

Traditionally, Hindu mandirs follow one of two architectural styles: *nagara* (northern) or *dravida* (southern), both of which include tall, often elaborate conical shapes or domes on the top of the mandir. The mandir symbolically represents the human search to "dissolve the boundaries between man and the divine" and attain *moksha* (Michell 1977, p. 61). While deities are housed within the mandir, the manifestation of divinity is only achieved through ritual and ceremony (Michell, 1977).

Two of the mandirs visited for this study incorporated traditional architectural features in the building design, a third is currently working on a proposal to add domes to its current structure and three others are in the early planning stages of developing new, custom-built mandirs, including domes. Two respondents talked about the importance of having an east-west orientation to the building, so the altar area faces east. One Sri Lankan mandir was investigating a traditional requirement to have a special pipe which connects the mandir altar to the water table, ensuring that the altar remains symbolically wet and cool.

All mandirs visited in this study had a large foyer area. To one side, there are one or more large rooms with walls of shelves to remove and store footwear. In most cases, there are one or more offices in this area, as well as washrooms. All mandirs have a large worship hall, with an altar or raised stage where the *murtis* are installed. The number of *murtis* varies

from mandir to mandir. The area around the *murtis* is elaborately decorated, sometimes with a canopy overhead and often with murals depicting different scenes. There are also various ritual items in this area, used for *pujas*, including incense, lanterns, and musical instruments. The worship area is carpeted, with only a few chairs for the elderly or the infirm. Many women cover their heads when they approach the *murtis* to make an offering or to offer prayers. All mandirs visited had at least a kitchen to provide a meal to devotees after key services. Some also had a large eating area, usually also acting as a social hall. In other smaller mandirs, devotees would simply eat sitting on the floor of the worship hall. Several mandirs had a large social hall, offices, and residential accommodation for priests.

Two communities who were in the planning stages of building a permanent mandir talked about the importance of physically separating the worship area from social hall area in two different buildings:

> In our system we don't have meat or alcohol. But it's not right also, for us to, where we have statues or *murtis* as we call them, to have too much celebrations in that same room, so … normally it's wise to have a separate building or separate room where we can host weddings or birthday parties, and that sort of thing (Hindu 5).

Use of public space is important to Hindu communities in a number of ways. Some southern Hindu communities (*e.g.* Tamil, Sri Lankan) have religious festivals that involve a parade of the deities around the mandir, including the procession of an elaborately carved chariot, accompanied by music and drumming. Another mandir was negotiating with the city to have a car parade for one of its major festivals.

One respondent talked about festivals that would normally take place outdoors, in public space, but in his perception his community is not able to conduct them here because of Canadian regulations. One festival involves throwing "liquid colour", a non-toxic colouring similar to food colouring:

> We have the celebration of Holi that is really nice if it takes place outside. That is where a lot of colour is thrown on people and they decorate themselves and stuff like that. And … it's scaled down to very, very small program right now just, you know, indoors, just a little touch of some colour, or something. But the way it's done in the Caribbean or in India, it's huge then, a lotta liquid colour, and … a lotta singing, dancing and drumming and stuff like that, but … because of facilities, we cannot do it here (Hindu 5).

The second involves the use of fire:

> We have something called Ram Reela. That is where we re-enact the scriptures, part of the scriptures, you know. With the gods and goddesses, and stuff like that. And it's done outdoor. And on the last day, they create a huge effigy, of the one they call Lord Rawana, that signifies a little bit of evil, you know. And on the last day normally, he is burnt. In [the Caribbean], or in India, he's burnt, just as a big open flame, because he's built out of paper, you know, and bamboo. All these things we can't do here. And, we understand why (Hindu 5).

One respondent also described a previous experience of finding a suitable location, where a site was within a commercial plaza that included a store selling meat, and a karate school. The site was unsuitable for one of the community's festivals, because their parade would have to encircle the entire plaza, including the two uses which would be contrary to important Hindu beliefs of vegetarianism and non-violence. Another community had grave concerns about an adjacent massage parlour and its effect on youth attending the mandir and for this reason, as well as lack of space, was seriously considering its future location options.

Three Hindu communities also emphasized the importance of locating the mandir either beside the residential settlement areas of their community, or along main transit lines. Only one of the six communities interviewed for this study had been able to find such a suitable location to date, although three were still in the process of looking for a site to build a custom-built mandir.

All of the Hindu communities interviewed talked about current or future plans to provide seniors housing, preferable in close proximity to the mandir. In reference to such a plan, one respondent (Hindu 5) explained:

> … they will be able to occupy themselves, in the realm of the temple, and you know, to enjoy all the other activities. The temple will attract people from our community, so they will liaise better with them, and feel a lot more accepted and wanted within that … community.

The use of natural features is also important for Hindu communities, particularly water. Three communities looking for permanent locations expressed the desire to find a rural location or a "peaceful, forested place" (Hindu 5). One respondent described the importance of water to Hindu worship:

> If we could find a location with a stream, with running water, on the compound, it would be a very nice thing. Because we need for some of our

rituals, we need running water. Not just a pond or a lake. It must be running towards the ocean. It must reach towards the ocean, to represent, you know, the universal joining, with the water that goes around the earth … we supposed to actually, you know like the flowers we decorate and do *puja* with. That is harmless to the environment. We actually supposed to place it in running water. Because that is offered as a universal gift, you know, and it should go into the water that runs universally. But at this point, um, if we should release that flower into the water, because everyone might be ignorant to what we are doing, you know. If we go to some countryside area, where we have our own stream, that might help us a bit (Hindu 5).

Another important use for water is related to the practice of the disposal of ashes:

Hindus believe in burning their dead, and then depositing the ashes in running water ... and that is a major problem. Where do people deposit the ashes? There are no laws that says where to or where not to? So people are really caught up. So we're working to work out some kind of a solution, whereby either we come up with some kind of artificial waterway, because the ashes are really sand. It's nothing germ-contaminated because after going through that kind of fire, there couldn't be any germs in there. I guess the whole thing is the serenity and the sanctity of it (Hindu 2).

In relation to both issues, the *puja* offerings and the disposal of ashes, one respondent (Hindu 2) reported that, together with representatives from two other mandirs, he is in negotiations with the Toronto and Region Conservation Authority and the Credit Valley Conservation Authority[60] to establish alternative sites for mandirs to make such offerings. He explained the issue in further detail:

There have been complaints by residents who live along the Credit River, that this kind of thing is coming up on their land and the coconuts. These things are biodegradable but they are very long time in the water. We are in the process of talking to the conservation, cemetery and municipal people in identifying some kind of sanctuary area, whereby the Hindu community can take their flowers, take their fruits, and leave it there. But the natural elements can enjoy it, then have some kind of composting program, but it's not a dump ground. It could be a public area, it could be enjoyed by everybody, but it must be identified as this area.

Another community (Hindu 5) identified the importance of green space to community gardening, especially for community seniors. He explained:

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[60] This program is called the River Offerings Monitoring Program, which is part of the larger Multicultural Environmental Stewardship Program, was established through a partnership with the Toronto and Region Conservation Authority and the Credit Valley Conservation Authority and several Peel Region Hindu communities, to address religious offerings in watercourses in the Peel Region. The program is currently preparing a publication to provide to Hindu community members (Freeman, 2005)

Because our people were originally farmers. And they would like to, I know this will keep them happy, you know, like continue to plant flower garden and stuff like that. That is the kind of outdoor activity, that would give them some longer life.

His community plans to integrate both youth and seniors programs into gardening activities:

Our youths, at least for the summer, we wanted them to learn to grow food themselves. That's how we, back in the Caribbean or in India, that's what we survived on. We just want to bring back that heritage a little bit. And I think it will be good knowledge for them too, to be involved in growing the food that you eat.

In keeping with the importance of natural features, one respondent described his community's efforts to improve their site through landscaping:

Most Hindus religious places would like to have a pond, some kind of water on the ground ... it is something that we would love to have, and open pond whereby you can have lotus and things like that (Hindu 2).

Religious and social activities

Mandir attendance by many Hindus can be very fluid and dynamic, and people may choose to attend different mandirs for different festivals or *pujas*, depending on the types of deities that are housed at the mandir. Two of the mandirs catered to single ethnic Hindu communities, while the other four had very mixed communities, including members from various parts of India, Asia and the Caribbean. Their communities were largely new immigrant, between 50-75% of attendees.

Religious classes are key activities at all mandirs, as well as classes in language (Hindi and Sanskrit), dance, traditional music (vocal and instrumental), yoga, and meditation. Several communities organized sports activities, like cricket and soccer, for adults as well as youth, in local parks. Lifecycle events, particularly marriages, were identified as key social activities. Informants observed that most assistance to new immigrants took place through informal networking between members. One mandir brings in speakers to talk about employment and entrepreneurial training.

One large mandir offers large range of activities and services. It has a regular radio program and will soon expand to a weekly television program. It also employs several part-

time counselors who provide counseling for a range of topics, like housing, employment and education. It is also developing a day school and is investigating providing day care services.

5.1.4.   Islam

General features

Islam is another monotheistic religion of the Abrahamic tradition, following the teachings of the Jewish and Christian prophets. It asserts that Muhammad, a 7th century Arabian, was the last in the line of prophets or messengers of God which started with Adam. Muhammad's divine revelations were compiled into the Qur'an, which Muslims believe to be the last book of God. There are many denominations within Islam. The *Sunni* is the largest group with large proportions of followers across the Middle East, Central Asia, south-east Asia, and Africa. In the study area there are Muslim communities from at least three other branches, *Shi'a*,[61] *Ismaili*[62] and *Ahmadiyya*[63] communities. The practice of each group varies, yet most Muslims recognize the five obligations of all Muslims. These are 1) *shahada*, the declaration of one's belief in one God and his messenger, Muhammad; 2) *salat,* daily prayer; 3) *sawm* fasting during the month of Ramadan; 4) the offering of *zakat*, charity, to support those in need, and 5) *hajj*, to perform pilgrimage to Makkah, Saudi Arabia.

Prayer or *salat* does not need to take place in a mosque, and can be performed in any clean place except a cemetery (Tajuddin Muhamad Rasdi, 1999). However, "prayer said in congregation is equivalent to twenty five (prayers) as compared with prayer performed by a single person" (Siddiqi, Abdul Hamid 1976 p. 315 in Tajuddin Muhamad Rasdi, 1999 p. 7).

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[61] The Shi'a branch of Islam arose because of disagreements that arose after the death of Muhammad, over who should be his successor. The Shi'a believe that Muhammad publicly identified his cousin and son-in-law Ali, to succeed him. There are many sub-sects of the Shi'a, who follow a lineage of founding imams, from Muhammad, through Ali, to seven (*e.g.* Ismailis) or twelve (Ithna-Ashariya) imams. One principal difference between the Sunni and Shi'a, is the Shi'a belief in the infallibility of these successive imams. Shi'a communities are found in Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, India, Pakistan, East Africa, several Persian Gulf states (Bowker, 2000).

[62] Ismailis are a group of Shi'a who broke from the main line of Shi'a through a disagreement over the succession from the sixth Shi'a imam, Ja'far al-Sadiq when his eldest son Ismail died before his father. The Ismailis supported Ismail's son as the seventh Imam. While there are many other subsects of Ismailis, the largest group today of approximately 20 million are the Nizaris who follow the Aga Khan (Bowker, 2000)

[63] The Ahmadiyya are a sect which follows the teachings Mirza Ghulam Ahmad Qadiyani, an Islamic reformer who lived in Punjab in the late 19th /early 20th century. While they share most of the basic tenants of Islam with other Muslims, they differ on several issues. They believe that the second advent of Jesus (the Messiah/Mahdi) took place in the person of Ahmad Qadiyani. They also differ significantly from various interpretations of Jihad, emphasizing that the conditions for the violent form of jihad do not exist today, and that jihad refers to an internal, not external struggle with evil-doing (Bowker, 2000; Zirvi, 2006).

As one respondent (Muslim 4) explained "Islam encourages community to be together, to do things together. It says God gives us more blessings if we do things together, and I think there is a lot of credence in that." Before prayer, worshippers must perform *wadhu*, a prescribed procedure for washing. Obligations for communal prayers are stronger for men than women, and the Friday *jumu'ah* prayer is the most important weekly prayer.

> That is the prayer that everybody leaves their work, they come to pray. That is the one thing that they do, that they want to do … if they don't do anything else, they want to have their Friday prayers! (Muslim 4).

The objective of a mosque is to facilitate communal prayer, to help followers to fulfill their social obligations and responsibilities, to collect and distribute charity, and to provide education (Tajuddin Muhamad Rasdi, 1999).

In the *Sunni* tradition, prayers are lead by the *imam*, who can be anyone in good standing in the community. Generally, the mosque *imam* is someone with formal religious education. Most of the Muslim communities interviewed invite religious scholars from across south-western Ontario to lead prayers, conduct the Friday sermon or other special religious talks or workshops. The Shia community interviewed for this study was working towards obtaining a resident *alim* (religious scholar), preferably with a wife who could also counsel women, to address various community religious and educational needs.

Use of time

Devout Muslims follow the full daily cycle of five prayers. Prayers times are set by the lunar calendar and therefore, exact prayer times change daily but generally take place at sunrise, noon, late afternoon, sunset and evening. Respondents in the study reported that attendance rates at daily prayers at mosques in the study area are relatively small. The Friday *jumu'ah* prayer is held at a consistent time, between 1:00-3:00pm and attracts the highest attendance of all prayer times as it is obligatory communal prayer for all male Muslims.[64] Most mosques will provide a 30 minute sermon (*khutba*) along with the prayer, either by the resident *imam* or another religious scholar. All mosques in this study provide various activities, particularly religious classes for youth and adults held afternoons and evening during the week.

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[64] Women are excused from this obligation because of their domestic and child-rearing obligations. Some do attend the *jumu'ah* prayer but in smaller numbers than men.

The three most important religious events in all Muslim calendars are the month of fasting, *Ramadan*, (the ninth month of the lunar calendar), the feast of fast-breaking, *Id al-Fitr* and the feast of sacrifice, *Id al-Adha*. During *Ramadan*, many Muslim communities will organize gatherings during evenings for communal *iftar*, breaking of the daily fast. Other major religious days are followed by some, but not all Muslims.[65]

Definition and use of space

Mosque architecture varies throughout the world, commensurate with its adoption by so many societies. In Islamic countries, there are traditionally three types of mosques: the local or neighbourhood mosque, the Friday or Jami mosque, which serves several neighbourhoods (Qadeer & Chaudhry, 2000; urRahmaan, 1999), and a large, Id mosque can accommodate large gatherings and serve as a landmark building (urRahmaan, 1999; Roberts, 2004).

Two features common to most mosques are the dome and the minaret. Roberts (2004, p. 65) states that the dome makes symbolic reference to paradise and is generally located above the main worship hall. In Islamic countries, the minaret is used for *adhan*, the call to prayer. In North American mosques, the minaret is symbolic rather than functional. Both features distinguish the building as a mosque and study respondents highlighted its importance in promoting the visibility of the Muslim community. However, only one mosque in this study currently has a dome and minaret. Seven are located in recycled buildings, and three are in the process of preparing proposals for new construction.

The main worship hall of a mosque must be oriented to Makkah, the site of the sacred *Ka'aba* shrine. This facilitates the Qu'ranic stipulation that prayers be made in this direction, known as the *qibla* direction. There are no chairs or pews used in the carpeted worship hall, people line up side-by-side in order to perform *salat*, a set of prescribed prayers which follow various bodily movements of standing, kneeling and bowing one's head to the ground. Traditionally, women and men pray in separate spaces. In the mosques visited for this study, women's prayer spaces were located behind or beside the men's space, separated by dividers,

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[65] These include Ra's al-Am (New Year), Ashura (the day of blessing for the Sunni, and the anniversary of the martyrdom of al-Hussein, for the Shi'a), Mawlid al-Nabi (Muhammad's birthday), Laylat al-Mi'raj (the night journey), Laylat al-Bara'ah (the night of forgiveness), Laylat al-Qadr (the night of power, 23rd of Ramadan, the day Mohammad received his first revelation) and Eid al-Ghadir (according to the Shi'a, the day commemorating Ali's designation as Muhammad's successor).

above the men, in a balcony type area, or in the case of one smaller mosque, in a basement. As women do not have the same obligations as men to attend communal prayer, the women's worship space is generally much smaller than that of men. In addition to regular toilet facilities, most mosques provide ablution facilities to allow members to perform *wadhu*, the ritual washing that takes place before prayers. Two mosques also have a special room for preparing the deceased for burial.

Most of the *Sunni* communities interviewed in this study expressed the need to develop a neighbourhood mosque, as illustrated by this quotation: " … think of it religiously. For you to pray five times a day, you have to be near a mosque" (Muslim 4). Residential accommodation was not identified as a requirement or a concern for any of the communities. Most mosques examined by this study had various facilities for other community activities, such classroom(s), a computer room, a library, a bookstore, a room to house audio-recording equipment for the recording of sermons, offices, a counseling room and/ or a gymnasium. All mosques had facilities for storing and heating up food, and a social hall for religious and social gatherings, but only two had full kitchen facilities.

Islamic education is a major concern for all Muslim communities interviewed for this study. All mosques had weekday and weekend religious and language[66] education for youth and adults. Several communities discussed current or potential future plans to develop an Islamic school. Informants reported that the only use of public space by their communities was during community picnics in public parks.

Religious and social activities

Chaudhry (1996) notes that most mosques in the Toronto area were established by one main ethnic or national group. However, only one of the communities interviewed for this study was established and oriented toward a single ethnic group. The rest described multi-ethnic communities, including Indian, Pakistani, Somali, West Indian, South-East Asian, Chinese and Middle Eastern devotees. The *Shi'a* and *Ahmadiyya* communities described mixed ethnic communities, but from a smaller number of countries. As one informant (Muslim 4) observed, these differences can require some inter-ethnic resolution:

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[66] As most Muslim communities emphasize the importance in understanding the Qur'an in its original Arabic, religious education often includes or is accompanied by Arabic classes.

We all come from different backgrounds, different cultures, different backgrounds. And each of us in our own way thinks that we're practicing the best of the way of life. But when we get together, we have an issue: the way we stand, the way we sit, the way we put our hands together, the way we bow down to the ground to pray, there are so many issues that we have … (Muslim 4).

For all but the *Shi'a* community, representatives noted that for daily prayers, particularly the Friday *jumu'ah* prayer, men attend whatever mosque which is located closest to their workplace, rather than their family home. They further remarked that these men re-arrange their work day in order to take their lunch break later in the afternoon in order to attend the communal prayer.

Religious education is a primary activity that takes place weekday evenings and weekends. Other classes include Arabic and Islamic history. Most mosques run various youth activities during public school holidays and some provide regular recreation and sports activities. Several communities observed that informal counseling for individuals and couples take place with the *imam* or *alim*. One community brings counseling services from its Regional municipality into the mosque for its members. Most communities hold fundraising activities at their mosque.

5.1.5.   <u>Sikhism</u>

General features

Sikhism is a monotheistic religion which developed in the late 15th century in what is now Pakistan. It was founded by the first of the 10 Sikh gurus, Guru Nanak. Guru Nanak criticized and challenged many of the practices of Hinduism and Islam of the time, in particular, the caste system, idolatry, priest-hood, food and dress prohibitions and foreign occupations. He established a set of practices, now referred to as *gurmat* (the guru's way) that were further developed by successive nine Gurus, which in essence require Sikhs to remember God and recite God's name, to work and earn an honest, family life and to give charity to less fortunate.

In 1699, the last Guru, Guru Gobind Singh established the Sikh initiation or baptism (*Amrit Sanskar*) and the five Sikh emblems (known as the five k's).[67] The *Reht Maryada*, the Sikh Code of Conduct[68] defines a Sikh as

> one who believes in Sikh religion and in no other religion, who believes in one God, the ten Sikh Gurus and Guru Granth Sahib [the Sikh scripture] and their teachings, has faith in *amrit* and practices the Sikh code of conduct as prescribed by Guru Gobind Singh (Singh, 2005).

Sikhism remains primarily the religion of Punjabi-speaking people in northern India and Pakistan, although small numbers of converts have been attracted from other ethnic groups. There are several small sects within Sikhism, including *Nanaksars*, *Nirankaris*, and *Namdharis* (Centre for Faith and the Media, 2006a). There are no priests *per se* in Sikhism, although the *granthi* is the custodian of the *Guru Granth Sahib* and performs prayers and readings. There are also *raagis* or musicians, who perform devotional hymns, or *kirtan*.

Use of time

Devoted Sikhs carry out daily morning and evening prayers. At the gurdwara, the daily cycle may start as early as 2:00 a.m., when the *granthi* wakes the *Guru Granth Sahib* and brings it to the *Darbar*, the main worship hall. A series of prayers and readings take place throughout the day and evening, ending around 9:30 p.m. Weekends are the busiest times of the week for most gurdwaras

Informants from all four gurdwaras interviewed for this study noted that many people attend the gurdwara daily, in the morning and/or evening, on their way to and from work. "We do have a big number of people before they start their day's work, they come here, and they get the blessing of *Guru Granth Sahib*, and then they start their day" (Sikh 4). Respondents also noted that many seniors may spend the entire day at the gurdwara, volunteering in various ways.

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[67] An initiated Sikh, one who has participated in the *amrit* (baptism) must wear five articles of faith: 1. *Kes*, un-cut hair which symbolizes saintliness; 2. *Kangha*, a comb which symbolises cleanliness; 3) Kara, a steel bracelet which is a sign of eternity, faith, and restraint; 4) Kachara, a special underwear and reminds the Sikh of restraint and also is of practical use for the freedom of movement; 5) Kirpan, a sword, which represents both honour and compassion, courage, self-defense, justice and self-sacrifice. (Centre for Faith and the Media, 2006a; Kaur, 2001; Singh, 1998)

[68] The *Reht Maryada* was developed during the 1930s in order to establish a unified code of conduct and clarify various contradictions which had developed within Sikhism. It was compiled by the Shromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee (S.G.P.C.) and "authorized by the Akal Takht, the seat of supreme temporal authority for Sikhs" (Brar, 1998).

Peak use periods for three of the gurdwaras interviewed for this study were weekends. All four identified weekends as very busy, throughout the day both Saturdays and Sundays. The *Nanaksar* gurdwara has a monthly full moon, *Puranamashi* celebration. This monthly event can draw thousands of members throughout the celebration.

Sikhs celebrate several festivals. One of the most important festivals is *Vaisakhi* or *Baisakhi*, which commemorates the establishment of the *Khalsa* and the Sikh baptism ceremony. They also celebrate a number of *gurupurbs*, the birthdays or days of martyrdom of the ten gurus. Sikhs also celebrate two other festivals *Hola Mohalla* and *Divali* that correspond to Hindu spring festival of *Holi* and the autumn festival of *Divali*.

Definition and use of space

The Sikh temple is called the gurdwara (seat of the Guru) because most importantly, it houses the Sikh holy scriptures, *Guru Granth Sahib*, which is treated by Sikhs as a living Guru. As with most places of worship, the gurdwara is designed for congregational worship. Traditionally, a gurdwara will have four doors, symbolizing that the gurdwara is open to everyone, regardless of caste or faith. Most gurdwaras have a dome or *gumbad* on the roof, but there is considerable variation in different architectural styles used in gurdwaras in India (Bhatti, 2004). Traditionally, a gurdwaras will have a pool, in which devotees will bathe as part of their religious practice, the most famous of which is the large pool which surrounds the Golden Temple in Amritsar, India.

There are several key features of a gurdwara. The entrance hall of the gurdwara includes a large area for shoes and coats and a sink for washing feet and hands. All attendees remove their shoes and socks, and both men and women must wear some kind of head covering. The *darbar* is the main worship hall where there is a stage or platform for the *Guru Granth Sahib*, the Sikh holy scripture. It sits under sheet of cloth and a decorated canopy. Devotees sit on the floor, usually men and women on two different sides of the hall; there are no chairs or pews. The *sachkhand* is a separate room where the Guru Granth Sahib is kept at night. The third key feature of a gurdwara is the *langar*[69] or community kitchen, established to create a space in which people, regardless of caste, would eat together. Free vegetarian

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[69] *Nanaksar* gurdwaras does not provide the langar. Community meals do take place, but food is brought by devotees, and is not cooked at the gurdwara.

food, prepared by volunteers, is offered daily. Devotees sit in rows in the floor to eat together.

Gurdwaras include additional rooms for various programs. These extra rooms are important as families organize various religious programs for lifecycle events and other special ceremonies. One community is making plans to purchase another building near to the gurdwara for the sole purpose of providing spaces for these family-type activities. Two Sikh communities reported that many such programs taking place every weekend, particularly during summer months when weddings are popular.

A gurdwara will also include a library and a store providing both religious literature and religious articles. They also usually provide residential accommodation for the *granthi* and *raagis*. As one representative emphasized, the full schedule of a gurdwara throughout the day and evening, requires religious and gurdwara personnel, such as the *granthi* and *raagis*, and the *langri, (*the person in charge of the *langar)*, to be on site, such that a gurdwara must provide accommodation for such personnel.

> Our priests, our religious singers, they have to stay at gurdwara because, see, our usual function finish around 9:30 [p.m.]. By the time guru goes to bed it's 10:00 [p.m.]. Two in the morning the head priest of this gurdwara have to wake up. Because 2:30 guru has to be on the throne. So 2:30 morning prayers start. (Sikh 1)

Two of the four gurdwaras examined in this study were located in residential neighbourhoods, and respondents from both communities observed that this location allowed many people, especially seniors, easy access to the gurdwara. The third and fourth gurdwaras are located in industrial areas, where property was more affordable. Both respondents noted that although no residential neighbourhoods were close by, the locations were favourable because of their central location within the metropolitan region, with access to major highways and transit.

One gurdwara is proposing to build a large park and has large recreation facilities in the rear of the building, including soccer and cricket fields. Another gurdwara houses a day school and a second is proposing to construct one as part of future renovations. All Sikh respondents talked about the central importance of the gurdwara for seniors, who participate as volunteers. One gurdwara is adding a large room for seniors to provide more activities and opportunities for interaction.

Two gurdwaras have also considered constructing a pool, as bathing in a pool of a gurdwara is an important sacred activity. Because of weather (requiring the pool to be indoors), and regulations (requiring a full-time life-guard) such a facility has not yet been found to be feasible. One community is investigating providing a funeral home for its community. Another community is planning to develop a museum within the gurdwara.

Religious and social activities

In this study, the *sangat* (community) of each gurdwara is comprised largely of new immigrants. Informants from all communities estimated their congregations to be between 50% and 75% recent immigrant. The definition and behaviour of the Sikh *sangat* is quite fluid and dynamic. Attendance and participation during various prayers varies from day to day, although it is highest on weekends. Weekend attendance takes place throughout both Saturday and Sunday, and is generally not limited to a prescribed sermon or prayer. Three of the four informants talked about the regional and international draw of gurdwaras, for various programs (weddings, other lifecycle rituals), as well as special religious events.

There are several important lifecycle and social events that take place in the gurdwara: baptism, naming ceremonies, weddings, the death ceremony, the turban tying ceremony, *Dastar Bandhi*, and special occasions such as the blessing of the beginning of a new business. Many of these events require the continuous recitation of the Holy Scriptures known as *Akhand Path*. All four informants talked about the importance of weddings. Accessory activities reported at gurdwaras of this study included religious classes and language classes, particularly in *Gurmukhi*, the Punjabi script introduced by the first Guru Nanak. Gurdwaras also provide various sports and recreation activities such as karate, soccer, field hockey and the Sikh marshal art, *Gatkah*.

Three informants talked about the importance of the gurdwara in providing counseling and support to couples and families for problems associated with marital conflict, including domestic violence. They commented that it is better for such problems to be addressed in the gurdwara, rather than through police and courts. One interviewee discussed his community's plans to build a special room for counseling and to hire a professional counselor to deal with such issues.

5.2. *Discussion*

The following section summarizes similarities and differences among religious communities in their organization time, space and social relations.

5.2.1. <u>Summary of time-related issues</u>

In his extensive discussion of multicultural temporalities, Laguerre (2003) charts the history[70] and implications of the organization of time of New York City's Christian, Jewish and Muslim communities, making several important observations about what he calls the chronopolis.[71] First, time is a key stratifying dimension of the multicultural city. The structuring of time is a central organizing feature of culture within which values and other fundamental cultural elements are embedded. Such social patterning is not easily changed or discarded. Upon migration, immigrants of different cultural temporalities will experience a "change in time consciousness" (Hassard 1990 in Laguerre 2000, p. 11) by which they must adjust to the new temporal structure of their adopted society. Through this process, the immigrant individual, family and community must find ways to integrate their "temporal sequence" (Laguerre 2003, p. 11) into the mainstream one, preserving and recreating what is possible and most valuable of their own cultural rhythms. Simultaneously, they must also learn to oscillate back and forth between the two sequences. Laguerre further asserts that the performance and celebration of the "time of difference" is a critical complement to the "space of difference." While many issues related to multicultural temporalities are addressed by other public sectors such as education or labour,[72] they also influence municipal affairs, including land use planning. More importantly perhaps, the discordance that occurs when culturally-based temporal structures do not align with mainstream temporal patterns highlights a ubiquitous yet often overlooked attribute of the multicultural city.

This study highlights the discordance that emerges among the multiple religious and cultural temporalities that emerge from religious diversity. Table 5-1 summarizes these

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[70] He includes the fascinating account of the American history of the blue laws which regulate Sunday activities, and describes a four phase history of relationships between the state and minority groups: exclusion and criminalization, segregated assimilation, accommodation and multiculturalism.

[71] Laguerre (2000, p. 146) points out that there are temporal ghettos because cultural temporalities separate religious and cultural minorities from the dominant mainstream society. Yet unlike their spatial variant, temporal ghettos do not require territorial concentration. These temporal ghettos together with the mainstream time form the chronopolis.

[72] For example, school boards and labour legislators encounter issues related to religious and cultural holidays, as well as prayer times.

differences and the following section addresses each of calendrical, daily, weekly and annual patterns.

Table 5-1 Summary comparison of key common features: organization of time

	Buddhism	**Christianity**	**Hinduism**	**Islam**	**Sikhism**
Calendar	Lunar	Gregorian or Julian	Lunar	Lunar	Lunar
Daily services attended by community members	• Daily cycle • Morning/ evening for individual/ family needs	Few	• Daily cycle • Morning/ evening puja	• Daily cycle • Five prayers	Daily cycle
Weekly peak services	Sundays/ Weekend services	Sunday service	Variable	Jumu'ah (Friday) prayer	Sunday & Saturday
Annual peak events	• *Vesak/ Wesak* • New Year • Various	• Christmas • Easter • Other various	• *Diwali* • *Holi* • Various deity festivals	• *Ramadan* • *Id-al-Fitr* • *Id-al-Adha*	• *Vasaikhi* • Various *gurupurb* events
Other	• Monthly (*Theraveda*)	-	-	-	• Monthly (*Nanaksar*)

Calendars

Two main calendars are in use by religious communities. Because of its universal use in Canada, the Gregorian calendar is followed by all communities in one way or another. However, Muslims, Sikhs, Buddhists and Hindus also use their own versions of a lunar calendar to observe religious and cultural events. In some cases, major events are moved to the nearest weekend, in order to arrange full-day and/or late activities. Many communities also hold activities on the correct day according to their lunar calendar, albeit sometimes in reduced form. The use of the lunar calendar means that the dates of special events according to the Gregorian calendar change considerably from year to year. In the case of making specific parking arrangements with the municipality, for example, this means that religious communities must remain in regular contact with municipal staff in order to keep them to-up-date on special events. It also makes communication with neighbourhood and community members somewhat challenging again because it requires constant communication to make people aware of changing annual dates.

Daily and weekly attendance patterns

Most religious community representatives reported low daily attendance rates of 10-50 devotees on a daily basis, although some Sikh and Muslim communities reported higher numbers from 100 to as high as several hundred attending throughout weekdays. Some smaller religious communities only open their place of worship during set times throughout the day or week. Many reported higher numbers of seniors attending regularly for both religious and social activities. Common features of religious communities include a daily cycle of prayers, readings, religious songs, chanting or mediation by religious personnel accompanied by devotees.

Weekly patterns vary across the five religious communities. As one might expect, they share a common feature of the concentration of activities on weekends. Figure 5-2 presents a summary of daily and weekly activity patterns. This summary provides an approximation of general activity patterns, as these patterns are a function of religious practices, the size of the congregation or religious community, and the programming of extra activities. Here, peak periods are presented for worship activities, not other social, cultural or educational activities which tend to draw lower numbers of congregants.

Table 5-2: Summary of weekly individual and communal worship and activity times at places of worship

	Monday			Tuesday			Wednesday			Thursday			Friday			Saturday			Sunday		
	M	A	E	M	A	E	M	A	E	M	A	E	M	A	E	M	A	E	M	A	E
Sikh	X		X	X		X	X		X	X		X	X		X	P	P	P	P	P	P
Buddhist (*e.g. Theravada*)			X			X			X			X			X			X		P	P
Hindu*	X		X	X		X	X		X	X		X	X		X	P	P	P	P	P	P
Muslim (*e.g. Sunni*)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	P	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Christian (*e.g. Protestant*)						X			X			X			X				P	P	

M = morning, A=afternoon, E=evening, P=peak attendance period
*Considerable variation occurs from week to week and from mandir to mandir, depending upon the deities venerated by the mandir. Both festival and *puja* schedules fluctuate considerably and many mandirs have activities throughout many weeks of the year.

The general picture that this summary provides is the variation of peak worship periods: Fridays for most mosques, both Saturdays and Sundays for most mandirs and gurdwaras, and Sundays for most churches and temples. The summary illustrates the adaptations made by many minority religious communities to the dominant Gregorian

calendar and Canadian work week, through the use of weekends. It also points to a range of religious activities throughout the week, a pattern which departs from the predominant Christian practice of Sunday communal worship.

Annual patterns

There are no common features in the annual calendar of key religious days other than the fact that most communities have several major events throughout the year. Again, because of the lunar calendar followed by all four minority groups, these dates change every year according to the Gregorian calendar. Table 5-3 provides a general summary of some of the largest festivals and events for each of the religious communities, choosing one denomination for each of the Buddhist, Muslim and Christian communities in an attempt to provide a representative portrait of the multi-faith calendar of events. One observation to draw from this profile is the staggering of various key religious and cultural events throughout the year, again, departing from the predominant Christian religious observance of Easter and Christmas.

Table 5-3: Key religious and secular annual events 2006 celebrated by religious communities

	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
Sikh	G^1			V		G^2					G^3 G^4	
Buddhist			MP	NY	V		AP					
Hindu			H	R				K		D		
Muslim	E^2								RRR	RRE^1		E^2
Christian				GF, E								C

Sikh: G^1 – *Gurupurb Guru Gobind Singh*, V: *Vaisahi* (*Baiskhi*), G^2 – *Gurupurb Guru Arjan*, G^3 – *Gurupurb* for *Guru Nanak*, G4 – *Gurupurb* for Martyrdom of *Guru Tegh Bahdur*. **Buddhist** (*e.g. Theravada*): MP- *Magha Puja Day*, NY – New Year, V – *Vesak*, AP – *Asalha Puja* Day or *Dhamma* Day; **Hindu**: H – *Holi*, R – *Ramayana*, K – *Krishna Janmashtami*, D – *Diwali*; **Muslim** (*e.g. Sunni*): R – *Ramadan* (Sept 24th to October 24th), E^1 - *Id-Al-Fitr*, E^2 *Id-al-Adha*; **Christian** (*e.g.* Protestant): GF – Good Friday, E – Easter Sunday, C – Christmas.

5.2.2. <u>Summary of space-related patterns</u>

Space-related patterns relate to how minority religious communities (re)create religious and cultural community facilities, addressing current and potential community needs within the confines of the Canadian urban context. Implicit to this investigation are the questions of *where* religious and cultural activities take place: regionally, locally, within a specific site, building and room. As Kuper (1972) asserts, there is a "language of space." While this study has not investigated in detail the vocabulary of this language for the

religious communities examined here, I have focused data collection on some of the "keywords" expressed by religious communities in their place of worship development. Table 5-4 summarizes the comparison of key spatial features and needs among the five religious communities.

Table 5-4: Summary comparison of key common features: organization of space

	Buddhism	**Christianity**	**Hinduism**	**Islam**	**Sikhism**
Key architectural features	Various styles, can include dome features	Steeple(s), Dome	Dome(s)	Dome, Minaret(s)	Dome
Seating arrangements in worship hall	Mats/ cushions	Pews or chairs	On carpet (no seating)	On carpet (no seating)	On carpet (no seating)
Religious & accessory features common to all religions	Worship hall, offices, meeting rooms, book/ religious paraphernalia store				
Key common place of worship building features	• Religious personnel residence (common) • Kitchen/dining area	• Religious personnel residence (some) • Chapel (some) • Nursery/ child care facilities used during services • Kitchen (most)	Religious personnel residence (common) • Kitchen/ dining area	• Orientation of prayer hall to Makkah • Separate men's & women's prayer halls • Library • Ablution facilities	• Religious personnel residence (common) • Kitchen/ dining area (*langar*) • Room for scriptures (*sachkhand*)
Key common (preferred) site features	• Gardens • Natural features	-	• Gardens • Natural features (*e.g.* running water)	-	-
Special uses	Memorial hall/ tower (urn storage)	-	-	Burial preparation room	-
Common auxiliary uses	• Multi-purpose hall • Retreat facilities	Multi-purpose hall	• Multi-purpose hall • Proposed seniors' housing	Multi-purpose hall	Multi-purpose hall(s)
Use of public space	-	Community picnics	• Parade (some) • Use of waterways for offerings/ ashes (some) • Sports/ recreation	Community picnics	Vaisakhai parade (some)
Special features	Restaurant, exhibition hall, proposed museum, indoor and outdoor recreation facilities, computer rooms				

Issues related to the organization of space can be organized in four categories. First, there are a number of features or preferences for places of worship that are unique to particular religious communities. These include particular architectural features such as domes (churches, gurdwaras, mandirs and mosques) and minarets (mosques), preferred locations (within co-ethnic residential neighbourhoods, beside natural features) characteristics of site design (orientation of mosques towards Makkah, the physical separation of religious buildings from secular ones, landscaping preferences) and special uses

(storage of ashes, burial preparation room, the community kitchen, commercial uses *e.g.* restaurants). In this study, there was a universal concern among Hindu communities to provide seniors' housing.

Second, there are a number of features shared across religious communities. These include uses that municipalities define as accessory and or auxiliary uses to religious practices. Generally, the places of worship in this study include (or propose to include) a mix of land uses, such as residential use (for religious personnel or seniors), social uses (social halls), educational (schools) and recreational uses (gymnasiums). However, municipal definitions of activities and spaces as integral, accessory or auxiliary to worship do not accord with many religious communities' definitions and understandings of religious activity. Members of all five groups insisted that their religion was not a separate activity, but rather, their religious path was a way of life. For Buddhist, Sikh and many Hindu communities, residential space for religious personnel was indispensable to the religious activities taking place at the place of worship; large halls for lifecycle events and communal dining also integral to religious activity of Sikh and Hindu communities, not simply as an add-on social activity.

Third, there are issues related to the use of public space. Uses common to most groups are the use of public parks for organized sports activities and social events like community picnics and the use of streets for public parades. Uses unique to particular communities are the use of fire in some Hindu festivals, and the use of water for Hindu offerings.

Fourth, while addressed by only one community, there is the issue of the definition of sacred space. One Sikh community indicated the importance of this issue, in reference to the community's organization of large gatherings for religious ceremonies where the *Guru Granth Sahib*, the Sikh holy scriptures are required. These gatherings can attract thousands, even tens of thousand of people from across Canada and the U.S. In the past, these events have been held outdoors at the gurdwara. This has caused problems with the municipality because of traffic, parking, safety and noise concerns. One community representative explained that it does not have other options for the location of such an event, because of the sacred status of the scriptures. Other large rental facilities that might be able to accommodate large number of people also host activities that involve drinking and smoking, activities that

would been seen to defile the space, so making most rental space unsuitable for this kind of religious event. This issue resonates with another issue identified in the urban literature, the establishment of Hasidic Jewish scared space, the *eruvim* (Valins, 2003; Stoker, 2003; Vincent & Warf, 2002; Siemiatycki, 2005)

5.2.3. <u>Summary of social-activity related patterns</u>

There are many common features among the religious community investigated for this study related to social activity patterns: the emphasis on religious education for youth, and the provision of religious, social, recreational, and cultural activities for various age groups. All minority religious communities also observed that major religious festivals or events draw attendance from communities across the Greater Toronto Area, and for some, south-western Ontario and beyond.

There are several significant differences in the patterns of social activity associated with religious communities. First, there is a spectrum of congregational behaviour associated with religious communities. At one end of the spectrum is the traditional Christian congregation which is defined by membership to one church. Regular attendance includes weekly Sunday worship, as well as participation in Christian holiday activities and in social, recreational or religious activities during evenings and weekends. Major lifecycle events include baptisms, weddings and funerals.

Attendance patterns of the Buddhist temples represented in this study are similar to the Christian pattern in that members generally attend one temple. Weekly attendance patterns are observed by many, but are not a prescribed component of Buddhist practice. Various other family/religious practices such as death anniversaries and other forms of ancestor veneration generate temple attendance for communities whose member participate in such practices. Major community gatherings include both secular (*e.g.* New Year) and religious festivals. Religious education includes both regular classes for youth but also week-end or week-long meditation retreats for adults.

Attendance patterns related to mosques differ in that members (particular male) may attend a mosque located near their workplace for weekday prayers, especially the Friday afternoon *jumu'ah* prayers that take place during work hours. They may also attend another mosque located near their home for prayer times that take place when they are at home and for family-related activities. Two mosques in this study have or will provide facilities for

preparing the deceased for burial. Other activities taking place at the mosque are related to religious education, religious celebrations and community activities like fundraising or recreational activities.

Table 5-5: Summary comparison of key common features: social activity patterns

	Buddhism	**Christianity**	**Hinduism**	**Islam**	**Sikhism**
Place of worship attendance	• Attendance of single temple	• Attendance of single church	• May attend different mandirs for different activities/ festivals honouring various deities	• May attend different mosques from workplace and from home	• May attend different gurdwaras for different activities/ occasions
Worship behaviour	• Individual, family and congregational worship • Congregational attendance patterns determined by set worship times	• Congregational worship key activity • Attendance patterns determined by set worship/ activity times • Individual & family attendance less common	• Individual, family and congregational worship • Worship patterns relatively fluid • Communal meals	• Congregational worship • Worship patterns determined by set prayer times	• Individual, family and congregational worship • Worship patterns relatively fluid • Communal dining
Large religious event(s)	• Outdoor celebrations for some festivals	• Congregation gathers for special services	• 1000s of people may attend throughout days of festival	• Congregational prayers during Id	• 1000s of people may attend throughout days of festival or special events
Key life cycle events	• Death anniversary rituals • Blessings for weddings/ other important events	• Baptism, marriage, funeral	• Weddings • Pujas for special events	• Burial preparation	• Baptisms, weddings, naming ceremonies • *Akhand path* for special events
Religious/ spiritual education	• Dharma school • Lectures • Meditation	• Fellowship meetings • Bible study • Religious singing/ music	• Scripture/ Sanskrit study • Religious singing/music • Yoga • Meditation	• Qu'ran study/ Arabic classes • Conferences/ lectures	• Gurmukhi/ Punjabi • Religious singing/music
Secular activities	• Language classes • Vegetarian events • Tutoring • Cultural activities • Informal immigrant support	• Recreational/ sports activities • Informal immigrant support	• Language classes • Cultural activities (Dance, music, drama) • Tutoring • Recreation/ sports • Formal & informal immigrant support	• Language classes • Tutoring/ computer class • Sport • Formal & informal immigrant support	• Sport • Informal immigrant support

Similarly, gurdwaras are not defined by a clearly defined congregation. Sikhs may attend different gurdwaras for different activities and do not necessarily belong exclusively to one gurdwara, although many may attend one regularly. Religious activities take place throughout the day and evening and attendance need not be restricted to one particular service at a specific time. For larger gurdwaras the *langar* is open throughout the day, and devotees may attend prayers and eat at the *langar* at different times according to their

schedule. There are several important lifecycle events and special occasions which take place at the gurdwara and are attended by extended family members and friends. Daily, weekly and special religious activity attendance at gurdwaras is generally high.

Finally, mandirs are also characterized by very fluid congregational behaviours. Like Sikhs and Muslims, many Hindu devotees are not exclusively attached to one mandir and they often attend different mandirs for different occasions, although many may regularly attend a mandir associated with a preferred family deity, saint or frequented by co-ethnic members. Major festivals draw very high numbers, but again attendance is often very fluid and not necessarily required for any one specific period of time. Relatively few people remain at the mandir for the entire period of the festival or key ceremonies but 1000s of people will pass through the mandir to make offerings. Large weddings were identified by all communities as a key social event.

5.3. Conclusion

This chapter examined the religious and cultural practices of the five religious communities examined in this study and documents the key elements of these practices in relation to use of time and space and the organization of social activities. Several highlights can be drawn from this chapter to summarize the findings. Broad similarities among the five religious communities were observed in building features, religious and secular activities.

Inter-community differences emerge in several areas. Each religious community follows a unique cultural temporality defined by its calendrical structure. Peak worship times and key religious events differ among and within the five religious communities. Closely linked to their organization of time, religious communities' accounts of activity patterns differed by way of attendance behaviour, peak attendance events, and important religious and social events. Religious community spatial requirements exhibited both intra- and inter-community diversity across the sample. However, some generalizations can be drawn from the findings. Beyond the obvious architectural ones, differences can been observed in seating arrangements, site requirements and preferences, and the requirements or preferences for residential, commercial and social assembly uses. The relative importance of these patterns in relation to urban planning policy and practice is determined by a combination with other factors, which will be discussed further in Chapters 6 and 7.

Chapter 6: <u>Place of worship development experiences</u>

This chapter addresses the research question of how religious communities address their religious and cultural spatial needs through place of worship development. The first section describes each of the chronological stages of the development experience. The second section examines place of worship functions and space requirements. The third analyzes the development experience by the challenges reported by religious community representatives. Fourth, coping strategies used by religious communities are examined. Finally, the fifth section presents nine representative community narratives.

6.1. Search and development experience

This section describes the experiences of the religious communities interviewed for this study, describing the general evolution process of place of worship development and then detailing the four stages of the development process: the site search process, issues related to temporary spaces, issues related to establishing permanent locations, and post-construction experiences and issues.

6.1.1.   <u>The evolution of new religious communities and places of worship</u>

The religious communities in this study developed gradually over time as their congregation numbers and community resources grew, mirroring the pattern documented by several other scholars (Qadeer & Chaudhry, 2000; Ebaugh & Chafetz, 2000). They have followed a number of trajectories, but most religious communities have experienced at least some of the following steps in the development of their places of worship over a period of time that can span years or decades (See Figure 6-1). The following description follows the typical process of a new religious community described by respondents in this study.

A new community often begins with a few families gathering to worship together in a member's home. For example, one Hindu community (Hindu 4) interviewed for the study practiced for several years in a member's basement, where several *murtis* had been installed. As the community grows, the community seeks a larger meeting space. Initially they may rent relatively inexpensive facilities in a neighbouring school, community centre or other municipal buildings. This rental may be occasional, in the case of special occasions, or regular, in the case of weekly meetings for worship and/or religious classes for children.

Communities may enter into longer term rental or lease arrangements of commercial, retail, residential or industrial space. This phase usually lasts as long as it takes the community to raise funds to purchase space.

Purchasing of space may take many forms, and again, communities may pass through several properties (and sometimes more than one municipality) until settling on a permanent worship space. Examples of spaces include: single-detached homes, townhouse units, commercial or industrial condominium units, or a place of worship previously owned by another religious community. Nine of the religious communities interviewed for this study are still at this stage. Alternatively, religious communities may purchase a vacant lot and build a new building to suit their specific needs. Regardless of the property purchased, all religious communities enter into some kind of renovation or construction. Again, because of limited financial resources or permitting processes, new construction frequently takes place in several phases. The initial construction or renovation may be quickly completed to meet immediate worship needs. In some cases temporary portable units have been used to augment space requirements (Sikh3, Christian6). Later construction phases may address aesthetic and symbolic features (*e.g.* minarets and domes for mosques, domes and elaborate carvings on building façades for mandirs) or auxiliary functions such as schools, social halls, cafeterias or restaurants *etc.* This study revealed many examples in which place of worship construction was broken down into several phases, in order to accommodate both funding and municipal application requirements. For example, one Christian community (Christian 3) built its gymnasium area first, recognizing that this multi-purpose space could serve both religious and social needs for several years, while raising funds and going through the remaining planning and permitting process for the sanctuary and another smaller chapel. Similarly, when one Muslim community (Muslim 7) learned that its tax-exempt status would not start until construction began on its property, it moved quickly to design a phased construction process, built and occupied the basement area first for worship use, and then added the main and second floor, dome and minarets in later phases.

With continued community growth, the place of worship may be expanded again. Several communities are growing much faster than anticipated, and attendance has quickly exceeded their supply of space (Christian2, Christian 3, Buddhist 3, Sikh 4). Most are responding with plans to construct additions to their existing buildings. One community has

begun to establish satellite sites in another municipality in the area (Buddhist 2). As the community exceeds its capacity on its site, the cycle may be repeated as the community seeks and develops another satellite site in a new neighbourhood.

Figure 6-1: Evolution of places of worship

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┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│                    Temporary                     │
│  • Meeting in member's home                      │
│  • Regular or periodic, short or long term,      │
│    renting or leasing arrangements in schools,   │
│    community centres, industrial units           │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
                        │
                        ▼
┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│                    Recycled                      │
│  • Purchase and renovation of residential unit   │
│    (e.g. house, apartment, townhouse, condo);    │
│    commercial unit (e.g. storefront, office); or │
│    previous place of worship                     │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
                        │
                        ▼
┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│                New Construction                  │
│  • Full or phased construction (e.g. basic       │
│    building first, aesthetic/ symbolic features  │
│    second)                                       │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
                        │
                        ▼
┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│                    Expansion                     │
│  • Adding additional facilities schools, social  │
│    halls etc.                                    │
│  • Expanding existing facility space             │
│  • Developing satellite sites, "church planting" │
│    sister sites, retreat centres                 │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
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6.1.2. The site search process

Site search process is a key component of development experience. Many studies of place of worship development as well as other multicultural planning issues such as ethnic retail or housing, have not examined the process by which the individual or community has

sought and chosen a site, [73] yet it is at this stage where the seeds of future problems can be sown. By examining the search process, we learn what criteria the religious community have used to carry out the search, the challenges and opportunities revealed through this process, as well as the factors which influenced decision-making and problem-solving.

For most religious communities, finding a temporary space was reasonably straightforward, although some encountered difficulties, described in further detail below. All communities had at least one temporary location, and nine communities are still in a temporary location as they either pursue applications for their new building projects or seek a permanent site.

The search for an appropriate and permanent location was (or continues to be) a long and difficult process, and for many, it involved a steep learning curve. As several respondents explained, such a process is something that is undertaken only once by most communities. They often do not have enough background knowledge or assistance from others to adequately prepare before beginning this process and therefore must learn as they go. For the communities in this study, the search for a permanent location has taken from two to fifteen years. Except for the eight cases in which parent organizations provided funding, the search process is inextricably bound to community fundraising, which has been a considerable limiting factor in the search process. One Hindu respondent described his explanation for the difficulties experienced by many minority immigrant religious communities:

> One of the greatest drawbacks that we have, that I have recognized that we have here in Canada, being Hindus, we do not have the support from a parent body, okay, like the Catholic, or the Presbyterian or the Baptist churches. They have been here from day one, you know, and they have very strong resources here in terms of finance, people in the right places and all this kind of thing so you would find that they get properties a lot easier than us because of their deep-rootedness and connections. We being new, it's hell, to find that property then. And there's hardly anyone we can turn to, to ask for help in that area.

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[73] There are some exceptions. The Bhaktivedanta Manor of the International Society of Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON or Hare Krishnas) studied by Nye (2001) was donated to the group by George Harrison in 1973 and was initially appropriate as a small theological college. As the study details, land use conflict arose as the centre's popularity among Hindu's grew, and became an important place of worship, creating a number of parking and traffic problems, because of its Green Belt location on the outskirts of London. In other studies, *e.g.* Gale's work in the U.K (Gale & Naylor, 2002; Gale, 2004) and Kong's (1993) work in Singapore, the government has played a central or significant role in the siting of places of worship.

Location criteria

All religious communities identified four inter-related, key factors in the location criteria for their permanent place of worship: affordability, appropriate zoning, lot size and sufficient parking. The combination of these four factors has been very challenging to find simultaneously contained within one site. In addition to these characteristics, most communities had (have) a number of additional property characteristics in mind.

In terms of proximity to the residential settlements of religious community members, there were two general approaches: local and regional, which align with Ebaugh and Chafetz's (2000) description of parish and niche congregations.[74] Most of the Sunni Islamic and Christian communities had located or were trying to locate their place of worship in order to serve local neighbourhoods[75] because organizers had observed a growing need for a facility in their local area. Other communities, like the Shia, Ahmadiyya, several Hindu, all of the Sikh and Buddhist communities and one ethnic Sunni community, recognized the regionally dispersed settlement of their community. Their searches for an appropriate location covered much of the greater Toronto region. For those who had established a permanent location, respondents noted proximity to major highways (401, 427, 403 *etc.*) to be a major advantage to their location. They described the regional draw of their congregants from multiple municipalities beyond their home municipality.

Many communities, whether siting local or regional places of worship, had long-term plans for future expansion as part of their location search criteria. While their current financial resources limited their initial plans, many sought a location where they would be able to fulfill future expansion plans, to include for example, a large social hall, gymnasium, a school and/or seniors housing. However, several other communities reflected upon their lack of foresight, often in the rush to purchase a property at a good price or in their underestimation of the growth of their community. For example, one Hindu respondent

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[74] In their study, student researchers conducted in-depth case studies of each of the 13 religious communities which allowed Ebaugh and Chafetz to conduct analysis of the residential settlement patterns of congregants. The research design of this study did not include this type of in-depth data collection, and so I have relied instead on general descriptions by religious community representatives regarding the catchment areas of their places of worship.

[75] Four of the Christian communities in this study did accord with Ebaugh and Chafetz description of a parish community in that they were aligned with a larger Christian organization who had deliberately planted their community in order to establish their denomination to serve the particular neighbourhood in which they are currently located. None of the Sunni Islamic communities in this study were affiliated with a parent organization.

(Hindu 5), in providing advice to other religious communities, described his community's current problem of insufficient space due to its lack of foresight in anticipating its congregation's growth.

> My biggest experience is land size. [Other religious communities] should look initially at a parcel that would allow extension and development, because as you go, we lose money by accepting what we have right now, like one acre site or something, and soon, maybe one or two years, the congregation grow, and we need more than that … [Other religious communities should] try to get that parcel, that could accommodate parking with at least a 10 year vision, you know, like estimate what your congregation is going to be like in ten, five to ten years. You don't have to develop it, but be sure that you have the land available for development. That is our problem and it has been the problem for most churches, when the congregation grow.

Those communities requiring residential spaces in their place of worship have had a range of experiences in fulfilling this need. Several were able to pick properties in zones where residential uses are allowed (Hindu 2, Hindu 6, Hindu 7, Sikh 2, Sikh 3, Sikh 4, Buddhist 2, Buddhist 4, Christian 7). Two communities in the study had not adequately investigated whether or not residential uses would be allowed during the purchasing process and have run into significant difficulties later on when they learned that such a use was not allowed, or allowed only in a restricted manner (Buddhist 3, Sikh 1). Several others are currently looking for a site which would allow for residential use, and some noted the difficulty in finding such properties in which it is permitted (Hindu 3, Hindu 4, Hindu 5, Buddhist 1).

For those communities with other religious and cultural needs and preferences, location options are often considered and decisions are made by juggling these various elements. Like their phased approach to place of worship construction, several communities also take a phased approach to meeting other religious and cultural needs. For example, one community (Buddhist 4) which had unsuccessfully tried to include a small restaurant in its renovation of a church located in a residential area, has put those plans aside temporarily while it considers other renting or purchasing options for both a restaurant and for residential accommodation for members attending lengthy meditation retreats and training. Another Buddhist community (Buddhist 2) has opted to develop a second site for its retreat facilities. One Hindu community (Hindu 5) voiced the possibility of collaborating with other temples

to construct a large, indoor facility that could accommodate special festivals normally be held outdoors but that would need to be indoors during Canadian winters.

Most religious communities enlisted the assistance of real estate agents in their search (one reported using five agents at one time), some of whom were members of their congregation (Buddhist 2, Christian 5). Many respondents reported that they were personally very actively involved in the search. For example, one described personally visiting around 100 sites during his search and exclaimed that, for the three and a half year period of intense searching that he undertook, he knew every potential place of worship property in Etobicoke, Mississauga and Brampton. In many cases, it was only through this type of dedicated, thorough searching that communities were able to find appropriate and affordable properties.

6.1.3.   Issues related to temporary sites

Respondents reported a variety of challenges related to temporary sites. Most encountered difficulties with sufficient parking and worship space. For many, parking problems included neighbour complaints or encounters with by-law enforcement, or the general feeling of unease or vulnerability by congregants and religious community organizers, aware of their questionable or illegal parking. While in most cases temporary spaces were able to provide for immediate worship needs, inadequate and insufficient space curtailed many of the additional activities that religious communities wanted to provide. These two issues have understandably been key catalysts in the search for a more appropriate and permanent location.

For religious communities using rented facilities, some reported the inconvenience of having to set up an appropriate worship area on a weekly basis. For example, for Sikh communities, this means the appropriate transport of the *Guru Granth Sahib* from a member's home, the careful preparation of a temporary sacred space and the installation of the scripture in the rented facility.

Another set of difficulties were encountered by those communities who had to make significant renovations to leased or rented space. For example, one Hindu community (Hindu 1) reported a number of expensive renovations that his community undertook to make a leased, industrial space suitable for worship for the three-year interval during which his community undertook its applications to renovate an already purchased site. These renovations included the installation of an additional washroom, extra walls, kitchen

equipment and ventilation, all of which had to be dismantled at the community's cost in order to return the space to its original condition at the end of the lease.

Religious community representatives also reported a host of typical problems with landlords and neighbours over a variety of issues such as noise of machinery from neighbouring businesses during worship services, neighbours complaining of the smells of cooking or the music and light from outdoor festivals, and irresponsible or difficult landlords.

6.1.4.   <u>**Establishing permanent locations**</u>

Overall, once properties were purchased, most religious community representatives described relatively positive experiences in dealing with municipal staff, although a number of exceptions are discussed below. General complaints were made regarding the length of time of the process and the rigidity of certain requirements.

In terms of design and siting issues, most community representatives reported that they were able to satisfy their architectural and site needs. There were almost universal difficulties in juggling needs and preferences for a large building capacity and municipal parking requirements. Understandably, religious communities would have preferred to have larger gathering spaces, for both worship and social halls, and less parking. Only two communities reported conducting their own parking study prior to developing its place of worship. One extraordinary community is constructing a parking garage to satisfy its requirements. However, as one planner (Interview 2, Municipal 3) noted, this option is beyond the financial capacity of most communities. Most reported exploring various parking management solutions after purchase and construction, described in further detail below.

Most communities in the study ensured that the property they purchased had appropriate zoning, so very few communities had to undertake zoning amendments or minor variance applications in the construction or renovation of their building. However, three religious communities purchased property that could not be used for a permanent place of worship site. In all three cases, the properties were not appropriately zoned for a place of worship and the communities were unable to convince the corresponding municipal Committees of Adjustment to make the necessary changes. In all three cases, the community was forced to search again for an appropriate site. One representative reported technical issues with infrastructure requirements for sewage and water lines.

A variety of problems were reported in dealing with architects and construction companies, again related to inadequate previous experience in project management. Several communities talked about the advantage of having one community member as the sole liaison between the religious community and outside organizations and agents for the place of worship project. In several cases, a community member was the project manager or co-ordinator for the entire renovation or construction.

6.1.5.   <u>Post-construction issues</u>

Two key issues relate to post-construction experiences of religious communities: parking and traffic management and neighbour relations. While these are related issues, I will deal with each separately.

Parking management

Parking is one of the most problematic issues related to place of worship development. Some of the religious communities interviewed have undertaken effective parking management strategies. These include informal and formal actions and behaviours, many of which overlap with "good neighbour" behaviours discussed in the next section. Direct parking management strategies include the hiring of parking or private police personnel or the use of community volunteers to direct traffic and the use of signs and physical barriers to direct or control parking behaviour.

For weekly, monthly or annual special occasion events, many communities have made formal or informal shared parking agreements with adjacent property owners, for example, leasing Hydro lands, making arrangements with adjacent businesses, schools, churches, a sports arena, and a local community college to use or share one another's parking. Several places of worship have implemented or explored strategies to use shuttle buses to and from pick-up points within the municipality or public transit nodes.

Various communication strategies have been used to train and manage community members' parking behaviour including maps of available parking on place of worship websites, regular congregational announcements, and postings within the place of worship.

Neighbour and community relations

Many religious communities have also demonstrated considerable competence in managing neighbour relations. Not surprisingly, communication was reported as a key foundation to good neighbour relations. Communities used several strategies to develop relationships with neighbours: distributing information through letters about their religion, in-person contact with immediate neighbours, providing open houses, and offering invitations to meals and special events. As one respondent (Muslim 4) commented, it is "the small things," like waving to say hello and "going over to say a few words." Respondents reported positive responses to their invitations and often high levels of curiosity by neighbourhood residents wanting to know more about their religion. Religious community representatives emphasized the importance of continuous communication regarding special events involving increased parking and traffic, as well as sound (drumming, music). Some explained that even for regularly occurring events, they would also call or visit immediate neighbours to remind them of upcoming large events.

> Our feeling is … if we are living in a community actually, our neighbours should be comfortable with us, rather than … feeling uncomfortable. We want to keep them at a comfort level also so that they can enjoy the community also (Sikh 2).

Several community respondents emphasized that they wanted their place of worship to be a community centre, not only for their religious community, but also for the community at large. These representatives talked about ensuring that the space would be open to local groups who needed to use their space. For some groups, this openness also provides the community with extra income through the rental of their social hall. Two respondents expressed a desire to promote neighbourhood interaction and cohesion, particularly through youth recreational activities and social gatherings for seniors (Muslim 7, Buddhist 2).

6.2. Places of worship functions for recent immigrant communities

As discussed in Chapter 2, Ebaugh and Chafetz (2000) observe that many of the recent immigrant religious communities in Houston followed a community centre model, *i.e.* the place of worship provides secular, social service, social and cultural functions as well as religious ones. The religious communities examined in this study by and large, conform to this model, and have many functions and facilities beyond what may be defined as solely

religious activities. However, the definition of what constitutes the boundary between religious and non-religious activity is debatable for many religious representatives in this study; many insisted that their religion is a way of life, not a separate activity conducted one a week.

Traditional functions of places of worship include individual and communal worship activities, the marking and/or celebration of lifecycle events and religious holidays and festivals, as well as those educational activities that support worship. Several categories of activities occur at the places of worship selected for this study: commercial, settlement and integration services, socialization and retention services and social support services. I will discuss how these functions take place and the facilities associated with these activities. Tables 6-1 and 6-2 illustrate the spatial requirements of the religious communities examined in this study, organized by the categories.

Many of the commercial uses associated with places of worship were religious, such as small shops selling literature and other religious paraphernalia or travel services for Muslim pilgrims to the annual Hajj in Saudi Arabia. Other commercial uses included a restaurant and a driving school.

The second set of uses related again to both religious needs and to those associated with settlement and integration. These include counselling (*e.g.* religious and family) as well as employment and other support services. For these support services, many were informal and took place with existing religious personnel and congregants. However, several places of worship had specific rooms designed to these uses, such as counselling rooms, or computer rooms for job searching, and dedicated staff, either brought in periodically from the outside agencies or hired by the religious organization itself.

The third set of uses relates to socialization and retention activities. Here I combine several of the components of Ebaugh and Chafetz's community model. These uses include cultural education and promotion (language, dance, drama, music, history), computer services for educational purposes, media and communication services, recreation and exercise programming. Facilities associated with these uses include meeting and class rooms, museums, stages, exhibition halls, audio-visual and recording studios (for producing videos, radio and TV shows), gymnasiums, social or multi-purpose halls, parks, gardens, playing fields and outdoor sports equipment.

Finally, the last set of uses relates to social support. Here, the two uses have only been proposed, but none yet have been built in the sample of communities interviewed for the study. They are social housing for seniors or families and full-time child care services. The social housing proposed by communities will require separate buildings, where as the child care services proposed, will be accommodated within existing rooms of the places of worship.

Table 6-1: Summary space requirements I

Service	Spatial requirements	Bldg/Site[76]	Currently Provide	Proposed
Religious activity				
Worship/religious activities	Worship hall(s)	WB	All	-
	Meditation hall	WB	B2	B1,H1
	Religious personnel residences	WB	B1,B2, B3, B4, S2, S3, S4, H2, H7, C7	B1
	Memorial hall/ tower	WB/MB	B3	B2
	Ablution facilities	WB	M7,M9	M3,M4,M5, M6,M8
	Garden	WS	B3,B4,M1	B1,H2,H5
	Natural setting	WS	-	B2,H4,H5
	Park	WS	-	S3
	Retreat centre	MS	-	B2,B4
Religious education	Classrooms/Multi-purpose rooms	WB	All	B1
	Nursery (during services)	WB	C1,C2,C3, C5,M1	-
	Audio-visual facilities	WB	H2,M2	-
	Library	WB	S1,S2,S3, S4, B2, M2, M3, M9, H2, H4, H6, H7	B1
	Bookstore	WB	S1,S2, S3, S4, B2,B3, B4	
Congregational	Kitchen/dining hall	WB	All	
Life cycle events	Multi-purpose/ Social hall(s)	WB,MB,MS	S1,S3	H3,S2
	Burial preparation room	WB	-	M6,M7,M8
	Funeral home	WB	-	S4
Administration	Offices	WB	All	S3
	Caretaker's residence	WB	H6,M6	-

[76] WB - facilities located within a single place of worship building; WS – facilities outside the place of worship building but located within site; MB - facilities located within multiple buildings upon a single site; MS - facilities site on multiple sites

Table 6-2: Summary space requirements II

Service	Spatial requirements	Bldg/Site[77]	Currently Provide	Proposed
Religious/Commercial				
Hall rental	Multi-purpose/ Social hall(s)	WB,MB	M4, H6, H7	-
Travel services	Office space	WB	M6,M7	-
Restaurant/tea room	Restaurant/ Kitchen	WB,MS	B2	B4
Settlement/integration				
Counselling	Private meeting room(s)	WB	M2,M7,M9	S1
Employment search services	Classroom/ Computer room	WB	B2,H4	H5
Other services	Meeting room(s)/ Multi-purpose hall	WB	S3	H4
Temporary housing	Bedroom(s)	WB	S1,H4,H6,S2 S3	B4
Socialization/retention				
Recreation/sports	Gymnasium/ exercise room	WB	S3,M9, C1,C2,C3,S4	S1
	Sports playing fields	WS	S3	-
Cultural/social activities	Meeting/classrooms/ Multi-purpose hall	WB	All	H3,H4,H5
Full-time School	Classrooms/ computer room/library	WB	S1	H2,M1,M2,S 4,M7
Religious training facility	Classrooms/computer room/library	WB/MB	M3	M1
	Exhibition hall/Museum	WB	B2	S3
Social support				
Housing (seniors/ low income)	Housing units	MB	-	H1,H2,H3,H 4,H5,H6,H7, M1,M9
Religious symbolism				
Aesthetic/ symbolic expression	Height (*e.g.* dome, minaret, tower)	WB	S1,S2,S3,H6, H7,M7,B1	B1, H1, S3,M5,M6, M8

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[77] WB - facilities located within a single place of worship building; WS - facilities located within site; MB - facilities located within multiple buildings upon a single site; MS - facilities site on multiple sites

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6.3. General challenges faced by religious communities

Several general challenges were faced by the religious communities in this study. One major challenge is financial. Many respondents reported that due to their recent immigrant status, their members do not have many extra resources to invest into a place of worship. Even when a considerable deposit is raised, community representatives must also convince often reluctant lending institutions that their future sources are reliable enough to support a mortgage. The narratives provided in this study would suggest that funding is the greatest hurdle that communities face and a key reason that it takes years for many of them to establish permanent facilities. It also limits many of the options they have to purchase appropriately zoned and sized sites for a place of worship.

Another important area in which religious communities face considerable difficulties is their human capital[78] that is, the skills, educational capacity and knowledge of both key community organizers and community members. In the case of place of worship development, there are several important dimensions to this collection of traits: 1) knowledge and understanding of Canadian urban development, 2) project planning and management; and 3) skills in community development and organization.

First, knowledge and understanding of Canadian urban development includes not only the planning system, but also the land economy, the construction industry, general business practices, development financing and mortgaging, local politics and community social dynamics. Most representatives readily identified this issue as problematic and, during their narratives of their search and development process, described their need to quickly acquire the knowledge required, as well as the various mistakes that they had made *e.g.* buying properties without proper zoning or hiring incompetent architects. One planner (Interview 2, Municipal 2a) described this type of problem in his municipality:

> It's very difficult. I mean it's sort of like … you know, … there are a lot of people that enter the planning process, and church groups among them … who just aren't familiar with a lot of stuff, and they're as likely to go out with boundless enthusiasm and they'll buy this, you know, they say 'Oh!

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[78] Human capital has been used by economists as the "knowledge, skill, attitudes, aptitudes and other acquired traits that contribute to production" (Goode, 1959, p. 2). More recently, Côté (2001, p. 30) defines it as "the knowledge, sills, competencies and attributes embodied in individuals, which facilitate the creation of persona, social and economic well-being." In this context, I use it in reference to place of worship development.

Let's get this property! It's perfect. Let's buy it!' and then the next thing you know, they've got the piece now that they're working with, and it's very difficult to tell them, 'well, you know, that's actually, we really don't support it' ... it could be in exactly the wrong spot.

Lack of knowledge also poses problems in the planning and implementation of large events, which has lead communities into various difficulties with municipal by-law enforcement, the fire or police departments because of infringements due to noise, smoke, light, parking, the use of loud-speakers, or large gatherings exceeding their building's capacity. Some of these difficulties have occurred because of the ignorance or attitudes of community members themselves of local by-laws and social norms.

We had parking problems here. You cannot prevent our guys; you cannot control them in any way! There are people [in a neighbouring business] who work 12 hours, then they come out after working 12 hours, and they cannot take their car out [because someone from the temple has parked behind it], they grow real mad! And, they call the parking and tow it away. Our worshippers are not bothered. Today if their car is towed off, tomorrow they will go and park there again! After every *puja*, I say, Please! Help us! Cooperate with us! Don't park [illegally]! (Hindu 1).

Second, most religious communities took on at least some if not all of the responsibilities of project planning and management, themselves. Some communities have had internal expertise, such as engineers or members with construction companies. Again, informants described the many errors made due to their lack of experience and knowledge in this area: grossly underestimating costs, design errors in miscalculating required space, poor long-term planning, and underestimating their community's rapid growth and consequent needs.

The third area relates generally to the capacity of the leadership to organize and manage the community as a whole, to proactively address problems, to recruit and co-ordinate volunteers, and to educate their members about local regulations. This is a significant challenge for those communities with more fluid congregations, like some Hindu, Sikh and Muslim communities, particularly when some community members come infrequently or only for large events.

One example from the fieldwork neatly illustrates the absence of organizational skills by some groups. During the *arati* of one special *puja* I attended, several priests were burning oil lanterns, which created a lot of smoke and heat. The worship hall itself was packed with

several hundred people sitting tightly side by side on the floor, and there was a steady stream of people moving about, to the altar area to make offerings, and to and fro to greet and sit with family or friends. Before long, the fire alarm went off and soon after, the fire department arrived. Only then did anyone move to open windows and there was a great panic among the community leadership to hastily create a wide passageway through the middle of the hall, I guessed, to satisfy the fire department. The people around me were calm and chatted amongst themselves about the event, discussing things like whether or not the fire alarm could have been disconnected beforehand; one commented dryly "This happens every single year." There were seemingly no further immediate consequences from the fire personnel and once the alarm was turned off, the *puja* continued as before, but without the *arati*. However, had there been a fire, it would have been a very chaotic and potentially dangerous scene.

A related area of difficulty relates to the capacity of religious communities, both as individual organizations and as a group of communities, to work effectively with municipal planning departments to anticipate and address needs. As one planner observed:

> I think for the religious groups it's just the sheer number of them, and …
> the fact that they're not involved in the early stages of the [secondary plan]
> process. So what the planners are doing is second guessing where they
> think [religious communities] might fit in.

This planner went on to contrast religious communities with school planners who have a long-term vision of their institutional needs, as well as the capacity and resources to undertake such planning activities. The municipality is able to work well with school boards, but finds it difficult to find ways to work with its diverse, fragmented population of religious communities. An earlier organization, called the Interchurch Regional Planning Association, worked with planning departments in both Markham and Brampton. This organization represented a collection of Christian churches, lobbied on their behalf and seems to have been instrumental in the maintenance of the site reserve system in both communities. However, the organization is no longer active in these efforts. Planners reported that larger organizations like the Anglican Diocese and the Catholic Archdiocese also have better long-term planning capacity than smaller ones.

A third area of difficulty concerns discrimination. Overall, discrimination was not reported as a universal issue and only four representatives identified it as a major concern.

They described their experiences of discrimination in three areas: during the purchasing process from property owners, from community members or neighbours, and from municipal staff.

Three Muslim communities described considerable problems purchasing properties, as the following two quotations illustrate:

> I will tell you this, it was not easy. There were about 5-6 places that were designated for places of worship [in an area] that was not even developed yet .. Some were already developed, around the area. I called the agents who were responsible … and the agent put me in touch with the owners of the place. Every time, when I call, I say, 'listen, I hear you have a place designated for place of worship, you know, I'd like to buy the piece of land' ... the responses that I got were, first of all, "oh, what's the name of your church?" The minute they hear there's some Islam in there, they say, 'well listen, we're not ready to sell and whatever, but two years time, we're using it for storage' - maybe that's true. [so I said] 'Okay, I'd like to buy it in two year's time'. 'well, we don't know. We'll let you know.' Another … said to me, 'well how much are you willing to pay?' I said 'well the going price, maybe, $3-400,000 per acre', which it is, right? ... and he said, 'naw, naw, I'm looking for $900,000, a million dollars an acre.' I said, 'are you out of your mind?!'" (Muslim 4)

Similarly, after relating several stories where he felt that the owner would not sell to him because the community is Muslim, one respondent (Muslim 1) explained:

> When we found this place, I told my real estate to tell them, if they are going to act in a different way because we are Muslims, I don't want to give an offer. They say no, we're looking for a customer.

Both planners and religious community members described the impact of discrimination from community members on land use conflict. As one planner explained

> I think a lot of the times when you know, there really isn't something to grasp onto with a strong planning rationale for not approving something, they quickly look to parking and traffic, because they, at least traffic is a lot harder to get your hands on, and one traffic consultant can say something totally different from the other. It becomes then an issue of, you know, who's more credible. But a lot of the times I find it happens, when there really isn't a planning rationale, you know, look to see if they have enough parking and hang their hat on that, or look to see how much more traffic there's going to be and it's going to cause a problem at this intersection, you know, people aren't going to be able to turn left, or whatever the situation is. It's just an unfortunate thing. (Interview 2 Municipal 1a).

Representatives from three communities reported experiences of failing to get a planning application approved, where discrimination was reported as a factor in the refusal.[79] One respondent explained his perception of the neighbours' reactions in one of these cases:

> They are not arguing in so many words [that] … they want to protect the people, they don't want, they don't like new faces, newcomers around here. [But] technically that is the message they were giving (Buddhist 3).

Several respondents reported small actions that they have encountered with municipal staff that indicated to them that their community was being treated differently, as incompetent or less valuable. They cited incidents of being brushed aside, not being provided with complete information or being asked to fulfil requirements that not all property owners would be required to fulfil. One respondent (Muslim 1) described a situation in one municipality where his community was denied a place of worship application, and yet soon after across the road a Christian community was allowed to establish a church. In his words, "when it comes to us, books start to talk. And when it comes to others, books can be quiet." Another religious representative (Sikh 2) who had been involved for many years with the construction of the gurdwara, attended a Committee of Adjustment meeting for a major renovation application and sat through a number of applications before his was addressed. When it came to their application, he reported that he was told to "ensure that [the new building] is aesthetically pleasing." He expressed great frustration because in his experience of attending Committee of Adjustment meetings, no other applications had been given this instruction, and he wondered why his community had been singled out. He exclaimed to me "What do you mean by that? We will spend a million dollars and we won't build an aesthetically pleasing building?!"

6.4. Coping mechanisms

An important component of the analysis of the interview data was the examination of the ways in which religious communities addressed the difficulties that they faced. In her study of religious community approaches to Singapore's authoritarian land use policies,

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[79] Both communities were located on the same street. Municipal documents show that in addition to neighbour opposition, there were other significant technical problems with the properties which contributed to the application refusals, including infrastructure issues related to potential future reconstruction of a nearby overpass and the inadequate storm sewage capacity for the properties.

Kong (1993) describes several cognitive strategies and three cases of strategies of resistance that religious community members used to contend with the unyielding decisions of Singapore government to expropriate the land of religious buildings for other projects (*e.g.* public housing, industrial estates or urban renewal projects) and destroy the buildings.[80] In a similar vein, the narratives of religious community representatives in this study revealed a number of different coping strategies to address the challenges they encountered as they tried to simultaneously meet their communities' needs, municipal requirements and neighbours' requests. These included adaptation, accommodation, compliance, avoidance and tactical strategies (See Table 6-3 for a summary of these five categories).

Table 6-3: Summary of religious community coping strategies

Coping strategies	Definition
Adaptation	The strategies by which religious communities adapt the development process and their religious and cultural practices to the Canadian context.
Accommodation	Ways in which communities respond to complaints, requests or concerns of neighbours.
Compliance	Actions which comply with municipal requirements.
Avoidance	Rather than deal directly with a concern or challenge, actions which avoid it altogether.
Tactical	Actions which address current or potential concerns or challenges by dealing with other actors

Adaptation

Adaptive strategies are those strategies in which religious communities make changes to their religious, cultural or organizational practices in order to fit into the Canadian context (See summary Table 6-4). The following quotation illustrates the adaptive stance of many religious communities: "We have a lot of compromises. We don't do a lot of things which is done back home" (Hindu 1).

In response to high costs of development and their corresponding lack of funds, about one third of the religious communities staged their construction or renovation process and

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[80] Kong describes two sets of cognitive strategies. One set involved accepting state actions and either buying into the state ideology of 'progress through redevelopment' or invoking religious teachings to cope with the loss of the building. The second set described several ways in which religious community members invested in "alternative notions of sacredness and sacred places" (Kong 1993, p. 350), such as the ideas that God is present wherever people gather in his name to worship him, or that God is everywhere, or that sacredness is an experience (not a place). Her study findings show that many people have invested into sacred places in their home, which Kong (1993, p. 351) notes, again helps them to "deal with their lack of control over public religious buildings and their loss of these buildings." Kong goes on to describe three cases where religious communities resisted state decision-making, through various appeals to the Housing and Development Board and to the President and Prime Minister.

their provision of religious and cultural services, in order to match their fund-raising process. In cases where properties are not well-connected to public transit, five communities are providing alternative transportation to all members or specific groups through vans or buses.

Table 6-4: Summary of adaptive strategies

Concern/ Challenge	Action	Result	Religious communities
- Memorial hall/ storage of ashes in temple	- Exploring partnership with cemetery	- Unresolved	B2
	- Negotiated agreement	- Allowed outdoor tower for temporary (10 year) duration	B3
- Residential use within place of worship	- Reduced number of residential religious personnel	- Unable to provide appropriate services to community	B3
	- Eliminated residential use from PW	- Required to rent another unit (greater cost to community)	S1, H1
- Sufficient, appropriate* space for large, outdoor festivals *as defined by size, location/ proximity and weather	- Hold event inside place of worship/ within place of worship site	- Many traditional activities are not conducted - Scale/ size of celebration reduced - Modifications (elimination of key features *e.g.* fireworks, liquid colour, use of fire, drumming outdoors *etc.*)	B3, H1, H3, H4, H5
- Accessibility of place of worship to community members	- Provide bus transportation from subway stations or key pick-up points	- Increased accessibility to place of worship from wider catchment area	B2,H1, H3,
- Accessibility of place of worship to special populations *e.g.* seniors, youth, recent immigrants	- Provide door to door transportation	- Increased accessibility to key groups	H1, C6
- Preference for natural environment (running stream, woods *etc.*)	- Use current location until suitable site can be located /purchased - Proposing to develop site/centre in rural area in future	- Do without - Provide some features through landscaping	H4, H5, B2,
- Preference to separate secular activities from sacred activities in different buildings	- Accommodate some activities within existing place of worship.	- Adjust past practices and definitions of space in order to accommodate all communities activities	H3, H4, H5, S2
	- Rent facilities off-site for secular activities.	- Additional cost	B1, H5
- Cost of development/ lack of funds	- Staged construction/renovation	- Allows community to stage construction with fundraising activities; - Allows building to obtain tax-free status	M1, M7, C3,C6, H2, H7, S1, S2, S3, S4
	- Use of community volunteers	- Save labour costs - Reduced cost - Lengthier time involved - Increased community ownership & involvement	M1, B2, H2

In order to address particular religious or cultural requirements, a number of adaptations have been used. Two Buddhist communities requiring a memorial hall (for the storage of cinerary urns) addressed this issue in two different ways. One was able to negotiate an agreement for short-term (5-10 years) storage of ashes in a tower separate from

the temple. The second was trying to negotiate partnership with a cemetery to provide this facility off-site. Of the three communities requiring residential use that are not allowed by current zoning by-laws for their properties, two communities have rented additional units. For the third, community representatives reported that they have had to temporarily accept their inability to provide the desired full range of religious services until another solution is found. Three communities with traditional preferences for natural features within their place of worship site have adapted their activities to do without such features, as they search for more appropriate properties. A fourth community is integrating some natural features through landscaping.

Several communities follow religious and cultural traditions that include large, outdoor events for special festivals or auspicious days. Because of Canadian weather, as well as a lack of outdoor space, these communities have not been able to conduct these activities in the customary manner. These communities have made many modifications, eliminating some activities (*e.g.* the use of traditional fireworks, liquid colour or fire) and reducing the size of the gathering and the decorative features in order to adapt the activities to celebration indoors or to the confined space of their property (rather than a large, public or street-based one).

The separation of secular and sacred activities is also an important practice in the traditions of several communities, yet due to limited resources, they have only one facility in which to hold all activities. Some communities have had to adjust their arrangements of their available space and their activities in order to accommodate all activities within a single facility. Others have opted to rent off-site facilities to accommodate secular community activities.

Accommodation

Accommodating actions include those which respond to or comply with complaints, requests or concerns of neighbours. Two quotations are reflective of the attitudes of some religious communities' desire to get along with their neighbours:

> Whoever throws a stone, we should throw them a rose (Muslim 1).
> Same god, no? That's why I co-operate with that [neighbour] (Hindu 3).

Two communities made site design changes at the request of neighbours, one related to parking provision design, and another, to fencing. Several religious communities have allowed neighbours in industrial areas to use their parking lots to turn their trucks or provide parking for employees. While this action is partially accommodative, it has also been a reciprocal arrangement, whereby the religious community is also allowed to use neighbouring parking lots during evening and weekends.

Table 6-5: Summary of accommodative strategies

Concern/ Challenge	Action	Result	Religious communities
Site design	- Complied with neighbour(s)' requests	- Eliminate complaints	M9,C3
Noise	- Reduced sounds generated from mandir to accommodate neighbouring mosque during Ramadan	- Eliminate complaints	H3
Use of parking lot	- Allow neighbouring businesses to turn their trucks or park in their parking lot	- Improved relationship with neighbour - Developed reciprocal relationship	H1,H2, M1, M6, M7, B3, C6

Compliance

This set of strategies includes those actions in which religious communities have made adjustments in order to directly follow or fit development plans into planning regulations. Table 6-6 summarizes these actions. As two respondents exclaimed,

> We are new on the block and we just want to follow all the rules and regulations (Hindu 2); If they have their rules and regulations, we have to give them respect … They are just giving us, the system and the rules. We should have to follow them. That's it." (Muslim 6).

While unlike the four, this category of actions is less voluntary, it also shows again the attitude of many religious communities to try to fit in with, not resist, Canadian norms. In most cases, these are actions taken to meet parking standards.

Table 6-6: Summary of compliance strategies

Concern/ Challenge	Action	Result	Religious communities
Parking	- Adjusted worship hall to match parking standard	- Met parking standard; - Worship hall and social hall size too small for large activities	S1, H1, H2, M5, B3, M6, M7, M9, C2, C5
	- Shared parking arrangements to meet parking standards	-Met municipal standards	S2, M2, C6
Building height	- Reduced height of minaret/dome	-Acquired municipal approval	M6, M7, S1, H1
Refused amendment application	- Moved to another location	- Found another property else where	B1, B2, S4

Avoidance

In many cases, religious communities dealt with potential conflict and land use planning issues by avoiding them with careful location decisions. As one representative stated, "We want to avoid such a problem. We want to find a place where the neighbours will not create any problems" (Hindu 3). Most community respondents commented that they would only consider appropriately zoned properties, rather than try to apply for changes after purchase through minor variances, Official Plan or zoning amendments. The reports of several community representatives also indicated that decisions to locate their places of worship in industrial areas were largely influenced by conscious efforts to avoid conflict. They described the many advantages that such a location provides in this regard: the absence of residential neighbours, the general acceptance of noise in industrial zones, and the surplus of parking after business hours. Many of the religious communities interviewed for this study had substantial knowledge of the experience of other religious communities, as this quotation illustrates:

> When we were looking, we heard about communities having problems, the citizens of the area didn't want a temple by their house and things like that, so we tried, we were well positioned in information, we had enough people who had made the errors already so we said 'we're not going to make those same errors.' We made some of our own errors but we learned from others … we made sure that we went somewhere where there wouldn't be any objections from the community (Hindu 2).

Other described the process of trial-and-error through which they learned to understand the municipal land use planning system, and to avoid problems through location decisions. The following comment that was made to explain a community's decision to locate in an industrial area, illustrates this point:

> We are afraid of having the same problem again, having people oppose us because of the noise, or whatever, and having the same conflict happening again (Buddhist 3).

Finally, some communities have used organized volunteers or staff to prevent poor parking practices or traffic congestion.

Table 6-7: Summary of avoidance strategies

Concern/ Challenge	Action	Result	Religious communities
Potential complaints with neighbours re. noise	- Deliberately seeking/ chose location in industrial to avoid conflict associated with residential areas	- Conflict avoided	H1, H2,B3,H3, H5
Past difficulties with or fears about acquiring planning permissions for Official Plan/ zoning amendments or minor variances	- Only consider properties that were designated and zoned for place of worship	- No planning applications required	B2, H1, M1, H2, M3, M4, B3, S2, M6, H3, M7, H5, B4, S4, C2, H6, C5, C6
- Avoid neighbours' complaints of noise	- *Adhan*, or call for prayers only broadcast within mosque building	- Conflict avoided	M6
Potential complaints with neighbours re. noise, parking	- Hire personnel/ use volunteers to manage parking		B2, M6, C3,S2

Tactical

Some communities were able to use a more tactical approach to solve problems and address conflict. Rather than changing accommodating neighbours requests, changing their own practices or avoiding conflicts altogether, the leadership of these communities realized that they could address concerns by working with other actors. In these cases, religious community leaders recognized either the need for or advantage of political and/or neighbour involvement in order to address a variety of concerns. Several used political relations to assist in the smooth development of their place of worship, by contacting their local councillor or the mayor early in the development process. These communities maintained contact with politicians throughout the process, including invitations for photo opportunities at ground-breaking or grand opening ceremonies. One respondent's comments clearly illustrate his community's political aptitude:

> Because politics and religion is together, side by side, you know. But some places, that's why we are different from other religious groups you know. Like … Christianity, don't mix politics with their religion. Some other groups too. I don't know [about] the Muslims. But in Sikhs … the place of worship is also a place … to get together to discuss politics … you know, for the future and all of these things. That's why the politicians are very available, to help us. On the other hand, they want us to help them too! (*laughs*) That's the reason we have no problem with the city (Sikh 4).

Similarly, this next quotation illustrates how political involvement facilitated one community's relations with municipal staff:

> When Mr. [X] was the mayor in [X]. We used to go and visit him and all that. He directed us to the planning department and all that. I have seen the

attitudes before and after. We had gone before [to the planning department]. We were treated like nobodies. ... and then, one day we sought an interview with him and we got an interview, we went there and he took us personally to the planning department, and we were treated right royally. We were shown places ... yes, in the [X] area. You see?! Earlier we were told, just ah, this is the law. Okay? You got everything. Everything fine. Byebye! (Buddhist 1)

One respondent described various ways in which his community successfully argued with by-law enforcement in order to obtain parking relief for special occasions, by lobbying local and regional councillors and threatening to push for parking tickets on Easter and Christmas for street parking at neighbourhood churches. Several other communities met or communicated with neighbours in order to establish amicable relations both to prevent problems and to establish an environment in which concerns could be addressed more effectively.

Table 6-8: Summary of tactical strategies

Concern/ Challenge	Action	Result	Religious communities
Potential complaints with neighbours re. noise, parking	- Community meeting to address parking concerns	- Mixed success; some continued neighbour concerns	C3
	- Met with neighbours to establish relationships/ Provided community open house	- Positive response from neighbourhood residents	H1,M1,S2
	- Notify neighbours of upcoming events		H1,S2, B2, B3
Finding appropriate site/ assistance from municipal staff	- Met with mayor	- Mayor introduced community to municipal staff and staff became more helpful	B1, H2
		- Mayor arranged for municipality to donate land	C1
	- Met with local councilor/ politician	- Politician assisted in locating appropriate site	B3, M7, S3, S4
		- Councilor refused to meet	S1
		- Negotiated changes in traffic signaling, facilities in neighbouring park, and street signs	S2
Addressing difficulties with approvals	- Met with mayor	- Approval process sped up	H2
	- Hired an Italian architect, in hopes that he would be more effective in dealing with municipality (because he is white and Italian)	- More costly (could have had Sikh architect donate labour) - Architect was not able to address problems as anticipated	S1
Parking restrictions during special events	- Met with by-law officers - Argued against preference given to Christians	- Allowances made regarding parking during special religious events	S2

6.5. Development narratives

This section presents nine religious community narratives. They are summaries of much longer ones provided by interview respondents. They provide a more appealing portrait of the development experiences, allowing the reader to better understand the relationships between components of the analysis presented in the previous sections. They illustrate the similarities and differences between experiences and demonstrate the ways in which coping mechanisms are used to address particular difficulties. As well as highlighting various dimensions of the development experience, the nine narratives chosen for this section represent the spectrum of the sample of religious communities investigated in this study, with examples of each of the five religions, as well as at least one each by membership, status, location, form and place of worship type, as shown graphically in Figure 6-2 below.

Figure 6-2: Summary of religious community characteristics of case narratives

Religious community characteristics	Cases									Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
Religion										
Buddhist					√		√			2
Christian	√	√								2
Hindu				√				√		2
Muslim			√			√				2
Sikh									√	1
Membership										
- independent	√		√	√		√	√	√	√	7
- parental org.		√			√					2
Status										
- temporary			√							1
- permanent	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	9
- expanding		√		√	√	√	√			5
Location										
- residential									√	1
- industrial	√		√	√	√	√	√	√		7
- other		√								1
Form										
- built	√	√	√[81]	√	√		√		√	7
- recycled			√[6]			√		√		3
Type										
- local	√	√								2
- municipal			√					√	√	3
- regional				√	√	√	√			4

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[81] At the time of the fieldwork in 2005, this community was constructing a new mosque on its purchased property as well as using a recycled building for its temporary location.

The narratives are organized into three sets according to the difficulties experienced by the religious communities in establishing temporary locations, finding appropriate properties for a permanent facility, satisfying religious, cultural and social spatial requirements and addressing land use planning issues.

The first set of narratives tells the stories of three communities that had relatively straightforward development experiences. Some minor difficulties have been encountered and relatively easily resolved. This group represents about one-third (11) of the communities interviewed for this study.

Case 1

This Protestant community belongs to a West Asian ethnic minority community which began with the gathering of a few families in 1960. Over the next 20 years, the community's religious facilities gradually grew to four small properties close to downtown Toronto, a church and three small houses. The community's long-term goal was to build a new church building, with more space and sufficient parking, but it took more than 30 years to raise enough funds. Over this time, many members had also relocated to outer suburbs of Toronto.

The search for a new location took place in the communities of and adjacent to the more recent residential settlement of religious community members. Community leaders sought an affordable site with regional accessibility and enough parking. The final choice was an industrial property near the border of three municipalities, purchased in 1995. While the property was initially too small, after a meeting with the mayor, the municipality donated part of road allowance to extend property thus fulfilling the religious community's spatial requirements.

Construction was completed in 1998. The building, which incorporates ethno-religious symbolism into architectural design and interior decoration, also contains a library of ethnic and religious historical materials of the community. No major difficulties have been encountered throughout the development process. Unlike more recent immigrant religious communities, this community does not anticipate expansion plans, particularly as immigration rates from this ethno-religious community are not high. At the time of the fieldwork, the church was allowing two other immigrant, Christian communities to share its space.

Case 2

This Chinese Christian community was planted by its Toronto-based parent church. It was one of many plants that took place across Greater Toronto Area in response to the church's popularity and rapid expansion. The general location of the church was chosen in order to target local residential settlement of Chinese households. A small group of people, including several people with previous

organizational experience with parent church, were sent to the area to start the new church and develop its congregation.

The community met regularly in a local school until its size was large enough to support a church building. The search for a property was reportedly relatively straightforward, as there were several appropriate sites within the community's price range and desired location. One was chosen in a residential area and some funding assistance was provided by the parent organization. The community undertook a two-stage construction process in order to keep within its budget. During the first stage, the sanctuary, foyer and meeting rooms were constructed. A large hall and more rooms will be included in the second stage, which will occur when sufficient funds have been raised. Shared parking with a neighbouring school also helped the community to provide enough parking to meet municipal parking standards. The arrangement has worked relatively well.

At the time of the study fieldwork in fall of 2005, the church was experiencing a chronic shortage of meeting space due to the number of small groups that meet at the church. Programs were provided for a variety of age cohorts in three languages: Mandarin, Cantonese and English. This variety of programming created a high demand for meeting space, especially on Sundays. A partial solution for this problem has been provided by on-site portables. During the week, they were used by a local board of education for English as a Second Language classes and on evenings and weekends they were used for programming. In hindsight, the community representative remarked that a reversal of the two construction stages, building the gymnasium and meeting rooms first, before the sanctuary, would have better provided for the community during these initial years of establishment.

Case 3

First offering religious services in 1992, this Muslim community has remained in the same municipality but has moved its location three times before finally purchasing a property for a permanent, custom-designed and built mosque. Its first facility was a rented house in a residential area. A commercial unit in neighbourhood shopping centre was the location of the second. The third facility at the time of the fieldwork during the summer of 2005 was in a leased warehouse in an industrial location. The purchased property is also in an industrial area, several kilometres from the third, leased facility.

During its movement through the three temporary locations, the community had reportedly simple requirements: a carpeted prayer area separated into men's and women's spaces and sufficient parking. The third rented facility has provided additional space for a number of offices within the building, and the large, on-site parking area. The community representative reported the use of volunteers to direct parking at the *Jumma* (Friday) prayer in order to avoid problems with neighbours. The community provides many immigrant support services, such as accounting services, a driving school and counselling to assist recent immigrant members to adjust to Canadian society. At the time of the interview, the community was anticipating a meeting with the municipality's Committee of Adjustment, to request a temporary minor variance to permit the

place of worship at the leased location. As a result of discussions with the local councillor, the community representative was confident that the request would be allowed without any difficulties.

The community's location criteria for the permanent location included highway accessibility, parking, industrial location and appropriate zoning. The primary liaison with the municipality during the design and construction has been an architect who has already built several mosques and thus was well-experienced with municipal requirements. The new building will follow traditional Islamic architecture with a minaret and dome. The building has been designed to allow the community to expand its current activities to include religious education for all ages, radio and TV programming, other religious media production, an Islamic library and a research centre. Its primary challenge has been with fundraising, particularly in the social climate following the 2001 World Trade Center disaster, during which many community members have been cautious donating funds to the mosque.

This set represents those religious communities which have experienced relatively few complications in their development experience. As illustrated with Case 2, funding from parental or affiliated religious organizations has assisted some, but not all such communities. Case 1 shows an example where political assistance facilitated place of worship development. Cases 2 and 3 would also suggest that technical assistance, through informed participants (the community members from the parent church in Case 2) or an experienced technical expert (the architect in Case 3) can facilitate the development process. The experience of Case 2 also illustrates that financial assistance does not necessarily erase difficulties. The combination of insufficient funds with the approach of Chinese churches to provide religious services to two ethno-linguistic communities (Mandarin and Cantonese) as well to the second-generation, English-speaking community members has resulted in a lack of space. Similar experiences were described by three other Chinese Christian community representatives in this study.

The second set of narratives represents 15 (almost half) of the religious communities interviewed for this study. In this set, religious communities have experienced more significant challenges, requiring a greater range of coping strategies and again an incremental approach to meeting a variety of spatial needs. In this set, most issues have been resolved although several communities anticipate further issues during expansion.

Case 4

This Hindu community began organizing in 1980 and had its first facility in a rented industrial unit. After the community received a winning lottery ticket

for a vehicle, the money from the vehicle's sale served as a catalyst for a more serious community commitment to its mandir project. The search criteria included affordability, appropriate zoning, accessibility to major highways and preference for a location in an industrial area within the same municipality as the rented unit. These preferences were based on the community's resources as well as the desire to avoid the problems experienced by other co-religious communities known to the community leadership. The search for such a property was difficult. The most intense part of the search was the final three years, but members had been looking beforehand for another ten years.

Once an appropriate industrial property was chosen and purchased, funding continued to be a major challenge for the community. After one bank unexpectedly withdrew its lending support for the project, the community was forced to seek other means and initially had to rely on financing by individual community members as well as donations of building materials (*e.g.* carpeting, tiles *etc.*) in order to complete the building construction. When the building was complete, financing was acquired from a local credit union, where many community members also banked.

Community leaders used a number of other strategies to address its financial challenges. The flexibility of the building design has facilitated a multiple-phased construction process and will meet future needs as they unfold. One firm provided both the architectural design and contracting work. Project management was undertaken by one of the community leaders who took six months of leave from his job. Community volunteers were used throughout the process in a number of support roles as well as in areas such as interior design and decoration. No major difficulties were encountered with municipal planning requirements.

The site suits most of the community's spatial needs. Zoning for the property allows the current residential use and a future school on-site. Landscaping plans will soon incorporate some of the natural features valued by community members. The site is not well-served by public transit which is a problem for many seniors. Alternative transportation means have been considered, but not yet addressed as of the summer of 2005. The size of the priests' quarters and office space was reduced in order to meet municipal parking requirements. Reciprocal parking agreements with neighbouring businesses assist with the mandir's parking needs for large events. Plans are also underway to enhance the aesthetic and symbolic features of the building, with carvings and a dome. The mandir already houses many religious, social and cultural activities and the community has plans to expand further with a school, a banquet hall and additional office space. There is the possibility of purchasing a neighbouring property to provide these facilities. Social housing and seniors housing projects have also been considered.

The community's leadership has been adept at working with governmental agencies. When the community experienced a long wait for one of its permits, the community leadership met with the mayor to express their concerns. This seemed to help speed up the approval process. Municipal discussions have also

taken place to facilitate a community parade, as well as talks with the Credit River Conservation Authority regarding river offerings.

Case 5

With the support of a parent organization in Asia, this Buddhist community began to organize in the Greater Toronto Area in 1991. The community began in a townhouse, then moved to house in a second municipality, then to an industrial unit in a warehouse, and finally, to a permanent location in yet a third municipality. A community leader, a former real estate agent, was instrumental in the search process. Property size, location relative to rapid transit and affordability were key criteria in the search process. The final site decision of the permanent site was made in conjunction with the supporting organization.

The temple follows the traditional architecture of its ethnic community. The community's architect was the key liaison with the municipal planning department. The property size accommodated the required parking and the zoning permitted both places of worship and residential use, thereby avoiding any major planning applications or issues. The community was able to fulfill most of its requirements for its building. While parking and traffic issues are not major problems, the community's representative reported that the temple regularly communicates with its neighbours and hires personnel to address these issues during large community events, like New Year celebrations.

Several challenges have been encountered during the development process, but most have been effectively addressed. Minor difficulties with materials and labour for the traditional design had to be worked through. To work within the budget, the architect designed the basic building shell and all of the interior design and decorating was completed by community volunteers. While the temple's location suits its site needs, it is not well located to serve rapid transit, so the community provides shuttle services to several subway locations.

As of summer 2005, issues facing the temple were related to its growth and expansion plans. One concern was related to the community's need of a memorial hall which would store cinerary urns and allow community members to express filial piety. Current public health regulations do not allow the storage of human remains within the temple. A partnership with a local cemetery was one alternative being considered by the community. The second issue concerned the need for an expansion to create more activity space in the temple, estimated to take two to three years to complete, including the required variance application and construction process. Third, because of fast growth and the regional pull of the temple members from across the Greater Toronto Area, the temple had set up two satellite locations in two different municipalities, and had planned to build at least one more temple in the future. Fourth, the temple was seeking a more rural location for a retreat centre. In the long-term future, the community was considering developing a high school and a senior's village.

Case 6

This Muslim community belonging to a single ethnic community first established itself in Toronto in 1990, gathering in a rented apartment. Realizing

that they needed provide better services to their community, leaders rented a larger office unit in an industrial area of a second municipality. Noise from neighbouring industrial units that disturbed worship practices of the community together with other problems with the landlord helped to consolidate community support to find a permanent location.

A long search across the Greater Toronto Area was carried out over a period of three and a half years before the current location was found. The community leadership sought an attractive building in reasonable condition, with rooms oriented towards Makkah and with some vegetation and contaminant-free soil. The property criteria included sufficient parking, a central location with highway access and appropriate zoning. The community representative reported several cases of discrimination encountered during various bidding processes. Finally, the community purchased a large commercial building in an industrial area. The site has a large parking area, as well as area in the front of the building which has been transformed into a large garden.

Major renovations were underway in the summer of 2005, to expand and improve site and building accessibility, prayer areas, and rooms for an Islamic school. The community had hoped to carry out the work during the winter months when community members in the construction industry were less busy and could volunteer for the project, but the timing of their application approvals did not allow this to take place. The community respondent reported challenges with one neighbour who seemed to be motivated by long-standing ethnic conflict between the home countries of both parties. Attempts by the community leaders to establish more congenial relations have reportedly not been successful. However, relations with other neighbours have been more amicable, aided through reciprocal parking arrangements.

The community leadership has future plans to establish a college for Muslim religious personnel, recognizing that foreign-trained religious scholars are not well-equipped to deal with the problems facing second-generation Canadian Muslim youth. Rather, Canadian-born and trained religious scholars would understand both religious traditions and the demands of Canadian life on youth. This project will probably involve the purchase of another property. Other future religious and aesthetic additions are being considered, including decorative ceramic tiles from the community's home country.

These three representative narratives illustrate the incremental meeting of community needs through various coping strategies. These cases demonstrate a range of religious and cultural spatial needs as communities continue to expand their offerings of religious, educational, social and cultural programs and services. Case 4 provides an example of communities using political channels to facilitate development and all three cases illustrate reported examples of positive relationships with neighbours. Case 4 also demonstrates some of the creative means by which religious communities address financial issues.

The final set includes three of the six communities which experienced some kind of major set-back in establishing a permanent place of worship, with a temporary location or purchased property. These three narratives illustrate the many lessons learned by the communities, the incremental meeting of needs, as well as effective strategies to meet many of their challenges.

Case 7

The history of this Buddhist community began with the rental and subsequent purchase a house. At the time of purchase, the community understood from their communication with the City that they would be able to convert it into a place of worship. The community made two applications to the Committee of Adjustment, one in 1993 and another in 1996 but both applications were refused. Municipal documents show that there were several problems with the site: it was located in an area that could be expropriated to develop a future overpass improvement, storm sewage was not adequately provided for, and in both applications, several neighbours were opposed to the use of the site as a place of worship. From the religious community's perspective, these problems were primarily forwarded by community residents who lived further away from their site and that adjacent neighbours supported their applications, although this support is not well documented in the Committee of Adjustment reports.

Upon the denial of the second application, the community asked for guidance and the City suggested several sites for the community to purchase, all of which were located in industrial zones. Afraid of facing a similar experience of conflict, the community purchased one of the suggested sites because of its industrial location and affordability, even though the site was too small for its needs. It also experienced difficulties in selling the previous property, but did receive some assistance from a local MP.

While the purchased site did not require any planning applications, the community has had to address several challenges, some quite successfully. A central concern of the community relates to the residential use of the property. While the city has allowed permission for two "caretakers," the community would like to be able to house up to 10 religious personnel on the property, and was unaware of such restrictions upon purchase. This issue is central to the operation of the temple and to the types of religious, social and educational services that it can provide. A second problem, landscaping, was another example of unanticipated municipal regulation. Assuming that like in residential areas, landscaping is the responsibility of the property owner, the temple proceeding to build an elaborate garden around the site of the temple. They discovered after its construction that there were regulations governing landscaping, which will require more, albeit relatively minor negotiation with the City. A third issue relates to the community practice of ancestor veneration. Although they were not allowed to provide room within the temple for the storage of cinerary urns, temple representatives were able to negotiate permission

for an outdoor tower, in which storage is allowed for the next five to ten years. Fourth, in order to meet the municipal parking standards, the community was required to make a significant reduction to the size of the worship hall and the memorial tower in order to comply with City parking standards. Lack of space continues to be a significant problem for many temple activities. Through two shared parking arrangements with industrial neighbours, the temple has been able to expand its parking capacity, particularly for large weekend events.

In some respects, the current location is a significant improvement from the previous residential one. The temple is highly visible, located at an intersection. The community no longer worries about neighbours' complaints about noise, traffic or parking. Nonetheless, several issues remain outstanding. The community's traditional marking of *Vesak* involves a large, outdoor, collective celebration with a parade, fireworks and many activities. They have yet to find an appropriate way in which to follow these traditions in the manner in which they celebrated *Vesak* in their home country. Transportation is also a concern as the location is poorly serviced by transit. Currently, the community is unable to afford the costs of providing a shuttle service needed particularly by its seniors. The most critical issue is the need for more space for religious and cultural activities, for residential space and for a school. The purchase of a neighbouring restaurant would provide one possible location for these activities, but the current asking price is too high.

Case 8

This single ethnic Hindu community began to gather to worship and raise money to begin a mandir in 1993. At its first location, a rented warehouse, the landlord agreed in writing to take care of the occupancy permit for the unit to be used as a place of worship. Once the community began to set up the unit for their worship activities, the landlord viewed their set-up and changed his mind, offering the community another unit, in a basement. As the leadership was by this time anxious to demonstrate to its community that it was using the community's money for the intended purpose, it hastily agreed to the location. However, during a special inauguration ceremony, priests burned straw, creating more smoke than anticipated, which set off smoke alarms and disturbed the upstairs tenants. The police and fire department personnel were called, and the next day the landlord put locks on the unit. Because of the tough reputation of the landlord, on advice from lawyers the community chose not to pursue legal action and thus lost a substantial deposit. The community's *murtis* and religious paraphernalia were put into storage and the community once again searched for new location.

At the second location, in a second municipality, several challenges again faced the community. First, in order to meet their religious and community requirements, the community had to install a second bathroom, a small office area for selling tickets, and kitchen facilities for cooking. All of these facilities had to be installed, but then removed upon leaving, which involved extra costs. Second, neighbouring tenants complained about the smells from the afternoon cooking which took place in preparation for evening services. The community's

efforts to dispel the odours were unsuccessful and the landlord forbade them to cook in the mandir. All cooking activity was moved to the priest's home, and food was brought pre-cooked. However, tenants continued to complain of the smell, not believing that cooking had not taken place in the facility. The third challenge of the leased facility was its location in an industrial mall that also included a karate facility and store selling meat. One of the community's main festivals includes a parade during which one of the deities is carried around the mandir. As the community holds strong beliefs about non-violence and vegetarianism, these neighbouring uses prevented the community from holding its traditional parade outside. Instead, the deity was carried around the inside of their facility.

The learning experiences of both temporary locations greatly influenced the search process that lead to the community's current owned facility. It is located in industrial area where most neighbours leave in the evenings. The facility is a stand alone building, which allows the community to carry out its parades on its own terms. A large kitchen has been constructed with high-powered fans to disperse the smells from cooking. For the time being, unlike previous temporary locations, the renovation and construction investments made into the building will have long-term benefit to the community. Another major community investment is $200,000 spent on a large, wooden chariot, carved by skilled tradesman brought over from the community's country of origin to complete the project. The scale and quality of this project has been facilitated by the space in which to build the chariot that the building provides.

At present, the community is able to conduct many more activities than in previous locations, but a number of challenges still face the mandir community. The parking supply, while currently adequate, continues to be an issue. The community has had to improve its communication with own members to address problems with a neighbouring business, caused by careless parking behaviour by some members. Upon purchasing the unit, the mandir community upgraded the existing driveway and parking lot, providing enough spaces for the existing permitted uses. However, the community is technically prohibited from using any of the upstairs office or meeting space at any time, because under the current calculation of the municipality's parking standard, this use would exceed the allowable capacity of the building given its current parking supply. The community was thus instructed to seal off the entire upstairs to ensure these rooms would not be used. This prevents the community from running other programs for example, for youth. At the time of fieldwork in the summer of 2005, the community had yet to receive its occupancy permit for the large social hall behind the worship hall. Again parking supply was a key issue for the future use of the hall. Although worship activities would not take place simultaneous to other social activities (*e.g.* weddings), the community must provide parking as though they would. A neighbouring lot is available for purchase but it is currently unaffordable.

Future building improvement plans include architectural enhancements such as a tower and sculptures and a pool for rituals. Like many religious communities, the community aspires to continue to more appropriately serve its

religious and cultural needs. This would ideally involve purchasing a larger site, on a property which allows for residential uses in order to provide accommodation for its priests and their families. Such a property would also allow the community to have a much larger cultural hall, for large events like weddings as well as a meditation room.

Case 9

Gatherings in a member's home marked the beginning of this Sikh community which purchased its first property in 1989 in a rural part of a municipality. At the time, community leaders did not completely understand the land use restrictions of the Ontario planning system and places of worship are not a permitted use in this rural area. The community's attempts to apply for an amendment were unsuccessful, in part due to objections from neighbours and local residents. In the community's representative's words, "we got our hands burnt." Despite the renovations that had already been undertaken, the community had to find another property.

During the next search, the community was much more attentive to the designation and zoning of potential sites. Given the religious community's tradition not to move once the construction of a gurdwara has begun, the community wanted to ensure that the next site would be permanent. The search spanned in several municipalities and the community found and purchased a second property in 1992, in a residential area of the same municipality as the first, on a site that permitted places of worship. The property had been previously owned by a Christian community.

The community has had to address many issues throughout its time at this location. The first challenge related to its experience with its first architect. The project's costs greatly exceeded the community's budget and its design did not follow the community's exact wishes. Because of the stipulations of the contract, the community was forced to go ahead with the design, despite significant problems. Fortunately, with community donations and contributions from affiliated gurdwaras, the project was financed and built. A unique feature of the building was an underground garage in the original building layout.

The community has encountered and addressed parking issues in several ways. These issues were due to the rapid and unanticipated growth of the community, whereby it quickly outgrew its original parking capacity. Although parking supply had been sufficient for daily and weekly use, problems occurred when large numbers devotees attended the monthly ceremonies that this denomination of Sikhism follows. With the original building, underground parking was supplemented by a lease arrangement of adjacent Hydro lands. Community growth led to a renovation during which the underground parking was converted into hall and office space. At this point in time, the community had to replace the lost parking with shared parking arrangements with two local educational facilities. The community has also successfully negotiated additional street parking for these monthly events, but only after several meetings with city by-law enforcement personnel.

The community has developed several communication strategies with neighbours. It provided open houses to invite local residents to learn about the gurdwara. Local residents are now regularly provided with the dates of monthly ceremonies. Regular communication with by-law enforcement is also required to maintain the additional street parking provisions. The community has had to teach attendees and visitors to improve their parking behaviour. In the past, problems occurred because of people parked too close to intersections or blocked neighbours' driveways.

This religious community is relatively unique in its efforts to mark its presence and address its members' neighbourhood needs. This has been possible because many gurdwara devotees have moved into the neighbourhood, but also because the gurdwara leadership has learned to work more effectively with municipal politicians and staff. These efforts have included the negotiation of a change in local traffic signalling to accommodate elderly pedestrians and those with small children, shared parking for the paved Hydro lands, the change of the local street sign name to reflect the gurdwara's presence, and discussions with municipal parks and recreation staff to renovate the local park to suit community preferences.

As of the summer 2005, the community requires more space, particularly for family gatherings and hopes to purchase another property located nearby.

These narratives illustrate communities that have experienced significant problems in part due to a lack of knowledge. Some of these initial difficulties were solved through the more judicious choice of place of worship properties. Others have been addressed through various combinations of adaptive and tactical strategies. All three communities are clearly still growing and have significant unmet spatial needs. Case 9 in particular, demonstrates a religious community's growing skills at negotiating and securing its needs within its neighbourhood.

6.6. Conclusion

This chapter has presented the study findings related to the religious community development experiences. It described religious community experiences in the search and development process, including the site search process, issues related to temporary sites, permanent location and post-construction management issues. Next, study findings related to spatial needs and place of worship function were presented. Then, general challenges were described, related to financial, human capital and discrimination issues. The chapter outlined five coping strategies: adaptation, accommodation, compliance, avoidance and tactical.

Finally, nine narratives illustrated the ways in which the components of the previous analysis were inter-related in the actual development experiences of religious communities.

Chapter 7: <u>Planning implications and recommendations</u>

This chapter explores several themes introduced throughout the previous findings chapters. It examines implications for planning from three different perspectives. First, it discusses the place of worship development experience and teases out several qualities of this experience. Second, it examines direct, land use planning implications of recent immigrant place of worship development. Third, it explores implications of this study for of the broader multicultural planning project. Building upon both normative and prescriptive literature in this genre, and incorporating the viewpoint of religious community representatives, it concludes with several recommendations for planning practice.

7.1. *The religious community place of development experience*

This section discusses the study findings focusing first, on religious community needs and preferences and second, on the religious community development experience, reflecting on the conceptual framework introduced in Chapter 2.

Study findings presented in Chapter 5 and 6 have shown that religious community spatial needs and preferences are determined by several factors. Certainly spatial needs reflect the religious and cultural beliefs and practices of each community, yet as the findings have demonstrated, considerable intra- and inter-community variation exists (Tables 5-1 to 5-5, and summarized in Table 7-1). Further, as shown by the summary of spatial requirements and place of worship functions (Tables 6-1 and 6-2), spatial needs are strongly related to the immigrant experience, in terms of support in settlement and integration, but also in the (re)creation of religious and cultural identities. Evidence of the many activities that are adjunct to the place of worship (*e.g.* educational and cultural activities and facilities such as libraries, museums, gardens, parks *etc.*) document this reconstruction process. In this regard the present study mirrors findings made by several religious studies scholars (Ebaugh *&* Chafetz, 2000; McLellan, 1999) but unlike the existing research body, the current work, underscores the spatial consequences of religious and cultural identity construction.

Table 7-1: Summary of religious community temporal patterns, spatial needs and social activity patterns

	Key elements	Details
Use of time	Calendar	• Lunar calendar event dates change annually relative to Gregorian calendar
	Weekly and annual peak attendance	• Departure from secular (Christian) temporalities (Buddhist, Hindu, Muslim, Sikh)
Spatial needs	Building design	• Height, unique architectural features (Various) • Orientation of building towards Makkah (Muslim)
	Seating arrangements	• Fixed, mobile seating (Christian) or carpet only (Buddhist, Hindu, Muslim, Sikh)
	Unique spatial needs	• Memorial hall (storage of cinerary urns) (some Buddhist) • Burial preparation room (some Muslim) • Residential facilities (religious personnel, short-term residential facilities for landing immigrants, retreat facilities, senior's housing) (Various) • Commercial facilities (*e.g.* restaurant, driving school) (Various)
	Site design requirements/ preferences	• Separation of sacred and profane spaces (Hindu) • Natural features (forest, stream) (Buddhist, Hindu) • Gardens (vegetable, meditative) (Buddhist, Hindu, Muslim) • Site capacity to hold large-scale outdoor gatherings (Buddhist, Hindu) • Capacity to use loud music, drumming, fireworks, fire, light or other ritual enhancements (Buddhist, Hindu)
	Use of public space	• Parades (Buddhist, Hindu, Sikh) • Large-scale gatherings (Various) • Waterways for offerings (Hindu) • Public parks for gatherings and recreation (Various)
Social organization	Attendance patterns	• Relatively consistent congregation vs. variable congregations (Hindu, Muslim, Sikh) • Fluid, continuous attendance (Hindu, Sikh) vs. single event peak attendance (Buddhist, Christian, Muslim) • Numbers (local/ regional draw) (Various)
	Types of activities	• Life cycle events (Various) • Religious education (Various) • Social and cultural activities (Various)

The process of meeting distinctive spatial requirements of places of worship through the development process has been shown to be determined by many interlocking factors. In particular, four mutually reinforcing factors, suburban form, land use policy, social context and the land economy, have placed structural limitations on place of worship development.

Study findings indicated several ways in which this has occurred. First, suburban form requires automobile use, which in turn creates high parking demands. For many religious communities transit accessibility for places of worship has not been an option. Similarly, the regional nature of residential settlement of the adherents of many religious communities has meant that places of worship cannot take advantage of other modes of transportation like walking. Parking demand, exacerbated by neighbouring residents' complaints to local politicians about parking over-flow, has contributed to the development of high municipal parking standards, as described in Chapter 4. These factors combined with land prices and the limited financial resources of religious communities, have constrained the size and design of place of worship buildings. They have also contributed to the location of many places of worship in industrial areas. However again, as described by many religious communities, it must be recognized that the predilection for industrial locations has resulted from the confluence of several concerns. The social context of difference-wary neighbourhood residents (in some cases experienced directly by religious communities, in others, perceived through the anecdotes of co-religious communities) has been a central concern of many. But cheaper property values, appropriate zoning and greater parking capacity (not only on place of worship properties but also on neighbouring industrial properties off-hours), have been additional contributing factors to industrial location.

On the other hand, many of the same factors have also facilitated place of worship development. Federal and provincial taxation legislation exempts religious communities from property taxes for places of worship, once construction has begun. The movement of places of worship into industrial spaces has also reflected the fluctuating fortunes of industrial real estate. During the early 1990s, industrial real estate in the Toronto region experienced relatively high vacancy rates, surpassing 10%, which observers noted forced landlords to offer low rental rates and leasehold improvements (Jamal, 1991). These vacancy rates have subsequently dropped back down to 4-5% since the late 1990s (Centre for Urban Economics and Real Estate, 2005). On the municipal side too ammendments in permitted uses and zoning have represented a response to the changing land market. As a result, religious communities have enjoyed increased location options.

Site characteristics have also played a significant role in place of worship development. Problems with temporary locations, discussed in Chapter 6, have prevented

many communities from fulfilling many of their spatial requirements. Property size is an obvious limiting factor. Urban locations, rather than rural ones with abundant natural features, have prevented some Hindu and Buddhist places of worship from satisfying certain theological preferences. On the other hand, judicious purchases of properties in regionally accessible locations and/or industrially zoned areas have allowed other communities greater freedom in satisfaction of their goals for physical development.

The development process has involved a steep learning curve for many religious communities. Some respondents have acknowledged this directly. Many of their narratives provide evidence of mistakes made. As discussed in Chapter 6, the development experiences underscore theimportance of the role of human capital. Finding presented here complement those of McLellan and Smith (2005), by highlighting the role of social capital.[82] Several religious communities (*e.g.* Christian 3, Christian 5, Christian 6, Christian 7, Muslim 9, Buddhist 4, Hindu 2, and Hindu 3) were able to draw upon and expand bridging social capital through existing relations between community members and parental and peer organizations. Groups that could do this built their own social capital by investing in other communities' previous experiences with place of worship development. From these contacts they learned what to avoid, how to work through the planning process, as well as how to organize and work with their communities. Some of them also received financial support. Several communities have also illustrated their ability to capitalize on bonding social capital, through enlisting the labour of community members to perform voluntary work associated with place of worship development, including site searching (*e.g.* Muslim 1, Muslim 4, Buddhist 2, Hindu 2), professional consulting (*e.g.* Sikh 3, Hindu 1), interior design (*e.g.* Buddhist 2 and Hindu 2), and interior finishing construction (*e.g.* Muslim 1, Hindu 4, Buddhist 4). Finally, as

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[82] Reviewing the sociological history of social capital, Portes (1998, p. 6) has written that social capital "stands for the ability of actors to secure benefits by virtue of membership in social networks or other social structures." Portes (1998, p. 9) identifies "three basic functions of social capital: a) as a source of social control; b) as a source of family support; c) as a source of benefits through extrafamilial networks." McLellan and Smith's (2005) work addresses the third function. In this context, religious community use of social networks seems parallel to findings of research on ethnic business enclaves and ethnic niches (Light & Bonacich, 1984; Portes & Stepick, 1993; Zhou, 1992), where community networks serve as significant economic and social resources (Portes, 1998). Woolcock (2001, p. 13) distinguishes among three types of social capital: bonding, bridging and linking. Bonding social capital is developed between family, close friends and acquaintances; bridging capital, a horizontal set of social relationships, draws from more distant relations with associates and colleagues. Linking capital (building on Hirschman's (1968 in Woolcock 2001 p. 13) concept of linkages) refers to a vertical dimension of social relations and is based on "the capacity to leverage resources, ideas and information from formal institutions beyond the community."

noted in the discussion of tactical strategies, some religious communities have begun to develop and use linking social capital to work with local politicians and municipal staff, although not to the extent described by Gale (2002; 2004) and Waitt (2003).

The development process has also been an incremental process of meeting spatial needs and preferences. Table 7-2 summarizes the basic requirements of religious communities in this study for a temporary place of worship, which are relatively simple. Yet, as the findings show in Chapter 6 (*e.g.* Tables 6-1 and 6-2), in the move from temporary to permanent facilities, and for some, through the process of expansion, religious communities are able to construct larger and different types of spaces, and as a result, can provide a greater range of activities. Findings also show the incremental way in which some of the more specialized spatial needs and preferences are met. Aesthetic and symbolic architectural features (domes, minarets, carvings, tiles *etc.*), facilities like memorial halls, burial preparation rooms, living quarters for religious personnel, gardens, aquatic features, and commercial uses are examples of these important religious and cultural needs that have been set aside until other, more pressing basic needs are fulfilled. Spatial requirements also have expanded considerably as communities grew, in response to needs related to religious activities, commercial, socialization and retention, and support services. Similarly, several communities in the study have sketched out long-term goals in the areas of both religious activities and social support for facilities such as high schools, seniors' housing and theological training colleges.

Table 7-2: Basic requirements of religious communities for temporary places of worship

Religious community	Requirements	Spatial requirements
Buddhist	Residence for monks/nuns, space for Buddha / *bodhisttva* statue(s)	Residential space; Hall
Christian	Gathering space	Hall
Hindu	Sacred space for *murtis*; kitchen/dining area; gathering space	Secure location to install *murtis*; Hall
Muslim	Gathering space	Hall
Sikh	Sacred space for *Guru Granth Sahib*; gathering space	Hall

Again several factors have been instrumental in the rate of the incremental satisfaction of needs, primarily related to community characteristics such as community

resources, community growth rates, and behaviours (*e.g.* regularity of attendance, donation patterns). However, structural factors have also played a role. As Case #4 illustrated in Chapter 6, financial institution practices can also have a considerable impact on a community's ability to finance its development. Planning policy and regulation has influenced expansion plans, for example, in the cases of Hindu 1, Hindu 2 Buddhist 3, Sikh 1, parking standards will require the community to purchase additional property for parking if any expansions are made.

Most of the minority religious communities in this study have also undertaken an adaptive approach to addressing religious, social and cultural needs, as discussed in Chapter 6. For example, this has taken place through adaptation to land use regulations, to climate, to Canadian temporalities, to high land prices and to the structure of suburban communities and corresponding provision of transportation services. This has forced religious communities to reconsider what types of adaptations to make: to re-model or restructure their organization of time, the arrangements and design of facilities and the provision and implementation of activities.

Study findings have further revealed place of worship development experiences to be reflective of a dynamic, evolving practice of culture. Communities do not simply determine their needs and set out to satisfy them incrementally. In the process of creating place of worship space, the communities themselves grow and change in number, demographics, ethnic composition and resources in relation to their capacity to attract members. As a result, their needs and priorities shift. Not only do religious and cultural practices transform through the adaptation to many dimensions of Canadian life but ideas and strategies change in response to both failures and successes, as illustrated by many of the narratives in Chapter 6. These transformations are often translated into spatial forms: the building of a park or museum, a religious school, a memorial tower, a restaurant or a satellite centre for social events.

Such qualities of the development experience are rarely documented directly in the research empirical record. Nye's findings do in part reflect this type of process as the spatial needs of the ISKCON community changed dramatically in response to the rising popularity of worship at their property. Several other studies do make reference to expansion plans, but only in reference to either an ensuing conflict (Naylor & Ryan, 2002), or a display of

municipal support (Gale & Naylor, 2002; Gale, 2004), rather than in reference to a longer view of the community's cultural experience. Similarly, the multicultural literature tends to explore specific issues related to a particular event or set of events, which does not allow the reader to consider the historical context of the development or other factors contributing to the development process or planning issues beyond the cultural issue or xenophobic event (Burayidi, 2003; Qadeer, 1997; Sandercock, 1998; Sandercock, 2003). This approach may facilitate the analysis of a particular issue or event but often prevents it from being set into its full context. I would argue that this oversight is particularly important when it comes to recommending how planners should deal with religious or cultural minority groups, household or individuals, as discussed further in Section 7.3.

7.2. Implications for place of worship planning policy and implementation

As one observer of multicultural planning has stated, planners (and scholars) need be able to identify "when culture matters and when it does not" (Burayidi, 2003, p. 271). Table 7-1 provides a summary of the findings of Chapter 5 showing the spectrum of land use related behaviours. Drawing on the study findings, this section summarizes and discusses direct land use planning implications related to places of worship identified by both religious communities and planners, highlighting those issues where municipal planning practice can be improved.

7.2.1. __Defining worship__

The general approach for Markham and Mississauga has been to address parking and traffic concerns by directing place of worship development to arterial or collector roads and through parking standards. Both Markham and Mississauga make clear distinctions between what is and is not considered as a worship space. In contrast, from the perspective of religious communities in this study, worship and non-worship activities are not as clearly divided.[83] Several examples illustrate the blurring of these boundaries. The memorial hall requirements of ancestor veneration, practices of communal dining, religious personnel living quarters, water offerings, parades and festivals are examples of religious practices which from the perspective of religious communities are integral to the conduct of religious life,

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[83] This is akin to Germain and Gagnon (2003, p. 306) observation that in Montréal that line between religious and secular spheres of activity was becoming increasingly blurred.

and not easily divorced from "worship" *per se*. Yet from the perspective of the municipality, worship halls constitute worship space, and all others are either accessory or auxiliary uses.

In many cases, these differences in perspective may be of academic interest, but of little consequence to the actual material outcomes of place of worship development. However, there are two areas where problems occur. One is the residential requirement of all Buddhist and Sikh, and many Hindu places of worship for religious personnel. Two communities with permanent places of worship, and three communities searching for permanent sites, have found themselves in a bind. In order to avoid potential problems with neighbours, these communities have sought sites in industrial areas. Yet many industrial zoning by-laws prohibit residential use. The categorization of residential use as separate or distinct from what is defined as a religious facility is puzzling for such groups. Several respondents brought up the example of living quarters for Catholic priests, in their attempts to legitimatize their needs by relating them to those of Christian communities. This is one area where policy change is both feasible and much needed.

A second area of difficulty concerns those communities which, for theological reasons, prefer a site with natural features such as a waterway or forest. Here again, the various factors intersect in the emergence of this problem. A community's financial resources and its members' residential settlement patterns may pull a community's quest for a suitable site in other directions. However municipal restrictions on the rural location of places of worship, as well as the 2005 Province of Ontario Greenbelt legislation pose difficulties for those Buddhist and Hindu communities seeking a place of worship with these features. Here religious needs and preferences conflict with the preservation of agriculture and green space. A likely resolution of this conflict will occur as religious communities seek properties beyond the Greenbelt in order to address their needs.

7.2.2.   Places of worship as mixed use centres

Some land uses related to place of worship development are clearly not religious and have contributed the mixing of land uses within place of worship centre and sites. In addition to the provision of living quarters for religious personnel, several religious communities identified the emerging need and desire to provide senior housing adjacent or close to their place of worship. In many cases, this was not possible because of land price, site size or zoning restrictions. Commercial uses have also been included in a few developments. One

Buddhist temple has incorporated a commercial tea room into its facility and another was investigating the possibility of developing one. For both groups, the sale of tea and vegetarian food is an effective means of introducing outsiders to Buddhism. For the latter community, zoning restrictions due to their location within a residential zone meant that they were not able to include a commercial use with their facility. Another community operates a commercial driving school from its facility but no problems have been evident from this use as it is located in an industrial area. The third and most common area of additional uses includes social and cultural uses. As discussed earlier, most places of worship incorporate many social and cultural functions into their places of worship following what Ebaugh and Chafetz (2000) have called the community centre model. These functions require meeting and gathering rooms, classrooms, gymnasiums, schools and social halls. These uses increase the lot size or floor space requirements of the place of worship, but most significantly for communities, trigger additional parking requirements.

7.2.3. <u>Traffic and parking</u>

Religious practice and associated behavioural patterns related to religious diversity influence traffic patterns. Peak periods, congregational behaviour and community calendars for the four minority religious communities depart significantly from traditional Christian and secular patterns. The use of the lunar calendar means that the dates of special events, according to the Gregorian calendar, change considerably from year to year. In the case of making specific parking arrangements with the municipality, for example, this means that religious communities must remain in regular contact with municipal staff in order to keep them to-up-date on special events. It also makes communication with neighbourhood and community members more challenging.

More importantly for both religious communities and municipalities has been the difficulty of addressing parking standards. From the municipal perspective, the challenge has been to derive fair yet effective parking standards from a broad spectrum of behavioural patterns that are associated with places of worship. In Mississauga and Markham, problems have occurred when religious communities have used worship and social halls simultaneously, creating large parking demands. This has lead to the development of parking standards that assume concurrent use. From the religious community's perspective, parking provision is challenging, particularly when accommodating parking space requires a

reduction in the place of worship size or curtailing the number and types of desired activities. Poor access to transit is also problematic for some communities. This issue has been addressed by some commmunities through their own provision of alternative, shuttle-baased transportation. Communities have also struggled with the parking behaviour of their own attendees, although as discussed in Chapter 6, some have developed effective strategies for managing this behaviour. This is clearly an area where more direction and support can be provided to religious communities by municipal planning departments.

7.2.4.   Accommodating special religious events

For many religious communities, providing for large gatherings at special religious and social events is a difficult area of adaptation. In home countries, fewer special arrangements are required for such gatherings because regulations are more relaxed or because large proportions of the society are participating in such events. As noted in Chapter 5, communities find that they have to make many adjustments to their traditional use of things like special fireworks, flowers, liquid colour, lighting, loud music and drumming. However many community respondents were not aware of special permitting that can be acquired from Council in all three municipalities, to allow for exemptions from noise by-laws or to allow for public events like parades and festivals. In such cases, some barriers may not be as great as religious communities perceive them to be. Knowledge, previous experience and fluency with the 'Canadian way' of administration are the missing ingredients. Here again is an area where municipal direction can be provided, proactively in order to prevent potential problems that these events can generate with neighbours and community residents.

7.2.5.   Architectural and site design

No significant issues have arisen due to architectural needs. None of the religious communities identified specific features that they were unable to add because of restrictions. In one case, a Muslim community had to lower the height of its minaret, but this was not perceived to be a major concern. In two other cases, one Hindu and one Sikh, both of which are located relatively close to Pearson International airport, community representatives commented that there would be height restrictions in place because of their position within the airport's flight path. Planners reported that height restrictions are not a concern for municipalities.

One issue that has not been addressed by municipalities concerns the larger question of the contribution of places of worship to community and urban design. This is not surprising considering the relatively low priority given to urban design in Canadian municipalities. Many municipalities, including the three in this study, have made recent attempts to address this void, with the addition of various site specific policies (*e.g.* requiring parking in the rear in order to maintain a continuous street front facade, minimum landscaping requirements *etc.*) and through the introduction of urban design guidelines (Kumar, 2002). Nonetheless, places of worship - mandirs, mosques, churches, gurdwaras and temples – represent some of the most interesting architecture in any community. None of the communities have appeared to recognize and seize the opportunity to capitalize upon these considerable assets – to their loss, I would argue. One respondent commented about the way in which his community's mosque will contribute aesthetically to his community:

> Someone driving along 403 seeing a beautiful dome and minaret, it's going to attract them. Like maybe they're even go and come visit them. And [we're] gonna bring nice tiles … ceramics [to embellish the mosque], it's going to add something to [Canadian] culture (Muslim 1).

In this study there is no evidence to suggest that there have been any cases of political support for places of worship in rcognition of their potential function as important community landmarks (as described by Gale (2002; 2004) in the U.K.) or important tourist destinations (as described by Waitt (2003) in Australia).

Similarly few issues were encountered with site design, other than those associated with supplying sufficient numbers of parking spaces. Religious communities expressed several minor concerns related to strict landscaping specifications and the challenge of separating secular from religious spaces. Neither of these issues warrant changes to municipal planning practice.

7.2.6.   Neighbour and community relations

Neighbour and community relations were addressed in a number of ways in the study. Three communities had experienced difficulties with neighbour opposition and many communities cited neighbourhood opposition as a rationale for seeking industrial locations. Municipal planners observed that difficulties that can occur when residents oppose incoming religious community development and when practices of the religious community involve

potentially disturbing elements, such as large numbers of attendees, parades, and the use of bright lights, loud music, drumming, fireworks, and/or fire. Given the prevalence of neighbourhood conflict associated with places of worship and with land use planning in general, this is another area where municipalities can provide more direction and support to new developers, religious communities as well as others.

7.3. Re-casting multicultural planning issues

Planning literature related to ethnoracial diversity has emphasized and defined several problems. The first is the cultural problem whereby diversity broadens the spectrum of community needs and preferences. Problems occur when newly introduced cultural practises differ from mainstream cultural norms, which imbue all aspects of planning policy and decision making (Qadeer 1997; Sandercock, 2003) and are embodied in the attitudes, behaviours and practices of municipal staff (Burayidi 2000, p. 5). The second is the xenophobia problem. Diversity broadens the spectrum of ethnoracial origins of individuals and social groups. Problems occur when residents` fear and/or discriminatory reactions result in opposition to development, particularly when land use issues are fabricated or exaggerated in attempts to keep out 'undesirable' minority or immigrant groups (Isin & Siemiatycki, 1999; Li, 1994; Ray, Halseth, & Johnson, 1997). The third problem inter-related to the previous two is the exclusion problem. Due to structural, social, political and economic barriers, and insufficient social and economic resources, individuals and groups are unable to satisfy their needs and values, and participate meaningfully in the urban planning process (Fenster, 1998; Khakee, Somma, & Thomas, 1999; Somerville, 1998).

The nuanced development experiences of religious community defy their simple categorization into these three categories of problems. While there are dimensions of these problems that can be read into religious community development experiences, they are complex, involving interwoven limiting and facilitating factors, which are explored further in the following two sections.

7.3.1.   <u>Religious communities</u>

For those recent immigrant communities with minimal financial and human resources (human and social capital), the need for information, support and guidance is extensive. As the narratives in Chapter 6 have illustrated, there are many ways in which a religious

community can run into difficulties during the development process. Common issues across most religious communities include site supply and transportation planning and management. Issues unique to some but not all include large event management and addressing unique land use issues such as residential use, burial preparation rooms, storage of cinerary urns, and landscaping.

On the other hand, the study findings have demonstrated the many successes of recent immigrant communities in effectively adapting to the Canadian planning system, despite their difficulties. The coping strategies described in Chapter 6 have illustrated the many ways in which communities have creatively derived solutions. As emphasized, in two areas, parking management and neighbour relations, several communities have developed innovative and highly effective strategies.

The development experiences of religious communities examined in this study come together as dynamic and adaptive processes. Incrementally they constitute an evolving set of spatial needs and requirements. For many religious community leaders, the experience has been accompanied by a tremendous learning process. Development experiences have been limited by structural factors including the land economy, suburban form, land use policy and social context, as well as by communities' supply of human, social and economic resources. However, despite these barriers religious communities have been largely successful in their development, albeit often through lengthy and difficult processes. Cheaper industrial land, the relaxing of land use policy and regulation, and an assemblage of coping strategies have all facilitated recent immigrant place of worship development.

7.3.2. <u>Planners</u>

The case of planning for places of worship identifies a number of issues that have yet to be addressed in multicultural planning literature. These include both challenges of working with ethnoracially diverse communities and land use planning norms.

Planners and ethnoracial communities

The communities examined in this study illustrate that recent immigrants comprise a diverse population. Diversity exists both within and between major religions. Differences in community needs and the capacity of the community to meet these needs is related not only to cultural and religious needs, but equally to community resources of human, social and

financial capital. The intersection of these variables: religion, culture and human resources, makes it difficult to clearly identify how planning policy and practice should be changed to incorporate the range in cultural (religious) values that are evident in these three municipalities. For example, the need for residential use is common to Buddhist, Roman Catholic, Hindu and Sikh communities. Findings have shown that some have been able to satisfy this need through their property choice. Others haven't. Similarly, needs and preferences for natural features and gardens are also common to Buddhist and Hindu communities. Some communities have satisfied these needs through on-site landscaping. Others would prefer to find an additional suitable rural location. Likewise, of the two communities requiring storage of cinerary urns, one had negotiated a temporary solution while the second was continuing to seek for a solution. These examples show that although there are definite ethno-religious differences in the needs and preferences of communities, it is difficult to distill them down to clear-cut recommendations for change in policy and practice because communities approach the resolution of their needs in different ways.

In this study it is clear that religious communities would benefit from the further relaxing of land use designations and zoning by-laws, to allow for place of worship development on larger, more cheaply priced properties. But planners do not control land value. In the past religious communities may have had the political influence needed to persuade municipalities to control land prices (*e.g.* Markham). This is no longer the case, however. Nor is there evidence in this study to suggest that political support for place of worship development has or will emerge, as it has in Singapore (Kong, 1993), the U.K. (Gale *et al.*, 2002; Gale, 2004) and Australia (Waitt, 2003).

A second issue identified by planners in the study was the long-term planning capacity of religious communities. Planners noted that many leaders in both recent immigrant and Canadian-born communities lack the knowledge and expertise to predict and plan for long-term community growth and change. Some exceptions were noted in long-standing organizations like the Roman Catholic Archdiocese and Anglican Diocese. Furthermore, residential settlement and the specific demand for particular ethno-religious places of worship are unpredictable in the long-term. As a result, it would be difficult for planners to work with religious communities to incorporate their needs at the secondary plan level. As well, when appropriate zoning is in place, only site reviews are required. This means that

there are no means by which municipalities can intervene to guide or direct religious communities in their planning for future land use considerations. Both of these challenges, the difficulty in clearly identifying cultural implications and the weak capacity of religious communities to engage in long-term planning have not been acknowledged in the multicultural planning literature**.**

However, there are several ways in which planning practice has been effective in addressing issues related to place of worship development. In this case, the planning practice approach of neutrality, focusing solely on land use issues, has resulted in the expansion of appropriately designated and zoned place of worship properties and the increase in parking supply requirements. This study has illustrated that despite their challenges, many religious communities have been able to work within the limitations of the system and construct their places of worship, incrementally and adaptively meeting their spatial needs. This suggests that at minimum, the planning approach of neutrality has not culminated in insurmountable barriers for ethno-religious minority communities. In light of the requirement of planners to balance the needs and values of both long-term and incoming residents, this approach has been reasonably effective.

Limitations of planning tools

Another set of challenges result from the principles which guide land use planning. Land use planning is charged with the task of maximizing the co-ordination of urban development, including urban services and infrastructure (Hodge, 1998). As discussed in Chapter 4, the suburban variant of land use planning promotes the segregation of land uses and the dominance of automobile use. For any land uses attracting high numbers of people, these two elements have combined to result in the requirement for significant traffic and parking control. Additionally, land use policies and regulations are attached to the property, its buildings and features, and the generic use, but not the particular user. Refinements can be made in relation to the dimensions of a building, and other site features such as a parking lot. But in most cases, these tools are not easily altered to suit the specific or dynamic activity patterns generated by any one particular user. Once they have been set, changes to land use designations and zoning by-laws require a number of time- and resource-consuming steps, including municipal council approval. This leads planners to use a long-term view in their development of land use policy and regulation, in order to attempt to avoid future problems.

As a result, as one planner (Interview 2, Municipal 2a) noted, "Unfortunately, it's probably like a lot of things, the worst case scenario winds up determining a kind of lowest common denominator." Planners described current situations where complaints from neighbours are regularly received from long-standing places of worship (mostly churches and synagogues), whose parking demands far exceeds supply. However, aside from giving out parking tickets, the municipality is powerless to force the religious community to address the problem in a more permanent fashion. These current, irresolvable problems have been the impetus for attempting to create long-lasting solutions in policy and regulation.

7.4. Towards an integrated approach to multicultural planning: Study recommendations

A cadre of urban planning scholars concerned with matters of social difference, including ones of ethnoracial diversity, has emerged and grown over recent years. These scholars share an interest in promoting a system of urban governance that helps "people to reflect on their needs and to find creative ways to meet these needs" (Burayidi, 2003, p. 271). Many have argued that municipal planners have a central role in this system, particularly through helping people participate in the planning process. Qadeer (1997, p. 492) has declared that planners have an obligation to promote "a plurality of spatial forms and functions to fulfill citizen needs to their satisfaction." This study has highlighted the complexity of this task as regards the introduction of cultural diversity into urban form. Whether accommodating or planning for diverse spatial forms (places of worship), issues related to culture are not easily isolated from other land use planning issues or qualities of the developer, in this case recent immigrant religious communities. In particular, this study has provided evidence to suggest that many of the difficulties that communities experience in addressing cultural needs are closely interrelated with their financial, human and social resources, as well as other factors attributable to the planning system. The study findings have also demonstrated how significant diversity among communities of any particular religion can accompany ethnoracial diversity, as seen in the differences in cultural and religious needs among communities of the same religion (Chapter 6). This makes the identification of a clear and distinct set of spatial needs associated with any one particular ethno-religious community difficult, if not impossible. Furthermore, diverse spatial form and functions do not always result in land use planning issues, as discussed in Section 7.2.

One striking difference of this study from the empirical record has been the relative absence of conflict. One consequence of this absence concerns the interactions between recent immigrant communities and other actors in the planning system. German and Gagnon (2003, p. 313) have argued that multicultural planning "should be seen … as a compromise on coexistence flowing from a process of interchange between social actors." Speaking more generically about relational conceptualizations of cities and the potential role of planning, Graham and Healey (1999, p. 642, *italics* in original) follow a similar theme, asserting that,

> in this multiplex world … relations within and between the layers of the power geometries of place are actively negotiated by the power of agency through *communication and interpretation.*

The study has suggested that this type of exchange does not always occur. Sometimes the absence of interchange indicates that there are no problematic land use issues, despite the presence of ethnoracial diversity among actors. In Chapter 6, the first set of place of worship developments where relatively few challenges were reported illustrated this condition. In many other cases though, this process of interchange fails to take place because religious communities seem to have accepted existing limitations and have found ways to make the best of their circumstances through their own action, in other words through accomodation. The accommodating, complying and adapting coping strategies described in Chapter 6 would seem to provide evidence for this approach. Only in a small number of exceptional cases (*e.g.* Case # 9, Chapter 6) do the study findings show evidence of interaction between religious communities and municipal agents, where both the religious community and the municipality participate in mutual adaptation of their practices.

In the case of place of worship development, a spectrum of needs and preferences are held by both municipalities and religious communities. In particular, community needs are diverse and dynamic, reflective of incremental learning and adaptation on the part of different religious communities. Sandercock (1998) has emphasized that in planning for the multicultural city, planners can improve equity in development by understanding how disadvantage is created. She also emphasizes the need to understand the ways in which marginalized groups react against their disadvantage, in order to focus planning support in those areas where such groups have already shown their effectiveness. In the case of recent immigrant and particularly minority religious community place of worship development, disadvantage is not always clear, nor easily attributable to ethnic or religious minority status

alone. Some communities, particularly those with sponsoring religious organizations seem to face fewer challenges at least in part due to their greater supply of social and financial capital resources. In the present study this included Buddhist, Christian and Muslim communities. Other cases have elucidated the sometimes contradictory nuances of the development experience. For example in Case # 9, a Sikh community clearly faced many difficulties, attributable to both external and internal factors. Yet, this same Sikh group stands out as one community which appears to have been highly effective in negotiating its place in its neighbourhood. Therefore, when it comes to planners addressing the imbalance of advantage for constructing a diverse spectrum of place of worship forms, where should they begin?

One of the more powerful aspects of a study such as the one presented here lies in its ability to document past experience, to reflect on this experience and so to consider how improvements in pursuit of ethnoracial (here ethno-religious) equity, would in fact, strengthen the entire system for all residents including both religious communities and municipalities as a whole. Several elements of the study findings contribute to a call for a proactive approach to planning amidst ethnoracially diverse communities that recognizes and responds to some fundamwntal princliples as outlined below:

> 5. *Diversity within diversity*. This study has shown diversity of groups and practices which exist between and among ethno-religious communities. Basic municipal religious and cultural literacy would support planning activities with these groups.
>
> 6. *Steep learning curve*. Given the high volume of information required by developers, as recent immigrants, many religious communities face significant barriers. Planners could facilitate an easier development process through further guidance and direction.
>
> 7. *Effective management.* Several religious communities have been adept in addressing some problems, demonstrating best practices that could be highlighted and promoted by municipalities in order to further encourage and support such activities.
>
> 8. *Expanding involvement of key actors*. Two key issues, parking and neighbours relations overlap with by-law enforcement. Multicultural planning needs to expand into multicultural management, and work in concern with departments like by-law enforcement.

However, if planners are to be expected to respond to these kinds of principles and support fairness in urban development, more fundamental practices of the profession itself will be called into question. This questioning will require rethinking the role of planner as 'expert' and re-examining the intervention process in terms of both its strategies and its agents.

7.4.1. <u>The return of the planning expert</u>

Recent approaches to planning theory have argued for the communicative role of planners, as facilitators, mediators and communicators (Innes, 1995; Healey, 1996). Here I argue for a return to the expert role of planners. Communicative roles remain significant but the value of/ need for planning expertise is highlighted. I argue that findings of the present study provide grounds for a call for the promotion and exercise of planning expertise in the following areas: urban change, religious and cultural literacy, community facility design and management, transportation demand management and neighbour relations.

Knowledge of urban change

As discussed by several planning scholars, basic data collection is the foundation of understanding issues related both to multicultural diversity and to the changing cityscape. Given the many social functions served by places of worship, municipalities need to ensure that provision of new and alternative kinds of religious facilities continue to be monitored. This would include regular updates of place of worship inventories, as well as tracking settlement patterns of major ethnic communities. Such information would assist planners dealing with place of worship applications or anticipating possible conflict where places of worship are proposed for particular neighbourhoods. While not dealt with in detail here, planners may also benefit from continuing to track geographic trends of place of worship development in non-traditional land use designations like commercial and industrial areas. In light of future policy and regulatory reviews, planners may be well served by monitoring the effectiveness of recent changes to policy and regulation.

Cultural and religious literacy

The nee d ofr increased religious and cultural literacy was identified in a number of ways by study respondents. Several communities observed the lack of knowledge by municipal staff of their religion, as reflected in the following quotation:

> These people can't understand, these priests have to sleep, you know. That's biggest hurdle, I think all over Canada they should bend some rules. These city planners, they should be invited and stay with us for one week or something like that, understand the whole concept of gurdwara, or monks, you know, Buddhism temple, I think they should understand … Best would be just invite some city officials that make the rules, see what's going on. See, just reading about it, listening to it doesn't make help, once

you do it physically yourself, then you know what's going on. The problem, maybe after you go to the free kitchen, you will know what's free kitchen is. It's just, looking at internet, it doesn't make, well, it makes sense but not as much as if you do it yourself (Sikh 1).

Several communities provided arguments for religious and cultural literacy of municipal staff. This respondent's argument for this type of literacy is based upon principles of public service:

On the whole, as I have said, I have observed there is a lack of interest to know. Ignorance is a separate matter, you know. But there's not even a willingness to know about it because more often than not, they are, they have formed ideas and opinions in their mind beforehand. But worst of all is that, I always feel that, because it is a service given by the city, it should be equally accessible to all people (Buddhist 1).

Others argued from a multicultural perspective, as reflected in the following quotation:

Like the general public, the city bureaucrats also don't understand the multiculturalism I think, they are very aware the community is growing, they should be aware … that this is a multicultural country and people from different cultures are coming here and they have their own needs, so, they have to adapt too, as the community has to adapt to the new culture. [Bureaucrats] should also adapt … they should be up to date … That's what I feel (Sikh 2).

Respondents also acknowledged the role of religious communities in the education process, illustrated through these reflections:

I think that city officials have to understand that Islam is not a threat for them … and this I also blame ourselves, as Muslims. We don't often go and maybe try or push for the line of communication to be open. I don't only blame them. [But] don't get me wrong. I blame them, they have something, a little bit prejudice or not open minded. But also, at the same level, 50% I blame Muslims also not … trying to show their kindness, their generosity, their friendship, their warmness. They have this; it's coming from our background. We have it there [in our culture] ... we have a saying, the rabbit, turn its face from the mountain, but the mountain doesn't know. The rabbit has that problem. They used to be friends and the rabbit was jumping all over the mountain, and now, some misunderstanding, he turn his face away, but the mountain doesn't know (Muslim 1).

They also talked about the need for all communities to increase their literacy:

The future generations are gonna be living together in more closer ties, we better understand, we better educate ourselves. I didn't know anything about the zoning and things, and now I know. And we better learn something about Christianity as Muslims, we better learn about Judaism,

better Christians learn about Judaism, and Muslims and other religions, and this applies to every organization in the community, and we embrace each other ... leave our differences to Judgement Day (Muslim 1).

These thoughtful perspectives cover the key arguments for the promotion of greater religious and cultural literacy: to better understand and anticipate land use issues, to ensure equity in public service provision and to support local multiculturalism. As the latter two quotations argue, religious and cultural literacy also needs to involve municipal staff, religious communities and the general public.

There are a number of issues to be addressed in promoting religious and cultural literacy. Municipalities would certainly want to build upon the work of other efforts in this area and literacy would need to be an organization-wide effort, not solely a planning department initiative. But for land use development practitioners, educational materials may need to be tailored to development-related issues. Here regional initiatives supported by or in partnership with professional organizations like the Ontario Professional Planning Institute (OPPI) would make the most sense. Municipalities may need to consider training specific cultural advisors to deal with either particular issues or groups, drawing where possible on staff members who belong to particular minority groups.

Place of worship (community facility) design and management

Planning expertise can also be provided in the area of community facility design. While the responsibility for development clearly lies with the developer, planning departments can forward their own agendas, promoting their priorities in terms of development criteria and standards by providing guides, internet resources or check-list type documents in the area of place of worship development.

There are other precedents to this kind of approach. For example, the Local Government Association (2002) in the U.K. developed a guide to promote religious diversity in British municipalities, highlighting the importance and advantages of building religious community leadership capacity and maintaining positive local government relations with religious communities. In Canada today for example there is some precedence, albeit in the mainstream, for the provision of guidelines directed towards a community of interest. Perhaps the best example is found in the area of historic preservation where various guides have been developed to encourage and support home and property owners to restore and

preserve particular features, in order to contribute to community heritage (Ville de Montréal & Héritage Montréal, 2005). Along the same lines, a municipal government and/or planning department which valued its growing cultural diversity, could take a similar approach to places of worship, where such facilities should be recognized as playing a significant role in the support and integration of recent immigrants, as important components of a community's cultural and religious heritage and as significant architectural assets.

Proactive and positive relations with recent immigrant communities that such support would provide need not be nurtured simply for altruistic reasons. There are many reasons for a municipality as a whole to establish and maintain strong relations with religious communities. As an organization, religious communities are key gatekeepers and entry points to communities that may be otherwise difficult to access. While municipal politicians may have their own motives for enhancing such relations, municipal organizations can also benefit significantly from understanding and working effectively with community organizations such as religious communities. Planning departments and other municipal organizations could view religious communities as potential allies in a variety of public campaigns: Official and secondary planning exercises, by-law enforcement, parks and recreation planning, waste and water management, public health, social services, and policing (Local Government Association, 2002). This reason alone is an important justification for the investment in such supportive materials.

There are several areas where direction can be provided. One is to identify municipal facilities which are available for rental or temporary use. The Town of Markham's web resources provide this information. Another helpful directive might come in the form of guidelines for place of worship development. This sort of directive might identify land use considerations that need to take place throughout the site search, purchasing, planning, designing and construction process. A third area where increased guidance is needed concerns large event management for major festivals and parades, both on religious communities' properties and in public spaces. A resource providing more direction forthese kinds of events might serve to connect religious communities to municipal and provincial parks and recreation resources and to by-law enforcement for information on procedures for special occasion by-law relief. They could also cover issues related to transportation demand management and neighbour relations, addressed in the following two sections.

Transportation demand management

Despite the centrality of parking and traffic issues related to places of worship, as well as many other land use planning issues, Mississauga, Brampton and Markham have yet to proactively deal with transportation demand management.[84] The municipalities provide parking standards, locations requirements and other directives, yet little guidance or expertise is offered to places of worship by way of addressing parking and traffic in a systematic fashion. Mississauga's policies do mention their support for shared parking arrangements and in Markham, place of worship developments exceeding certain size limits require parking studies. Yet parking planning and management is left entirely up to the land user, to navigate with a hired traffic consultant.

This is an area where municipal planning departments fail to assert their expertise. Parking management remains a significant problem for municipalities. Yet municipalities do not present any model or alternative to the existing *status quo*, other than establishing quotas for parking spaces. The current default stance of both Markham and Mississauga has been that parking relief can be sought, should the land user prove that s/he is able to manage the parking associated with the property. As land use professionals, planners can do more in this area. Planning departments can more actively promote landowners and developers, including religious communities, to consider the ways in which they can include transportation considerations in their location and facility design decision-making. As discussed in Chapter 6, many religious communities demonstrate considerable competence in relation to parking management. Planners can draw upon these "best practices" to guide and direct the efforts of religious communities and other property owners.

Neighbour relations

Representatives of all three municipalities talked about the relationship between neighbour relations and land use conflict. Although conflict was only experienced significantly by three communities in this study, neighbour relations arose as an issue

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[84] Transportation demand management (TDM) (also known as travel demand management) refers to a set of policies, programs and investments that attempt to change travel behaviour in order to achieve policy and planning goals of sustainable transportation and efficient resource use (Ferguson, 1998). There is a broad collection of management tools, including marketing, education, pricing, and institutional arrangements. Although a relatively new field, many municipalities are beginning to hire specialty staff to develop local and regional transportation demand management policies and programs. For example, the Regional Municipality of Waterloo first hired a TDM co-ordinator in 2000.

addressed by several communities, in relation to parking as well as other issues such as large events. Again, the issue of neighbour relations is by no means unique to place of worship development. Not-in –my-backyard or NIMBYism is a universally recognized land use planning issue (Dear, 1992). Yet planners and municipalities appear quite reticent in addressing this common, and frequently damaging and costly problem. Rather, conflict management is left to the whim and off-chance that a local councilor will possess some conflict resolution skills. Again, professional planners and municipalities are missing an opportunity to assert their role as land use professionals. Conflict management is a well-established and published field in planning as well as many other disciples (Susskind & Cruikshank, 1997). This is another area where planners and municipalities can use professional expertise to address an important issue related to place of worship development. "Good neighbour policy" is one possible direction municipalities can explore. It refers to the idea of promoting informal communication between neighbouring property owners with the express purpose of proactively preventing conflict. It has been used by rural municipalities as a means of dealing with neighbour conflict related to nutrient management issues (Caldwell, 2006, pers. com.). As discussed in Chapter 6, several religious communities are already exhibiting these types of behaviours and their practices could be promoted to others.

7.4.2.   <u>Strategic intervention</u>

In his recommendations for multicultural planning, Qadeer (1997, p. 492) has asserted that "planning measures that accommodate multiculturalism can range from procedural changes and administrative adaptations to redefining the goals and ideologies that inform policies and programs." The findings from this study can provide more substantive direction of such a recommendation by pointing out a number of ways that municipal planners can think strategically about the interventions suggested in the previous section on the planning expert, by considering points and types intervention.

In addition to the substance of interventions, planners need perhaps to rethink at what points they are made. In its promotion of change in travel behaviour, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (OECD, 1997) emphasizes that policy measures that try to effect change have to consider the hierarchy of choices made by individuals and organizations. Therefore, if policy measures are to affect change, they must be targeted at high order choices, that is, those choices that will impact many subsequent

ones. The study findings illustrate that key considerations are required before property is purchased and also at different times throughout the development process, such as before expansion plans are considered. For example, issues related to transportation should be considered in full detail before a property is purchased, in order to prevent or minimize problems later in the development process. Municipalities can facilitate this type of careful planning by targeting interventions before such key decisions are made and by drawing the attention of religious communities to these considerations, in relation to municipal policies and regulations.

Planners can also think holistically about how developers (here religious communities) come into contact with the municipality, in order to design interventions that again put forward municipal planning interests and preferences. For example, information and resources can be provided in conjunction with the building department and by-law enforcement.

Planners can also re-examine types or means of intervention to explore how they may be most effective. These may include narratives contrasting worst and best practices, check lists or guidelines of things to consider "before you pray," preventative actions to promote good neighbour relations or avoid parking tickets, "good neighbour" awards or other such promotional and incentive programs.

7.4.3. <u>Agents of intervention</u>

Finally, planners can reconsider agents of intervention and expand the municipal multicultural planning and management team. While Sandercock (2003) has argued for all public sector employees to be involved in the multicultural city project, this study provides direction in areas specific to place of worship development. Many of the recommendations forwarded above will only be feasible if they are carried out in conjunction with other partners. As the study findings show, there are few direct land use implications of ethno-religious and minority community place of worship development. Because of the complex nature of the emergence and resolution of particular problems, it is the combination of many small actions by many actors that will facilitate place of worship development that is fair for all, supportive for those with the least resources and that promotes municipal religious and cultural diversity.

In particular, scholars play an important role in working with religious communities, municipalities, and professional organizations such as OPPI to develop supportive resources and networks to promote the recommendations of this study. Scholars are often fond of shaking a scolding finger at actors who fall short of their ideal roles and functions yet frequently fail to write themselves and their work into proposed changes. As academic writings often do not reach their intended audiences, this is an area where practice-oriented publications are required. Academic organizations such as the Centre for Excellence in Research on Immigrant Settlement (CERIS) can also be engaged in this work. Religious communities and umbrella organizations also need to play a role in this area, particularly in those municipalities where religious diversity is only beginning to emerge. Higher levels of government at the regional and provincial levels can certainly also be encouraged to participate in promoting equitable and problem-free place of worship development. Finally, professional organizations such as OPPI, the Canadian Institute of Planners and the Federation of Canadian Municipalities can be enlisted to assist particularly in dissemination across municipalities and planning departments.

7.5. Conclusions and summary of recommendations

This chapter discussed planning implications of recent immigrant place of worship development. It first examined the development experience, highlighting the dynamic, adaptive, and incremental processes that best describe the study findings. It went on to examine direct implications for place of worship planning policy and implementation, identifying six areas of interest: definitions of worship, places of worship as mixed use centres, traffic and parking, special religious events, architectural and site design and neighbour and community relations. Next, it discussed multicultural planning issues in relation to the study findings, pointing out issues that have not yet been addressed in the multicultural planning literature. Building on the previous sections, the fourth section discussed the ways in which the study findings can contribute to the further development of multicultural planning practices, recommending that planners resurrect and exercise increased levels of expertise and rethink intervention strategies and re-examine agents of intervention. The following list summarizes the study's recommendations.

1. *Residential use*: Municipalities should conduct a review of zoning by-laws and amend them to allow for residential use related to religious personnel living

quarters. Alternatively, they should develop a stream-lined process by which religious communities can easily demonstrate the need and religious rationale for living quarters, and apply for a minor variance.

2. *Tracking urban change*. Municipalities experiencing rapid changes in religious diversity should incorporate religion into their monitoring of neighbourhood and community change. They should also maintain up-to-date place of worship inventories (perhaps in concert with other municipal units), track place of worship development patterns and the effectiveness of place of worship policy and regulation, in conjunction with by-law enforcement.

3. *Cultural and religious literacy training and cultural advisors.* Municipalities, in concert with the Ontario Professional Planning Institute, the Canadian Institute of Planners, religious and cultural organizations and interested scholars should develop professional development training resources to support practitioners in urban planning and development-related fields in developing basic cultural and religious literacy in relation to places of worship, as well as to relevant land use issues like ethnic retail, housing, parks and public space planning *etc.* In particular, OPPI and CIP should be instrumental in assisting planners to connect into existing networks that can provide staff with answers to specific, project-related questions.

4. *Guide to place of worship development* Municipalities, in concert with the Ontario Professional Planning Institute (OPPI), the Canadian Institute of Planners (CIP), religious organizations and interested scholars should develop a generic guide which provides religious communities with an overview of the planning system, a check list of things to consider in the development process, and a number of best practices to illustrate successful place of worship projects.

5. *Large event management*: Municipalities should develop guides or instructions to advise religious and cultural communities and organizations on the planning and management of large events such as festivals and parades. Such resources can help organizations to work more effectively with neighbours to prevent problems, with by-law enforcement to obtain permissions and exemptions, and to connect with municipal parks and recreation resources.

6. *Transportation demand management:* Municipalities should develop a guide or internet resources for developers (including religious communities) that would provide direction in determining and managing transportation demand. It would encourage developers to consider transportation issues before property purchasing decisions are made.

7. *Neighbourhood and community relations:* Municipalities should develop a set of best practices to showcase organizations which have developed and maintained healthy neighbour relations. This would provide new organizations with a solid rationale for investing effort into neighbour relations. It would also demonstrate concrete and effective actions that organizations can implement.

8. *Strategic intervention:* In the above municipal interventions, municipalities should carefully consider strategic points and means of intervention, in order to

determine where and how the greatest impact of the intervention is likely to be made.

9. *Agents of intervention:* The feasibility of all the above recommendations is most likely to be achieved if planners and their respective municipalities work in concert with local immigrant-supporting NGOs and government agencies, religious communities, immigration scholars, and professional organizations.

Chapter 8: <u>Conclusions</u>

Religious diversity is one dimension of the growing ethnoracial diversity transforming Canada's largest and fastest growing metropolitan regions. Under the umbrella of multicultural planning, this study examined place of worship development of recent immigrant religious communities, including four minority religions, Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam and Sikhism. The ultimate goal of the exercise has been to investigate the implications of religious diversity for multicultural planning practice. This chapter provides an overview of the key contributions of the study and sketches out areas of further research.

 Growing religious diversity is particularly evident in the recent expansion of four of Canada's largest minority religions: Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam and Sikhism. As one of several types of land use conflict related to ethnoracial diversity, conflict over minority place of worship development has been documented in several immigrant-receiving countries. Xenophobia and neighbourhood socio-political dynamics have been two factors implicated in this conflict. The undeveloped capacity of municipalities to deal with intercultural conflict has also been identified as problematic, an issue frequently observed by multicultural planning scholars.

Several research objectives were pursued in this study: to provide comparative analysis across ethno-religious communities, to clarify key factors in recent immigrant community development experiences and to examine implications for place of worship development and multicultural planning. The study investigated place of worship development in three suburban municipalities of the Greater Toronto Area: Mississauga, Brampton and Markham. Key informant interviews with 47 representatives of 31 religious communities and municipal policy planners, in addition to participant observation, archival research and visual surveys constituted the data collection. The study examined and compared the religious practices of Buddhist, Christian, Hindu, Muslim and Sikh communities, their organization of social activities, and their use of time and space. It also documented the development experiences of minority religious communities and explored the land use policy implications of place of worship development.

While the behavioural patterns and spatial requirements of the religious communities comprise of wide spectrum of land uses, temporal patterns, and specific spatial needs in relation to religious, social and cultural activities, these requirements are not reflected in land

use policy. Rather, they are distilled into two primary concerns (in two of the three municipalities): parking and traffic. As a result, land use designations and zoning have been reoriented both to allow and direct religious communities to locate away from residential neighbourhoods, on arterial or collector roads and in industrial areas.

The development experiences of religious communities recounted in this study have involved dynamic, incremental and adaptive processes of meeting community needs; for many communities this has entailed a steep learning curve. Only three communities experienced significant resident opposition, and many have reported positive outcomes in addressing neighbour relations issues. While many inter-related barriers to place of worship development were documented, for the most part these difficulties have been overcome or accommodated by various coping strategies.

The largely successful, albeit challenging, development stories related in the study depart significantly from existing studies published in the field of multicultural planning and geography that focus heavily on a conflict-oriented empirical record. The findings suggest a number of important implications for planning practice. In relation to place of worship development, the study recommends that municipalities consider the need of many Buddhist, Hindu and Sikh communities to incorporate residential quarters for religious personnel into worship facilities. Further, given that most young religious communities are financially constrained, yet appear to play an important social support role for their members, municipalities should re-examine to zoning by-laws to ensure that residential uses are allowed in all areas. The study also recommends that municipalities provide more direction and guidance to religious communities, in the form of internet resources, and, in this regard, the Town of Markham's website might provide a helpful starting point.

Moving into multicultural planning in general, the study findings have highlighted many of the challenges of addressing ethnoracial diversity that have yet to be acknowledged by scholars in this area. Fundamentally, the long-term, property-directed orientation of planning practice makes it difficult to make concessions to accomodate particular cultural needs and practices. The limitations of land use planning tools demand a very coarse filter – one that is often accentuauted on the basis of municipalities' past experience with 'worst-case' scenarios.

However, this study suggests several ways around these limitations. Many religious communities have proven capable of learning and creatively adapting to given constraints inherent in the land use planning system and many of these adaptations can be supported and encouraged by municipalities, especially if planners begin resurrect and cultivate their role as planning experts. But additionally, municipalities may want to move towards a more proactive, rather than a reactive position as intervening agents. In particular, critical issues such as transportation and management need to precede communities' decision to purchase and develop a property for a place of worship. Given the ubiquitous nature of land use conflict, another area of planning and municipal expertise needs to be concerned with promoting constructive neighbour relations, through conflict prevention and management. In both issues, the role of the planning expert is not limited to place of worship development or to multicultural planning, but rather, to all development. Finally, the available tools and agents of support need not be restricted to planning departments and traditional tools of policy and regulation, but can be extended in other areas of education and communication, and departments like by-law enforcement. The multicultural management team can similarly involve multiple municipal players and planning scholars.

The empirical contributions of this study can be organized into three categories: empirical data which corroborate previous findings, empirical data which presents evidence in a new light and empirical data unique to the field of study. First, this study corroborates several sets of previous research findings such as its findings in relation to the evolution of place of worship through several temporary and permanent locations, the expanded functions of places of worship and the supportive roles that they play to recent immigrant communities through these functions. Second, the study's findings describe the religious practices of Sikh, Hindu, Muslim, Buddhist and Christian communities which have been previously documented by religious scholars. However, this study presents this data in a new light by relating these practices to their adaptation to Canadian society, their spatial expressions and land use planning implications. Third, this study makes unique empirical contributions in several ways. It supplements the small number of studies examining relationships between place of worship development and urban development; it augments the urban multiculturalism planning literature documenting in detail the challenges of isolating cultural issues and demonstrating the policy implications of religious diversity. In this fashion the

study further supplements the documented record of issues faced by recent immigrant during settlement and integration. Importantly, it highlights the complexity of development experiences, attributable to both contextual factors and those related to landowner/ developer agency, in this case, the recent immigrant religious community. Conceptually this study contributes to the evolving concept of multicultural planning, providing a more nuanced portrait of the cosmopolitan planning project. It sheds light on the significant role of agency, of human and social capital and of innovative coping strategies in the immigrant experience of development. The study also puts forward a conceptual framework for the analysis of development experience related to recent immigrant communities.

Further research can be pursued in several key areas. The spatial dimension of place of worship needs to be addressed in much greater detail, in order to explore the changing urban geography of religion, including the historical evolution of the geography of religion in the Greater Toronto Area. Development patterns related to places of worship, such as religious neighbourhoods, can also be further pursued to examine issues related to urban segregation and immigrant integration. Research related to places of worship and religious communities can additionally be researched in a comparative manner, in order to understand the extent to which these patterns are common to other immigrant-receiving metropolitan regions and countries.

Research in the area of multicultural planning needs to continue to empirically explore and document cultural issues related to ethnocultural diversity, and their impact on the needs and values of recent immigrant communities. More comparative work between municipalities of difference sizes and locations can augment our understanding of minority religious communities and of the contexts in which conflict does and does not arise. Further research can compare the findings of this research with other urban policy areas like ethnic retail, housing development, parks and recreation, heritage preservation and urban social services. Research in the area of ethnocultural diversity must also be situated within larger questions relating to social difference in general, and focus particularly on some of the practical challenges associated with high levels or broad spectrums of diversity. This study also points to the need for more research for both academic and professional purposes in the urban planning and management areas such as transportation demand management, conflict management and outreach.

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Appendix I

Interview Guide I: Religious Communities

PART I: Building and site features

I would like to know a bit about your property and how it is used by your community.
1.   Let's start with the place of worship. What are the main rooms in the place of worship? What are they used for?
2.   What other facilities are on your site? What are they used for?

PART II: Building function and use

I'd like to know more about your community uses this property for worship

Daily/Weekly/Yearly

10.   Is there one day that is the most important day of the week for worship at your PW? If yes, what is it? (If no, skip to 13)
11.   What activities do you hold on that day?
12.   Is the PW used on other days? How?
13.   Could you briefly describe what activities take place in the PW on a typical day?
14.   Could you briefly describe how the PW is used throughout a typical week?
15.   Now I would like to talk about events during the year. What special events take place at your PW during the year?
16.   What calendar does your community follow?

Other activities

17.   I would like to know about other activities that your religious community holds (Where are they held? At the PW or at another location, if another, why?)
•   School (religion, language)
•   Childcare services
•   Youth programs
•   Programs for the elderly
•   Women's programs
•   Men's programs
•   Other services (cultural or recreation programs, employment, travel services etc.)
18.   Does your community hold any religious activities in public spaces (e.g. parks)?
19.   Does your community hold any activities in the streets or on sidewalks, like parades or festivals?
20.   Does your community hold any activities in public spaces, (e.g. parks), for community purposes, like festivals or picnics?
21.   Are there any activities or events that your community would like to hold, but are not able to at this time because you don't have enough space or you do not have the right kind of space?
22.   Are there any activities or events that your community would like to hold, but are not able to at this time because some kind of regulation prevents you from holding them?
23.   If you were living in your country of birth, are there any activities that your community would be having, that you don't hold here?

PART III: Religious community

I would like to know a bit more about your community.

• How long has your place of worship been at its current location?

• Where was it before?

• How many years has your religious community worshipped together?

Congregation

Now I am interested in how many people attend your place of worship, how they travel to your PW and how far they travel.

24. First, I would like to know how many people visit the PW every day. Over the past year, what would your estimate be for the average number of people who visit your PW every day?

• < 50 members

• 50 – 100 members

• 100 – 300

• 300 – 500

• 500-1000

• 1000-5000

• over 5000

a. What proportion of people walk to your PW?

a small number, ¼, ½, ¾, most all

b. What proportion of people take transit to come to your PW?

a small number, ¼, ½, ¾, most all

c. What proportion of people drive?

a small number, ¼, ½, ¾, most all

Of the people driving, I would like your estimate of how far away they live

• What proportion of people live in this neighbourhood?

a small number, ¼, ½, ¾, most all

• What proportion of people live in this city, but in another neighbourhood?

a small number, ¼, ½, ¾, most all

• What proportion of people live in another city?

a small number, ¼, ½, ¾, most all

25. Over the past year, what would your estimate be of the average total number of people who attend your PW every week?

- < 50 members
- 50 – 100 members
- 100 – 300
- 300 - 500
- 500-1000
- 1000-5000
- over 5000

d.   What proportion of people walk to your PW?

a small number,   ¼,   ½,   ¾,   most   all

e.   What proportion of people take transit to come to your PW?

a small number,   ¼,   ½,   ¾,   most   all

f.   What proportion of people drive?

a small number,   ¼,   ½,   ¾,   most   all

Of the people driving, I would like your estimate of how far away they live

a.   What proportion of people live in this neighbourhood?

a small number,   ¼,   ½,   ¾,   most   all

b.   What proportion of people live in another neighbourhood, but in the same city?

a small number,   ¼,   ½,   ¾,   most   all

c.   What proportion of people live in another city?

a small number,   ¼,   ½,   ¾,   most   all

26.   Over the past year, what would your estimate be of the average number of people who attend your PW on your most important holidays or festivals?

- < 50 members
- 50 – 100 members
- 100 – 300
- 300 - 500
- 500-1000
- 1000-5000
- over 5000

d.	What proportion of these people walk to your PW?

a small number,	¼,	½,	¾,	most	all

e.	What proportion of people take transit to come to your PW?

a small number,	¼,	½,	¾,	most	all

f.	What proportion of people drive?

a small number,	¼,	½,	¾,	most	all

Of the people driving, I would like your estimate of how far away they live

g.	What proportion of people live in this neighbourhood?

a small number,	¼,	½,	¾,	most	all

h.	What proportion of people live in another neighbourhood, but in the same city?

a small number,	¼,	½,	¾,	most	all

i.	What proportion of people live in another city?

a small number,	¼,	½,	¾,	most	all

27.	Some religious communities are relatively homogeneous, that is, all the people share the same language and culture. Other religious communities are very mixed and their people have different cultures or speak different languages. How would you describe the community of your PW? Are people the same or is the community mixed?

28.	Of all the people who attend your PW regularly, can you tell me what are the largest national, cultural, ethnic or language groups?

29.	What proportion of your people are immigrants or refugees who have arrived in Canada during the last 10 years?

a small number,	¼,	½,	¾,	most	all

PART IV: Development history and background

I'd like to know a bit about the events that lead up to your renovation/ construction.

30.	What lead your community to consider the renovation/ construction? When did this occur?

Planning application and process

Siting

31.	How did you choose the site that you are currently on? What site options did you have? Why did you choose its present location? What were the advantages and disadvantages to this site?

Building design

32.	Did you have any designers, architects and or planners assist you in the development?

33.   What things did you have to consider when you were deciding what design to use for your place of worship?

34.   Were there any elements or features that you wanted to add, but did not add? What were the reasons?

35.   Were there any materials that you wanted to use, but could not use? What were the reasons?

36.   If you were to build this place of worship in your country of birth, would the building look any different? Why?

Secondary plan/ Minor variances or zoning change?

37.   Did you have to apply for any variance or zoning change?

38.   Why was the change(s) required? Can you tell me more about it?

Site design?

39.   I'd like to know about how the site was designed.

•   Orientation

•   Placement on site

•   Height

•   Capacity

•   Landscaping

•   Parking

Community meetings?

Now I am interested in if your community had any discussions with your neighbours or the neighbouring community associations?

40.   Did you or the municipality hold any neighbourhood meetings regarding your PW, such as an information meeting, open house or community meeting?

41.   Could you tell me about those meetings? (Purpose, process, outcome)

42.   Was the meeting required by the municipality?

43.   What were the neighbours/ community concerns?

44.   How did you address them?

45.   Did the municipality give you any assistance in preparing for these meetings?

Construction

46.   How long did the construction of your PW take?

47.   Were there any complications, related to the permitting or regulations of the building?

Other changes

48.   Other than what we have discussed, did you have to make any big or significant changes to your PW design, throughout this process?

Community expectations

49.   I am interested in what you remember about what your community was expecting, before beginning this project. What did your community expect? Did anything surprise you?

1) length of time,

2) cost,

3) design

4) the steps you would need to take with the city,

5) community meetings

6) construction

50.   In terms of dealing with the municipal planning department, how did you learn about what you had to do? What were your sources of information? Did you have advice from other religious communities? Municipal planners? Did your community hire anyone to assist with the municipal planning aspect of the development? Does anyone in your religious community work in the field (architecture, planning, design, development, real estate) that has been of help to you? Is anyone in your religious community involved in politics that has been of help to you?

51.   What major challenges did you face?

52.   Were any of the steps easier than you anticipated?

53.   What advice would you give to other communities going through a similar process?

Neighbourhood and Community relations

Now I would talk a little about the neighbourhood and community beside you.

54.   How would you describe the surrounding neighbourhood, in terms of religious communities? Are most people in this neighbourhood, part of the same religious community as you? What communities are they from?

55.   Have people who attend your PW, moved closer to this neighbourhood as a result of the construction or renovation of your PW? Do you think this may happen in the future?

56.   Does your PW have any formal relationships with any organizations or associations (neighbourhood associations, schools etc.)

57.   Do you have any events or activities that involve people outside of your religious community?

58.   Have there ever been any issues with your neighbours, over anything like parking or traffic issues?

59.   (Could you tell me more about it? Was it resolved? How was it resolved?)

Community future plans

Now I would like to talk about the future needs of your community.

60.   Do you have any needs for space now that have not yet been met? Do you have plans to address those needs?

61.   If your community grows a lot, will you have any space to accommodate everyone? Do you have any plans to expand or build any new facilities?

Changes to the planning system

62.   If anything could change with the municipal planning process, what do you think should be changed? Do you think any policies should change? Should any of the regulations change? Should any of the steps in the process that you went through change? Should any of the communication between you and the municipality change? Should planners be trained differently?

63.   Who should be responsible for making these changes?

64.   Of those changes that we've talked about, what would be most important one or two changes?

65.   Do you see your community playing a role in these changes?

PART V: Other cases/challenges in developing PWs

As I began to research this area, I found that many religious communities have encountered some kind of difficulty as they developed their place of worship. I would like to describe five cases to you in which the religious community encountered a challenge. These cases are real and took place in different cities across Canada. I have removed any identifying information. I would like you read the cases to you and I would like to hear from you, what you think about these case. I am not looking for any particular answer. First I would like to hear whatever comes to your mind when you hear each story. After I have told you all of them, I will ask you some questions.

Case #1: NIMBYism

A religious community proposed to build a place of worship on a property that had previously been a farmer's field. Many years before, the property had been zoned for institutional uses. Several neighbours opposed the building of the place of worship. They had thought that the field would always remain vacant. They were afraid that the place of worship would create noise and traffic. They wanted to keep the area around their home very quiet. The application was approved by the city council, but the neighbours remained very unhappy with the decision.

Case #2: Incompatible use

A religious community proposed to build a place of worship in an industrial area that included institutional zoning. Several local industries and the chamber of commerce were opposed to the development. They said that the place of worship would detract from the

area's economic development potential. Two other places of worship had already been permitted in the area. Despite this, the city council denied the application.

Case #3: Community conflict

A religious community proposed a major renovation to a place of worship. Several neighbours and a neighbouring religious group opposed the development. They put pressure on several politicians to oppose the development. They cited parking and traffic impacts as their concerns. The planning department had only minor concerns with the site, as the building had previously been used for as a place of worship, which had had similar parking and traffic impacts. Debate over the site lead to several heated community and city council meetings and yet the only outstanding planning issue was the shortage of a single parking spot. The debate pitted one religious community against the other and the tone of the exchange was at times very unpleasant. The city council eventually supported the proposal and the place of worship was built.

Case #4: Negative political involvement

A religious community proposed to build a place of worship. The planning department did not have any concerns with the development proposal. However, several neighbours and local community groups strongly opposed the new development. As a result, a prominent politician tried to persuade the religious community not to the purchase or develop the site. The city council rejected the community's planning application. The religious community appealed the decision to a higher court. The religious community was successful and the application was allowed.

Case # 5: Positive political involvement

A religious community proposed to build a place of worship. Several neighbours and community people vigorously opposed the development. Upon learning of the controversy, a prominent politician successfully convinced the religious community to consider an alternative location and assisted in finding one. The religious community developed on the new location with little difficulty.

Interview Guide II: Fact-finding interview municipal planners

Municipal past policy

Has your municipality ever conducted any special studies or report related to places of worship?
If yes, do you know what events or issues led up to these studies/policies?

Ethnic & religious communities

Does your municipality compile or collect data on its ethnic communities?
On its religious communities?

Implementation issues

Does your municipality set aside land for places of worship, in new subdivisions?
Does it have any policy to control land prices?
Do places of worship pay development changes?
Do current land use policies prevent places of worship from locating in rural areas?
How does your current zoning by-law address specific religious specific architectural features, such as minarets, or spires?
How do you deal with parking and traffic standards? Is there any particular standard that applies to all places of worship, or are parking and traffic dealt with on a site by site basis?

Process issues

Does your municipality provide any guidance to planning applicants in terms of anticipating neighbour or community concerns with an application? (formal or informal)
• Neighbourhood or community input or feedback into plans?
• Information meetings, open houses or community meetings?
• Conflict management?

Interview Guide III: Interview guide for follow-up interview with planners

Site supply
One concern of religious communities has been the supply of affordable and suitable sites for places of worship. Not all municipalities have the site reserve system that Brampton has. Do you know some of the historical reasons for this system?

Several years ago, the reserve system was changed from 1:5000 to 1:10 000 projected population. What has been the impact of this change?

I understand that you are currently undergoing a study to better understand the supply and demand for sites. What is your evaluation of the current supply of sites? Are there enough sites that are suitably zoned? Are the sites large enough? Are they in suitable locations?

Does the supply of places of worship sites differ significantly from other community services uses such as community centres and schools? Does Brampton control the value of land for schools or community centres uses?

What is the City's position in terms of providing information to religious communities about the location of potential sites?

Zoning
Several municipalities have noted that places of worship, particularly for ethnic minority populations, serve as community centres, and have multiple uses associated with them. In my research, I have come across many combinations with places of worship: retail and commercial services, restaurants, social halls, schools, seniors housing, driving school etc.

The challenge for both municipalities and religious communities, is finding appropriate locations for these centres.

How does the location of these types of centres impact:

- *Institutional zones*
- *Industrial zones*
- *Residential zones*
- *Commercial/retail zones*

Many places of worship locate in industrial zones. There are several advantages, such as less disturbance for neighbours and the potential for shared parking, but also disadvantages in terms of loss of employment lands. Do you think the location of places of worship in industrial zones change the nature of the zones?

Places of worship in industrial zones
Many of the places of worship that I have visited are located in industrial zones. There are certain advantages to this location: shared parking and less restrictions in relation to issues such as noise and traffic.

Residential use

One issue that has arisen for some religious communities is the desire to have religious personnel residing at the place of worship. For many industrial zones, this has either not been permitted, or has not been permitted to the extent that the religious community would like. Some religious communities have been unsuccessful at getting variances to meet their needs for residential use. This poses a difficulty for them. What is the rationale for the restriction of residential uses in some industrial zones? In your view, why are municipalities reluctant to vary this restriction?

Zoning - Places of worship in commercial-retail zones

Several of the places of worship that I have visited are in commercial or retail zones. There are some that have restaurants, bookstores, travel services as well as worship functions. Again, do you think the location of places of worship in commercial zones poses any problem for the municipality? Does it challenge any of the intentions behind commercial zones?

Zoning - Multiple land use

Religious communities often see themselves as the centre of community activity. For this reason, their role is to provide facilities and services beyond worship. I have documented a great variety of activities associated with places of worship. Someone could argue that these emerging types of places of worship seriously challenge the land use segregation that is the foundation of zoning. How would you respond to that argument?

Defining accessory and auxiliary uses

Do you think that the current use-based zoning is appropriate for this pattern of use? Do you see any problems with the use-based approach to zoning in relation to places of worship?

Form-based zoning

Are you familiar with form-based zoning? Do you think this would be a good application of form-based zoning? Has your municipality ever considered this type of approach to zoning?

Religious neighbourhoods

Related to mixed-use zoning, I have come across a number of two types of religious neighbourhoods: the religious campus and the community-developed religious neighbourhood. Let's talk about each one individually. In what I am referring here to as the religious campus neighbourhood, the religious community owns a large property and develops a mixed-development concept, that includes places of worship, community facilities and residential development, usually for seniors.

In the second type, the religious community develops a subdivision which includes a place of worship. Like any other subdivision plan, the neighbourhoods that I have visited have a few design features t like street names, and the parkette design, which provide some unity and symbolism to the community.

Are you aware of any such developments in your municipality? Do you think these types of religious communities poses any particular issues for the municipality? Do you think that like gated communities, they would be accused of segregating themselves?

Defining compatible use

Many of the OMB cases that I reviewed included reference to compatible land use. For a variety of reasons, although traffic is a common issues, neighbours complain that a place of worship is incompatible with other uses, especially residential ones.

Do you see compatible use as a frequent issue of concern? Is there any way that a municipalities can improve its definitions of compatible use?

Places of worship as community amenities

Some people have observed that places of worship can be some of the most interesting examples of architecture in a community. Places of worship are also significant community centres for many religious communities.

Are industrial areas the best locations for such mixed use facilities?

Where else can places of worship locate, if not in industrial or residential zones?

Cultural issues

Throughout my interviews, several issues came up regarding culturally specific land uses.

Storage of ashes or human remains in places of worship

Time planning

Use of time is one issue which arises for non-Christian religious communities. They follow calendars other than the XX calendar. Also, they may celebrate different events and festivals. Municipalities must accommodate many uses of time: schools, factories, etc.

Parking

As you know, parking is a contentious issues related to places of worship. Municipalities have addressed parking issues by establishing more stringent parking standards, by increasing requirements relative to number of seats or gross or net floor area, and by separating parking requirements for worship halls from social halls. Do you think this approach is sufficient?

Intensification and parking

Some religious communities have noted a contradiction in some municipalities' efforts to intensify land use, and the current parking requirements.

Schools and community centres can create parallel traffic and parking patterns. A lot of traffic is generated by drop-offs and pick-ups during the work day, as well as on evenings and weekends.

First, would you agree that the comparison between these two uses and places of worship is appropriate? Has your municipality experienced similar parking concerns with schools or community centres? (If there is a discrepancy, why?)

Religious campus/ religious park models

I have come across two patterns of places of worship that I would like to discuss with you. One in Malton, there is an area (Professional Court) where currently five places of worship and a banquet hall are located in a small industrial cul-de-sac type area. In the second example, in Richmond B.C., there are about a dozen places of worship along an arterial road. In both cases, places of worship of different religions exist side by side. In the Malton case, there has been shared parking between the different places of worship. It seems to me that this represents a creative and innovative solution to issues related to places of worship: similar to an industrial park, creating a "places of worship" park? Do you have any comments on this idea?

The development of municipal policy

What has been your experience with the faith community? Are they informed about or interested in planning policy? Has the faith community been involved in policy-making?

Do you see any differences in dealing with the faith community, than any other community group?

Conflict is difficult for many planning issues. In my research, I have looked at 80 OMB cases, numerous cases in the three communities in this study, as well as heard various stories from different cities across Canada. I would like to discuss conflict by presenting you with a series of cases. They have been taken from different cities across Canada. They have some basis in fact, although some of the details have been altered to protect the identities of the people and communities involved. I would like to read you each cases and for you to comment on the case, with whatever comes to mind.

Case #1: NIMBYism

A religious community proposed to build a place of worship on a property that had previously been a farmer's field. Many years before, the property had been zoned for institutional uses. Several neighbours opposed the building of the place of worship. They had thought that the field would always remain vacant. They were afraid that the place of worship would create noise and traffic. They wanted to keep the area around their home very quiet. The application was approved by the city council, but the neighbours remained very unhappy with the decision.

Case #2: Incompatible use

A religious community proposed to build a place of worship in an industrial area that included institutional zoning. Several local industries and the chamber of commerce were opposed to the development. They said that the place of worship would detract from the area's economic development potential. Two other places of worship had already been permitted in the area. Despite this, the city council denied the application.

Case #3: Community conflict

A religious community proposed a major renovation to a place of worship. Several neighbours and a neighbouring religious group opposed the development. They put pressure on several politicians to oppose the development. They cited parking and traffic impacts as their concerns. The planning department had only minor concerns with the site, as the building had previously been used for as a place of worship, which had had similar parking and traffic impacts. Debate over the site lead to several heated community and city council meetings and yet the only outstanding planning issue was the shortage of a single parking spot. The debate pitted one religious community against the other and the tone of the exchange was at times very unpleasant. The city council eventually supported the proposal and the place of worship was built.

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Planning role

Who should be responsible for addressing conflict between religious groups and neighbourhoods?

In your experience, are there any preventative steps that can be taken to deal with conflict before it becomes ugly?

Do planners have authority or power to address these issues?

If we think more broadly about how a municipality operates, are there ways that the municipal organization can better address conflict related to religious or new immigrant groups?

Is there a role the OMB can play, that it is not already playing?

Is there a provincial role?