

Evaluating the Impact of the Community Planning Association of Canada in the Post-War Revival of Canadian Planning

David L. A. Gordon, Miranda Virginillo

* School of Urban and Regional Planning, Queen's University, gordon@queensu.ca

** School of Urban and Regional Planning, Queen's University, miranda.virginillo@queensu.ca

Abstract

The Community Planning Association of Canada (CPAC) played a key role in advocating for the re-establishment of planning in Canada. The CPAC was remarkably effective, with broad popular support with thousands of citizen members in the late 1950s. The CPAC educated the public about the purpose of community planning and encouraged public participation at local and regional scales across Canada from 1946 until the Association collapsed in 1979. We believe that 1944 to 1947 period was a critical juncture establishing planned suburban development in Canada as a path-dependent process with tremendous momentum into the 21st century. During this period, the federal government set post-war reconstruction objectives, and both Central (now Canada) Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) and the CPAC were formed. It is still yet to be determined whether the formation of the CMHC or CPAC was the critical juncture. Using a historical-institutional approach, the role of CMHC and the influence of the CPAC is examined. An analysis of key events, actors, and themes, relying on extensive archival material from 1944-64, demonstrates that the CPAC gave tremendous push along the path dependent process of suburbanization in post-war Canada.

Keywords

community planning, suburbs, post-war reconstruction, Canada

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INTRODUCTION

It is widely acknowledged that Canada is now a “suburban nation”, but how did it make the transition from urban to suburban so quickly after World War II?

Canadian planning and housing construction had essentially collapsed in the years leading up to the end of WWII. The Report of the Subcommittee for Housing and Community Planning¹ from the federal government’s Advisory Committee on Reconstruction indicated that there was strong need for planning along with the construction of new homes. Named after the chair of the Committee – Professor Clifford Curtis – the Curtis Report recommended numerous actions that could be taken to ameliorate the problem, including the formation of a federal agency to respond to these urgent needs. This agency was formed in 1945 as the Central (now Canada) Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) and continues to exist today. CMHC followed through with another of the Curtis Report’s recommendations and formed the Community Planning Association of Canada (CPAC) in 1946 to foster public understanding, and participation in, community planning². The CPAC produced numerous publications and media that were distributed across Canada to interested members of the public, municipal and provincial officials, architects, engineers, the few practicing planners in Canada at the time, and others. The CPAC held conferences throughout Canada to discuss the benefits of “good” suburban community planning (among other topics). The CPAC operated at national, regional, and local scales across Canada from 1946 until the Association’s eventual collapse in 1978. However, very little research has been conducted on the CPAC’s actions, actors and interests in the immediate post-war period³.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The primary theoretical framework of the research program is historical institutionalism with the federal government instigating a path-dependent process regarding the suburbanization of Canada. Filion describes ‘dispersed suburbanism’, as a system of development that was “shaped by massive government highway and single-family homeownership programmes,” and that the associated lifestyle and values that come with this form of suburbanization “reverberate at a society-wide scale and as such constitute an impediment to societal transformation”⁴. These statements, along with those made by Harris, support the hypothesis that the federal government aligned itself with corporate developers in the post-war period, during a time when it had access to greater autonomy and resources with regards to industrial and residential development, in order to create an economy centred around suburban living and its associated consumerism⁵.

In their article on path-dependence and suburbanization in Halifax, Grant, Filion, and Low state that “during the post-war period, federal mortgage insurance and housing and planning guidelines designed to stimulate home-ownership and prosperity influenced building standards and suburban designs, with lingering repercussions on form”⁶. The relationship between the government and large developers, as well as the federal and provincial govern-

ments use of zoning bylaws, distribution of funding, and multiple amendments to the National Housing Act, all point to its interest in using the housing industry to bolster the post-war economy and create a new source of financial stability for the country and its citizens. By arguing that the government established a path-dependent process from a point of critical juncture, our research analyzes the decisions of the Canadian federal government and its usage of tools such as community planning institutions, a nationalized mortgage industry, educational institutions, and other checks, balances and incentives to harness the power of the post-war era and set the country on the trajectory it continues on today in becoming a suburban nation⁷.

The institutional analysis of the activities of CMHC and the CPAC is based on current theories of path-dependency⁸. This historical-institutionalist research approach helps untangle shared understandings about community planning, good suburban development practices and the standard operating methods and procedures followed by the actors in the Canadian (sub)urban development processes⁹.

Historical-institutionalism (HI) is a research method that puts institutions at the centre of social and political analysis; an approach that is particularly appropriate given CMHC's pivotal position in this project¹⁰. A central insight from the HI approach is that new institutions are often created during periods of crisis, such as the establishment of CMHC as an instrument to assist with the reconstruction of the Canadian economy at the close of the Second World War.

In HI terms, periods of major institutional change are identified as "critical junctures"¹¹, when existing structures are not solving patterns such as a housing crisis, and change is less constrained than in the periods of path-dependence that precede and follow them¹². We are considering whether the 1945-55 decade was a critical juncture in Canadian urbanism, when some early decisions (mandatory community planning; facilitating mortgages but avoiding mortgage interest deductibility) may have set Canada on a suburban path substantially different than the USA or UK.

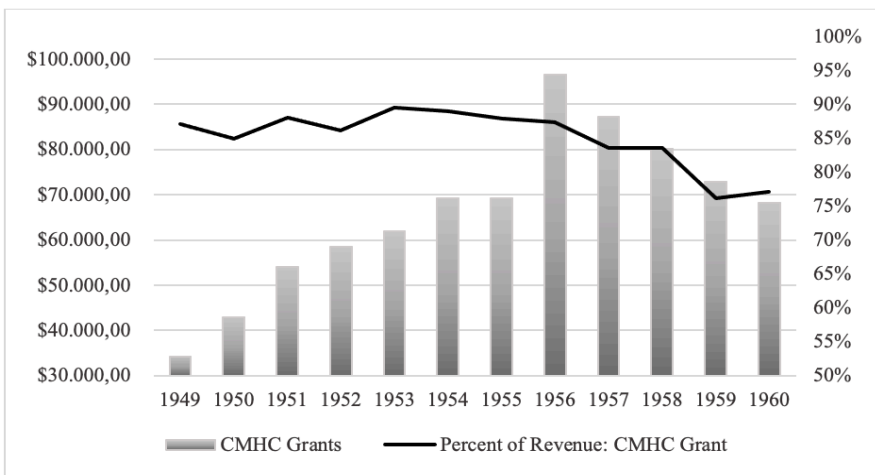


Fig. 1. Graph comparing the value in CAD of CMHC grants (left y-axis) and the percent of revenue the CMHC grant accounted for (right y-axis).

In Sorenson's article, "Planning History and Theory: Institutions, Comparison, and Temporal Processes", he discusses classifying cities as "collections of institutionalized property (including public property), produced in particular circumstances and through specific sets of rules"¹³. Within the context of the historical institutionalist framework as it pertains to planning history, this means that in order to determine whether historical institutionalism and its components - critical juncture and path-dependency - are present, a number of elements must be demonstrated¹⁴:

- The intentional usage of a particular moment in history as a critical juncture
- A positive feedback effects loop, created by an institution (or institutions), to instigate a specific, long-standing pattern of development
- Creating a system which prioritizes certain actors/opportunities and their resultant effects on the overall structure being created
- Co-evolutionary processes of development between the instigating actors and their partners in maintaining the chosen system

In order to demonstrate that this is what occurred in the suburbanization of Canada, we are looking for evidence in the primary source materials that solidifies the present hypothesis that the strategic partnership between the government, corporate developers and large-scale builders, with the intent of boosting Canadian consumerism and, subsequently, its economy in the post-war years intentionally created sets of enduring institutions that have had continuing impacts upon the processes and patterns of suburbanization in Canada.

The Historical-Institutional method does not expect that institutions are locked into a particular cause of action, but rather that early choice at critical junctures tend to create different evolutionary trajectories of institutional development¹⁵. Sorensen¹⁶ concludes:

" ... The implication for suburban planning histories is that research should focus on the critical junctures when planning regulations for suburban land development were first established, as these shape later trajectories of planning law and suburban development ..."

Historical Institutionalism is the framework recommended by Sorenson for suburban land development research, and as a result, is the framework selected for this project¹⁷. This project examines how CMHC and CPAC reinforced these trajectories in the post-war era by publishing planning handbooks, establishing national standards, seeding a network of planning schools, importing planners, and designing and developing lands owned by the federal government¹⁸.

NEXT STEPS

The primary methods employed in this research program involve analysis of textual materials from various governmental archives. Correspondence, planning and policy documents, photographs, maps, and other materials related to the development of Canada's suburban agenda in the post-war period are examined. The relationship between individuals residing in urban and suburban spheres, and the actors responsible for developing said spheres, including

large-scale developers, government entities, and planners are assessed through these primary source materials. In addition, the effects that this process had on the continuing development of Canadian housing and communities is considered.

Similarly, analysis of the documents in their archival setting engages with the question of whether community members were true participants in the consultation process undertaken under the auspices of the CMHC's community planning initiative, which occurred within the scope of its suburbanization mandate, or whether the feedback sought by the government via subsidiary organizations such as the CPAC was merely meant as a tokenistic gesture.

Initially, the research examined resources in the Canadian Centre for Architecture (CCA), the Canadian Housing Information Centre (now the Housing Knowledge Centre) and archives at McGill and Harvard. The Clifford Curtis fond at the Queen's University Archives allowed us to explore government decision making in the post-war period regarding owner-occupied housing and the use of crown corporations and mortgage incentives to solidify Canada's status as a suburban nation. A section of these fonds contains information on housing, economics, and planning, all of which played a part in the work of the Advisory Committee, which subsequently informed the government's creation of the CMHC. The analysis of the immediate post-war period as a critical juncture leading Canada to become a suburban nation is informed by correspondence from the years during which Curtis chaired the Advisory Committee, and government reports and papers written on the topics of housing and community planning.

The Humphrey Carver fonds at the CCA provided guidance¹⁹ into the third phase of the project: examining the fonds of the CPAC and CMHC at Library and Archives Canada (LAC)²⁰. The CPAC fonds were examined during Summer 2021; the CMHC fonds, consisting of 131 metres of textual records between 1935 to 1989, will be examined during Summer 2022²¹.

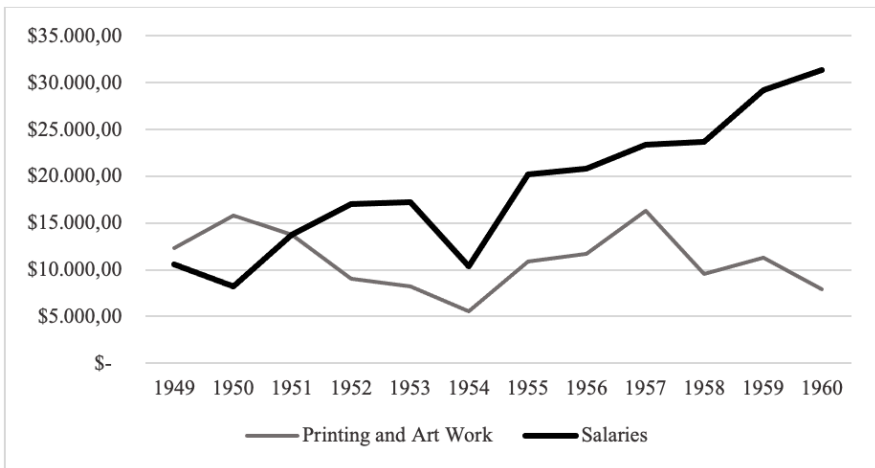


Fig. 2. Graph comparing the CPAC's spending in CAD on Printing and Art Work and Salaries.

The combination of the CMHC and CPAC holdings at Library and Archives Canada include information on the formation of the CPAC, its day-to-day operations and, specifically, CMHC's role in the creation of the CPAC in order to encourage local jurisdictions to adopt suburban development in planned communities²².

RESULTS

Examination of the CPAC's financial statements and grant applications submitted to CMHC between 1946 and 1960 reveals that CMHC's funding was crucial for the CPAC to be able to promote community planning across Canada; membership fees and other grants were not enough to support their activities²³. The vast majority of the CPAC's revenue came from CMHC grants which the CPAC applied for and was awarded annually until the 1970s; in the post-war period, between 76% and 90% of the CPAC's revenue was provided by CMHC (Figure 1). The CPAC's two greatest expenses were for publications (Printing and Art Work) and for employees (Salaries) (Figure 2). The CPAC employed several full-time staff members in the national office in Ottawa and had employed full-time regional secretaries in British Columbia, Ontario, and the Maritime provinces to coordinate the CPAC's activities. Both the publications and the staff were integral to the CPAC's ability to promote community planning across Canada in the post-war period.



Fig. 3. The front cover of *Community Planning is Common Sense!* published by the Community Planning Association of Canada in 1948.



Fig. 4. The front cover of *Urbanisme et Citoyens* by Jean Cimon, published by l'Association Canadienne d'Urbanisme (the Community Planning Association of Canada) in 1948.

Analysis of the actions, actors and interests of the CPAC reveals that the CPAC had three main focus areas in the immediate post-war period: education on subdivision and community design principles, adequate supply of qualified planning professionals, and provision of better planning education and enabling legislation across Canada²⁴. The strongest tools used by the CPAC to promote these three areas of interest were their regular periodicals²⁵ and special publications²⁶.

PUBLICATIONS

The CPAC was established as the national clearing house for community planning, intended to educate the public and professionals about the purpose and benefits that community planning could afford to Canadian municipalities (Figure 3)²⁷. The dearth of planning in Canada up to the end of the Second World War necessitated the creation of materials to educate both the public and professionals about what were considered good and bad planning practices. The CPAC in its early years frequently discussed plans of subdivision and their design, Clarence Perry's Neighbourhood Unit, and the Nuclear City in their regular publications (*Layout for Living* and the *CPAC Newsletter*), in special publications (pamphlets and brochures), and in their conferences (Figure 4). The CPAC's promotion of "good" subdivision design, the Neighbourhood Unit, the Nuclear City and New Towns has promoted suburban sprawl in Canada. Though their publications encouraged other forms of residential development, overwhelmingly, the topics encourage dispersed suburban growth in single-family homes. Part of this encouragement of dispersed suburban growth was directed by the early goals of the CPAC and CMHC which came from the Curtis Report: the need to build one million new homes in the next decade, for instance. Section 35 of the National Housing Act (NHA) enabled CMHC to provide funding for municipal servicing of lots and the construction of roadways on land for residential subdivisions, referred to as Land Assembly. This program was strongly promoted and closely followed by the CPAC. However, from the beginning, the CPAC cautioned against focusing on the number of new homes as the Curtis Report does - Humphrey Carver's article *Planning for Half a Million Houses* published in *Layout for Living* argues that the quality of the homes and their surrounding neighbourhoods is more important than the quantity of new units.²⁸

As with "good" subdivision design, the CPAC, and by association CMHC, influenced the types of planning practices that proliferated in Canada from the 1940s to the 1960s. Since its formation in 1946, the CPAC and CMHC have been joined at the hip. Initially, the CPAC was run from an office within CMHC's headquarters in Ottawa using CMHC staff. Since the provisional council of the CPAC was formed in 1946, the National Council has included a CMHC Representative on its roster - the longest serving representative was Humphrey Carver, from 1948 to 1957. It is particularly important to acknowledge the connection between the CMHC and the CPAC regarding the topics published by the CPAC in its early years. From 1946 to 1950, the CPAC was governed nationally through an administrative office located at CMHC's headquarters in Ottawa. The Secretary-Treasurer managed the administration and day-to-day activities of the CPAC, assisted by staff loaned to the CPAC from CMHC and served as the Editor of the CPAC's national periodicals. The editorial team of the CPAC largely consisted of CMHC employees and made decisions about what planning types should be encouraged or discouraged

in the CPAC's publications²⁹. By 1964, although the CPAC had many publications, "much of its content is [sic] both repetitive and sketchy" having frequently referenced the importance of community planning and effective subdivision design³⁰.

Susan Briggs, for her 1964 thesis, *The Community Planning Association of Canada: A Pressure Group* conducted an astounding 19 interviews³¹ in four months with current and former executives and national office staff of the CPAC. A detailed account of the history of the CPAC up to 1964 and an assessment of how the CPAC operates as a pressure group³² was produced as a result. Briggs' description of the form of the CPAC includes a discussion of the relationship between the CPAC and CMHC: in particular, any negative repercussions effected by the CPAC on CMHC were to be avoided. In fact, any advertisement of the connection between CMHC and the CPAC was discouraged from the 1950s onwards: the CPAC no longer published details on funding sources, referred to the CMHC Representative as an Executive Councillor, and found other sources to supplement CMHC's annual grant. To Briggs, these three factors meant that the CPAC could "think and act more autonomously," however the CPAC was still dependent³³ on CMHC for the budget to support their conferences and publications. Further, even though the persons interviewed by Briggs found that the CMHC Councillors "did not throw their weight about", those interviewed unanimously agreed that CMHC Councillors such as Humphrey Carver, were "often the most 'able', 'knowledgeable', 'well informed' and 'most effective' men on Council"³⁴.

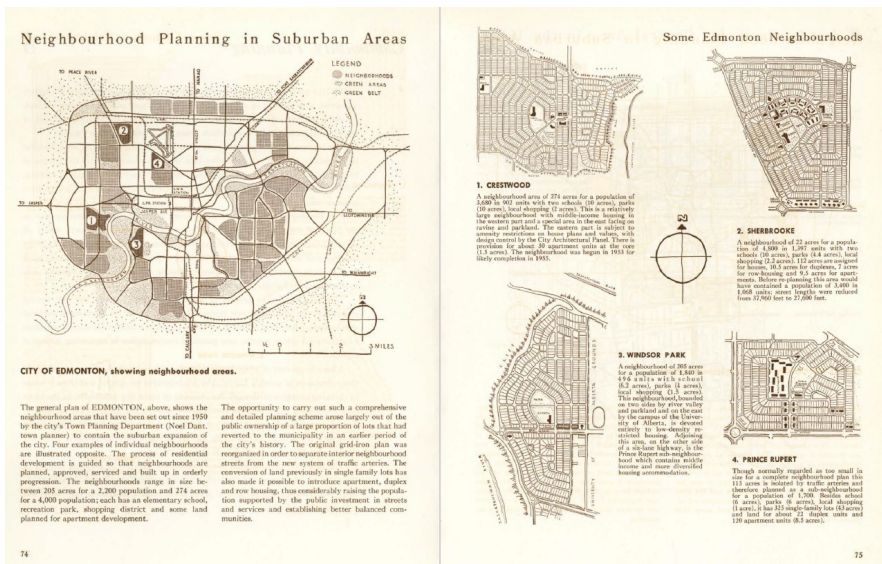


Fig. 5. Housing Design Supplement Part II, Chapter 8 Community Planning, excerpt on Neighbourhood Planning in Suburban Areas with focus on Edmonton. The Housing Design Supplement was produced by CMHC and distributed in two parts through the Community Planning Association of Canada and the Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada in 1952 and 1953.

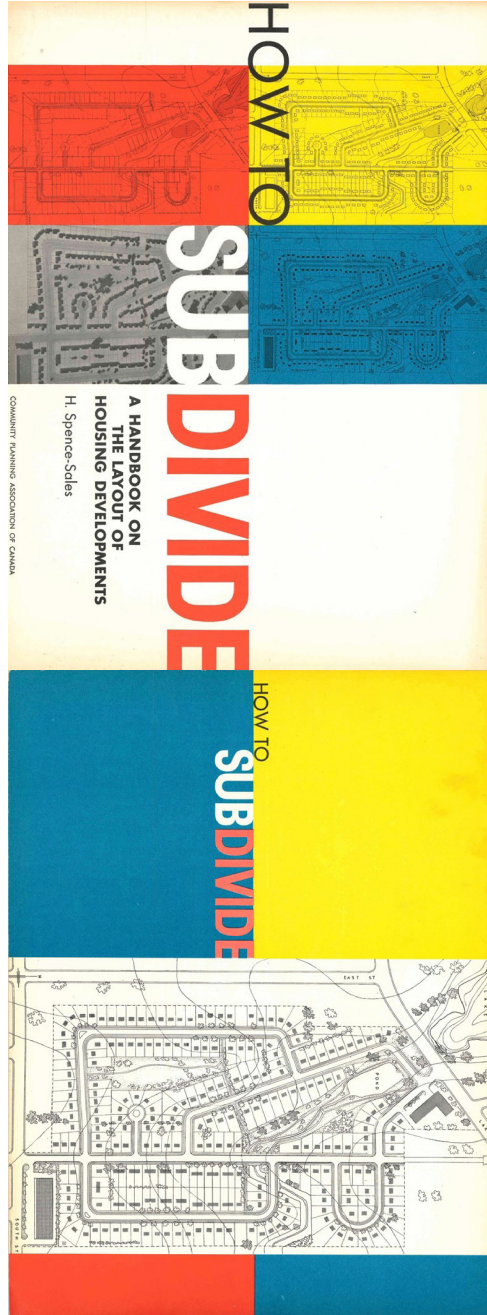


Fig. 6. Front and back covers of *How to Subdivide: A Handbook on the Layout of Housing Developments* by Harold Spence-Sales, published in 1950 by the Community Planning Association of Canada.

PLANNING EDUCATION

Through the Curtis Report, the need for and importance of effective planning was emphasized and became a part of the CPAC's mandate. Throughout the 1950s, the CPAC was leading discussions on ways to educate planning practitioners at Canadian universities using Canadian examples, following CPAC's publication of *How to Subdivide* and its success. In the CPAC's quest to encourage community planning across Canada, it lobbied the federal government for funding for university programs to educate professional planners. In 1952, CMHC scholarships were announced through the CPAC and advertised annually thereafter in the CPAC Newsletter and Community Planning News:

It has been the privilege of the Association to help announce the terms of assisted study at the four schools of planning [University of Toronto, Manitoba, British Columbia, McGill University], to confer with those in charge of the courses upon the work they are doing, and to be associated with the publication and display of some of their studies and achievements³⁵.

The number of planning professionals in Canada prior to the Second World War (4) and the number of graduates from planning schools in 1954 (43) are of great interest.³⁶ Carver's article published in *Community Planning Review* estimates that in 1954, only 43 students had graduated from Canadian university courses on planning. Of those 43, 39 received funding from CMHC's scholarships, and of those 39, only 6 had abandoned community planning in Canada. These initial figures show that, from 1947 to 1954, approximately 5 professional planners were produced in Canada per year. Within 10 years of the publication of the Curtis Report, which stressed the great need for and importance of community planning by qualified professionals, Canadian universities were producing annually the number of professional planners practicing in Canada before the war.

In 1955, CMHC invited 12 planners from the UK to work across Canada, specifically to assist in preparing planning documents in major metropolitan areas. The availability of the planners for hire was advertised in *Community Planning News*³⁷. These planners were also encouraged to teach planning courses at Canadian universities, as there was limited success at finding them employment initially³⁸.

BETTER ENABLING LEGISLATION

Prior to 1944, community planning in Canada was rare, and where plans and planning professionals existed, these plans were advisory in nature³⁹. The Curtis Report describes that, while "most provinces have passed statutes, and town planning powers of a kind have been available to local authorities," the existing legislation is too general, "represent a form of negative control," and would be insufficient even with substantial changes⁴⁰. Further, by 1944, "town planning legislation in Canada had [sic] not been successful; and for the most part it was [sic] inoperative"⁴¹. At a national level, the Curtis Report recommended that a federal agency dedicated and "equipped effectively" should be able to "encourage and assist the provinces in

passing the necessary enabling legislation for municipal and regional planning”⁴². CMHC as a federal government agency was tasked with creating and funding the CPAC, which followed through on many of these ideas presented by the Curtis Report.

As previously discussed, Harold Spence-Sales’ *How To Subdivide* can be seen as the study of minimum planning standards (at least for residential areas) that the Curtis Report recommended be produced by the CPAC. The other recommended report, a study on model planning legislation, was produced (albeit with a slightly different scope) by Spence-Sales for CMHC in 1949 with assistance from Norah McMurray⁴³. In this report, Spence-Sales investigates the number of town planning agencies and plans in existence in 1949; planning activity is found to be limited to the major urban centres for each province.

The topic of active planning legislation and planning administration across the provinces in Canada was then revisited by Norah McMurray in 1952 and published by the CPAC for a wider audience as *Outlines of Canadian Planning Law*⁴⁴. McMurray describes for each province the active planning legislation and the duties of the planning administration for each province except Quebec and Newfoundland. At the same time McMurray’s study was published, the CPAC National Office and the Provincial Divisions were active in producing and submitting briefs arguing for better planning and better enabling legislation. A comparison of J. B. Milner’s *Community Planning: A Casebook on Law and Administration* in 1963 to Norah McMurray’s report in 1952 reveals changes to planning legislation occurred in several Canadian provinces in 1955 and 1960. In Ontario and British Columbia, the CPAC’s lobbying encouraged site plan and subdivision controls, and discouraged ribbon development, respectively. In both cases, the CPAC’s lobbying created greater public support for establishing municipal planning commissions and hiring qualified planning professionals across Canada.

CONCLUSION

By 1960, the CPAC had accomplished its goals of public education on the topic of community planning through its widespread publications as well as the advocacy efforts of its more than 4000 members through divisions in each province and branches in most major cities. The CPAC had sponsored no less than 15 national conferences and countless more at the regional and local scale; representatives of the CPAC spoke to municipal and provincial officials, planners, architects, engineers, and advocacy groups about the importance of community planning. Members of the CPAC taught community planning at four universities and organized at least five extension courses to educate working professionals about the intricacies of community planning law, practice, and administration among other topics. From its national office, the CPAC had published 4 periodicals, 3 monographs, 11 special pamphlets, and even more conference proceedings, mimeographs, brochures, and reports. The public had been educated on the benefits of community planning, which was firmly supported by municipal planning bodies and provincial planning legislation in most of Canada by 1963⁴⁵. Now that the public had been convinced of the benefits of community planning, what was left for the CPAC to accomplish?

For the remainder of its life, the CPAC would frequently re-evaluate its purpose: in 1954, in 1967, and throughout the 1970s in order to ensure continued funding from CMHC. The CPAC attempted to re-focus as a community advocacy group through the 1970s, but CMHC revoked all funding under this objective, which led to the CPAC's collapse in 1978⁴⁶. Despite its unfortunate conclusion, the CPAC's early activities, actors and interests strongly influenced the development of planning in post-war Canada, shaping the conditions for lasting impacts on the Canadian landscape.

This research has revealed that the CPAC influenced nearly every aspect of the post-war planning supply chain in Canada: it generated demand for planning and for qualified professionals, and supplied educational materials to the public, students, and professionals, and financed training and research in planning. The CPAC, while effective and influential in the development of Canadian planning in the immediate post-war period, was not the central institution responsible for the path dependent suburbanization of Canada. The CPAC's primary funding body - CMHC - requires further examination as the possible central institution responsible for the path dependent suburbanization of Canada. CMHC played a major role in shaping Canadian suburbs in the post-war period by creating new suburban design standards and reviving community planning through its influence over the CPAC. CMHC facilitated a major change in Canadian urban structure, even though urban planning and development are within provincial and municipal jurisdictions. CMHC used a multi-pronged approach to promote the federal policy agenda, including advocacy, education, research, national standards, capacity-building, and demonstration projects across Canada.

QUESTION FOR DISCUSSION

Are we using Historical Institutional analysis correctly to investigate whether the end of the Second World War is a critical juncture, the institution responsible is CMHC (not CPAC), and the path-dependent outcome – the suburbanization of Canada?

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DISCLOSURE STATEMENT

Portions of this paper were drawn from a paper by Gordon and Boika at the 2020 ACSP conference and from the Master's report on the topic of the CPAC written by Miranda Virginillo. David Gordon received a CMHC Scholarship in 1982 and a CMHC Doctoral Fellowship in 1991. CMHC has not funded or directed this research project in any manner.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTOR(S)

David Gordon FCIP RPP AICP is Professor in the School of Urban and Regional Planning of the Department of Geography and Planning at Queen's University in Canada. He was SURP Director for over a decade and also taught at McGill, Ryerson, Toronto, Riga, Western Australia, Harvard and Pennsylvania, where he was a Fulbright Scholar. David holds a doctorate from the Harvard GSD and other awards and honours. Recent books include *Town and Crown: An illustrated history of Canada's capital* and *Planning Canadian Communities* (with Pam Shaw). His latest research addresses planning history and compares Canadian and American suburbs.

Miranda Virginillo is a graduate student in the School of Urban and Regional Planning of the Department of Geography and Planning at Queen's University. She has an undergraduate degree in the History and Theory of Architecture with a minor in Urban Studies from Carleton University (BA '20). Miranda is a project assistant to David Gordon's research on "How Canada Became a Suburban Nation." Her current research on the early formation, membership and activities of the Community Planning Association of Canada is a SSHRC CGS-M funded project and was awarded the Sue Hendler Graduate Fellowship for distinguished planning research.

ENDNOTES

1. C. A. Curtis, "Housing and Community Planning," *Final Reports of the Subcommittee on Housing and Community Planning for the Canada Advisory Committee on Reconstruction* ("Curtis Report") (Ottawa: King's Printer: 1944).
2. Community planning is a term used mainly in Canada to describe professional activity generally known as town planning in Britain, City planning or urban planning in the United States, or urbanisme in France: G. Hodge, D.L.A. Gordon and P Shaw, *Planning Canadian Communities: Introduction to the Principles. Practice and Participants in the 21st Century*, 7th ed. (Toronto: Nelson, 2021), 8-11. Widespread adoption of this term came only after the 1944 publication of the Curtis Report.
3. Sue Hendler and Julia Markovich, *I Was the Only Woman: Women and Planning in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2017).
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5. Richard Harris, *Creeping Conformity: How Canada Became Suburban, 1900-1960* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004).
6. Jill Grant, Pierre Filion and Scott Low, "Path dependencies affecting suburban density, mix, and diversity in Halifax," *The Canadian Geographer/ Le Geographe Canadien* vol. 63 (2019), p. 250.
7. Harris, *Creeping Conformity*.
8. Paul Pierson, "Increasing Returns, Path Dependence, and the Study of Politics," *The American Political Science Review* vol. 94 no. 2 (2000): pp. 251-267; Andre Sorensen, "Taking path dependence seriously: an historical institutionalist research agenda in planning history," *Planning Perspectives* vol. 30 (2015): pp. 17-38.
9. Andre Sorensen and Paul Hess, "Building suburbs, Toronto-style: Land development regimes, institutions, critical junctures and path dependence," *Town Planning Review* vol. 86 no. 4 (2015): pp. 411-437.; John Sewell, *The Shape of the City: Toronto's Struggles with Modern Planning* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993); John Sewell, *The Shape of the Suburbs: Understanding Toronto's Sprawl* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009).
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11. Giovanni Capoccia, "Critical Junctures," in Fioretos, O., Falletti, T., and Sheingate, A, (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Historical Institutionalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).
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14. Sorensen, "Planning History and Theory," p. 38.
15. Andre Sorensen, "Global Suburbanization in Planning History," in C. Hein (ed.), *Planning History Handbook* (London: Routledge, 2017): pp. 386-399; Sorensen, "Taking path dependence seriously".

Evaluating the Impact of the Community Planning Association
of Canada in the Post-War Revival of Canadian Planning

16. Sorenson, "Global Suburbanization in Planning History," p. 396.
17. Sorenson, "Global Suburbanization in Planning History."
18. David L.A. Gordon, "Humphrey Carver and the federal government's post-war revival of Canadian community planning," *Urban History Review* vol. 46 no. 2 (2019): pp. 71-84.
19. Humphrey Carver, *Compassionate Landscape* (Toronto ON: University of Toronto Press, 1975); Gordon, "Humphrey Carver." Carver was a Vice-President of the CPAC before being recruited to the CMHC in 1948 as its research coordinator, giving him a central position in CMHC's post-war planning activities.
20. The Community Planning Association of Canada fond, which dates between 1946 and 1978, included 3.1 metres of textual records, including background materials, treasurers' records, financial records and other files, logged under the archival reference number R2852-0-9-E or MG28 I 14.
21. The CMHC Fond at LAC (reference number R1197-0-4-E) includes a variety of materials ranging from textual records to architectural drawings, maps, technical drawings, film reels and audio cassettes, according to LAC finding aid.
22. Harold Spence-Sales, *How to Subdivide: A handbook on the layout of housing developments* (Ottawa, ON: Community Planning Association of Canada, 1950).
23. Miranda Virginillo, *How the Community Planning Association of Canada Influenced the Development of Planning in Canada, 1946 - 1964* (Master's Report: Queen's University, 2022).
24. Virginillo, *Community Planning Association of Canada*.
25. Periodicals from the National Office of the CPAC: *Layout for Living* (1947-1950), CPAC Newsletter (1950-1954), *Community Planning News* (1954-1959), and *Community Planning Review* (1951-1971).
26. Special publications such as Harold Spence-Sales, *How to Subdivide*; Norah McMurray and Harold Spence-Sales, *Outlines of Canadian Planning Law: A Comparative Survey of Town Planning Legislation Operative in the Provinces of Canada* (Ottawa: Community Planning Association of Canada, 1952); *Community Planning is Common Sense* (Ottawa: Community Planning Association of Canada, 1948); and *A Case for Satellite Towns* (Ottawa: Community Planning Association of Canada, 1953). A larger list of publications from the CPAC can be found in Miranda Virginillo, *How the Community Planning Association of Canada Influenced the Development of Planning in Canada, 1946 - 1964* (Master's Report: Queen's University, 2022), Table 4-1.
27. Curtis, "Housing and Community Planning," pp. 169-170.
28. *Layout for Living* 1947 no. 2, p. 2.
29. Alan H. Armstrong was the first secretary of the CPAC and editor of *Layout for Living*, selecting the topics for publication while operating out of his office at CMHC Headquarters in Ottawa while on loan to the CPAC from his position as Chief Architect.
30. Susan J. Briggs, *The Community Planning Association of Canada: A Pressure Group* (Undergraduate Thesis: Queen's University, 1964), p. 1. Retrieved from LAC MG28 I 14 (R2852-0-9-E). CPAC 8, File 15. Sketchy likely meaning vague in this context.
31. Persons interviewed by Briggs: Alan H. Armstrong, Eric Beecroft, Major-General M.L. Brennan, J.F. Brown, Humphrey Carver, T. S. Chutter, W. Harold Clark, Catherine Corbett, W. A. Dempsey, Mrs. H. A. Elliot, Jennifer Joynes, Miss J. M. Laventure, A. L. S. Nash, John Pearson, Norman Pearson, Mrs. R. H. Scrivener, D. Taylor, Eric Thrift, and E. F. Tonge.
32. Briggs defines "pressure group" as "all groups which collectively pursue common political goals (Excluding parties, that is groups which seek directly to govern)" as quoted in Harry Eckstein, *Pressure Group Politics* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1960), p. 9.
33. Both Briggs and financial statements from the CPAC fonds show that the CMHC grant accounted for at least 76% of the annual CPAC's revenue (both in 1959 and 1963).
34. Briggs, CPAC, p. 42.
35. CPAC Newsletter 1952 no. 5, p. 5.
36. Humphrey Carver, "The Universities and Community Planning," *Community Planning Review* vol. 4 (1954), pp. 19-23.
37. *Community Planning News* 1955 no. 3, p. 9 lists two available planners; Clayton Research Associates Ltd. and D. G. Wetherell Associates Ltd, *Phase 2 Report on the project: The Evolution of Post World War II Canadian Housing Technology* (Ottawa: CMHC, February 1994), *Transcript of Samuel A. Gitterman Interview*, p. 132, states that 12 planners moved from the U.K. at the request of CMHC to find employment in Canada.
38. Clayton, *Phase 2*, p. 132.
39. Curtis, *Curtis Report*, pp. 168-169.
40. Curtis, *Curtis Report*, p. 169.
41. Curtis, *Curtis Report*, p. 169.
42. Curtis, *Curtis Report*, pp. 169-170.
43. Harold Spence-Sales, *Planning Legislation in Canada* (Ottawa: CMHC, 1949).
44. McMurray, *Outlines of Canadian Planning Law*, p. ii.

45. Quebec and New Brunswick are exceptions.
46. LAC MG28 I 14 (R2852-0-9-E), CPAC 4, File 5, *Minutes – Special Meeting of Council, CPAC Thinking Conference*.

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IMAGE SOURCES

Fig. 1 Virginillo, Miranda. *How the Community Planning Association of Canada Influenced the Development of Planning in Canada, 1946 – 1964*. Master's Report: Queen's University, 2022, Figure 3-4.

Fig. 2 Miranda Virginillo, *How the Community Planning Association of Canada Influenced the Development of Planning in Canada, 1946 – 1964*. Master's Report: Queen's University, 2022, Figure 3-5.

Fig. 3 Community Planning Association of Canada. *Community Planning is Common Sense!* Ottawa: the Association, 1948. Retrieved from Francis Loeb Library, Harvard University [NAC 544 C].

Fig. 4 Cimon, Jean. *Urbanism et Citoyens*. Ottawa: Community Planning Association of Canada, 1948. Retrieved from Francis Loeb Library, Harvard University [NAC 544 29C].

Fig. 5 *Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada* vol 30 no 5, supplement pp. 74-75.

Fig. 6 Spence-Sales, Harold. *How to Subdivide*. Ottawa: Community Planning Association of Canada, 1950.