

A QUALITATIVE EVALUATION OF HEALTHY AND SUSTAINABLE
COMMUNITY INITIATIVES IN HAMILTON AND SUDBURY, ONTARIO

By

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EVALUATING HEALTHY AND SUSTAINABLE COMMUNITY INITIATIVES

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ABSTRACT

In an effort to ameliorate some of the current problems facing cities (e.g., social, health, environmental, etc.), a number of locales in Canada and throughout the world have engaged in healthy and sustainable community initiatives. In essence, these initiatives represent an effort to fundamentally change the culture of local decision-making to explicitly include concerns for “health” and “sustainability” (broadly defined). While the popularity of these initiatives continues to rise, little is known in terms of their ability to effect significant change. Most evaluative efforts to date have centred on the development and use of quantitative indicators of community health outcomes. These methods are unable to capture the kinds of subtle and locally contingent changes taking place.

In an effort to address this deficiency, this dissertation presents the results of an interpretive process/impact evaluation of healthy and sustainable community initiatives in Hamilton and Sudbury, Ontario. Interviews with key informants in Hamilton (n=20) and Sudbury (n=15) suggest that despite contrasting approaches to implementation, the initiatives in both communities have experienced significant barriers in operationalizing the concepts into practice. A combination of institutional inertia and a lack of political will has meant that implementation has been incremental at best, and the initiatives’ agenda status has remained low. In both communities, the initiatives have been

interpreted as policy mechanisms to assist in the re-imaging of these post-industrial cities. As such, despite the “radical” rhetoric put forth by its original proponents, the abstract and highly malleable nature of the concepts has led to their narrow interpretation by local elites as policy mechanisms to facilitate traditional economic growth. The implications of these findings for theory and policy, along with the future prospects of the initiatives are explored.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 RESEARCH CONTEXT

We live in an increasingly urban world. Approximately two-thirds (some six billion people) of the world's population will live in cities by the middle of the 21st century (National Science Foundation Workshop on Urban Sustainability, 2000). The economic, social, and environmental problems associated with increasingly rapid urbanization have been well-documented (see, for example, Haughton & Hunter, 1994; Mitlin & Satterthwaite, 1996; Drakakis-Smith, 1995, 1996, 1997; Roseland, 1998). In particular, threats to both human and ecosystem health have been the subject of much discussion in academe and beyond. In an effort to address these problems and work towards the improvement of both human and ecosystem health in cities, many communities world-wide have actively engaged with healthy and sustainable city/community initiatives.

Embodying the principles first outlined in the World Health Organization's *Ottawa Charter for Health Promotion* (WHO, 1986) and *Achieving Health For All* (Epp, 1986), healthy and sustainable community initiatives have been hailed as a way to enhance the quality of life and well being of urban residents while maintaining the integrity of natural systems, by

integrating notions of community health and sustainability into the local decision-making process. These initiatives seek to accomplish this through a broadly participatory and intersectoral approach, which fosters new ways of decision-making by local governments in partnership with community representatives.

Healthy and sustainable city initiatives are premised on both a recognition of the importance of locality (e.g., place) and a broad definition of health. Within health geography, some researchers have called for a re-focusing of the sub-field to re-examine the nature of the relationship(s) between health and place (Eyles, 1993; Jones & Moon, 1993; Kearns, 1993; Gesler, 1992). Developments in contemporary health philosophy and policy have precipitated this call (Kearns, 1993). For instance, in some circles, a socio-ecological model of health (see White, 1981) has superseded the biomedical model of disease as more relevant to the conditions of disease and health presently experienced (Jones & Moon, 1987). From this perspective, health is more strongly influenced by our surrounding social, political, cultural and physical environments than the curative approach of traditional health (medical) care (Evans & Stoddart, 1990; Evans et al., 1994). In other words, there is an increasing recognition of the fact that what occurs in a place (i.e., city or neighbourhood), in terms of the relationship between a population and its environment, may have a significant impact on health (Fitzpatrick & LaGory, 2000).

Policy statements, such as the aforementioned *Ottawa Charter for Health*

Promotion (WHO, 1986) and *Achieving Health For All* (Epp, 1986) speak to this link by highlighting the capacity of the environment (broadly defined) to influence health status in both positive and negative ways (Kearns, 1993). This underlying philosophy is central to healthy and sustainable community initiatives. Despite this apparent obvious connection with the sub-field, research in general, and evaluation in particular, by health geographers has been rare (Jones & Moon, 1993).

1.2 RESEARCH PROBLEM

While the popularity of healthy and sustainable community initiatives continues to grow, there has been relatively little in the way of critical evaluation and investigation of them (Poland, 1996). Most evaluative efforts to date have centred on the development and use of quantitative indicators of community health outcomes. These efforts have met with little success and there is reason to question the applicability of these measures to the process-oriented approach of the healthy and sustainable communities initiatives (Poland, 1996; Hayes & Manson-Willms, 1990; Labonte, 1993). An alternative approach to the evaluation of healthy and sustainable community initiatives can contribute much to this area.

To this end, this thesis seeks to address some of the limitations of utilizing quantitative outcome measures to evaluate healthy and sustainable community initiatives by adopting an alternative approach to program evaluation. The

research presented herein is a comparative process/impact evaluation (see Chapter 3) of the healthy and sustainable community initiatives in Hamilton and Sudbury, Ontario. It is informed by developments in health promotion and, in particular, the new public health which incorporate a broad definition of health and emphasize socio-political strategies for addressing health issues through a participatory approach. This literature frames the research, the research objectives and the research methodology.

Methodologically, the thesis is interpretive and qualitative. In-depth, face-to-face interviews represent the main data collection method. Based on a constructivist framework (cognizant that reality is constructed through human action), the interviews are designed to illuminate, compare, and contrast understandings and experiences of initiatives in two communities.

1.3 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The dissertation has four underlying research objectives:

1. To explore contextualized understandings of the healthy and sustainable community initiatives as understood and experienced by a variety of stakeholder groups;
2. To identify those factors which facilitate or inhibit the development of healthy and sustainable communities;
3. To compare and contrast initiatives in the study communities to determine their relative success in integrating the concepts into their respective local decision-making frameworks; and

4. To investigate the utility of a qualitative approach to the evaluation of healthy and sustainable community initiatives.

Through the first objective, the research attempted to gain an insider's perspective (Eyles, 1988) on healthy and sustainable community initiatives in two study communities. In other words, the aim was to have participants describe their experiences and perceptions of initiatives in their own words. These experiences and perceptions are situated within a particular context (historical, social, political, etc.). A major aim of the study was to generate knowledge which could be used by healthy and sustainable community practitioners in both Hamilton and Sudbury towards the improvement of initiatives in both cities. In addition, although the results of qualitative research are not generalizable to all situations, practitioners could find that the lessons learned from this research could be transferred (Baxter & Eyles, 1997) to other situations. To this end, considerable background information about the two sites is provided to facilitate comparison with other venues (see Chapter 4). A number of implications for policy development are also highlighted.

1.4 THESIS OUTLINE

This thesis contains eight chapters. Chapter two presents a review of the literature on the new public health, in general, and healthy and sustainable communities, in particular. The chapter begins by documenting the origins and

evolution of the healthy and sustainable communities concept as situated within the new public health. The chapter focuses, in particular, on developments within the Canadian context which helped shape the initiatives in the study locations. This chapter also explores a number of problems and issues with the initiatives as identified by a number of scholars in the field. Specifically, the limitations surrounding current evaluative efforts based on the development and use of quantitative measures of success are highlighted. The chapter then outlines the rationale behind an alternative approach to the evaluation of healthy and sustainable community initiatives grounded in an interpretive framework. Finally, the chapter explores a number of policy analytic tools which are subsequently drawn upon to aid with the interpretation and analysis of the data, most notably in chapters five and six.

Chapter three begins by restating the objectives of the research. This is followed by a more detailed discussion of the nature of the (process/impact) evaluation itself. As objective number three states, the research attempted to assess the relative “success” of initiatives in both communities. To this end, section 3.1.1 defines success as it is used in the evaluation. The chapter then goes on to describe, in detail, the research design and methodology of the evaluation itself. The chapter begins with a brief discussion of, and rationale for, a qualitative, process-oriented case-study approach as situated within broader developments in health promotion and the new public health. This is followed by

a description of the comparative case-study in detail including the rationale for site selection and the compilation of the community profiles which comprise chapter four. Next, the face-to-face interviews themselves are described, including the process for interviewee selection and the structure and purpose of the interview guide. The chapter concludes by describing how the data were managed, analyzed and selected for presentation.

Chapter four presents community profiles for both Hamilton and Sudbury. It begins with general histories and overviews of the two communities under investigation, highlighting the growth and subsequent decline of their respective industries. The related social, economic and environmental problems associated with the industrial make-up of each community are also introduced. Finally, a series of socio-economic, health and environmental indicators are used to construct a snapshot of the overall quality of life in each community in an effort to help situate the reader. For reasons discussed in chapters two and three, the indicators do not reveal the success of healthy and sustainable community initiatives in each city but rather, help contextualize the evaluation by providing readers with a better understanding of some of the social, economic, health and environmental concerns faced by each community. The indicators themselves were selected primarily from work done by the Federation of Canadian Municipalities (most notably their second report on The Quality of Life in Canadian Communities) and various social, health and economic data from

Statistics Canada's Community Profiles.

Chapters five and six describe, in detail, the evaluations of healthy and sustainable community initiatives in Hamilton and Sudbury respectively. The results from both communities are presented together in order to facilitate comparison and highlight similarities and differences in the experiences of both study sites. Excerpts from the interviews are presented which illustrate key themes. Concepts and analytic tools from the literature on policy analysis are incorporated to aid with interpretation of the findings.

Chapter five examines the study communities relative success with attempts to implement healthy and sustainable community initiatives in their respective locales. Participants' perceptions of the overall implementation success as well as the perceived changes to decision-making structures are explored. The chapter concludes with participants impressions as to what the future has in store for healthy and sustainable community initiatives in Hamilton and Sudbury.

Chapter six explores the nature and extent of the numerous barriers encountered in attempting to implement healthy and sustainable community initiatives in both communities. Chapter six also examines respondents thoughts on how to improve the effectiveness of healthy and sustainable communities in Hamilton and Sudbury.

Chapter seven explores the emergence of the notion of city image as a

predominant theme in the analysis. Here it is argued that the healthy and sustainable community initiatives in Hamilton and Sudbury are being used as mechanisms to promote traditional economic growth by re-imagining these post-industrial cities. It is argued that this is problematic in that the original holistic and radical aspects of the healthy and sustainable community initiatives has been lost during the translation of the concepts from ideas to action. These findings are situated within the literatures surrounding the entrepreneurial city and place marketing and promotion.

The final chapter, chapter eight, serves several purposes. First, the chapter explores the implications of these results for decision-makers and players in the policy arena. In particular, the limited overall impact of the initiatives is examined with reference to the public policy literature. Second, the chapter explores the highly tenuous future prospects for healthy and sustainable communities in each city. Next, the issue of success is addressed. It is argued that success can be thought of in terms of a gradual progression towards the complete integration of traditionally disparate decision-making spheres into a cohesive decision-making framework, in which the concepts of health, sustainability, or more generally, quality of life are paramount. Both initiatives are then assessed as to how far they have progressed along this continuum of success. Finally, chapter eight identifies the main contributions of the thesis (academic, policy and methodological) and points to future research directions.

CHAPTER 2

EVALUATING HEALTHY AND SUSTAINABLE COMMUNITIES AS A COMPONENT OF THE NEW PUBLIC HEALTH

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This dissertation draws upon and is situated within three main bodies of literature: 1) health promotion and the new public health; 2) program evaluation, in general, and the evaluation of healthy/sustainable cities/communities, in particular; and, 3) public policy analysis. The chapter documents the origins, evolution and criticisms of the healthy and sustainable community movements, situated within the new public health. Despite sharing a number of key similarities (i.e., an emphasis on changing the nature of local decision-making through widespread public participation in an effort to enhance community quality of life) the concepts have largely remained separate from each other in the literature (Dooris, 1999). This could be due to the perception of urban sustainability as an “environmental” movement and healthy communities as a “health” initiative. These differences and similarities are explored in some detail. Next, the issues surrounding the evaluation of healthy and sustainable community initiatives are examined. In particular, the chapter focuses on attempts to evaluate

these initiatives primarily through the use of quantifiable outcome indicators. The discussion then explores a number of the limitations and problems (both theoretical and practical) associated with attempts to evaluate healthy and sustainable community initiatives using indicators alone.

This discussion of the limitations of outcome-oriented evaluation paves the way for the identification and discussion of a new process-oriented, interpretive approach. In this context, the literature surrounding the theory and practice of public policy is explored. Given that healthy and sustainable community initiatives are, in essence, about fundamentally changing the nature of local decision-making (to incorporate concerns for health and sustainability), this literature plays a significant role in the analysis and interpretation of the interview data. Both the principles and philosophy of the new public health, coupled with the process-oriented, long-term nature of the kinds of policy changes sought, suggest that an interpretive approach to evaluation has much to contribute to our understanding of attempts to implement these initiatives.

2.2 THE NEW PUBLIC HEALTH: ORIGINS AND PRIORITIES

The concept of a healthy/sustainable city/community has a long history, dating at least as far back as mid-19th century England. The notion that poor living conditions, particularly among the working classes (see Engels, 1845), created ideal conditions for the emergence and rapid spread of disease became

widely accepted during this time (Ashton & Seymour, 1986). This recognition led to the development of public health and efforts to improve the health and quality of life of urban populations through such reforms as proper sanitation, running and (relatively) clean water, official building standards, and the provision of clean(er) air and urban open space (Jones & Moon, 1987).

The focus on improving the health of urban populations through improvements to the physical environment, however, gradually became less prominent in public policy in developed countries and was eventually relegated by the rise of curative, individually focused allopathic medicine (Ashton, 1991). This so-called biomedical, or therapeutic approach with its emphasis on medical services and hospitals as the locus of health, dominated public health policy in most developed countries from the 1930s to the 1970s (Jones & Moon, 1987). As such, the social and environmental causes of ill health were largely downplayed during this era (Ashton, 1992).

Despite the resiliency of the therapeutic approach, its status did not go without challenge. Beginning in the 1970s, a number of commentators began to question the efficacy of this approach to health policy. This challenge is perhaps best represented through the work of Thomas McKeown (1976) whose statistical analysis of death rates in England and Wales illustrated that the most significant advances in reducing death rates resulted from improvements to overall living conditions (quality of life) as opposed to advances in medical and surgical

techniques, as widely believed. McKeown's work is generally credited with generating renewed interest in public health, providing the foundation for what would become known as the new public health (Ashton, 1992).

As an alternative to the biomedical model of disease, White (1981) developed a socio-ecological model of health as more relevant to the conditions of health and illness experienced today. The socio-ecological (or simply ecological) model depicts an interacting set of relationships between a population and their social, cultural, and physical environments (see also Hancock, 1993a). In other words, according to Kearns (1993), what occurs in a place, in terms of the relationships between a population and their environments, can profoundly influence health. This perspective was embraced by proponents of the new public health as a more useful way of conceptualizing health (and health interventions).

During the 1980s, a number of researchers detected significant inequalities in health based primarily on social status (most often measured in terms of income, education and/or occupation; Wilkinson, 1992). In the UK, influential documents such as The Black Report (Black et al., 1982) and the Whitehall studies of British civil servants (e.g., Marmot, 1986) highlighted significant disparities (gradients) in the health of lower as opposed to higher status groups; a Canadian study by Adams (1990) similarly revealed significant differences in mortality and morbidity between upper and lower income individuals. These studies focused attention on socio-economic inequalities in health status, thereby

increasing concern about how to mitigate or eliminate this inequity.

In 1986, Health and Welfare Canada released *Achieving Health for All: A Framework for Health Promotion* (otherwise known as the Epp Report), which spoke strongly in favour of reducing inequities in health and increasing prevention and coping through widespread public participation, the strengthening of community-based health services, and the development of healthy public policy (Epp, 1986). Also in 1986, the World Health Organization released the *Ottawa Charter for Health Promotion*. The *Charter* contained a five-point strategy for health promotion including: the development of healthy public policy; the creation of supportive environments; strengthening community action; the development of personal skills; and, the reorientation of health services from institutionally- to community-based (WHO, 1986). Once again, community empowerment and public participation were identified as key strategies for improving population health status.

These key events helped pave the way for an approach to public health which asserted that health was inextricably tied to living conditions, and that the key to significantly improving health status lay outside the traditional medical domain (Pederson et al., 1994). The new public health espoused a community-based, participatory, bottom-up orientation which supposedly distinguished it from the top-down approaches of both allopathic medicine and 19th century public health efforts. In sum, following Robertson and Minkler (1994), four key

delineating features of the new public health can be identified (see also, Baum, 1993; Labonte, 1995):

- the incorporation/articulation of a broad definition of health and its determinants;
- a shift from an emphasis on lifestyle/behavioural modification efforts to broader socio-political strategies to improve health (i.e., reducing inequities in health, therefore income);
- advocacy of widespread community participation in the identification of health needs and solutions; and,
- an emphasis on empowerment (both community and individual) as a health promotion strategy.

2.3 GEOGRAPHY AND THE NEW PUBLIC HEALTH

The character of places and regions has traditionally been a central concern of geographers (Kearns, 1993). Within human geography, explorations of the uniqueness of place is seen as one means to more accurately explain the complex links between the spatial structure of society and its constituent social processes (Gregory and Urry, 1985; Dear and Wolch, 1989; Johnston, 1991; Massey and Allen, 1984). However, within the field of health/medical geography, place has often been conceived as merely “the canvas on which events happen”, and “the nature of the locality and its role in structuring health status and health-related behaviour” has been downplayed (Jones and Moon, 1993, p. 515). The focus of most work by medical geographers has been on place as region and a container of

quantifiable, abstract characteristics (Kearns, 1993; Eyles, 1993; Kearns and Joseph, 1993). From this perspective, the relationships between locations and disease occurrence (the geography of disease and ill health) and, more recently, the relationships within networks of health care delivery have traditionally been of central concern (Eyles, 1993; Curtis and Taket, 1996).

A number of prominent commentators within the field of health/medical geography have lamented the sub-discipline's preoccupation with identifying the spatial relationships between individuals, places, and institutions at the expense of a more nuanced, complex view of place (Eyles, 1993; Kearns, 1993; Jones and Moon, 1993). That is, an over-emphasis on quantitative investigations of health and health-related behaviours it was argued, had reduced "the richness of place as context to the more limited sense of place as location" (Entrikin, 1991, p. 3), thereby overlooking an understanding of place as that experienced zone of meaning and familiarity (Kearns, 1993). While the spatial analytic approach was able to identify spatial patterns, its explanatory power was limited (Sayer, 1992); nor could it, as Thrift (1983) suggested, sufficiently capture the flow of human agency in space and time. This led Kearns (1993, p. 145) to comment that "medical geography remain[ed] an unnecessarily placeless endeavour".

By the early 1990s, a number of commentators within the sub-discipline (Jones and Moon, 1993; Moon, 1990; Gesler, 1991; Kearns and Joseph, 1993; Kearns 1991, 1993) had called for a refocusing of medical geography to reflect a

broader understanding of place. For example, Jones and Moon (1993) argued that medical geographers needed to adopt a “relational” (Eyles, 1993) view of space as a place with a meaning for everyday life, whereby space was implicated in human activity and vice versa. This shift has brought medical geographers closer to meeting one of their key challenges: theory development (Eyles, 1993; Litva & Eyles, 1996).

From a methodological perspective, the challenge of trying to incorporate a relational view of place allowed for the incorporation of interpretive methods such as in-depth interviews, document analysis and participant observation into studies of health and illness (Eyles, 1993). The interpretive approach in health geography has gained increasing acceptance during the past two decades.

2.3.1 Policy, Place and the New Public Health

Studies of health policy have been influenced by these developments within the sub-field. For example, MacIntyre et al. (1993) asked whether health policy should be focussing on places or people, and argued that research has over-emphasized the social and underplayed place and that we need to consider both simultaneously. Kearns (1993) similarly argued that a closer focus on the links between place and health was needed given developments in contemporary health philosophy (e.g., the introduction of the socio-ecological model of health) and the rise of the so-called new public health.

This approach and conception of health is reflected in such policy statements as the *Ottawa Charter for Health Promotion* (WHO, 1986) and *Achieving Health For All: A Framework for Health Promotion* (Epp, 1986). These policy statements highlighted the health influencing interactions between individuals and their environments (Kelly et al., 1993), and implicitly endorse of the power of places to influence the health of populations (Kearns, 1993). This approach and philosophy was central to the development of healthy and sustainable city/community initiatives.

2.4 THE HEALTHY CITY

While *Health for All* and the *Ottawa Charter* were released in 1986, and would ultimately provide the underlying philosophy which would guide the healthy cities/communities movement, the idea of using public policy to create a healthier city is thought to have first emerged at the *Beyond Health Care Conference* held in Toronto during October 1984 (Hancock, 1987). Although the idea of a healthy city was discussed at least as early as 1984, the concept was not operationalized until 1986 when WHO launched its Healthy Cities Project.

Writing at the time, two of the pioneers of the healthy city project (Hancock and Duhl, 1986) defined the healthy city as:

...one that is continually creating and improving those physical and social environments and expanding those community resources which enable people to support each other in performing all the

functions of life and in developing themselves to their maximum potential.

The rationale for focusing on the city was that "... the city, as a place which shapes human possibility and experience, has a crucial role to play in determining the health of those living in it" (Ashton & Seymour, 1986, p. 156). Further, the specific emphasis on the city was suggested because:

... the city, with its own political mandate and often highly developed sense of civic pride is again uniquely placed to develop the kind of citizen-responsive health promotion initiatives which are necessary to tackle the new health problems of the 21st century. As the most decentralized administrative level which can marshal the necessary resources and which has wide-ranging responsibilities and networks, it is in an ideal position to support the kind of intersectoral processes which lead to creative, effective, and efficient action (Ashton & Kickbusch, 1986).

The project was therefore envisioned as a vehicle through which to implement the ideas and principles embodied in the new public health at the local level.

Early pundits of the concept were quick to point out that the concept of the healthy city emphasized *process* and not simply outcomes. A healthy city, accordingly, was not one that had achieved some ideal health status but one where concerns for health and well-being would be firmly entrenched in the local decision-making agenda (Hancock, 1987; Tsorous, 1995). This definition, of course, has important implications for those seeking to evaluate healthy city initiatives. These implications will be explored later (see section 2.7).

In a background paper for the European Healthy Cities project, Hancock

and Duhl (1986) suggested the following eleven parameters for healthy city practitioners to strive towards:

1. A clean, safe, high quality physical environment;
2. A stable and sustainable ecosystem;
3. A strong, supportive and non-exploitive community;
4. A high degree of public participation in decision-making;
5. Meeting the basic needs (i.e., food, water, shelter, income, safety and work) of all city inhabitants;
6. Access to a wide variety of experiences and resources;
7. A diverse, vital and innovative city economy;
8. A sense of connectedness with the past and the cultural and biological heritage of other groups;
9. An appropriate city form which enhances and facilitates the above conditions;
10. An “optimum” and appropriate level of public health and health care services accessible to all; and
11. High health status (both high positive health status and low disease status).

This is clearly a comprehensive wish list for healthy city projects to strive towards, and measuring progress towards these principles would prove to be extremely difficult (Waddell, 1996).

The WHO project is ongoing and involves hundreds of cities across Europe, and in developing countries as well. While these Projects are still at varying stages of implementation, in most instances, the WHO Healthy Cities

Project has failed to initiate significant policy change although they have been able to marginally move health concerns up the political agenda (Goumans & Springett, 1997).

2.4.1 The Canadian Healthy Communities Initiative

The Canadian incarnation of Healthy Cities began in 1988 and was housed at the Canadian Institute of Planners' headquarters in Ottawa. Soon after its inception, the project was re-named Healthy *Communities* in order to accommodate smaller, neighbourhood level projects (Higgins, 1992) and to encourage smaller rural communities to participate (Manson-Singer, 1994). Hancock (1993b) suggested that the name change also represented an attempt to draw upon the positive connotations associated with the term "community".

Not surprisingly, the Canadian project was heavily influenced by the Epp Report (Epp, 1986). It was originally hoped that the Healthy Communities Project would put the Epp Report's three major health promotion strategies (fostering public participation in decisions surrounding health issues; strengthening community health services; and co-ordinating healthy public policy at the local government level) into practice at the community level (Berlin, 1989).

Like their European/WHO counterparts, the goal of the Canadian Healthy Communities Project was to improve the health and well-being of Canadians by ensuring that notions of health and well-being were given explicit consideration in

any municipal policies, plans, and programs (CHCP, 1988). According to the CHCP Mission Statement, the Canadian Project would aim:

“To enhance the quality of life for all Canadians by involving municipalities and their citizens in ensuring that health is a primary factor in political, social and economic decision-making”.

The broad conception of health (as mental, physical, spiritual well-being) employed by CHCP echoed conceptual developments in the new public health and recognized the linkages between community quality of life and economic, social and political factors affecting community members (Manson-Singer, 1994).

By the early 1990s, over one hundred Canadian municipalities had joined the project (Hancock, 1993b). The federally-sponsored project ended in 1991 after funding from Health and Welfare Canada was not renewed (Manson-Singer, 1994). Regardless, it was successful in stimulating a number of provincial and local level projects, most notably in the provinces of Nova Scotia, Quebec, British Columbia and Ontario. Despite the loss of major federal funds, the project continued to grow in popularity and by 1993, over two-hundred cities, towns and villages were participating in the initiative. Healthy Communities in Canada had become (and continues to be) a legitimate part of the municipal discourse in many Canadian locales (Manson-Singer, 1994).

Despite the relative staying power of the Healthy Communities movement in Canada, the concept of the new public health has come to be replaced by population health as the dominant health promotion discourse in Canada

(Raphael, 2001). The population health approach, in its quest to determine why some people are healthier than others (Evans et al., 1994), highlights the socio-economic factors which have contributed to significant gradients in health status (Evans et al., 1994; Hayes & Dunn, 1998).

Despite its popularity, a number of researchers in the health promotion field have been critical of the population health approach (Raphael, 2001; Labonte, 1995; Poland et al., 1998). In particular, some have suggested that, at heart, population health adopts a neo-liberal approach to the examination of the health of communities. In particular, they argue that the ideology and focus of population health has its roots in a narrow biomedical conception of health and a reliance on traditional epidemiological methods. Further, the emphasis on economic growth as a health enhancing factor is challenged (Poland et al., 1998; Labonte, 1995). They argue that the shift to population health represents a serious threat not only to Canadian Healthy Communities Projects, but to health promotion in general in Canada. In recent years, the move towards urban sustainability (i.e., sustainable communities) has emerged as a new decision-making framework which incorporates many of the same ideas, philosophies and approaches as healthy communities (see Dooris, 1999). The following section explores the rise of sustainable communities.

2.5 THE SUSTAINABLE COMMUNITY

The new public health tenet that health and well-being are tied to overall conditions of living - and that therefore the key to improving health and quality of life lies outside the traditional health care domain - has gained general acceptance among public health practitioners worldwide (Pederson et al., 1994). It was from within this framework that an ecological approach to public health emerged. Heightened awareness of emerging global environmental health threats such as ozone layer destruction, global warming, and soil, air and water contamination provided the foundations for this approach (Chu, 1994). This approach is based on the premise that ecological sustainability is a necessary and sufficient pre-requisite for public health (Chu, 1994), which implies a recognition of the interconnectedness between humans, their physical and social environments and their health. Thus, the so-called ecological public health can be viewed as an extension of the new public health, as health is viewed in a holistic sense and it is recognized that one's physical, mental and spiritual well-being is determined largely through the interactions of environmental, socio-economic, cultural, political and personal factors. The ecological approach to public health is clearly evident in the rise of urban sustainability initiatives.

The sustainable city/community movement has its roots in the ecological public health framework and although it shares a number of similarities with the healthy communities concept (most notably in philosophy and approach), it has

developed largely independently (Dooris, 1999). The sustainable communities movement can be traced back to *The Brundtland Report: Our Common Future* (Brundtland, 1987) and the momentum generated by the 1992 Rio Summit and the formulation of (Local) Agenda 21. Urban sustainability was a guiding theme of the 1996 United Nations' Habitat II Conference in Istanbul. The meeting concluded with the release of the *Habitat Agenda* calling for "action at the international, national and local level and a guide for the development of sustainable human settlements in the world's cities, towns and villages..." over the next two decades (UNCHS, 1996). The sustainable cities/urban sustainability movement has been growing rapidly all over the world (as evidenced by the series of special issues devoted to the to sustainable cities in the international journal *Environment and Urbanization*).

The sustainable cities/communities movement shares many commonalities with healthy communities, including: an emphasis on process issues such as local government action and widespread community participation; a focus on local action; an emphasis on radical change, and an emphasis on improving overall quality of life (Dooris, 1999).

Despite the proliferation of urban sustainability initiatives in recent years, Maclaren (1996) reminds us that (not unlike healthy communities) any attempt to provide a universally acceptable definition of the sustainable city or urban sustainability is fraught with difficulties, as different communities are likely to

develop different conceptualizations depending on each place's particular social, economic and environmental context. Definitional debates have centred on the respective role(s) that environmental, social and economic considerations should play (McLaren, 1996). Some have argued that environmental considerations should be paramount (see Hardoy et al., 1992), while others have taken a more holistic view, calling for the integration of environmental, social and economic dimensions (Richardson, 1995). Some have expressed concern that the more holistic definition runs the risk of becoming meaningless for decision-makers through the inclusion of too many parameters to consider (Richardson, 1992, cited in McLaren, 1996). In fact, the movement towards urban sustainability has, until recently, focused more explicitly on the link(s) between the physical environment and the economy, suggesting that any ecological damage must be factored into traditional economic indicators (e.g., GNP, GDP, etc.) (Gibbs et al., 1998).

Despite these reservations, however, a more holistic view of urban sustainability has prevailed and has provided the foundation for most healthy and sustainable community initiatives in North America (McLaren, 1996). Economic growth is considered secondary in the sustainable community rhetoric; they are subsumed by concerns about long-term (environmental) stability. Richardson (1995, p. 35) sums up the holistic viewpoint succinctly, noting that such a perspective calls for:

The active pursuit of modes of economic development that are not just

environmentally friendly but which also offer the community long-term economic stability, diversity and prosperity. It means a deliberate, broadly-based, multi-faceted quest for social health and well-being. It means a concerted, long-term program not just to clean up the environment, but to conserve and enhance the community's natural assets of land, water, air and living things. All of these are essential elements of the sustainable community: because each affects the others, if any one of them is lacking, the vitality of the local human ecosystem is impaired. Furthermore, a community should not seek its own sustainability at the expense of the sustainability of other communities, including the wider community (ecosystem) to which it belongs.

In summary, both initiatives (healthy and sustainable communities) are concerned with enhancing and protecting community well-being and sustainability through local government action (although supportive policies from other levels of government are also necessary) and widespread community participation. Both aim to enhance the quality of life and overall well-being of urban residents through the integration of concerns for health and sustainability into local decision-making. This is to be achieved through a broadly participatory (community-driven) and intersectoral approach to decision-making. In other words, these initiatives represent a fundamental attempt to change the nature (process), and ultimately the outcomes, of local decision-making.

2.6 CRITICISMS OF HEALTHY/SUSTAINABLE COMMUNITY INITIATIVES

Both the healthy communities project and the sustainable communities movement have been widely critiqued since their inception. Healthy

cities/communities has been roundly criticized for lacking a firm theoretical grounding (Poland, 1992; Poland et al., 1996) and because the initiative itself is not a true social movement because it is often tied too closely with government bureaucracy (Baum, 1993; Stevenson & Burke, 1992). These criticisms apply to the sustainable communities movement as well.

In particular, critics point to the healthy cities/communities failure to engage with political and social theory, including theory surrounding new urban social movements (Poland, 1992; Stevenson & Burke, 1992). As Stevenson and Burke (1992, p. S49) comment, “the field of health promotion shows a serious lack of familiarity with significant developments in political and social theory which make intelligible the important critical insights of the new social movements.” Higgins (1992) adds that the recent rise of neo-conservatism (characterized by increased economic rationalism, individualism and professionalism), at all levels of government, directly conflicts with the social-democratic principles embodied in the new public health and healthy cities/communities (see also, Baum, 1993). This is important because without explicit attention to these issues, these initiatives run the risk of masking privatization and the dismantling of the welfare state (Stevenson & Burke, 1992).

These theoretical shortcomings of the healthy/sustainable communities movement are illustrated with reference to problematic conceptions of “community” and “empowerment”, two of the initiatives’ central constructs (see

Haviland, 1995; Rissel, 1994; Robertson and Minkler, 1994; Stevenson & Burke, 1992). As previously discussed, the healthy and sustainable cities movements espouse a community-driven, bottom-up approach. The community is viewed as the focal point of these projects (Green et al., 1996) and many commentators are quick to highlight the links between health promotion efforts and community development (see McLeroy et al., 1994). However, critics have suggested that there is a tendency within the literature to reduce social relations to solely relations *within* the community and, in turn, to equate community relations with face-to-face interpersonal exchanges (Poland, 1992; Stevenson & Burke, 1992). This individualized perspective, they suggest, establishes the community as the immediate social sub-system which supports personal health and empowerment. They argue that this obscures the structural relations between communities or between communities and the state (Stevenson & Burke, 1992). Further, while local decision-making may (potentially at least) represent an important countervailing force to state-centralism, most economic decision-making is provincial, national and/or, increasingly, international in nature (Labonte, 1994). As such, community-based actions may need to be integrated with advocacy and political action strategies which are directed at higher-level government policies. Failure to do so may unwittingly localize much larger issues (Labonte, 1994).

With respect to empowerment, it has been suggested that this ambiguous notion has become the *raison d`etre* of health promotion and healthy

communities, where empowerment has been defined as, “the process of enabling people to increase control over, and to improve their health” (WHO, 1986).

Commentators have been quick to point out several obstacles to the use of the concept of empowerment in the health promotion and healthy cities literature.

They stress that the term lacks a clear theoretical underpinning, and is ill-defined as both a concept and a process in the literature surrounding the new public health and healthy and sustainable cities (Rissel, 1994; Stevenson & Burke, 1992).

Rissel (1994) argues that while empowerment is often lauded as a goal of health promotion efforts, it is not easily measured, thus making it extremely difficult to determine whether efforts to empower citizens in matters pertaining to health have been successful or not. This can also lead to its misappropriation. For instance, Grace (1991) argues that, in many cases, empowerment rhetoric has “masked” controlling efforts by (well-meaning) health professionals; this in turn can serve to further dis-empower already impoverished communities (Hayes, 1992; cf. Kearns, 1995).

Some critics also question whether empowerment is actually possible without fundamentally addressing the structural aspects of power relations themselves (e.g., Rissel, 1994). As Baum (1990, 1993) reminds us, it is naive to expect that entrenched groups will relinquish control over (often scarce) resources without some degree of conflict. The health promotion literature, however, lacks a clear conception of the structural barriers to achieving empowerment (Stevenson

& Burke, 1992). Further, such an approach assumes that members of the community *want* to be involved in all stages of the decision-making process (Lomas, 1997), and that the decisions they make and the conclusions they reach will be *fair* and *just* (Roberston & Minkler, 1994). There is increasing evidence which suggests that both propositions can be questioned.

Communities (or at least more vocal and politically powerful community groups) may assess social problems and propose solutions that reflect racism, sexism, NIMBYism, and so on (Roberston & Minkler, 1994). Further, recent research into public participation in health care decision-making has suggested that the public do *not* necessarily want to be involved in the decision-making process at all, or that they want to be involved in only certain kinds of decision-making activities (Lomas, 1997). Thus, it may be simply unrealistic to expect widespread community participation and interest in healthy and sustainable community initiatives.

A final criticism leveled at the healthy cities/communities movement is that, while the movement has embraced and promoted a radical discourse similar to that of the new urban social movements (emphasizing swift change through conflict), it continues to be framed within a bureaucratic rationality, stressing consensual and incremental change (Petersen, 1996; Baum, 1993; Stevenson & Burke, 1992). With respect to Canada specifically, Stevenson and Burke (1992) note that health promotion “is a bureaucratic tendency; not a movement against

the state, but one within it” (p. 282). Baum (1993) suggests that an over-eagerness to promote the concept has led to a proclivity to see the healthy cities/communities initiative as anything the consumer wants (i.e., as radical social change or simply a useful inter-department committee). Petersen (1996) too, interprets the WHO Healthy Cities Project as a largely expert-driven endeavour despite the rhetoric suggesting otherwise. The danger with this, of course, is that the terms (healthy/sustainable community) become meaningless (Baum, 1993). Despite these criticisms, however, the past several years have witnessed the rapid growth and expansion of, first, the healthy cities/communities initiative, and more recently sustainable city/community and urban sustainability initiatives. As of yet, few investigators have attempted to measure the effectiveness of these initiatives in promoting empowerment and other social change, or to identify whether these largely theoretical critiques are empirically valid.

2.7 MEASURING THE SUCCESS OF HEALTHY AND SUSTAINABLE COMMUNITIES: STRATEGIES IN PROGRAM EVALUATION

2.7.1 Program Evaluation: An Overview

As healthy/sustainable community initiatives have grown and matured, interest in evaluating their successes and limitations has followed (Poland, 1996). That is, researchers and practitioners alike have expressed their desire to evaluate

the programs being set up. In this context, a brief look at the literature around program evaluation is useful.

The contemporary field of program evaluation emerged during the 1950s and 1960s when a range of social programs, addressing such issues as education, housing, health and poverty, were initiated (Shadish et al., 1991). In many cases, these programs were furnished with high hopes and equally high expenditures. As these programs matured there was a growing desire to ascertain whether or not they were working and/or how they might work better. Thus, the field of program evaluation was established to address these pertinent issues, and has subsequently evolved into a diverse and eclectic field incorporating a vast array of theoretical and methodological approaches (Guba and Lincoln, 1989).

Rossi and Freeman (1993) define program evaluation as: the systematic use of social research methodologies to judge and ultimately improve how social programs are carried out, from their initial phases of design and conceptualization, through to their implementation and development. In essence, to evaluate something means to judge its effectiveness and accomplishments. Evaluation research refers to inquiries conducted systematically and empirically (through the use of social research techniques) that can be used to substantiate judgements (statements attesting to the success of a social program) (Rossi & Freeman, 1993; Patton, 1990). Program evaluation tries to determine if improvement has occurred, or how programs might be adapted or changed to more effectively and

efficiently make the world a better place to live.

In general, there are three main categories of evaluation research (see Rossi and Freeman, 1993; Israel et al., 1995). First, evaluations may focus on the *conceptualization* and *design* of social programs. This is frequently carried-out under the guise of a needs assessment whereby the evaluator attempts to determine, 1) the extent and location of social problems for possible intervention, 2) the target population for the possible intervention, and 3) the appropriateness of the proposed intervention (Rossi and Freeman, 1993).

Secondly, *process evaluations* (sometimes referred to as program monitoring) focus on *how* the program in question operates, rather than its impacts or outcomes (Patton, 1990). More specifically, process evaluations examine the extent to which a program is carried out consistent with its design or implementation plan, and if the program in question has been directed at the appropriate target population.

Finally, program evaluations often assess the extent to which a program produces the desired *impacts* and/or *outcomes*, and its *efficiency*, in terms of its benefits in relation to its costs (e.g., cost-benefit analyses), or its effectiveness in relation to its costs (e.g., cost-effectiveness analyses). Israel et al. (1995) note that a distinction is commonly made between impact and outcome evaluations in the evaluation of health promotion programs. They suggest that while impact evaluations centre on those variables that the program is trying to change (i.e.,

beliefs, knowledge, attitudes and behaviours), an outcome evaluation is concerned with the ultimate results of the program (e.g., was the program able to improve the health status and/or well-being of program participants?). This is important in the sense that this evaluation examines the impacts on decision-making resulting from attempts to incorporate and operationalize concepts of health and sustainability in Hamilton and Sudbury, Ontario.

The traditional gold standard for the evaluation of environmental health programs has been the experimental or “quasi-experimental” approach (see for example, Cook and Campbell, 1979) utilizing the Randomized Control Trial (RCT). Under this approach, a successful *outcome* is attained if the group receiving the program (intervention) changes more in the desired direction than that of the control group (Israel et al., 1995). While the results from these studies are generally regarded as credible and highly trustworthy, a number of serious ethical and practical considerations often preclude the use of RCTs in assessing the effectiveness of many community health programs. Despite these problems, however, randomization in evaluation designs can (and is) carried out in certain instances. For example, the COMMIT smoking cessation program is likely the largest and most well-known example of the use of the randomized design in the environmental health arena (see *The American Journal of Public Health*, vol. 85, 1995).

2.7.2 Indicators of Health and Sustainability

With respect to the healthy communities initiatives, most evaluation efforts have focussed on outcomes, and on quantitative outcome indicators. Poland (1996) notes that while evaluative efforts have varied (see Baum, 1993; Baum & Cooke, 1992; Fortin et al., 1993; McGhee & McEwen, 1993; Nunez et al., 1994; Ouellet et al., 1994), the focus in Canada (Hayes & Manson-Willms, 1990; O'Neill, 1993) and elsewhere (Waddell, 1996) has been on the development and use of (primarily quantitative) indicators of community health outcomes. For example, one of the central components of the World Health Organization's Healthy Cities Project was/is the development and use of a core set of indicators to facilitate inter-city comparisons and to assess how far a city is from being healthy and what progress has been made towards achieving this end (Waddell, 1996).

This emphasis on indicators is evident with respect to urban sustainability initiatives as well. As Maclaren (1996, p. 134) comments, "the important next step for sustainability initiatives at the local level is to determine whether or not these actions are leading the community to become more sustainable". To this end, Maclaren calls for the development of quantifiable indicators of urban sustainability. In fact, there has been a virtual explosion in the development and use of indicators of sustainable cities and urban sustainability in recent years (see Pinfield, 1997).

It was initially hoped, with respect to both healthy and sustainable community initiatives, that a set of core or universal indicators would/could be developed to allow for comparisons between cities (Waddell, 1996). In other words, the same set of indicators would be used by each city, thereby allowing for easy and comprehensive comparison. The indicators were also intended to facilitate program monitoring, measuring progress towards (or away from) achieving healthy and sustainable cities. To this end, the indicators were intended for use in policy-making and policy change (Pinfield, 1997). It had been assumed that if communities could somehow measure and determine what is wrong (with respect to the functioning of the city), they could then fix the problem(s) through the formulation of policy (Petersen, 1996).

There are a number of reasons to question these assumptions. As we shall see, achieving these objectives has not been easy and, in most cases, has met with limited success. With respect to the development of a core set of indicators, Eden (2000, p.112) in a recent review on environmental sustainability notes, “developing a set of objective and universalized indicators to measure national or local progress towards sustainability has proved problematic, both practically and ideologically.” With respect to the use of indicators as a tool for policy making, Pinfield (1997) notes that there is little evidence of this having taken place thus far. Poland et al. (1995) note that while providing a potentially valuable source of data, an over-emphasis on Healthy Community indicators as an evaluation tool,

has led to unrealistic and over-heightened expectations. The types of changes healthy communities is trying to initiate may not be best captured (at least in the short-to medium-term) by quantitative measures, as a discernable impact on outcomes (e.g., improved community health status) may take several decades to initiate. As Poland et al. (1995, p. 2) note:

The complex multifaceted causal web surrounding the sorts of long-term impacts the health community movement is trying to make is a sobering reminder of the limitations of conventional evaluation science, which focuses on the replicability, efficiency and effectiveness of interventions in relatively controlled or controllable environments, rather than the sort of organic, holistic, broad-sweeping, locally indigenous processes that the healthy community movement is trying to foster.

Even some of the most well funded and targeted community health interventions have failed to reach their health outcome targets, at least in the short term (see American Journal of Public Health, 1995).

Further, given the fact that different communities are likely to develop different conceptions of what it means to be healthy and sustainable (Hayes and Manson-Willms, 1990; Maclaren, 1996), the development and use of a core set of indicators is debatable. Further, Haughton and Hunter (1994) note that while there may exist a relatively small number of universal principles for sustainability (e.g., inter-generational equity, the minimal use of non-renewable resources, the enhancement of physical, social, mental well-being, etc.), the ways of moving from them to policy implementation may evolve differently in different places.

These criticisms have led, in part at least, to a more community-driven,

bottom-up approach to the development of indicators thought to be more sensitive to local conditions and processes. In other words, we have witnessed a movement, in most cases, away from an emphasis on an all inclusive set of core indicators towards a more place-specific, community-driven approach to indicator development (Waddell, 1996). However, despite this shift towards locally initiated and co-ordinated indicator projects (such as those in Seattle, Washington; Jacksonville, Florida; and Hamilton, Ontario), there is little evidence to suggest that the monitoring of these indicators has led to new policies for healthier and/or more sustainable urban settlements (Pinfield, 1997).

Petersen (1996) has argued that the modernist reliance on a mechanistic and technological problem-solving approach (via indicators) has led to continued bureaucratic and expert dominance of the project, despite its pretensions to the contrary. This sentiment is shared by Stevenson and Burke (1992) who suggest that the professional and bureaucratic dominance of most healthy community initiatives is a result of the search for technical-rational 'answers' to highly complex urban problems. In fact, some have criticized the initiatives for failing to consider things that many ordinary citizens would deem essential to creating more healthy and sustainable urban settlements (Wekerle, 1996). Finally, this obsession with highly technical and complex measurement has become, in some cases, "an excuse for delaying action" (MacGillivray & Zudek, 1995, p. 2).

2.7.3 Qualitative Program Evaluation and the New Public Health

The apparent shortcomings associated with attempts to use universal quantitative indicators to evaluate the successes and limitations of healthy and sustainable community initiatives begs the question of how these initiatives could be evaluated more effectively and, perhaps, more fairly. As in other areas of research in the social sciences, debates about appropriate methodologies for studying public health problems and interventions have tended to be polarized between those advocating the use of more traditional epidemiological methods and those advocating the use of more interpretive methods (Baum, 1995). Until relatively recently, epidemiology represented the dominant approach within public health (Raphael, 2001). More recently, however, advocates of the new public health have questioned the previously assumed dominance of this methodology and has led some to look for an alternative approach more in tune with current (socio-ecological not biomedical) conceptions of health.

Given that health promotion and the new public health are said to represent a shift from a focus on behavioural and biomedical health determinants to health determinants couched in environmental, social and political terms, many researchers and commentators in the field have suggested that such an endeavour demands a fundamentally different epistemology, ontology and methodology with respect to research and evaluation. For example, Lincoln (1992) asks health researchers if they should continue to utilize the dominant model (epidemiologic

model) for research and evaluation, or if they should change models to make evaluation research fit more closely with the underlying philosophy (e.g., holistic and participatory) of health promotion. Lincoln goes on to argue that the conventional (epidemiologic) scientific model should be replaced by constructivism (variously referred to as: the case study model, the naturalistic paradigm, the qualitative paradigm). Lincoln asserts that, “the model an evaluator or researcher chooses to use for inquiry ought to demonstrate such congruence between its philosophical underpinnings and those of the phenomenon, situation, event, or context she or he wants to evaluate or research and that to fail to make such a fit is to risk meaningless or un-interpretable results” (1992, p. 59). Harris (1992) goes even further suggesting that “the choice of naturalistic inquiry becomes an imperative, not an option, when seeking illumination and enlightenment in natural settings that are the most frequent context of community development and health promotion” (p. S62).

The argument made by many health promotion practitioners, researchers and evaluators is that social causation (as implied in health promotion) differs greatly from biological causation (as in the positivist/biomedical paradigm) and that social relations are poorly understood using the positivist/biomedical paradigm (Labonte, 1993). Epidemiology and biomedicine are closely aligned with the positivist paradigm as they attempt to make causal statements between discrete variables whereby the messiness of social context is attempted to be

controlled for using statistical techniques (Labonte, 1995). Further, the assumption that this hard data is somehow better or more accurate than the lived experiences of individuals themselves is highly problematic. After all, as Labonte (1993) asks, ‘what could be harder, more meaningful, more significant than people’s accounts of their own experiences?’

Baum (1995), however, argues that the complexities of most public health issues requires researchers to employ a range of both qualitative and quantitative methods and cautions researchers against confusing methodology with epistemology. As Baum (1995, p. 460) reminds us, “we need as much methodological strength as possible.” From this perspective, some research questions will be best answered using quantitative methods, while in others interpretive methods should be employed, and in still others, a combination of the two approaches should be utilized. In other words, the research question should ultimately determine the methodology employed (see Elliott, 1999). However, quantitative evaluation methods (e.g., surveys, quasi-experimental designs) are often inappropriate to the study of health promotion initiatives (Poland, 1996; Labonte, 1993).

Regardless, exclusively quantitative approaches have more often than not been the method of choice when it comes to the evaluation of healthy and sustainable community initiatives. This focus on quantitative indicators is premised on an overly narrow and restrictive definition of program evaluation.

After all, program evaluation is not *only* concerned with outcomes, but with process and design issues as well (Patton, 1990; Rossi & Freeman, 1993). This is an important clarification, as a number of advocates (see Haughton & Hunter, 1994; Tsorous, 1995; Hancock, 1993b) note that the healthy and sustainable community movement is a process-oriented endeavor requiring new ways of working and the formation of new partnerships between local governments and the community. These initiatives are in essence attempting to change the *process* of local decision-making to include concerns for health and sustainability. In addition, healthy and sustainable communities are not ones that have reached a particular level of health status, well-being and/or sustainability, but ones in which concerns are explicit in local decision-making processes. The evaluation of such initiatives, then, should include an emphasis on design and process issues in addition to outcomes.

2.8 THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF PUBLIC POLICY ANALYSIS

Given the prominent role afforded to local governments in healthy and sustainable community initiatives (in terms of forming partnerships with community sectors, and the formation of public policy which reflects the aims of these initiatives), consideration of the policy development literature is warranted. The field of policy analysis can provide helpful insights into understanding these complex local initiatives and will be incorporated into the analysis and

interpretation of the findings from the evaluation. The concepts introduced in this section will be formally incorporated into the empirical chapters (primarily chapters 5 and 6).

Public policy can be defined as the courses of action (or inaction) pursued under the authority of governments (Helco, 1972). As such, public policy analysis refers to the study of these particular courses of action or inaction. Torgerson (1986) identified “three faces” of policy analysis, in terms of its political and historical significance. The first face of policy analysis is described as an era (the Enlightenment) governed by the optimistic (largely positivist) belief that objective and value-free knowledge would replace politics in the realm of rational decision-making. The second face is described as the domination of politics over knowledge and the recognition that decisions were made in (and influenced by) a specific social and political (institutional) context. As such, political neutrality is an illusion. Lastly, Torgerson's third face of policy analysis argues that neither knowledge nor politics has superiority. This third face is both post-positivist and participatory in nature, in that policy analysis must not only develop "a knowledge of society, but also a knowledge *in* society" (p. 40).

Dunn (1981) highlights the interdependent nature of facts and values in the political process arguing that, “no inquiry into a policy problem is, or can be, free from the influence of values” (p. 91). Dunn demonstrates how the same information can lead to markedly different policy claims, depending on the

assumptions used to conduct a policy argument or debate. From this perspective, the formulation (or structuring) of a problem is heavily influenced by the assumptions held by the various stakeholders and that the ability to define the problem is the "supreme instrument of power" (p. 97). Given the fact that most policy issues are "ill-structured", in the sense that they are defined differently by different groups, change can only take place when consensus is achieved over the definition of the particular problem (and/or its solution) at hand.

Manson-Willms and Gilbert (1991) point out that many of the original advocates of both social indicators, in general, and indicators of healthy and sustainable communities, in particular, naively assume(d) that the information gleaned would result in more rational decision-making and that better information would lead to better, more informed decision-making. This assumption has since been challenged by a number of public policy analysts who have demonstrated that scientific information represents but one input into the policy-making process, and is not necessarily (or ever) the most important input (Stone, 1997; Majone, 1989).

For instance, Stone (1997) illustrates how ideas and concepts are transformed into facts and truths, through the use of symbols, numbers and metaphors. Majone (1989), advances Stone's argument, noting that evidence (information) is but one of the inputs into the policy-making process: why certain evidence gets used and other evidence is discarded is determined largely through

persuasion and argument. Similarly, Weiss (1983) argues that the public policy positions taken by policy actors result from the interplay of information, ideologies and interests. Information is but one input (and not necessarily the most important) into the process; political power (who has it and who does not) ultimately determines whose ideology, interests and information will be heard and influence the policy-making process. This highlights the fact that information (including that produced through evaluation) is unlikely to lead to direct and immediate action by decision-makers given the influence of other factors such as, values (ideologies, beliefs and interests) and institutional structures (Weiss, 1983).

It is important, then, to recognize that changing public policy is difficult (Goumans & Springett, 1997). Further, any policy change that does take place is usually incremental in nature (Pal, 1992). Lindblom (1959) was the first to remind us that policy does not move “in leaps and bounds” but is conservative in nature. Healthy and sustainable community initiatives represent a fundamental attempt to change the entire culture of civic decision-making (through the incorporation of concerns for health and sustainability). Policy change towards this, if it takes place at all, will almost certainly take place very slowly given the nature of bureaucracies and their inherent resistance to change (Goumans & Springett, 1997; Baum, 1990; Pal, 1992).

Wilson (2000) notes that hierarchical power arrangements, the dominance and acceptance of particular policy paradigms, and generally inflexible

organizational structures - characteristics common to most, if not all, bureaucratic arrangements - operate to maintain stable policy systems which are necessary for the smooth operation of the organization. Policy change, on the other hand, demands significant shifts in the rules and structures of decision-making and the development of new patterns of interaction with bureaucracies and societies (Crosby, 1996). As such, the decision-making process is inherently messy (Stone, 1997). Weiss (1983, p. 26) elaborates:

Given the fragmentation of authority across multiple bureaus, departments, and legislative committees, and the disjointed stages by which actions coalesce into decisions, the traditional (rational) model of decision-making is a highly stylized rendition of reality. Identification of any clear-cut group of decision-makers can be difficult. (Sometimes a middle-level bureaucrat has taken the key action, although he or she may be unaware that his or her action was going to be - or was - decisive.) The goals of policy are often equally diffuse, except in "taking care of" some undesirable situation. Which opinions are considered, and what set of advantages and disadvantages are assessed, may be impossible to tell in the interactive, multiparticipant, diffuse process of formulating policy. The complexity of governmental decision-making often defies neat compartmentalization.

In this context, it is perhaps surprising that decisions get made at all. They do, but typically in a slow, incremental manner (Pal, 1992).

Despite this, information (e.g., the information produced from evaluation research) can still have more subtle, long-term impacts on policy. Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993) highlight the importance of *policy-oriented learning* in understanding policy change over the long term. Policy-oriented learning refers to changes in thought or intentions resulting from experience and concerned with the

attainment or revision of policy objectives. This postulate assumes that members of various policy coalitions seek to better understand the world in order to further their policy objectives. While policy-makers will resist information which serves to threaten or question their core values, they may be more receptive to information that challenges the more peripheral (secondary) aspects of their belief systems. It is within this realm, then, that policy learning and as a result, policy change can take place. While this process serves to reinforce the incremental and conservative nature of most policy-making, it does highlight how information can change policy in the long-term.

As such, policy change is more likely to occur when the current ways of operating are challenged as little as possible (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1993). These first-order changes (Levy & Merry, 1986) require only relatively minor adjustments (tinkering) to decision-making and do not fundamentally alter the core of local decision-making structures. Second-order change (a major paradigmatic shift in the way decisions are made in an organization), or changes to the core belief systems of policy elites, are inherently more difficult to accomplish (Levy & Merry, 1986).

This shift, from first order change to the secondary aspects of the belief systems of policy elites, to more fundamental (radical) change towards the integration of the concept more firmly into local decision-making structures is hypothesized to be dependent upon a window of opportunity for policy

formulation (Kingdon, 1995). This window is typically very small and is often only open for a short period of time (Rist, 1994). According to Kingdon (1995, cited in Goumans & Springett, 1997), there are three “streams” which determine the agenda-setting process in government: 1) politics; 2) problems and; 3) policies. It is through the gradual melding, or connection of these three streams that issues reach or increase in agenda status. Again according to Kingdon (1995), a change in the political or problem streams (i.e., a particularly pressing problem) opens a window of opportunity through which advocates of particular policy proposals essentially push their solution or alternative. It is only when all three areas (politics, problems and policies) become coupled, that an issue will receive a higher place on the decision-making agenda and gain much needed political support (Kingdon, 1995, cited in Goumans & Springett, 1997).

Ideas can remain in the policy stream for some time. During this time they can serve what Weiss (1983) refers to as an “enlightenment function”, gradually making the system more receptive to new ideas and approaches to decision-making (see also Kingdon, 1995). Again, this act of policy learning can take years (even decades) to reach a point where a concept’s agenda status rises sufficiently to garner the necessary political support to become fully integrated into local decision-making structures (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1993).

2.9 SUMMARY

In response to a number of issues and concerns surrounding the evaluation of healthy and sustainable community initiatives with outcome indicators, it has been suggested that a more interpretive and participatory approach to program evaluation would be more resonant with current conceptions of health promotion, public health and sustainability (see, for example, Lincoln, 1992; Pederson et al., 1994; Labonte, 1993). The problems and difficulties surrounding the use of quantitative indicators to measure progress, as well as the incremental and long-term nature of policy development and change, reinforce the need to consider alternative approaches to the evaluation of healthy and sustainable community initiatives. The types of long-term, typically incremental, changes to bureaucratic decision-making, sought by healthy and sustainable community initiatives, may be more easily identified and illuminated through an interpretive approach. Quantitative measures are not incorporated in this dissertation because the focus is on the *process of*, and *impacts to*, changing decision-making at the local level through the incorporation of concepts of health and sustainability. Outcomes resulting from this, in terms of improved community health status, (if it happens at all) will likely take years to emerge. At this stage, measurement through the use of quantitative indicators will play a valuable role in evaluating these initiatives.

In this vein, this dissertation employs a qualitative, interpretive approach to evaluate both the process and impacts of implementing healthy and sustainable

community initiatives in Hamilton and Sudbury. The evaluation is grounded in the theory around public policy development. Specifically, chapters five and six employ a number of these concepts (e.g., agenda setting, policy windows, policy streams, bureaucratic resilience, etc.) to aid with the interpretation of the findings from the Hamilton and Sudbury cases. The research design and methodology is described, in detail, in chapter three.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH DESIGN

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This research had four broad objectives:

1. To explore contextualized understandings of the healthy and sustainable community initiatives as understood and experienced by a variety of stakeholder groups;
2. To identify those factors which facilitate or inhibit the development of healthy and sustainable communities;
3. To compare and contrast initiatives in the study communities to determine their relative “success”; and
4. To investigate the utility of a qualitative approach to the evaluation of healthy and sustainable community initiatives.

The thesis aims to achieve these objectives through an interpretive process/impact evaluation of healthy and sustainable community initiatives in Hamilton and Sudbury, Ontario. Given that the initiatives are intended to fundamentally change the nature and culture (i.e., *process*) of decision-making at the local level to incorporate, and ultimately integrate, issues surrounding community health and sustainability, the evaluation centres on this process. In other words, the evaluation of healthy and sustainable community initiatives in Hamilton and Sudbury specifically refers to an examination of the *impacts* (i.e.,

changes in attitudes, belief, knowledge, etc.) on decision-making resulting from the identification of health and sustainability as key guiding principles for the future development of the respective communities. Through the use of qualitative methods (predominantly face-to-face interviews), the dissertation explores *how* (i.e., the process by which) the initiatives in each community are being translated into decision-making and, ultimately, action. It is an *impact* evaluation in the sense that it is an investigation into how *attitudes* and decision-making *behaviours* have changed in Hamilton and Sudbury as a result of these initiatives. In many ways, the dissertation is a process evaluation of the implementation of healthy and sustainable community initiatives in both communities. It is *not* an outcome evaluation in the sense that it does not attempt to measure the final results of the initiatives in question. These outcomes, as suggested earlier, may take many years to develop.

3.1.1 Defining Success

As any evaluation represents a judgement of the effectiveness of a social program and/or initiative, it is important to describe the parameters for success. So, how does one measure the success of healthy and sustainable community initiatives? The answer to that question, of course, depends upon how one defines success. This dissertation asserts that healthy and sustainable community initiatives may be deemed successful once the concepts of health and

sustainability have become firmly integrated (insitutionalized) into local decision-making structures. In other words, once they have moved from specific projects to become part of an overall co-ordinated and holistic approach (incorporating social, economic and environmental values) to decision-making at the local level (Dooris, 1999; Goumans & Sringett, 1997; Werna & Harpham, 1995, 1996). This dissertation explores the extent to which this process has been initiated and implemented in Hamilton and Sudbury according to the perceptions of participants in each community. The decision to employ a qualitative approach was primarily philosophical (as indicated in Chapter 2). Further, it was thought that while outcome measures of success (i.e., indicators) would be able to capture overall shifts in community health and well-being, they would not be able to link the observed changes (or trends) back to the initiatives themselves. In other words, it would be difficult to discern whether or not the observed changes had resulted from the initiatives themselves or some other phenomena.

This evaluation attempted to assess *how* change had been initiated and attempted in each community and what *impact* the initiatives had as far as influencing (both explicitly and implicitly) the complex local decision-making cultures in Hamilton and Sudbury. An interpretive approach to program evaluation was deemed to be best suited to assess success based on the previous definition. The details of the research design are the subject of the remainder of this chapter.

3.2 AN INTERPRETIVE APPROACH TO THE EVALUATION OF HEALTHY AND SUSTAINABLE COMMUNITY INITIATIVES IN HAMILTON AND SUDBURY

To develop a richer understanding of the complex factors at work with respect to the implementation of healthy and sustainable community initiatives, in-depth parallel case-studies of two communities - Hamilton and Sudbury - were undertaken. Yin (1990) describes the case study as a specific type of research strategy (tool) that allows social scientists to address the how and why questions associated with a particular phenomenon or event. Similarly, process evaluations focus specifically on how something happens rather than the results (or outcomes) of the program or intervention in question (Patton, 1990). The case study is particularly appropriate, and effective, in situations where the researcher has little control over events and when the focus of the research is on investigating contemporary phenomena in a real-life (“natural”) setting where the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident (Yin, 1990). Yin (1990) notes that the case study has a distinctive place in program evaluation as it can help illuminate and explain causal links in real-life interventions that may be too complex for survey or experimental designs and where there is no single clear set of outcomes. The case study design used in this research is therefore justified by the nature of the research problem itself.

The use of a qualitative/interpretive approach is also justified here given

the complex nature of the phenomena under investigation. Interpretive methods - that is, those which seek to understand from the participants' perspective, the phenomena under investigation (Eyles , 1988) - are particularly useful for investigating public policy interventions, given that these events are often highly complex and "invariably affected by the ebb and flow of political agendas and events" (Baum, 1995, p. 459). Further, the use of qualitative methods facilitates well-grounded descriptions and explanations of processes occurring in local contexts (Miles and Huberman, 1990), a key aim of the research. An interpretive approach to program evaluation seeks to illuminate the contextualized understandings of the program in question as has been experienced by the various stakeholder groups involved (e.g., program staff, program managers, community participants, etc.). As a result, this approach allows for a wide range of different voices to be heard while potentially facilitating program improvement, policy change and/or policy learning (Greene, 1994; Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1993).

This research was carried out with the understanding that the changes observed were unlikely to be dramatic, given that changing public policy is notoriously difficult and that any policy change that takes place is usually incremental in nature (Lindblom, 1959; Goumans & Springett, 1997). Both healthy and sustainable community initiatives represent a fundamental attempt to change the culture of civic decision making, a long and extremely difficult process. This presents challenges for the evaluator as these changes to systems of

decision making are dynamic and often unfold in unpredictable ways. According to Baum (1990, p. 128), “[c]hanges of the kind the Healthy City approach seeks to institute come in ripples and not in waves. Thus the evaluation, like most evaluation research will not have immediate, concrete and visible impacts but rather, will have impacts that are subtle, clarifying, reinforcing and reorienting.”

3.3 CASE SITE SELECTION

The study communities were chosen as sites for this research for three primary reasons. First, they were selected on the basis of their similar histories of social, economic and physical environmental/health concerns and the problems (social, economic, environmental) resulting largely from their respective industrial legacies (steel making in Hamilton and mining in Sudbury). A number of these concerns and problems are illustrated in the community profiles developed in the following chapter (Chapter 4). Second, each study community has a relatively (as far as these kinds of initiatives go) long history of involvement with the movement towards healthy and sustainable communities in Canada. Hamilton’s urban sustainability initiative began in 1989 with the identification of sustainable development as an appropriate philosophy to guide the community into the 21st century. Sudbury’s healthy community initiative also began during the late 1980s. Finally, despite these similarities, the selection of Hamilton and Sudbury allows for a contextual comparison of a community in northern Ontario (Sudbury) with a

southern Ontario community (Hamilton-Wentworth). In other words, what is it about each place that has influenced and shaped these initiatives in different ways? Or, conversely, what similarities exist and how do these similarities help to explain the initiatives in each community?

As noted in the previous chapter, until recently, the most revered method of evaluation within the field of public health has been the Randomized Control Trial. As such, given the nature of the research, one might wonder about the possibility of matching one of the cities with a control city to examine changes in community well-being and progress towards sustainability? There are a number of reasons why this approach would have been difficult in this case. Baum and Cooke (1992) offer three reasons why this approach is not appropriate for these types of initiatives. First, they suggest (see also, Poland, 1996) that it is unreasonable to expect changes in the health (or for that matter, sustainability) profile of the city after only a few years of these modestly funded initiatives. Second, they argue that, in most cases, it would be difficult to accurately match two cities for comparison given each community's unique social, physical and economic context. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, they note that the main reason for conducting such evaluations is provide lessons learned to other communities and, in particular, to practitioners of healthy and sustainable communities. Thus, a control city is not necessary.

Nutbeam et al. (1990) also highlight the problems with evaluating such

programs and point out that experimental designs are rarely an option for evaluating community interventions. Such initiatives present further challenges for the evaluator as they are concerned primarily with enacting changes in systems and approaches to decision-making. These changes are dynamic and often unfold in unpredictable ways. As such, a control city is not necessary when the main objective is to explore process-oriented issues, a major objective of this research. A reflective and interpretive analytical approach, rather than a case-control study, is better suited to understand and monitor such changes (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Patton, 1990).

3.4 COMMUNITY PROFILES

Detailed community profiles for Hamilton and Sudbury were created in an effort to provide the reader with a snapshot of the quality of life (in terms of the social, physical, cultural, and economic environment) of each community. The profiles are *not* meant to be used as an indication of the overall success of the healthy and sustainable community initiatives in Hamilton and Sudbury as discussed earlier. They are presented to give the reader a more informed contextual understanding of each place, in terms of its economy and environment (social, physical, cultural, etc.). The profiles are necessary in that they help illustrate the reasons why each community became involved in their respective initiative and some of the challenges and problems faced by each community in

attempting to implement and integrate healthy and sustainable community concepts into their local cultures of decision-making.

The regional-level indicators compiled in these profiles were compiled from existing, publicly available sources, most notably Statistics Canada's Statistical Profiles of Canadian Communities and the Federation of Canadian Municipalities' Second report on Quality of Life in Canadian Communities (FCM, 2001). Additional health information was obtained from Statistics Canada's Health Indicators, Volume 2000, No. 1 (December 2000). Other census information, specific to each region, was obtained through the regional governments themselves.

It is important to note that data on health indicators from Statistics Canada is available for Health Regions only. These Health Regions have been determined by provincial governments as areas of responsibility for regional health boards or as regions of interest to health care authorities. In most cases they are comprised of incorporated municipalities so that each municipality is associated with one health region. In the case of Hamilton, the health region corresponds with the former Regional Municipality of Hamilton-Wentworth (the new City of Hamilton). In Sudbury, however, the health region includes the former Regional Municipality of Sudbury, the District of Sudbury and Manitoulin. As such, the health data must be interpreted with caution.

The Federation of Canadian Municipalities' second report, released in

March 2001, examines quality of life in eighteen Canadian cities and regional municipalities, including the new City of Hamilton (formerly the Regional Municipality of Hamilton-Wentworth) and the City of Greater Sudbury (formerly the Regional Municipality of Sudbury).¹ According to the FCM, their Quality of Life Reporting System (QOLRS) “monitors aspects of the social, economic, and environmental health of [QOLRS] communities” was “developed through an extensive process including consultations and community participation” (FCM, 2001, p. 4). FCM measures and the database from which they are derived are part of the Sustainable Community Indicators Program (SCIP) an initiative which includes the Federation of Canadian Municipalities, the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) and Environment Canada.

Drawing on these data sources, quality of life indicators for Hamilton and Sudbury were compiled in six general categories (see Chapter 4): demographic/general population indicators, employment indicators, community affordability indicators, indicators of community stress/safety, indicators of environmental sensitivity/awareness, and community health indicators.

1

The other communities included in the FCM Quality of Life Study are: City of Vancouver; City of Burnaby; City of Calgary; City of Edmonton; City of Regina; City of Saskatoon; City of Winnipeg; City of Windsor; City of London; Regional Municipality of Waterloo; City of Toronto; Regional Municipality of Halton; Regional Municipality of Peel; Regional Municipality of York; City of Ottawa; and Halifax Regional Municipality.

3.5 KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS

3.5.1 Sample Selection

To collect information about the performance of the two initiatives from participants in the initiatives themselves, 35 in-depth, semi-structured interviews were conducted with key informants (Hamilton, n=20; Sudbury, n=15). Key informants were those deemed to have detailed knowledge of the program in question and able to comment competently on its workings. Patton (1990, p. 263) describes key informants as “people who are particularly knowledgeable and articulate - people whose insights can prove particularly useful in helping an observer understand what is happening”. The aim was to identify as many information rich key informants as necessary to gain a detailed understanding of the workings of each initiative. It bears noting then, that the research was very much targeted towards obtaining the views and perceptions of citizen activists and bureaucrats and, as such, does not necessarily reflect the views of the general public as a whole. Given the research aims and objectives, such an assessment was beyond the scope of the dissertation.

An initial list of potential interviewees was developed in consultation with individuals (in both study locations) with a long history of involvement or those who were particularly active or influential in the development of the initiatives. Potential participants were mailed a letter soliciting their participation in the study. Follow-up phone calls were made to confirm interest and availability to

participate. In Hamilton, twenty letters were mailed-out initially. From this group, seventeen individuals agreed to participate, a response rate of 85%. In Sudbury, twenty letters were mailed out to potential participants. Fifteen individuals initially agreed to participate (75% response rate). One individual whom had originally agreed to participate was subsequently unavailable for a face-to-face interview. If those contacted were willing and able, a date and time was agreed upon for the interview. The initial informants were also asked to recommend others to interview. This process led to three additional interviews in Hamilton (n=20) and one additional interview in Sudbury (n=15). Once this list was exhausted, and no others were suggested, saturation was considered to have been achieved (Strauss and Corbin, 1990).

Given the interest in seeking as many perspectives and opinions as possible, informants from a variety of different stakeholder groups were sought out. Stakeholders are groups and members of groups affected by a given program and thus have an interest in its evaluation. A broad range of stakeholder groups, including politicians, community members, program managers, program staff, and those within local government from the various departments and sectors involved (e.g., public health, social services, planning, economic development) participated in each city (Tables 3.1). The distribution of participants by stakeholder groups in some ways reflects the nature of the initiatives in the study locations. For instance, since Hamilton's initiative was launched and, until recently, housed

within local government, a slight majority of the respondents are themselves housed within local government. In contrast, in Sudbury, the community-based nature of its healthy communities initiative is reflected in the fact that ten out-of-fifteen participants were from outside of the Regional government.

Table 3.1: Breakdown of Respondents Interviewed		
Affiliation/Position	# of Respondents	
	Hamilton	Sudbury
<i>Within Regional Government</i>	11	5
Regional Politicians	2	1
Regional Staff	3	2
Regional Senior Management/Directors	6	2
<i>Outside of Regional Government</i>	9	10
Health and Social Service Sector	1	3
Progress Team Member	4	1
Local Economic Development Sector	1	4
Community Activists/Interested Citizens	3	2
Total	20	15

3.5.2 Data Collection Procedures

The interviews took place between October 1998 and March 1999 and ranged in length between 45-90 minutes. The average interview lasted approximately 60 minutes. The interviews were conducted at either the interviewees' place of work, their home, or a neutral location (e.g., coffee shop).

An interview guide (Appendix A) was developed to ensure that the same general topic areas were covered with all respondents. The interview guide was designed to explore a number of topics emerging from the literature on the evaluation of healthy and sustainable community initiatives, with a specific emphasis on process issues (e.g., new ways of decision-making, community involvement/participation, intersectoral collaboration, etc.). That is, questions attempted to find out how, and in what ways, decision-making had changed to reflect the principles of healthy and sustainable communities.

While each of the main topic areas was covered in each interview, in an effort to maintain consistency (both within and between groups), the precise wording of the specific questions was not pre-determined to allow for some flexibility. At the same time, this approach allowed the respondent to focus on those issues of most concern to her/him. Respondents were asked to comment on the nature of their involvement in the initiative, its evolution, its implementation and its overall successes and limitations. In particular, respondents were asked to comment on: how, and in what ways, decision-making has changed (including the extent of community involvement and intersectoral collaboration) with respect to each initiative; the facilitators and barriers to implementing these programs; the extent of action on social/health, environmental, and economic issues; potential changes which would make the initiatives more effective; future directions of the initiatives; and so on.

3.5.3 Data Reduction and Analysis

Interviews were tape-recorded (with permission) and subsequently transcribed verbatim. This resulted in approximately 670 pages of text. Each of the interview transcripts was read in detail and notes were made in the margins of the transcripts to help aid with the computer analysis. A computerized data management system NUD*IST (*N-Vivo*, Version 1.0) was used to manage the data and subsequently theme-code the data. A theme-code list was developed using a combination of deductive and inductive strategies. That is, the major categories and sub-categories, as identified in the interview guide, provided the initial theme/code framework for the analysis. Results from each study location were analyzed separately before the findings were synthesized together. Emergent themes and more detailed layers of information were identified through a process of line-by-line coding. The coding scheme grew and became more sophisticated with each transcript that was initially coded. This resulted in a detailed theme code set used to code all transcripts for subsequent analysis (Appendix B).

3.5.4 Data Selected for Presentation

One of the major challenges facing qualitative researchers is data presentation; that is, maintaining a balance with respect to the amount and level of detail provided in order to give the reader a fair representation of the overall tone and content of the interviews themselves. It is obvious that only a small fraction

of the 670 pages of interview text can be presented in this dissertation. Selection of quotes for presentation, therefore, is a formidable though necessary exercise. Quotes used to represent stakeholder views were selected on the basis of their adherence to three criteria:

1. Text deemed the most representative of the range of quotes for a particular code (i.e., representative of the codes mentioned with the most frequency);
2. Those selections which articulate a wide range of ideas in a concise and illuminating manner; and
3. Those (negative cases) who express ideas or thoughts which differ significantly from the most frequent responses.

The quotes presented are used to illustrate the main themes identified by respondents. The selections presented have also been edited, both for length and for grammar and adapted for stylistic reasons.

3.6 SUMMARY

In order to address the research questions and objectives, a qualitative/interpretive approach nested within a case study design has been employed. A qualitative case study design was seen as the most effective way to address the research questions, given that the tenets of the new public health emphasize contextual, socio-ecological determinants of health.

Two sites were selected for in-depth study: Hamilton and Sudbury, Ontario. These sites had active and relatively long-standing healthy/sustainable

community programs; they also share a similar historical reliance on polluting industry, but differ in their geographical locations (southern vs. northern Ontario, respectively).

In order to provide an understanding of the contexts in which the two healthy/sustainable community programs were operating, extensive community profiles were assembled, drawing on a range of existing data sources. In addition, histories of the healthy/sustainable community initiatives in each city were compiled from a number of available documents, plans and reports produced by each initiative. Those documents not referenced directly, have been listed in Appendix C. The community profiles are the subject of chapter 4.

A series of in-depth interviews were conducted with key informants in both communities in order to document perceptions of project successes and failures in the words of participants in the initiatives. Interview participants were asked how decision-making had changed in each area as a result of the initiative; the facilitators and barriers to implementation; how much action had occurred around various issues; what changes would make the initiatives more effective; and what they perceived the future directions of the initiatives to be. Interviews were coded and analyzed using a combination of top-down and bottom-up approaches. The results of the analysis are presented in chapters five, six and seven.

CHAPTER 4

COMMUNITY PROFILES

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In order to address the research objectives (see Chapters one and three), two communities in Ontario (Figure 4.1) were selected for study: the Regional Municipality of Hamilton-Wentworth, located on the shores of Lake Ontario in southern Ontario (Figure 4.2), and the Regional Municipality of Sudbury, located just north of Georgian Bay in central Ontario (Figure 4.3). Both communities host healthy/sustainable city initiatives; the rationale behind the selection of these communities was described in Chapter three (section 3.3). This chapter begins with brief histories of Hamilton and Sudbury, focussing on the development and decline of their primary industries (steel and mining, respectively), and how these industries, in turn, shaped the environmental and health profiles of each region. This is followed by an overview of the current administrative, political, economic and social composition of the study communities. Next, the two communities are compared and contrasted using a series of demographic socio-economic, environmental and health indicators. Finally, the key events in the development of healthy and sustainable community initiatives in both Hamilton and Sudbury are outlined.



Figure 4.1 Relative Locations of Hamilton and Sudbury, Ontario.

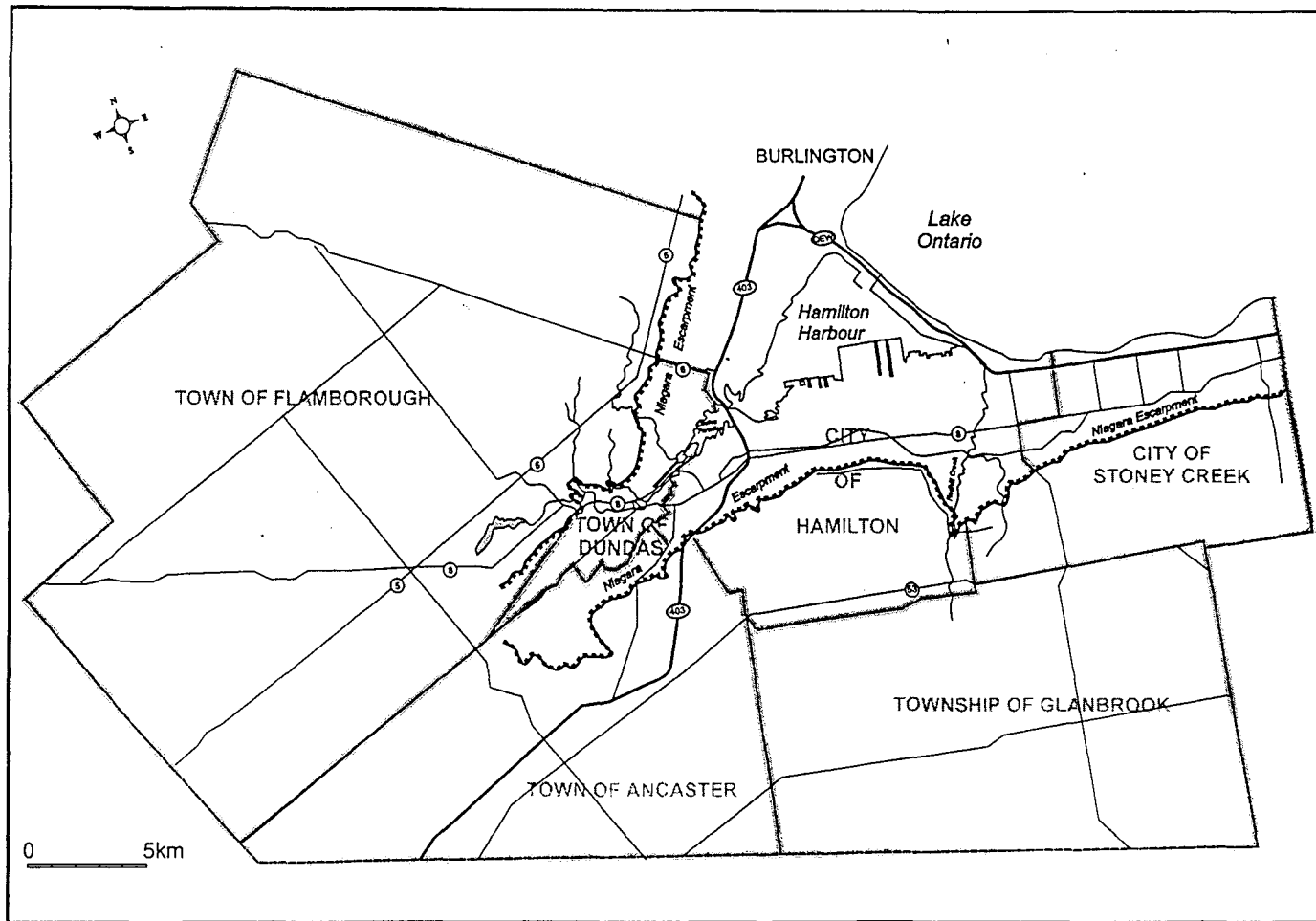


Figure 4.2: (Former) Regional Municipality of Hamilton-Wentworth

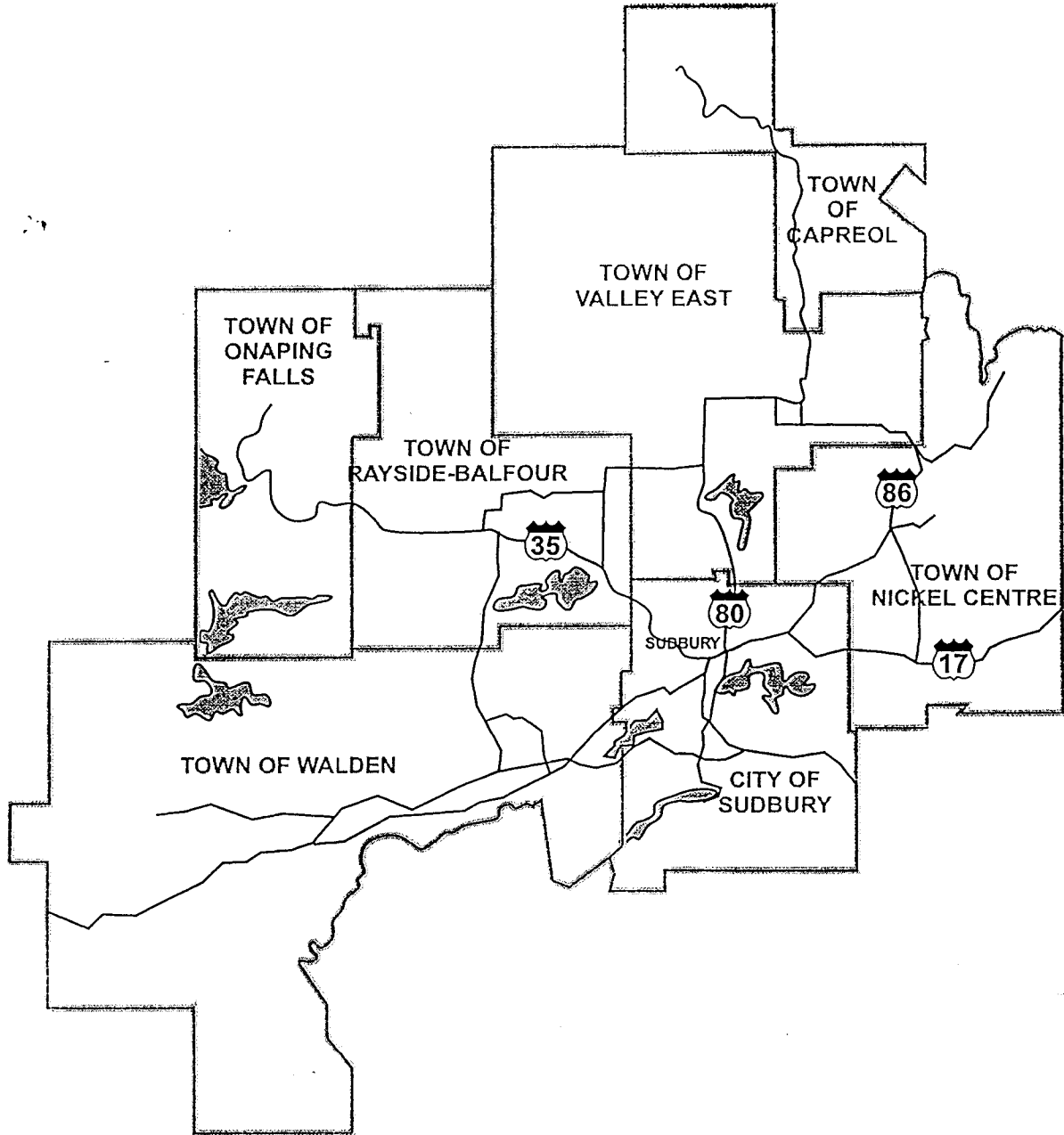


Figure 4.3: (Former) Regional Municipality of Sudbury

Given the nature of the case study research design (see Chapter 3), the goal was to provide as much context as possible for the reader. In particular, the quality of life indicators help to situate the research insofar as they highlight a number of the social, health, economic and environmental challenges faced by the study communities. Increased awareness of these issues has acted as a catalyst for initial engagement with the concepts of healthy and sustainable communities. The community indicators presented in section 4.4, therefore, give the reader an understanding of some of the areas that each community hopes to improve upon once the concepts have been integrated into local decision-making structures. This section does not attempt to explain the complex and interrelated causes and reasons behind each community's relative performance (such a discussion is beyond the scope of this dissertation) in the categories described. Rather, the indicators are included for contextualizing purposes only.

4.2 COMMUNITY HISTORIES

A better understanding of Hamilton and Sudbury's histories can lead to a better understanding of each community's involvement in, and success with, the healthy and sustainable community movement. This section is intended to provide the reader with some of those key events in Sudbury and Hamilton's history which have indelibly shaped their social, economic, political, cultural and physical landscape and served to open a policy window of opportunity (Kingdon,

1995) for healthy and sustainable community initiatives. The histories are not intended to represent a comprehensive account of the development of each region. For a more comprehensive account of the historical development of Hamilton, the reader is directed to Weaver (1982) and Dear, Drake and Reeds (eds.) (1986). With respect to the historical development of the Sudbury Region, the reader is directed to Saarinen (1990) and Richardson (1991).

4.2.1 History of Hamilton-Wentworth

Hamilton came into being as a town during the 1810s (Weaver, 1982). However, it was Hamilton's establishment as an entrepôt which would become crucial in its later development as a major industrial centre. In 1827, Hamilton became a port through the excavation of a permanent channel through the Burlington bar (Gentilcore, 1987). As a result of improved water transportation, the town became an important hub for receiving, distributing and selling goods. In other words, Hamilton's access to Lake Ontario quickly established it as an important trade and distribution centre with improved access to American markets. Hamilton's birth as a port town led to a large influx of immigrants between 1831 to 1841. The Great Western Railway's expansion to Hamilton aided the transformation of Hamilton from a frontier town to a regional centre (Eyles & Peace, 1990). By the late 1850s, Hamilton's population had reached 25,000 as "a major economic boom had transformed the frontier town into a

regional centre with metropolitan pretensions” (Gentilcore, 1987, p. 108-9).

By 1891, Hamilton’s population had reached 50,000 and the city stood as the fourth largest in the nation. During the late 1890s, the development of cheap and reliable energy from the Niagara River led to unprecedented economic growth in the city, as industrial employment grew by some 107% during the first decade of the 20th century (Wood, 1987). Major firms such as Westinghouse (1896), Otis Elevator (1900), International Harvester (1903), and later, the Steel Company of Canada (Stelco) (1910) and the Dominion Foundaries and Steel Company (Dofasco) (1917) became firmly established so that by the beginning of WWI, approximately one half of Hamilton’s labour force was employed in manufacturing (Wood, 1987).

While these new industries benefitted from the first World War, they all suffered greatly during the Great Depression of the 1930s (Wood, 1987). Most of the city’s working class population suffered as well. As Wood (1987) comments, much of the city’s working class population during this time was generally “poor, ill housed and unhealthy” (p. 127). The physical environment also suffered as a result of poor sanitation (i.e., garbage and sewage disposal) practices. Water pollution became an increasingly significant problem as effluent was being discharged directly into the harbour, untreated (Evans, 1970). In addition, toxic industrial waste was being dumped into the harbour (Wood, 1987). Although the harbour was widely acknowledged by local officials to be polluted by 1923, the

problem was not taken seriously for many years (Wood, 1987). Furthermore, air pollution (from both industrial and domestic sources) had become a significant civic issue by the 1940s (Wood, 1987).

The increased demand for steel during WWII had a significant impact on industrial growth and physical expansion in the city. Following the depression, industries returned to full capacity and some expanded. By the mid-1940s, the manufacturing sector accounted for some 74% of employment and Hamilton experienced a large influx of workers (Wood, 1987). During this period, many of Hamilton's major industries became unionized (with the exception of Dofasco, which remains non-unionized today) (Wood, 1987). While this eventually led to higher wages and improved working conditions, it also brought labour unrest culminating in major, and often confrontational, strikes (e.g., a 1946 strike at Stelco lasted 81 days). Hamilton's manufacturing prowess and the establishment of large and powerful unions also firmly entrenched Hamilton's image as a "company town" in the minds of many outsiders (Weaver, 1982).

The increased affluence of the working class population in Hamilton helped fuel unprecedented economic growth in the city and a post-war building boom (Wood, 1987). Despite persistent housing shortages, and the subsequent growth and expansion of the city to the mountain, city planning did not become a reality until the late 1940s and zoning did not occur in Hamilton until 1955. Hamilton's city planning department initiated a significant urban renewal program

in the late 1960s (Peace & Burghardt, 1987). The construction of low income housing just north of the Central Business District, the removal of blighted buildings in the CBD and the construction of a downtown shopping mall (Lloyd D. Jackson Square) were included as part of this renewal scheme.

By the early 1970s, Hamilton was producing over 70% of Canada's steel (Anderson, 1987). Also, during the 1970s, Hamilton experienced a shift in the structure of local governance as the township-county system was replaced by the city-region system (Burghardt, 1987). This culminated, on January 1, 1974, in the establishment of the Regional Municipality of Hamilton-Wentworth. Stricter environmental controls on air quality were also introduced during the late 1960s and early 1970s (Evans, 1970) while sewage regulations did not come into effect until the 1980s.

However, by the latter 1970s, Hamilton's prominence as a major force in the steel industry was thrown into doubt as it suffered the effects of out-dated technology and production techniques (Anderson, 1987). These problems continued into the 1980s and the city lost about one quarter of its manufacturing labour force (approximately 18,000 jobs) between May 1981 and January 1983 (Webber & Fincher, 1987). This situation stabilized somewhat during the 1990s and the steel industry remains a vital component of Hamilton's economy. More recently, Hamilton has been quite successful at diversifying its economy in the health and environmental fields (HWEDD, 1995).

The Region's air quality has improved although it remains a high priority amongst residents and politicians alike (HAQI, 1997). In 1996, the Region embarked on an air quality initiative (Hamilton Air Quality Initiative) to reduce air pollution in Hamilton-Wentworth. Water pollution has remained a major issue as well. In 1986, the Hamilton Harbour Remedial Action Plan (RAP) was developed in an effort to address water quality concerns using a community-based, inter-sectoral approach (Kendrick & Moore, 1995).

4.2.2 History of the Sudbury Region

Sudbury began as a company village of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1883, but the discovery of vast mineral deposits (predominantly copper and nickel) in 1883-84 led to the gradual transition of Sudbury from a railway town to a mining community (Saarinen, 1990). The first mining and smelting operations in the area began at Copper Cliff (just south-west of the city proper) as early as 1886. Shortly thereafter, in 1893, Sudbury became an incorporated town. By the turn of the century, Saarinen (1990) suggests that Sudbury had become an economic force in the mining sector, primarily by servicing military needs. Two major players emerged: Mond Nickel was founded in 1900, and INCO (International Nickel Company) was established shortly thereafter in 1902. INCO expanded its operations in 1928 through the absorption of Mond and opened its enormous smelter at Copper Cliff in 1930. Another company soon to become a

major player, Falconbridge Nickel, began operations in 1930. Sudbury became a city in 1930.

At the time, and for some time following, neither local environmental concerns nor working conditions were strictly regulated by government, which meant that the companies essentially had free reign (Richardson, 1991; Saarinen, 1990). During the early stages of the 20th century, the mining industry experienced a series of boom-bust cycles, largely due to fluctuations in the international nickel market. As one might suspect, lax environmental regulation and unregulated working conditions resulted in a period of serious environmental degradation and fluctuating levels of social and economic well-being (Saarinen, 1990).

The high sulphur content of the mineral deposits found around Sudbury made it necessary at the time (1888-1929) to roast the ores on open heaps before smelting (Rogers, 1995). It was not uncommon for these heaps to burn for months, resulting in a blanket of thick sulphurous clouds over the area. The attendant release of large amounts of sulphur dioxide (SO₂) killed vegetation and made soils highly acidic (Rogers, 1995; Winterhalder, 1995). Despite significant improvements over time, the effects of this process on the entire region are still observable today (i.e., tree stumps and fallen pine trees).

Unlike most industrial enterprises in southern Ontario at the time, mining companies were exempted from paying property taxes to the municipality. And

while this would change in the years to come (they were eventually required to pay a small portion of tax on their profits), they would still pay significantly less than other industries (Saarinen, 1990). As a result, many communities in the Sudbury area were unable to develop suitable municipal infrastructure which, in turn, led to the perception of Sudbury as a slum (Richardson, 1991). Sudbury was also seen as a “company town”: this image was strengthened and solidified as late as the 1950s with the creation of “company” town-sites at Lively (INCO) and Onaping Falls (Falconbridge) comprised largely of immigrant workers (Saarinen, 1990).

Following WWII, expansion of the mining sector, along with growth in the health and education sectors helped Sudbury shed some of its colonial-frontier persona and move it towards a more service-oriented economy (Wallace & Thompson, 1993; Saarinen, 1990). The early part of the 1950s witnessed the beginning of the development of Sudbury as a regional centre. Three hospitals were constructed in Sudbury between 1950-1956. On the education front, Laurentian University (1960) and Cambrian College (1966) helped change the perception (and reality) of Sudbury from that of being strictly a mining town to a regional service centre featuring a number of cultural amenities. Finally, the approval of the city’s first official plan in 1959 led to efforts towards downtown revitalization and overall improvements to municipal infrastructure.

As a result of increasing public demand for action on Sudbury’s poor air

quality, the Provincial government imposed its first “control orders” on smelter emissions in 1969 and 1970. These demands resulted in the construction of the now infamous “super stack” (some 381 meters in height) to help disperse smelter emissions across a wider area (Rogers, 1995). The stack, along with advances and updates in mining technology, helped to significantly reduce SO₂ emissions although much environmental damage had already been done (Potvin & Negusanti, 1995).

Economically, decline in the global market demand for mineral products resulted in dramatic declines in mining employment beginning in the 1970s, which have continued through to the present day. By 1988, the number of individuals employed in the mining sector stood at roughly 10,000 down from about 25,600 in 1971 (Saarinen, 1990). In turn, the population base of the Region fell from around 170,000 in 1971 to 159,000 in 1981.

Despite (or perhaps because of) these economic problems, the Region had begun to initiate action to restore the area’s vegetation by 1974. These efforts began to take shape during the late 1970s when, ironically enough, INCO announced that they would not be able to hire any summer students (Winterhalder, 1995). Instead, under the Young Canada Works program, many of these students were employed (through the region’s Vegetation Enhancement Technical Advisory Committee - VETAC) in re-greening and re-grassing efforts. In 1982, about 200 laid-off mine workers themselves took part in the efforts. Some 3,000

hectares were re-vegetated over a ten-year period, mostly by volunteers and community members. It should be noted that both INCO and Falconbridge were active players in this process, contributing both human and financial resources to the effort. The on-going land reclamation efforts have led to some 6 million trees having been planted between 1979 and 2000.

The downturn in the nickel industry during the early 1980s, also led to increased interest in diversifying the Region's economic base. Locally, efforts at economic diversification led to the creation of Sudbury 2001, a broad-based intersectoral approach linking social, economic and environmental concerns (Rogers, 1995). Sudbury has benefitted from significant federal and provincial funding in the form of assistance to business, the creation of service-sector jobs, support for urban renewal and land reclamation projects, and short-term employment programs (Richardson, 1991). In addition, both the federal and provincial levels of government have provided economic support to Sudbury through direct expenditures on public buildings and facilities such as the construction of a federal Taxation Data Centre (a provincial government office building) and medical treatment and research facilities among others (Richardson, 1991).

4.3 CONTEMPORARY SNAPSHOTS OF THE STUDY COMMUNITIES

4.3.1 The Regional Municipality of Hamilton-Wentworth²

The Regional Municipality of Hamilton-Wentworth was established by the Region of Hamilton-Wentworth Act in 1974. The Region assumed responsibility as the central authority for matters concerning physical, social and economic planning and development within the greater Hamilton area (HWEDD, 1995). The region consisted of six constituent municipalities: the City of Hamilton, the City of Stoney Creek, the Town of Dundas, the Town of Ancaster, the Town of Stoney Creek, the Town of Flamborough, and the Town of Glanbrook and was administered by a Regional Council made up of independently elected councillors (the mayors of each municipality, plus one other elected representative from each municipality), and a directly elected Regional Chair. The local municipalities were responsible for, among other things, all matters pertaining to local planning, local streets and sidewalks, solid waste collection, fire protection, and parks and recreation.

The Regional Municipality of Hamilton-Wentworth had an estimated area of 1113 square kilometres, and an estimated population of some 480,000 in 1998.

2

Although since the inception of this research, the Regional Municipality of Hamilton-Wentworth no longer officially exists (the new City of Hamilton came into effect on January 1, 2001 as a result of amalgamation imposed by the Provincial Government), Hamilton-Wentworth's urban sustainability initiative (VISION 2020) was launched and housed within regional government

Historically, the steel industry has formed the backbone of the local economy, and the steel mills still undeniably play a fundamental role in Hamilton's economic and social fabric. In addition, many "outsiders" undoubtedly still perceive Hamilton as an industrial, blue-collar city. Despite considerable downsizing and restructuring in the steel industry, the two major steel producers (Stelco and Dofasco) remain the largest private sector employers in Hamilton-Wentworth (HWEDD, 1995). This industry is also responsible, to some extent at least, for the generally negative perception of the city as dirty and polluted. While the steel industry in Hamilton-Wentworth is responsible for approximately 30% of the air pollution in the Region, cross-border, long-range contaminant transport (mainly from the Ohio Valley in the U.S.) and transportation-related pollution make-up most of the remaining 70% (HAQI, 1997).

In addition to steel making, Hamilton has been developing a large waste management, recycling and environmental remediation sector (RMHW, 1997). The region is also home to one of Canada's major integrated health care centres and one of Ontario's premiere health science institutions (RMHW, 1997). So, while the Region is linked historically and inevitably to heavy industry, it is diversifying and developing in the environmental health field.

The existence of a number of natural sanctuaries and parks within the region challenges its reputation as a polluted and degraded industrial area. The Niagara escarpment runs through the middle of Hamilton and divides mountain

residents from the rest of the city. The escarpment has had a significant impact on the physical development of the region (Dear et al., 1987) and has been designated as an area of natural and scientific interest (ANSI) by the Canadian government, and as an International Biosphere Reserve by the United Nations (UNESCO).

4.3.2 The Regional Municipality of Sudbury³

The Regional Municipality of Sudbury was established in 1973 in an effort to more efficiently co-ordinate the planning and delivery of services to the citizens of the region. The region was comprised of seven area municipalities (all of which now comprise the City of Greater Sudbury): the cities of Sudbury and Valley East and the towns of Capreol, Nickel Centre, Onaping Falls, Rayside-Balfour, and Walden. The Regional Government was responsible for: regional roads, water supply and distribution, the collection and treatment of sewage, solid waste disposal, land use planning, social services, economic development, police services and environmental restoration (Regional Municipality of Sudbury, 1998). On the other hand, the municipalities were responsible for: local roads, parks and recreation, fire protection services, libraries and public transit (Regional

3

The Regional Municipality of Sudbury, like Hamilton-Wentworth, has also recently re-structured from a two-tiered system of local governance to a one-tiered system (the City of Greater Sudbury has resulted from this amalgamation which was imposed by the Provincial Government as well). As in Hamilton-Wentworth, the research was undertaken while the system of regional governance was still in place.

Municipality of Sudbury, 1998).

Under the old two-tiered system, Regional Council was the governing body of the Corporation. Regional Council was comprised of the mayors of each of the member municipalities and nine councillors from the City of Sudbury and Councillors-At-Large from the City of Valley East, and the towns of Nickel Centre, Rayside-Balfour, and the Town of Walden. A Chief Administrative Officer (CAO) was appointed in order to manage the day-to-day administration of the Region. This was achieved through five departments - Health and Social Services, Planning and Development, Information Technology, Public Works, and the Sudbury Regional Development Corporation (economic development).

The former Regional Municipality of Sudbury comprised an area of some 2,600 square kilometres (making it the 3rd largest municipality in Ontario) and had a population of approximately 165,000 people. Historically, mining has formed the backbone of Sudbury's economic and social fabric and, much like Hamilton, painted the image to outsiders of a dirty, barren and polluted industrial city. Restructuring and downsizing in the mining sector has reduced the number of employees in the region's two largest mining companies (INCO and Falconbridge) over 60% since 1981. However, these companies are still two of the top three employers (all sectors) in the region and the top two private sector employees in Sudbury.

Sudbury, like Hamilton, also boasts a number of environmentally desirable

areas and attractions. Most prominent perhaps, are the abundance of lakes within the boundaries of the regional municipality. In fact, the Regional Municipality of Sudbury contained some 160 fresh water lakes supporting an abundance of aquatic flora and fauna. A lake quality monitoring program had been established to ensure water quality. Park and trail development along urban shorelines is ongoing.

4.4 QUALITY OF LIFE IN HAMILTON AND SUDBURY: USING INDICATORS TO CONSTRUCT COMMUNITY PROFILES

This section is intended to provide the reader with a snapshot of the social, economic and physical environments of Hamilton and Sudbury. As suggested previously (see Chapter 2), there are a number of issues surrounding the use of indicators to measure the impact of healthy and sustainable community initiatives. However, these indicators they can be quite helpful for community profiling purposes.

It is now widely accepted that community health and well-being are influenced by a wide range of factors or determinants (Evans et al., 1994; Hayes & Dunn, 1998). According to the World Health Organization (WHO), health determinants refer to “the range of personal, social, economic and environmental factors which determine the health status of individuals or populations” (WHO, 1998). These include such health- determining factors as income and socio-

economic status, employment and working conditions, education, the physical environment and access to appropriate health care services. The healthy and sustainable community initiatives in both communities are designed to address this broad range of factors including social/health, economic and environmental issues. Several indicators which attempt to get at these complex and interrelated factors are included in this chapter for Hamilton and Sudbury. In terms of the thesis itself, the indicators presented here help to address the first research objective by providing readers, particularly those unfamiliar with the study sites, with a strong contextualized understanding of both study locations. The indicators help give the reader an idea of some of these broad issues that the healthy and sustainable community initiatives in Hamilton and Sudbury are ultimately aiming to address. However, as discussed earlier, changing the direction of many of these indicators through these initiatives will take decades to initiate.

4.4.1 Demographic and Population Indicators

Hamilton has a larger population than Sudbury (490,000 versus 165,000 respectively) (Table 4.1). Sudbury Region, however, is larger in terms of land area, being the third largest municipality in Ontario. Both Hamilton and Sudbury Region experienced slower population growth during the 1990s than the rest of the province. Hamilton's population grew, but at a slightly slower rate than

Table 4.1: Population of Hamilton and Sudbury, 1991-1998				
	Hamilton-Wentworth	Sudbury Region	Ontario	Canada
Population 1998	490201	165393	NA*	NA
Population 1996	481531	168678	NA	NA
Population 1991	465823	166394	NA	NA
%Pop Change '91-98	5.23	-0.6	6.6	7.9
Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Federation of Canadian Municipalities, 2001 * Not Applicable				

national and provincial averages, while Sudbury's population base actually shrank slightly between 1991 and 1998.

In general, Hamilton has a more urban and more ethnically diverse population than Sudbury (Table 4.2). However, Sudbury Region has a relatively higher proportion of aboriginal and Francophone residents as compared to the provincial and national averages. Though still slightly below the Provincial average, Hamilton has a higher percentage of high school graduates and a higher percentage of residents with some post-secondary education than Sudbury. Both fall slightly below both provincial and national averages in terms of personal income.

1996	Hamilton-Wentworth	Sudbury Region	Ontario	Canada
%65 yrs +	14	11.8	12.2	12.1
% mother tongue English	76	61	73	-
% mother tongue French	1	28	4	-
% Urban	91.5	77.9	83.3	77.9
% Aboriginal	1	4.9	1.5	2.9
% Immigrant	24.6	6.9	25.6	17.4
% Immigrants Arriving ('81-'96)	30.2	15.4	42.7	42.9
% High School Graduates	76.1	73.7	76.3	71.8
% Post Secondary Grad.	50.5	49.2	53.1	51.6
Average Personal Income(\$) DHC	25714	24922	27309	26196
Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census				

4.4.2 Employment

During the past two decades, both Sudbury and Hamilton have undergone significant changes to their economic bases and employment profiles (Table 4.3). Both cities have become increasingly reliant on the service sector to help compensate for job losses in primary and secondary industries respectively. For instance, in Sudbury, employment in primary industry has decreased more than 9% between 1981 and 1996. Similarly, in Hamilton, employment in secondary (manufacturing) industries decreased by 13% during the same period.

Table 4.3: Employment by Sector in Hamilton-Wentworth and Sudbury, 1981-1996		
	Hamilton-Wentworth	Sudbury
% Employed in Primary Ind.		
1996	1.8	10.1
1991	2.0	10.8
1986	2.1	12.5
1981	1.9	19.2
% Employed in Secondary Ind.		
1996	21	6.4
1991	22.7	7.8
1986	28.6	9.4
1981	34	11.5
% Employed in Tertiary Ind.		
1996	77.2	83.5
1991	75.3	81.4
1986	69.3	78.1
1981	64.1	69.3
Source: Federation of Canadian Municipalities (2001)		

Although Hamilton remains a world leader in steel production, Stelco and Dofasco remain the largest private-sector employers in the Region (employing approximately 7,800 people and 7,200 people respectively in 1998), significantly fewer people are employed in the steel industry now than in the early 1980s. Similarly, economic shifts, along with technological change, have led to massive workforce reductions in Sudbury Region's two largest mining companies, INCO and Falconbridge, which employed 4,730 and 1,800 employees respectively in the year 2000. Employment at INCO has dropped 65% since 1981 while employment at Falconbridge has slipped some 55% since the same year. Despite these reductions, INCO and Falconbridge remain the region's two largest private sector

employers.

On average, despite a down-sized steel industry, Hamilton has typically exhibited much lower unemployment rates than Sudbury and provincial and national averages (Table 4.4). Sudbury Region's unemployment rate, on the other

	Hamilton- Wentworth	Sudbury	Ontario	Canada
Unemployment Rates				
1981	7.4	11.0	-	-
1986	7.7	12.3	-	-
1991	9.8	8.6	-	-
1996	9.1	12.1	9.0	9.6
1997	6.9	8.8	8.4	9.1
1998	5.7	10.8	7.2	8.3
1999	5.4	9.6	6.3	7.6
Long-term Unemployment Rate, 1999(unemployed for 6 months or more)	3.7	4.3	3.3	3.3
Youth (15-24yrs) Unemployment Rate				
1996	11.6	19.2	14.9	15.3
1997	16.2	18.2	16.4	16.2
1998	14.8	22.8	14.4	15.1
1999	12.7	19.1	13.1	14.0
Source: Federation of Canadian Municipalities (2001)				

hand, ranks consistently higher than the provincial and national averages and fluctuates considerably, likely corresponding to fluctuations in highly volatile international mineral markets. Sudbury Region also has a very high youth unemployment rate, far exceeding both the provincial and national averages (Table 4.4).

Similarly, when employment rates (often thought of as a more accurate

portrayal of job availability) are examined in both communities, Hamilton is again above the national average with the exception of workers over 40, while Sudbury falls short of the national average in all age categories (Table 4.5).

	Hamilton-Wentworth	Sudbury	Canada
Employment Rate			
15-24 yrs	54.5	46.0	52.5
15-39 yrs	72.4	64.8	69.3
40+ yrs	48.7	46.4	51.4
Source: Federation of Canadian Municipalities (2001)			

Other useful indicators of employment vitality are Employment Insurance and Social Assistance rates. Employment Insurance (EI) is designed to help people who are unemployed while they seek out employment and to help balance the negative effects of workforce downsizing and restructuring. Social Assistance (SA) on the other hand, is distributed to people who have no other source of income (FCM, 2001). Both provide good indications of the social and economic well-being of communities. With respect to these indicators, Hamilton residents were less likely to have received EI than the national average (Table 4.6) in all categories (husband and wife families, lone parent families, and non-family

persons), while Sudbury Region, on the whole, typically exceeds national averages with respect to EI. This could suggest that Hamilton-Wentworth has experienced less significant downsizing than Sudbury, or that it has been more

Table 4.6: Families Receiving Employment Insurance (EI) or Social Assistance			
	Hamilton-Wentworth	Sudbury	Canada
Husband and Wife Families			
EI 1998	15.9	22.3	21.3
EI 1996	19.5	23.0	24.2
EI 1992	28.3	NA	31.9
EI % Change '96-'98	-18.5	-3	-12
Social Assistance '98	8.0	8.8	6.9
Social Assistance '96	9.3	9.7	7.8
S.A. % Change '96-'98	-14.0	-9.3	-11.5
Lone Parent Families			
EI 1998	9.9	14.1	15.0
EI 1996	11.1	13.4	16.5
EI 1992	18.5	NA	24.0
EI% Change '96-'98	-15	-5	-9
Social Assistance '98	45.7	47.6	35.5
Social Assistance '96	50.7	52.8	39.9
S.A. % Change '96-'98	-9.9	-9.8	-11.0
Non-family Persons			
EI 1998	5.9	9.3	9.2
EI 1996	7.6	8.7	10.7
EI 1992	12.1	NA	15.4
EI % Change '96-'98	-22.4	6.9	-14
Social Assistance '98	17.5	21.3	14.7
Social Assistance '96	19.7	22.4	15.7
S.A. % Change '96-'98	-11.2	-4.9	-6.4
Source: Federation of Canadian Municipalities (2001)			

successful at diversifying its economy. In a relative sense, Hamilton is contiguous with other employment opportunities while Sudbury is not. In other words, in Hamilton, employment opportunities exist in many surrounding areas (perhaps most notably the GTA), while in Sudbury, these opportunities are limited. The significant decreases in those receiving Employment Insurance and Social Assistance in all areas is due in large measure to increasingly strict eligibility requirements.

In terms of social assistance, both Hamilton and Sudbury had more social assistance recipients in all categories than the Canadian average, and, in most cases, Sudbury had more families and individuals receiving social assistance than Hamilton (Table 4.6). Both Hamilton and Sudbury have over 45% of their lone-parent families in receipt of social assistance. This is more than 10% higher than the national average.

4.4.3 Community Affordability

In order to better understand quality of life and standard of living in any community, it is helpful to know something about income levels and costs of living. The Federation of Canadian Municipalities (FCM) has developed a series of Community Affordability Measures (CAMs) which take these considerations into account. The measures developed by FCM compare current income levels of the overall community population (CAM1), and the half of the population with

incomes below the median (CAM2 - referred to as the modest income group by FCM), with the cost of living “typically encountered by those populations in the community” (FCM, 2001, p. 23). A higher CAM (greater than 1) means that average incomes are higher than average costs of living.

FCM developed a cost of shelter indicator to account for differing shelter costs in each community through information obtained from the Canada Housing and Mortgage Corporation (CMHC). These costs were combined and converted into a “cost index” for the entire community’s population which was subsequently recalculated for the modest income population based on Statistics Canada weightings (FCM, 2001). These cost indexes became the denominators in the calculations of the CAMs. The numerators (income calculations) were also provided by Statistics Canada. The CAMs were created by dividing the cost index into the income index for each community (FCM, 2001). For both the total population of Hamilton and Sudbury and those in the modest income group, average incomes are higher than the costs of living in each community, if only slightly (Table 4.7). This initial impression of affordability is somewhat misleading, however, given that out of the eighteen communities included in the FCM report, only Toronto, Burnaby and Vancouver had CAMs which fell below 1 (where costs of living exceeded incomes). In fact, if one excludes these three communities, for 1998, Sudbury had the lowest CAM1 value of the remainder and the 2nd lowest CAM2 value of the remaining fifteen municipalities. Hamilton’s

1998 values for both CAM1 and CAM2 fall somewhere in the bottom third of the remaining fifteen communities.

	Hamilton-Wentworth	Sudbury
CAM1 '98	1.12	1.03
CAM1 '96	1.10	1.11
CAM1 '92	1.11	NA
CAM2 '98	1.12	1.06
CAM2 '96	1.16	1.12
CAM2 '92	1.15	NA

Source: Federation of Canadian Municipalities (2001)

As the report suggests, shelter costs are the most important variable in relation to differing costs of living (FCM, 2001). As is evident in Table 4.8, Sudbury has a lower proportion of owners versus renters when compared to Hamilton, the province and the nation.

Hamilton-Went.		Sudbury		Ontario		Canada	
Rent (%)	Own (%)	Rent (%)	Own (%)	Rent (%)	Own (%)	Rent (%)	Own (%)
46.8	17.6	46.5	13.6	44.2	18.9	43	16.9

Source: Federation of Canadian Municipalities (2001)

The comparatively low percentage of owners in Sudbury, may have improved slightly during the late 1990s as average housing prices dropped slightly between 1996 - 1999 (Table 4.9).

Table 4.9: Average Price of Single Family Dwellings in Hamilton and Sudbury		
	Hamilton-Wentworth	Sudbury
Avg. Price, Single Family Dwelling (\$)		
1999	159322	105092
1998	156021	109849
1996	144170	108220
% Change '96-'99	10.5	-2.9
Source: Federation of Canadian Municipalities (2001)		

The situation for renters in both communities is grim, given that rent for a two-bedroom apartment in Hamilton and Sudbury consumed at least 40% of an unattached individual's income in Hamilton and over 46% in Sudbury (Table 4.10). Statistics Canada's Low Income Cut Off (LICO) considers 30% of one's income as the maximum affordable expenditure on shelter. The situation is perhaps most surprising in Sudbury, given that vacancy rates had risen to over 11% during 1998 (Table 4.10).

Table 4.10: Rental Affordability: Rent as a Percentage of Median Income, and Vacancy Rates		
	Hamilton-Wentworth	Sudbury
Avg Rent of a 2 Bedroom Apt as % of Median Non-Family Person Income, 1998	39.9	46.1
Avg Rent of a 2 Bedroom Apt as % of Median Family Income	14.2	15.3
Vacancy Rates 1999 1998	1.9 3.2	11.1 9.4
Source: Federation of Canadian Municipalities (2001)		

Finally, a further glimpse into the social and economic quality of life in Hamilton and Sudbury can be gleaned from an examination of federal government transfer income as a percentage of total income (Table 4.11). Both Hamilton and

Table 4.11: Government Transfer Payments as a Percentage of Total Community Income in Hamilton and Sudbury, 1992, 1996, 1998.			
	Hamilton-Wentworth	Sudbury	Canada
Government Transfers % Total Income 1998	14.0	15.3	12.8
1996	15.2	15.3	13.9
1992	21.1	NA	18.6
Source: Federation of Canadian Municipalities (2001)			

Sudbury continue to receive higher than average amounts of federal assistance (FCM, 2001). According to the FCM report, this is due to the fact that Hamilton has a comparatively older age profile, thereby drawing higher amounts of Old Age

Security and Pension Plan benefits along with social assistance benefits. Sudbury, not surprisingly, draws above average amounts from the Canada Pension Plan (including disability benefits), from Workers Compensation and from social assistance benefits.

4.4.4 Community Stress/Safety

The measures included in this section represent an attempt to measure the overall social and economic vulnerability of communities, issues which are relevant given that one goal of healthy/sustainable city initiatives is to reduce these vulnerabilities to improve health. Despite Hamilton's consistently better performance in most of the categories listed in previous sections, it does not fare as well when one examines low income incidence in each community (Table 4.12).

While both Hamilton and Sudbury exhibit more lone parent families than the Canadian average, almost 22% of the population in Hamilton-Wentworth is considered low income and 26.4 percent of children are living in low income households. This compares with the provincial rates of 17.7% and 21.6% respectively. Sudbury has fewer low income private households (17.1%) than the provincial average and is almost at the provincial average with respect to children living in low income families (21.7%).

Table 4.12: Community Stress Measures in Hamilton and Sudbury.				
	Hamilton-Wentworth	Sudbury	Ontario	Canada
%Lone Parent Families				
1996	15.4	18.3	-	14.5
1998	16.3	16.2	-	15.4
%Low Income (total pop. in private households)	21.9	17.1	17.7	19.7
% Children (under 18) living in low income families	26.4	21.7	21.6	22.8
Low Income Families (%)				
1996	18.5	14.3	14.8	16.3
1991	14.7	11.7		
1986	14.4	14.7		
1981	14.0	13.4		
Low Income Individuals (%)				
1996	48.0	42.7	37.9	42.2
1991	41.3	35.9		
1986	43.0	43.7		
1981	41.2	43.2		
Source: Federation of Canadian Municipalities (2001)				

Suicide is another social problem that is often associated with poverty and social marginalization. Sudbury's suicide rate is much higher than Hamilton-Wentworth's (66% higher in 1997) and is consistently higher than the national average (24% higher in 1997) (Table 4.13). In fact, of all of the eighteen FCM QOL communities, Sudbury tied with Regina with the highest suicide rate at 16.1 per 100,000 population. Hamilton had one of the lowest rates among QOL communities at 5.5.

Table 4.13: Death Rate, Suicides per 100,000 Population			
	Hamilton-Wentworth	Sudbury	Canada
1997	5.5	16.1	12.2
1996	8.5	13.6	13
1995	10.2	16.6	13.3
1994	7.6	13.6	12.7
1993	8.9	14.7	13.1
1992	5.5	15.4	13
1991	5.9	16.8	12.8
Source: Federation of Canadian Municipalities (2001)			

Sudbury also fares relatively poorly when one examines hospitalizations and deaths from unintentional injuries (Table 4.14). Sudbury's hospitalization rate for injuries is 40% higher than Hamilton's, 16% higher than the provincial average and over 17% higher than the national average. As with suicides, Hamilton's rate of 461 per 100,000 comes in well below the national and provincial average (i.e., 28% less in both cases).

Table 4.14: Injury hospitalizations and Deaths, 1996 (rate per 100,000)				
	Hamilton-Wentworth	Sudbury	Ontario	Canada
Injury hospitalization rate per 100,000	461	769	643	636
Unintentional injury deaths, per 100,000	22.5	36.5	24.3	27.7
Source: Federation of Canadian Municipalities (2001)				

With respect to crime rates, Hamilton's violent crime rate has remained consistently higher (+21% in 1998) than the Canadian average while Sudbury's has remained lower (-11% in 1998) (Table 4.15). Both cities remain close to the national average with respect to property crime rates.

Table 4.15: Crime Rates per 100,000 in Hamilton and Sudbury		
	Hamilton-Wentworth	Sudbury
Violent Crimes		
1998	1240	872
1996	1339	918
1991	1203	986
1986	1177	Not Available
Property Crimes		
1998	4590	4222
1996	5201	5101
1991	5850	7023
1986	5537	Not Available
Source: Federation of Canadian Municipalities (2001)		

4.4.5 Environmental Sensitivity/Awareness

The physical environment is another important factor to consider when examining the quality of life in communities. It is particularly pertinent to look at indicators of environmental quality in Hamilton and Sudbury given their industrial legacies and associated environmental concerns, as well as the focus within healthy/sustainable city initiatives on creating and maintaining healthy physical environments, and on encouraging community members to practice sustainable lifestyles.

4.4.5.1 Waste Reduction Efforts

The amount of material being recycled in both Hamilton and Sudbury has increased significantly during the past decade or so. For instance, since 1988, the amount of recycling material collected in Hamilton-Wentworth has increased by some 78% and the total waste landfilled decreased by about 72% between 1981 and 1997 (Table 4.16). This is partially due to the fact that when, in 1996, the Region of Hamilton-Wentworth signed a contract to operate the waste disposal system, economic incentives were put in place to have as much waste as possible go through the Region's household solid waste incinerator (SWARU) to minimize the amount being landfilled. Further incentive to recycle was provided by the fact that the contract also stipulated that the Region did not have to pay for recycling services. The more that could be diverted from the waste stream, the cheaper it was for the region. And although more waste is being diverted from landfill, much of this is still being incinerated.

Table 4.16: Recycling and Landfilled Waste in Hamilton-Wentworth		
Year	Recycling (material collected in tonnes)	Total Waste Landfilled
1981	Not Available (NA)	179601
1982	NA	171286
1983	NA	181257
1984	NA	190726
1985	NA	186733
1986	NA	275992
1987	5571	226691
1988	10388	211085
1989	13713	201743
1990	16519	182163
1991	16924	155032
1992	19671	82410
1993	18994	86393
1994	19513	92433
1995	19435	94431
1996	21924	76299
1997	25422	50786
Source: Regional Municipality of Hamilton-Wentworth, 1998		

Sudbury, like Hamilton, has significantly increased (by 30%) the amount of materials it recycles since 1994 and approximately 42% more waste was diverted from landfill in 1997 than in 1993 (Table 4.17). Despite these obvious improvements, both communities still lag behind most other cities and regional municipalities included in the FCM QOL study in terms of the average number of

kilograms recycled by each resident (Table 4.18). In fact, according to this measure, Hamilton performs less well than Sudbury, although both fall well short of the QOL community average of almost 73 kilograms per resident per year.

Year	Recycled Material (tonnes)	Total Diverted Waste
1993	-	9412
1994	5822	11340
1995	6733	13750
1996	7778	11500
1997	8307	16300

Source: Regional Municipality of Sudbury (1998)

	Hamilton-Wentworth	Sudbury	QOL Community Average
kilograms collected	54.9	57.7	72.9
1999	48.3	54.6	65.9
1998	46.9	47.1	58.4
1996			

Source: Federation of Canadian Municipalities (2001)

It should be noted, however, that this may be, at least partly, a function of the level of sophistication of each community's recycling program and not necessarily reflect community interest/awareness. In other words, recycling programs in Hamilton and Sudbury may not be set up to accommodate certain

kinds of materials that may be acceptable for recycling in other cities. As such, the results should be interpreted with caution. That said, however, it is clear that much more could be done with respect to recycling efforts in each city.

4.4.5.2 Air Quality

In terms of air quality issues in Hamilton and Sudbury, the picture is far from clear (Table 4.19). What is clear however is that Hamilton consistently has more hours of moderate/poor air quality than the Ontario average. Sudbury's air quality, on the other hand, fluctuates widely, ranging from values far below the provincial average (1991 and 1993) to far higher (1989 and 1995) than the provincial average.

Year	Hamilton-Wentworth	Sudbury	Ontario
1989	5.3	6.2	5.5
1990	6.7	5.8	5.7
1991	8.2	4.3	6.7
1992	4.7	3.8	3.6
1993	4.9	2.9	4.4
1994	6.4	4.3	5.4
1995	5.7	6.8	5.3
1996	5	4.9	4.8

Source: Ontario Ministry of Environment, 1998

4.4.5.3 Transit Ridership Levels in Hamilton and Sudbury

Transit ridership levels are often cited as a good measure of environmental sustainability. This argument suggests that if transit ridership is increasing, fewer cars are polluting the air. If this is the case, then the news is not particularly good in Hamilton and Sudbury, as transit ridership levels have decreased significantly in both communities since the mid-1980s.. Ridership is down by approximately 34% in Hamilton since the mid-1980s (Figure 4.4) and about 31% in Sudbury during the same time period (Figure 4.5).

Figure 4.4: Transit Ridership Levels in Hamilton, 1984-1997

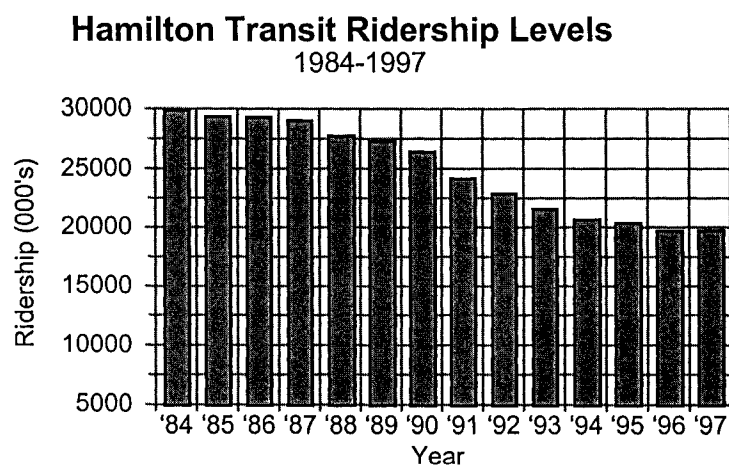
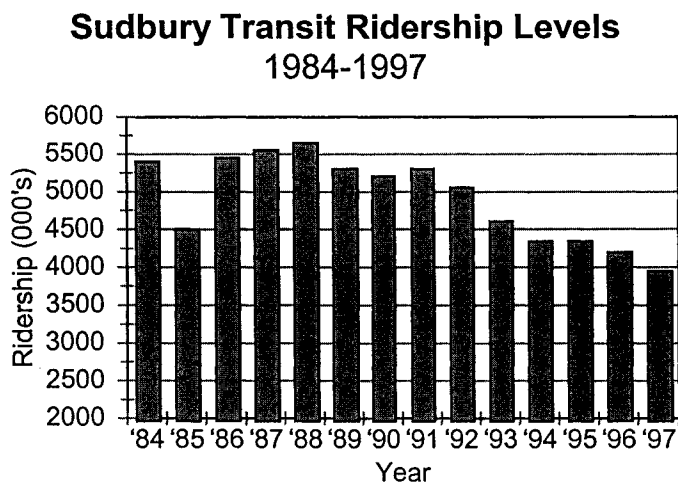


Figure 4.5: Transit Ridership Levels in Sudbury, 1984-1997



4.4.6 Community Health

The following section details a number of measures of health-related outcomes in Hamilton and Sudbury. The variables include: life expectancy; respiratory death rates; circulatory disease rates; cancer death rates (including lung and breast); low birth weight births; and total mortality rates (Table 4.20). These are important to include because the healthy and sustainable community initiatives in question seek to improve (in the long term) some, if not all of the health measures included below. Health (or illness and disease), therefore, is considered an important indicator of quality of life.

With respect to low birth weight (i.e. less than 2,500 grams) as a percentage of live births, both Sudbury and Hamilton come in close to the provincial average. However, Sudbury's infant mortality rate (IMR) is more than

19% higher than the provincial average. Hamilton's IMR rate (5.9) is slightly higher than the provincial and national average but is considerably lower than the Sudbury Region.

When compared to the provincial average, respiratory disease rates in Sudbury were found to be some 28% higher than the national and provincial averages (Table 4.20); this despite the ambiguous air quality data presented earlier (Table 4.19). And while Hamilton's rate is still higher (+9%) than the provincial

Table 4.20: Health Measures in Hamilton and Sudbury, 1996.				
Characteristic	Hamilton-Wentworth	Sudbury	Ontario	Canada
Life Expectancy(yrs)	78	76.6	78.6	78.4
Low Birth Weight (% of live births)	6.1	6.2	6	5.8
Infant Mortality Rate (per 1,000 live births)	5.9	6.8	5.7	5.8
All Respiratory Disease Rate (ASR/100,000)	61.8	72.6	56.7	59.8
All Circulatory Disease Rate(ASR/100,000)	246	296.3	245.7	245.8
Total Mortality (ASR/100,000)	693.4	769.3	661.2	668.9
All Cancer Death Rate (ASR/100,000)	190	202.5	180.5	186.7
Lung Cancer Deaths (ASR/100,000)	49.6	54.3	44.3	49.2
Breast Cancer Deaths (ASR/100,000)	31.3	28.3	29	28.3
Source: Statistics Canada Health Indicators (2000)				

average, it is considerably lower than Sudbury Region's. Further evidence of

Sudbury's poor health performance is apparent when one looks at circulatory disease rates (Table 4.20). Once again, Sudbury's rate stands some 21% above the provincial and national averages, while Hamilton's rate is only slightly higher than average.

As of 1996, the Sudbury Health region experienced an all cancer death rate approximately 12% above the provincial average (Table 4.20). Hamilton's cancer death rate is approximately 5% higher than the Ontario average. Similarly, the Sudbury Region also experiences a much higher (+23%) lung cancer death rate than the province as a whole (Table 4.20). Hamilton fares somewhat better with lung cancer death rate approximately 12% above the Ontario average and just slightly higher than the Canadian rate.

The only health measure in which the Sudbury health region fares better than the province is with respect to deaths from breast cancer (Table 4.20). While Sudbury's rate falls slightly below the provincial average, Hamilton's rate is some 8% higher than the province and almost 10% higher than Sudbury's.

The end result of these indicators is that, on average, residents in both Sudbury and Hamilton have higher mortality rates and shorter life expectancies (Table 4.20). Sudbury's total mortality rate is about 16% higher once again than the province as a whole (Table 4.20) while Hamilton does slightly better at 693.4 per 100,000, some 5% higher than the province. In comparison to the provincial average, Sudburians live, on average, some two years less than the average for the

province as a whole (Table 4.20). Residents in the Hamilton health region fared slightly better, with a life expectancy only one-half of a year lower than the provincial average (Table 4.20).

It is apparent that both Hamilton and Sudbury fare relatively poorly (as compared to Ontario, Canada and the FCM Quality of Life Communities) in terms of most measures relating to well-being and quality of life. This is true for most of the socio-economic, environmental and health indicators provided. The relatively poor performance of each community, based on the indicators described herein, helps to explain why both Hamilton and Sudbury decided to become involved in the movement towards the development of more healthy and sustainable communities.

While a detailed discussion of why both Hamilton and Sudbury fare more poorly overall than most of the communities included in the FCM report is beyond the scope of the dissertation, we now suspect from the population health literature, the factors leading to these poor outcomes are many, interrelated and highly complex. First, both communities poor scores in the quality of life indicators, are due to a number of factors, including the fact that residents of both Hamilton and Sudbury have lower incomes than both the national and provincial average (see Table 4.2). In addition, lifestyle and behavioural factors (e.g., smoking, drinking, diet, etc.) also play an important role. In Hamilton, a 1996 survey of high school students revealed higher rates (than the Ontario average) of smoking and drinking

(Hamilton-Wentworth Regional Public Health Department, 1998). Higher rates of physical inactivity and obesity were also discovered. Data from the Ontario Health Survey (1996-1997) revealed that Sudburians exhibited higher rates of smoking, drinking, and obesity than both the national and provincial averages (Jenish, 1999). For Sudbury, in particular (See Jenish, 1999) a general lack of resources for health promotion and health care, along with a shortage of General Practitioners and specialists, may also play a contributing role.

It is apparent that there is much room for improvement however and it becomes evident why both Hamilton and Sudbury felt the need to improve the quality of life in their communities. We now turn to a discussion of the origins of healthy and sustainable community initiatives in each city.

4.5 HEALTHY AND SUSTAINABLE CITY INITIATIVES IN HAMILTON AND SUDBURY

The following section details the formation of healthy and sustainable community initiatives in Hamilton and Sudbury. This information provides the context necessary for understanding the origins and current status of the initiatives in both communities, as well as their organizational structures and positions in relation to decision-making structures within the community.

4.5.1 Hamilton Wentworth's Vision 2020 Initiative

4.5.1.1 Beginnings

Hamilton-Wentworth's urban sustainability initiative can be traced back to a number of developments during the late 1980s, when senior management at the Region determined that they needed new mechanisms to "improve the coordination between municipal budget decisions and policy goals and objectives" (Regional Municipality of Hamilton-Wentworth, 1997, p. 12). During this time as well, the Region's Official Plan and Economic Strategy were deemed to be in need of updating and review. The newly elected Regional Chairman at the time, had identified such issues as environmental protection, affordable housing and increased community involvement in the civic decision-making process as central to his mandate. So, it was a confluence of several different factors which paved the way for Hamilton-Wentworth's VISION 2020 Sustainable Community Program to begin to take shape.

The initiative began with the creation of the Chairman's Task Force on Sustainable Development by the Regional Council of Hamilton-Wentworth in June 1990. The 18-member Task Force was given two years to:

- develop a definition of sustainable development in the context of Hamilton-Wentworth;
- develop a "community vision", based on the concept of sustainable development;

- establish public outreach in an effort to increase awareness of the concept of sustainable development;
- suggest ways the concept of sustainable development could be converted into practical actions and tasks;
- demonstrate the applicability of the concept to the review of the Region's Official Plan; and
- give direction to staff members in Economic Development and Planning who would be using the concept to update their review of the Region's Economic Strategy and Official Plan. (Regional Municipality of Hamilton-Wentworth, 1997)

After much consultation, research and debate, the Task Force released a short (4-page) document (*VISION 2020: The Sustainable Region*), which depicted a utopian vision of Hamilton-Wentworth in the year 2020. Upon its release, the report received much negative media coverage and was criticized for being too vague and providing little in the way of specific direction (Regional Municipality of Hamilton-Wentworth, 1997). Despite the criticisms, the vision statement was adopted as the basis for Regional decision-making by the Regional Council of Hamilton-Wentworth on June 16, 1992.

The final phase of the Task Force's mandate involved the identification and articulation of the kinds of actions and decisions necessary to make the Vision statement a reality for Hamilton-Wentworth by 2020. Toward this end, eight teams of volunteers were organized around specific theme areas. The teams produced two documents (*Directions for Creating a Sustainable Region* and

Detailed Strategies and Actions for Creating a Sustainable Region) which included some 400 goal statements and recommendations. The Task Force's final report was adopted unanimously on February 2, 1993 (Regional Municipality of Hamilton-Wentworth, 1997).

The overriding goal of Hamilton-Wentworth's Vision 2020 program was to:

Integrate the concept of sustainable development into the decision making of individuals, businesses, community groups, and government agencies by building an ethic of sustainability in all of our citizens (Bekkering & Eyles, 1998).

"Sustainable development" was defined in the Region of Hamilton-Wentworth as:

The achievement in all decision-making of a balance between the three legs of sustainability: the economy, the natural environment, and social/health factors; and recognition of the need to preserve a balance between the needs of present and future generations (VISION 2020: The Sustainable Region).

Further, the sustainable development initiative in Hamilton was intended to incorporate:

...a coordinated approach to planning and policy making that involves public participation. Its success depends upon widespread understanding of the critical relationship between people and their environment and the will to make the necessary changes (Regional Municipality of Hamilton-Wentworth, 1997).

Two mechanisms were intended to facilitate the implementation of Vision 2020. First, a citizen organization was created to be responsible for "encouraging

and facilitating community implementation” (Regional Municipality of Hamilton-Wentworth, 1997, p. 29). This citizen’s group, Citizens for a Sustainable Community, was originally intended to be a sort of a “watch dog” group to advise the Region on implementation of the Vision. The group, however, never really developed as envisioned, as a report released by the Regional Municipality notes:

Unfortunately, although it (CSC) still exists as an organization, it has never been able to attract the attention of the community and build upon its original membership... To a large extent the organization has had essentially no impact on the community and has been able to facilitate very little implementation of any aspects of the vision statement (Regional Municipality of Hamilton-Wentworth, 1997, p. 29).

The second vehicle for implementation was the creation of the Staff Working Group on Sustainable Development which was formed in 1993. Comprised of senior staff, the group was designed to facilitate the coordination of decision-making within the Regional corporation. Perhaps the most significant contribution of the working group to-date has been the development of the Sustainable Community Decision Making Guide. The Guide, adopted by Regional Council on August 16, 1994, requires that every report presented to Regional Council contains a section on the sustainability implications of a proposed project, plan and/or policy (Regional Municipality of Hamilton-Wentworth, 1997). The decision making guide was expanded in 1996 to apply to grant applications, interview and candidate selection for citizen advisory committees, tendering and purchasing policies, and internal auditing procedures.

4.5.1.2 Monitoring and Evaluation

The Region has developed a diverse system of monitoring and evaluation over the past several years. The monitoring program primarily consists of four mechanisms: 1) Vision 2020 Sustainable Community Day; 2) the Sustainability Indicators; 3) the “implementation review” conducted by Regional staff; and, 4) the Vision 2020 Progress Team.

First, the Vision 2020 Sustainable Community Day has been held every year since 1993, although it has been shortened gradually from a weekend workshop to a one-evening event. It is intended to increase awareness of the Vision in the community as well as provide the opportunity for the community to reflect upon and make suggestions to improve Vision 2020.

Second, a series of 29 indicators of sustainability were developed through a highly acclaimed extensive community consultation process in 1996. The final list of 29 indicators was narrowed down from an initial list of 60 indicators based on issues surrounding their measurability, feasibility (i.e., cost, ease) of collection, credibility and validity, integration with the three aspects of sustainability (economic, social/health, physical environment) and their potential for effecting change. This list was approved by Regional Council during the summer of 1996. The indicators touch on various theme areas of the Vision and are intended to not only measure progress towards the goals of Vision 2020, but to raise community awareness of the Vision’s philosophy and approach.

Third, an internal evaluation of the initiative was initiated in 1996. Upon recommendation of the Staff Working Group on Sustainable Development, an “Implementation Review” was carried out by Regional Staff. This review (completed in October 1997) identified policies, programs and projects undertaken by Regional Council to implement the Vision, identified activities of the community, business and industry towards achieving Vision 2020, and identified the major challenges remaining. The final report presented a detailed examination of the 400 recommendations across the twelve theme areas. In essence, the report notes is “not an evaluation of success and failure but a descriptive presentation of the actions being taken in our community” (Regional Municipality of Hamilton-Wentworth, 1997, p. 4).

Fourth, also in 1996, the Vision 2020 Progress Team, comprised of eighteen volunteers, was formed to evaluate, from “outside”, the Regional organization’s implementation of Vision 2020 and develop revised and/or new actions and strategies to be implemented over the next five years to achieve Vision 2020. In late 1998 the Progress Team released a document entitled, *Strategies for a Sustainable Community*, which fulfilled their mandate.

4.5.1.3 Moving Forward?

The Progress Team’s major conclusion was that the Vision lacked the necessary broad community ownership (Vision 2020 Progress Team, 1998) to

make the Vision a reality in Hamilton-Wentworth. One of the key strategies it suggested to rectify this was the creation of a new community group which would promote action towards the Vision (in part by developing concrete action plans), broaden community participation, educate Hamilton's citizens about the Vision, and monitor and publicize progress towards the Vision in Hamilton.

This new group, Action 2020, was incorporated as a not-for-profit organization on March 17, 2000. The group set up Task Forces to review indicators of progress and develop action plans in each of 14 "theme areas" (similar to those identified by original task force) in October of 2001. The Task Forces were set to present their findings in November of 2001.

4.5.2 Healthy Communities in Sudbury

This section documents the beginnings and evolution of the Healthy Communities initiative in Sudbury, with an emphasis on the origins and growth of the Sudbury Roundtable on Health, the Economy and Environment, the community group initially responsible for implementing healthy communities. It also reports on recent interest in the concept by the Regional Municipality of Sudbury.

In contrast to Hamilton's Vision 2020 initiative, Sudbury's Healthy Communities initiative took a fundamentally different approach. Instead of being directed and co-ordinated by the local government (more of a top-down or inside-

out approach), the Sudbury Roundtable was a community group that tried to implement healthy communities from the bottom-up (or outside-in). This approach, while fundamentally different from that of the Hamilton initiative, was in tune with contemporary developments in health promotion and the new public health which espoused a community-based, bottom-up orientation for the implementation of healthy cities/communities initiatives (Robertson & Minkler, 1994; Hancock, 1987; Manson-Singer, 1994). In fact, during the late 1980s and early 1990s, community development became the new catchphrase within the field of health promotion (Robinson, 1997), in general, and healthy communities (Manson-Singer, 1994), in particular.

4.5.2.1 Beginnings

The origins of the healthy community movement in Sudbury had much to do, initially at least, with an effort to improve leisure and recreational opportunities in the City of Sudbury. As Saarinen (1990) notes, the growth of the tertiary employment sector, and the associated rise of white-collar professionals “as the dominant influence on the urban mentality and internal power base” (p. 69) of the city/region, led to significant improvements to cultural, leisure/recreational opportunities in the Sudbury area (Richardson, 1991). This is perhaps best evidenced by the development of a comprehensive Leisure Plan for the City of Sudbury in 1987; a process which would ultimately lead to the creation

of Sudbury's Healthy Community initiative.

Co-ordinated by the City of Sudbury's Parks and Recreation Department and driven by a steering committee comprised of a broad range of community leaders and activists, an extensive public consultation process was undertaken to complete the Leisure Plan (Rogers, 1995). The first phase of the process identified a number of leisure issues and processes for addressing these issues. During the consultation, concerns about the health and sustainability of the physical environment emerged as top priorities for action (Rogers, 1995). The "Healthy City" [sic] approach was identified as a key process for addressing these concerns.

Phase Two of the Leisure Plan called for the formation of a number of citizen task groups to examine the issues identified in Phase One in more detail (Rogers, 1995). Two of the groups (the Natural Environment and the Healthy City) combined efforts and organized a provincial conference to further investigate the links between health, the economy and the environment. The conference, called *Healthy Places, Healthy People - Healthy People, Healthy Places*, brought together a wide range of professionals, community groups and citizens to discuss developing a healthier and more sustainable Sudbury (Smith, 1992).

Following the conference, the two task groups on the Natural Environment and the Healthy City began the task of creating a vision of Sudbury in 2020

according to the principles of healthy and sustainable community development. This process generated some 85 specific action recommendations and included implementation time lines (City of Sudbury, 1990). These recommendations (mostly centred on improving access to leisure and recreational activities in the community through such means as bicycle/walking paths, boardwalks, etc.) comprised the bulk of a report prepared by the two task groups which was subsequently presented to the Leisure Planning Steering Committee and eventually to Sudbury City Council. In time, the Leisure Plan was finalized with the underlying concept of a healthy and sustainable community as its lead recommendation. The Plan was approved by City Council in May 1990.

4.5.2.2 Sudbury Roundtable on Health, the Economy and Environment

While the individual task groups themselves dissolved upon completion of their mandate, a number of individuals decided that they wanted the momentum and ideas generated to continue (Rogers, 1990). Prior to dissolving the task groups, participants were asked if they wanted to remain involved in the process and be a part of the formation of a roundtable on healthy and sustainable community development. Many expressed interest, and thus the Sudbury Roundtable on Health, Economy and Environment was formed. The group was to be responsible for the implementation of the healthy communities concept in Sudbury in an effort to enhance the quality of life of those living in the

community (Smith, 1992).

The official purpose of the Roundtable was to, “initiate and promote policies and actions affecting the connection of health, economic and environmental concerns in the Sudbury area...” (Sudbury Roundtable on Health, Economy and Environment, 1993, p. 2). The group was guided by a number of underlying principles including the notion of the interconnectedness between health, the economy and the environment and the fact that health and well-being are dependent upon the entire ecosystem. Upon its inception, the Roundtable identified four goals to help direct its activity. These goals were:

- 1) to establish a public based forum to facilitate and monitor healthy community programs and policies in Sudbury;
- 2) to promote and increase awareness of the concept amongst the general public, various community sectors, political representatives and municipal managers;
- 3) to implement healthy public policy in Sudbury; and,
- 4) to share information and experience with other communities striving towards improved quality of life and well-being (Sudbury Roundtable on Health, the Economy and Environment, 1993).

One of the major aims of the Roundtable was to raise public awareness in the community in an effort to “direct political will and decision-making” to reflect the values and priorities of the healthy communities approach (Smith, 1992, p. 6).

The Roundtable went on to host two more conferences and was still functioning at the time of writing. The Roundtable and the Healthy Communities

concept adopted by the Roundtable, were subsequently officially endorsed (though no resources were provided) by the City of Sudbury Council and by resolution of the Regional Health and Social Services Committee (Sudbury Roundtable on Health, the Economy and Environment, 1993). The Roundtable's actions and attempts towards making Sudbury a healthier community are a predominant focus of the evaluation.

4.5.2.3 Healthy Communities in Regional Government

The second component of the evaluation of the healthy communities movement in Sudbury centred on the (former) Regional government itself. In February 1999, the Regional Municipality of Sudbury's Planning and Development Department hosted a community visioning session entitled, "Sudbury 2020: Focus on the Future" (Regional Municipality of Sudbury, 1999). The meetings were intended to help the Region identify new priorities for action that could be incorporated into the new Regional Official Plan.

Very similar to the original vision sessions for Vision 2020 in Hamilton, the Sudbury session brought together more than one-hundred community stakeholders from a variety of sectors. Participants in the session were asked, "what would you like to see the Region become in one generation?" Using this as the basis, participants were organized into various groups (one of which was Healthy Communities) designed to address issues of concern surrounding

economic, physical and human development in the Sudbury Region. The healthy communities model was identified as a priority for action to be incorporated into the new Regional Official Plan. As a result, Regional involvement and interest in healthy communities forms the second component of the Sudbury evaluation.

We now turn to the evaluation component of the thesis. Chapter five examines the relative success, in terms of changing the local organizational cultures of decision-making experienced in Hamilton and Sudbury. Chapter six explores the barriers which have impeded implementation in both communities and offers potential ways to ameliorate a number of them.

CHAPTER 5

IMPACTING DECISION-MAKING THROUGH HEALTHY AND SUSTAINABLE COMMUNITIES IN HAMILTON AND SUDBURY

5.1 INTRODUCTION

A major purpose of this dissertation is to explore, in a comparative manner, the impact that the concepts of healthy and sustainable communities have had on local decision-making in Hamilton and Sudbury. In other words, it assesses the extent to which the operationalization of these concepts have been able to change and influence the beliefs, attitudes and behaviours of local decision-makers and community stakeholders. Further, another aim of the research is to evaluate these initiatives in an effort to facilitate program improvement and policy learning (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1993). To address these objectives, this chapter highlights a number of predominant themes surrounding the implementation of healthy and sustainable communities emerging from the analysis of key informant interviews in both of the study communities. Specifically, the chapter begins by comparing the implementation of Hamilton's urban sustainability initiative and Sudbury's healthy community initiative. Perceived changes to decision-making and overall community awareness are explored and the perceived futures of both initiatives are examined.

5.2 IMPLEMENTATION

5.2.1 Overall Implementation Success

5.2.1.1 Implementation in Hamilton

The over-riding impression that emerged from the interviews was that the implementation of both Hamilton's Vision 2020 and Sudbury's Healthy Places, Healthy People initiatives had been slow and sporadic. In Hamilton, relatively few respondents were satisfied with the extent of implementation of Vision 2020 although equally few said that they were completely dissatisfied with the implementation of the original strategies and actions (Table 5.1). The general

	Hamilton (n=20)	Sudbury (n=15)
Well/Better Than Expected	3	2
Mixed/Up and Down	2	3
Incremental/Limited	12	7
Poor	3	3

impression to emerge from the interviews was that the implementation of Vision 2020 had been a mixed success:

Well, it's (the implementation) been a mixed success... The strategies and actions that were intended to be a guide to decision-making have been used extensively in several policy setting exercises of the regional corporation, but outside in the community, I think the Vision has been looked to more as a kind of touch-stone. It's not really being used as an

action planning document. (Staff Member, Regional Government)

It's really curious. They (the original strategies and actions) obviously haven't been implemented to anywhere near the extent that you'd like to see. But they have been implemented to some extent and that by itself is a big step over what had been essentially a non-strategic kind of approach to decision-making where each department was doing its own thing. (Senior Manager, Regional Government)

In Hamilton, participants in the process suggested that changes of the nature and magnitude outlined in the Vision were not likely to happen quickly, as perhaps initially anticipated. Respondents noted the extremely slow and incremental nature of implementing such a long-term and major shift to the local culture of decision-making. This perception is consistent with findings from studies on policy development and change (see, Pal, 1992; Kingdon, 1995; Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1993; Lindbloom, 1959), which suggest that policy making and policy change is an inherently slow, complex and messy process (Stone, 1997; Weiss 1983). Initially at least, the conservative and incremental nature of policy change appears to have surprised community participants and those unfamiliar with the municipal decision-making process. As the following community participant suggests:

... my feeling when I started was that everything had to happen now. There was a crisis here and the thing had to be solved and action had to take place. But I think over the years I've changed my outlook on what I would consider to be progress. I think now that these things just don't happen over night. It's a very slow process...It's slow. It's deadly slow. (Community Participant)

On the other hand, those more familiar with the process of policy making

and policy change, recognized the fact that major change was unlikely to happen swiftly:

I mean, nobody expected that the Vision would get achieved right away. But you have to make a start. Even when you make a start, you can't say, "OK I'm going to discard everything I've done for the past 25 or 30 years, I'm going to do everything right now". It takes time to reach that stage. (Politician)

You can't expect to do it all overnight, and there are a lot of barriers out there, so you have to keep chipping away at them. (Senior Manager, Regional Government)

The process is slow, the change is slow and it's very much a one-on-one approach. Anybody that wants anything to happen in a hurry gets quickly disillusioned. (Health and Social Services Sector)

Many of the politicians and senior bureaucrats therefore expected the process of change to move very slowly. This is a realistic view, as implementing the Vision would require fundamental shifts in the way decisions are made in Hamilton (i.e., second order changes). As mentioned earlier, moving from first-order to second-order change in an organization is difficult to achieve and depends on a window of opportunity (Kingdon, 1995). This policy window is usually very small and open only for a short period of time. Ideas and concepts, such as healthy and sustainable communities may remain outside of the window (in the policy stream as Kingdon suggests) for a very long period of time before they gain a higher status on the decision-making agenda.

The slow and laborious process of implementation was a source of frustration and disillusionment for many of the participants, particularly for those

unfamiliar with the intricacies of policy development and change.

Although respondents generally felt that changes to the nature of local decision-making were taking place slowly, respondents were also disappointed that little visible change had occurred as a result of Vision 2020. In other words, some respondents felt that it would be difficult to point to any sign of tangible evidence of success (in the form of visible projects) in the community that would be apparent to members of the general public.

If somebody were to ask me, could you go around this community and point to things on the ground and say this was done because of Vision 2020, the business community did this or the neighbourhood did this because of their involvement or understanding or commitment to Vision 2020, I would say our success is zero. I can't think of anything that's out there that actually occurred exclusively because of Vision 2020. (Staff Member, Regional Government)

However, the following respondent - a source within the regional government - hints that more subtle changes with the government itself were beginning to take place:

Int: If Vision 2020 hadn't happened would Hamilton look different?
To the guy in the street? I don't think so. To the person on the street, no.
Int: How about people in positions such as yourself?
Oh we'd probably see some differences. There certainly has been some progress. But I don't think that the individual taxpayer would say yes.
(Senior Manager, Regional Government)

In Hamilton, respondents noted that a lack of specific targets for action and strategies had resulted in somewhat sporadic and disjointed implementation. Regional government sources noted that while a successful vision for enhancing

the quality of life for residents of Hamilton had been developed, moving towards the development and implementation of specific actions and programs had proved much more difficult to achieve:

One of the difficulties you have is, even when you go through the Vision 2020 documents, it's often hard to separate the strategies from what you call the suggestions. And that was certainly one of the difficulties. If you treat it (the Vision) as a kind of general Vision, what we want in terms of quality of life, then I think you can use it in that way. But as soon as you start making the leap from a very general Vision of quality of life and quality of the environment, you know, those things, to specific suggestions which don't necessarily achieve that but were well meaning, then it gets a little harder. But I think there's been some movement towards those things, but not a concerted effort by any means. (Senior Manager, Regional Government)

What we haven't done very well yet is to take the larger goals of the Vision right down through the steps to the guy that fixes the fire hydrant, the social worker who works with welfare people and so on. They haven't done a very good job as an organization of sort of making broad corporate goals a reality in their day-to-day jobs in drawing that linkage yet. It still hasn't worked its way through the entire organization in that way. (Staff Member, Regional Government)

This lack of specific action and direct changes to how the Region conducted its day-to-day operations was particularly evident to those within the local government itself, who were both closer to the region's day-to-day operations, and potentially more familiar with the process of transforming ideas into practice.

The lack of specific operational frameworks, then, may have limited the level of implementation achieved in Hamilton. This is not surprising given the assertion in the literature that a key factor in an organization's effectiveness in achieving its goals is a clear and fully operationalizable mandate (Conrad and

Glenn, 1983; Clark, 2000).

5.2.1.2 Implementation in Sudbury

Like Hamilton's Vision 2020 initiative, Sudbury's healthy community initiative was thought to be making some progress in terms of influencing the nature of local decision-making and changing the mind-set of the community as a whole, but very slowly (Table 5.1). This slow progress was noted by both participants and non-participants in the Sudbury Roundtable. As in Hamilton, the slow and incremental nature of attempting to enact this kind of change (to attitudes, beliefs and, ultimately, behaviours) was noted by several respondents:

It's moving. But it's ... I guess when you get to my age your time frame is a bit more relaxed. If you can effect change in a decade, in one decade, it's incremental. You start off gung ho and you want to see change in a year, it doesn't work that way. (Community Participant)

...it's a matter of that continual process and that takes 5, 10 years. It's not done overnight. (Local Economic Development)

So the ideas got passed around the community almost by osmosis I suppose you might say. And I guess if you get into this business you have to realize that sometimes that's the way change occurs. It isn't a revolution... You're not going to change the world or the community overnight. But eventually through seepage things change. (Involved Academic)

Again, the slow rate of change was disappointing and discouraging to the many members of the Roundtable who were not familiar with the process of organizational change. They expected much more of an immediate impact on the

nature of decision-making within the community:

...it's moving in the right direction but it's moving too, too slow. Too slowly. It's been frustrating. (Community Participant)

As was the case in Hamilton, the lack of immediate and visible signs of progress and action were a source of frustration and discouragement for members of the

Roundtable:

I think they (original members of the Roundtable) got discouraged, very discouraged... I'd have to say that on balance it's been a bit of a yawn... I wouldn't say the time has been necessarily wasted, but, with the exception of _____ (member municipality), it never captured people's imagination, we didn't capture the politicians, so it's been a bit of a disappointment. (Health and Social Services)

In particular, like the Hamilton case, the Sudbury Roundtable was not seen to produce specific actions and tangible results. Respondents noted that very few substantive changes (in the form of specific actions or recommendations to decision-makers) had resulted from the activities of the Roundtable:

It did get a few things going...

INT: What kinds of things specifically?

Well, it wasn't so much in terms of you'd go out there and say here are ten results which the Roundtable did... (Involved Academic)

For a few years we floundered because we really didn't take any other projects on. We covered the education aspect very well through the conferences, but when it came to tackling specific projects we sort of just floundered. (Community Participant)

INT: Was the Roundtable making suggestions and recommendations and things like that for council?

In retrospect I think we should have. We didn't. What happened was that the ... synopsis of the proceedings of the symposium were published. But

it was descriptive and there was nothing prescriptive about it. For both conferences, both number one and number two, we never got to the point where we were trying to identify action, steps, time-lines, and people who should be following up. (Involved Academic)

Again, this inability to achieve tangible goals may be rooted in the initiative's failure to develop practical operational frameworks from which specific actions could be taken. Such a framework is necessary even where (as in Sudbury's case) a large number of "action items" had previously been identified. This is because a large number of potential areas of action, in lieu of a framework which helps to assign issue priorities, can lead to administrative overload in which expectations outstrip an organization's ability to meet them (Baylis, 1989, Wilson, 2000).

This perceived failure to achieve visible, concrete change through specific actions and concrete recommendations to decision-makers in all likelihood led to the gradual demise of the Roundtable itself:

RESP: ...I cannot, for the life of me, remember what on earth we ever accomplished as a Roundtable. And in fact my impression is that it sort of fell away a little bit by little bit. I was one of sort of three or four kind of ringleaders at one stage, but we never managed to grab onto something that we could accomplish. (Health and Social Services)

In particular, this inability to act led to a sense of disillusionment and clearly irritated some participants to the point of withdrawing from the Roundtable altogether:

There was, what was the name of the fellow who represented the ...poverty was in there? The title I forget. He was a part [of the Roundtable] for awhile but drifted away I think because it became too academic, abstractly driven.

INT: He was getting frustrated at the lack of concrete ...

Yeah, he couldn't latch on to the concept, we realized that ... we tried to focus. I remember he was talking about lack of focus, "we've got to find something to do". But immediately you try and focus you leave out people who are not interested in your own focus... (Health and Social Services)

The preceding quote also speaks to the potential negative side of inclusiveness in that it makes identifying a common focus and purpose that much more difficult.

In Sudbury, then - like Hamilton - tangible evidence of success was negligible, and this was sometimes frustrating for participants in the initiative.

5.2.2 Variation in Implementation

5.2.2.1 Hamilton's Vision 2020 Initiative

Respondents in both communities indicated that issues surrounding the physical environment (predominantly in the form of environmental restoration and remediation) had received the most attention when compared to social/health and economic issues. In Hamilton, respondents suggested that Vision 2020 has had the most impact on the physical environment while action on social/health and economic issues have lagged behind (Table 5.2):

I would say that the most focus has been paid to the environmental leg of the stool. I think that there's been, at least at the regional level, a number of attempts to try and develop systems and initiatives and do things that would achieve the goals of the environmental leg of the stool. (Senior Manager, Regional Government)

In terms of linking things to Vision 2020 and labelling it, definitely environmental initiatives have won out big time. Economic initiatives very, very minimal. Social and health, next to nothing. (Staff Member,

Regional Government)

TABLE 5.2: Action on Environmental, Social/Health and Economic Issues (total number of mentions, all interviews)			
	Physical	Social	Economic
Most Attention	16	-	-
Some Attention	-	9	7
Little/No Attention	2	2	5

Respondents identified a number of reasons for this. First, the project has been largely controlled by regional staff in Hamilton's environment (formerly planning) department, and the physical environment is what they have the most control over. Second, the strong participation/involvement of environmentalists and environmental interest groups (and the corresponding lack of participation of other social/health and economic community-based groups) has led to an environmental focus. Third, Hamilton City Council's interpretation and understanding of Vision 2020 was predominantly environmental; and finally, the media has portrayed Vision 2020 as a predominantly environmental movement. These reasons were captured succinctly by one senior staff member in Hamilton who commented:

Our greatest support internally has come from other departments whose mandate is about environmental protection, such as water treatment, waste and solid waste management. So again, of the groups internally that grabbed hold of the concept of the Vision, the quickest were those with an environmental land use or to a certain degree, transportation bent. The

other reason too is that the majority of people who have shown up and participated have been people with kind of an environmental agenda or environmental focus in their own lives... The media has tended to portray the movement as an environmental one. It was largely their choice and there isn't a lot you can do to change that. (Staff Member, Regional Government)

In Hamilton, the Vision 2020 initiative has tended to resonate most closely with those governmental departments and community members interested in the preservation and restoration of the physical environment. This is perhaps not surprising given that the municipality did face a number of significant environmental concerns (most notably concerns over air and water quality). As discussed earlier, the Chair's Task Force on Sustainable Development was initiated to address some of these environmental concerns (see Bekkering & Eyles, 1998; Regional Municipality of Hamilton-Wentworth, 1997). Also, during this time (the late 1980s into the early 1990s) there was increased public concern surrounding environmental issues and the potential negative health impacts resulting from environmental degradation (Dunlap, Gallup, and Gallup, 1992).

The initiative, therefore, had important reasons to focus on environmental concerns. However, the emphasis on the physical environment has taken place despite the Vision's supposed consideration of the integration and inter-relatedness of social/health, local economic issues and environmental concerns. The environmental focus of Vision 2020, and its concomitant inability to cultivate a truly holistic approach, was perceived to be a significant limitation to its

widespread adoption as a local decision-making model. This limitation was identified by respondents both within and outside of the regional government:

That's the problem with sustainability or sustainable community initiatives. People see it as an environmental movement. I always preach that's very dangerous because it's much more than that. It's a holistic type of activity that not only looks at the environment, but looks at the local economy, it looks at health and social aspects of the community too.

Int: So you think that turns some people off sometimes when they hear sustainable or whatever, that they automatically think of it as an "environmental" movement?

A lot of politicians do. And I think that's, as far as the movement goes, that's a real barrier to overcome because there are still a lot of people that get on the bandwagon of sustainability and look at it as a strictly environmental thing. (Senior Manager, Regional Government)

It should be noted, however, that despite concern that the Vision had the greatest impact in the area of the natural environment, some respondents (particularly those belonging to local environmental organizations) felt that there was much room for improvement in terms of enhancing and protecting the physical environment:

I'm still not convinced that they have done it in a totally dedicated way because we all know they're still promoting the Red Hill Creek Expressway - and they're diverting funds away from the HSR, both of which are bad news to sustainability. I would say another thing that they have really not lived up to very well is expressing, as a Region, sufficient concern about bad air quality in Hamilton...The other major area of concern I have is that there has not been the motivation by our politicians to firm up our urban boundaries and restrict urban sprawl. Communities like Stoney Creek and Ancaster, and if it could, I'm sure Dundas would follow suit, are quite prepared to go beyond the current urban boundary and take up more green space to satisfy developers and infringe on environmentally sensitive areas... (Community Participant)

This response reflects a fairly narrow view of sustainability, wherein physical

environmental protection and remediation are the key (and perhaps only) concerns. As discussed in Chapter 2, the broad and all encompassing holistic definition of sustainability leaves it open to varying interpretations and can become essentially whatever one wants it to be (Maclaren, 1996). Some (see Hardoy et al., 1992) have suggested that environmental concerns should take precedence and that the inclusion of social/health and economic considerations (as suggested by a more holistic definition of the concept) essentially render the concept meaningless to decision-makers because there is simply too much to consider (Richardson, 1992). Despite these concerns, Hamilton's Vision 2020 did (in principle at least) adopt a broad interpretation of sustainability to include social/health, economic and environmental concerns into the decision-making arena. It could be argued that the focus in practice on environmental concerns served to simplify the potentially overloaded decision-making process by excluding broader social and economic concerns.

Respondents, though, were unhappy that the focus on the physical environment had taken precedence over social/health and concerns surrounding alternative forms of local economic development. They were also concerned about the lack of holistic thinking by decision-makers so far, and in particular the initiative's perceived failure to break through traditional, restrictive definitions of environment, health, and economy. For example, while economic issues have received limited attention so far within the Vision, there was some concern even

within these limited initiatives over the fact that economic development has been interpreted in a very narrow fashion to represent a “business as usual” approach:

It’s a very restricted interpretation (of economic development). For example, we tried to bring in some ideas of local trading systems and some different ways of conducting business in a more sustainable way...but yeah, I think it’s a very narrow view of what economics is. There hasn’t been much questioning about if the region is doing well economically...
(Local Economic Development Sector)

I think many businesses see themselves as implementing the Vision through the provision of jobs. So, by running their business they’re doing their bit whereas many of the other sectors see business as playing a much larger role than they are now. They themselves don’t see it that way.
(Community Participant)

This compartmentalized view of economic development as removed from environmental and social concerns could be limiting the potential for collaboration around economic issues under the auspices of Vision 2020.

It should be noted that, although social and health issues also appear to have received relatively short shrift, there may be reason to believe that they will increase in prominence during the next (community) phase of implementation:

...the leg that helps well-being (social/health issues) has always been wobbly in this framework, but it’s getting stronger and there’s more understanding of it. I mean just now we’ve done a survey on Vision 2020 and the biggest thing that came out of it were people’s concerns over health and well-being. People are saying that now and five years ago they were saying environment and air quality. (Health and Social Services Sector)

In addition, downloading and funding reductions from the provincial government may actually provide an opportunity for the local government to

become more directly involved in social and health issues using the Vision as a framework for decision-making:

I think that social and health issues are coming more because there's more of a need, there's more of a desire in this community because they see government cutbacks as affecting the services they've been used to. So there's more of a desire to redress some of what they see as emerging issues and lack of services. I see a real potential within the Vision 2020 network as a way to help make the case that we need to redress these problems. So, I see that leg of the stool as the one that's going to attract the most attention over the next couple of years. (Senior Manager, Regional Government)

So, while the physical environment has received the most attention during the initial phase of implementation, there is a perception that health and social issues will increase in prominence, although only time will tell. Indeed, the perception that health and social issues will receive more attention is questionable given the current climate of fiscal restraint and budget restructuring, which has led to (among other things) inadequate funding of public health units (Howard, 2001). Unless this situation changes dramatically, which appears unlikely, a re-focussing on social and public health issues is doubtful.

5.2.2.2 Variation in Sudbury's Implementation

The Sudbury initiative has also experienced the most success, according to respondents, in the area of the physical environment (Table 5.3):

Clearly the natural environment has been a driving force (behind healthy communities) here in Sudbury... I think if you asked anybody... they would identify the natural environment as a key factor. (Community Participant)

Table 5.3: Action on Environmental, Social/Health and Economic Issues (total number of mentions, all interviews)			
	Physical Environment	Social/Health Issues	Economic Issues
Most Attention	13	-	-
Some Attention	-	4	3
Little/No Attention	-	6	3

As in Hamilton, this focus on the natural environment likely had much to do with Sudbury's well documented environmental problems and the fact that many of the original participants had been involved with other environmental initiatives (e.g., re-greening and the preparation of the Leisure Plan).

Specifically, Sudbury has witnessed the development of numerous leisure and recreational amenities such as bike paths and walking trails. It is difficult to say, however, specifically how much of a role that the Roundtable itself has played in these initiatives. Many of these projects may have been instituted regardless of the presence of the Roundtable. However, it was suggested that it was very likely that the Roundtable had some impact on changing the mind set of decision-makers and community leaders:

In the last 10 years the city has come a long way in creating more parkways and more green pathways in the city. Junction Creek is a prime example of that. The Ramsey Lake Hundred Year Plan is another example of that. Those I think had strong influence from members of the Roundtable... So, I see a lot of significant recommendations that grew out of it. Now, would the city realize that it came from the Roundtable?

Probably not. And the public at large certainly wouldn't because the Roundtable was not a big, in your face community group. We played a lot in behind the scenes except for doing those conferences. In fact, a lot of the Sudburians might not even know that the Roundtable even exists.
(Involved Academic)

The focus on the natural environment in Sudbury is perhaps even more surprising than in Hamilton, given that their initiative was initially more focused on health (i.e., healthy communities) and less on sustainability (and therefore in the minds of many on the protection of the physical environment) than the Hamilton initiative. This suggests that decision-makers may find it easier to conceive of potential actions related to the physical environment than to social or economic issues (particularly at the local level), a possibility which is discussed further in the following chapters. In general, however, very few and only relatively subtle shifts - environmental and otherwise - towards the development of a healthy community approach were seen, and many respondents felt that the Roundtable was doing little.

5.3 IMPACTS

5.3.1 Changes to Decision-Making

5.3.1.1 Decision-Making Change in Hamilton

Respondents were asked to comment on the overall success healthy and sustainable community initiatives had at initiating change towards improved local decision-making and the incorporation of concerns of health and sustainability.

As noted previously, changing the nature of decision-making structures is a major undertaking. The way decisions are made within any organization is the result of long established ways of conducting affairs (Levy and Merry, 1986; Tindal & Tindal, 2000). As a result, these patterns and processes are firmly ingrained and resistant to change. While first order changes (i.e., relatively minor tinkering to the way decisions are made) are relatively easy to accomplish, fundamental change (what Levy and Merry refer to as second-order changes), such as those sought by the Vision 2020 initiative, are much more difficult to achieve because they (in some cases at least) challenge the core belief systems of decision-makers (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1993).

Despite the inherent resistance to change common in organizations, respondents suggested that, in Hamilton, the local culture of decision-making, within the local government, was showing signs of change. Despite perceptions in Hamilton that implementation of the Vision had been slow (at least insofar as initiating action on specific and tangible projects), many respondents were optimistic about the overall success of Vision 2020, in initiating subtle changes to the nature of the civic decision-making process (Table 5.4):

Without it (Vision 2020) you wouldn't have people being able to talk about this as sort of a guide to what they are trying to achieve. They're all sort of looking to the Vision as a document that says this is why my service fits into here because this is where we want to go, ultimately. I think from the Region's perspective, we've at the very least forced people to think about it and think about what a sustainable community is all about. So, I think there's more awareness now that there would have been.

(Staff Member, Regional Government)

...if you think of it in the sense of what was the alternative or what are the alternatives, I think it has done a lot. It's become something that many people in the community are aware of and they have identified with The City of Hamilton and I guess it's been good from that point of view. It's also become integrated into the reports in decision-making, well in some places and not very well in others, but it's still there. (Senior Manager, Regional Government)

I think it's a really good thing to be striving to try and get the environmental, the social, and the industrial groups to all work towards initiatives which are not only good for today but are really intended to be good for tomorrow. That's worth striving for. (Community Participant)

TABLE 5.4: Impacts of Vision 2020	
Success	Total number of mentions, all interviews
Changes in Decision-making	7
Broad Community Involvement	6
Indirect effects	3
Indicators (as a tool for debate)	2

So, raising awareness (both within local government and in the community as a whole) and changing the mind-set of local decision-makers and community members alike, was seen as a major contribution of the initiative. As well, the process of attempting to bring different sectors of the community together to discuss and debate environmental, economic and social/health issues was

perceived to represent a valuable aspect of Vision 2020. In this regard, Hamilton's urban sustainability initiative can be seen as serving an enlightenment function (Weiss, 1983), by gradually making decision-makers more receptive to the ideas of healthy and sustainable community development by raising awareness and encouraging debate.

A number of factors related to the Vision were seen to play a role in changing the decision-making structures within the Region. For example, respondents who ventured an opinion suggested that the Staff Working Group on Sustainable Development (comprised of senior staff members from a variety of departments within the organization) had, despite some initial problems, created a more favourable organizational culture from which to make integrated decisions:

If you sat around our management team when that group was first put together, it was a clumsy and awkward group. But two years later, you could see each member of the team bringing in their individual skills to the table to move us forward and do it more effectively. (Senior Manager, Regional Government)

The Staff Working Group was viewed as a mechanism to allow for much more integrated and co-ordinated decision-making incorporating a broader range of perspectives from within the organization:

I think one of the things most of the members in the group really buy into is that we have to, in order to be sustainable, make decisions on a corporate basis and consider not just what's good for the environment or from a financial perspective. We're not looking at everything in isolation. I mean we're in a really interesting time right now with municipal government. Who knows how things will unfold, but generally speaking, the reason why we had the broad-based representation is so that we could

be involved in more corporate decision making and we could have people not their to protect their turf but to give different perspectives. So that we know all those perspectives have been canvassed and given to us so we can make a decision or a recommendation. (Senior Manager, Regional Government)

The Sustainable Community Decision Making Guide was also thought to have played an extremely important role in incorporating the principles of sustainable development and urban sustainability into local government.

According to the following respondent, the Decision Making Guide has given Vision 2020 much needed credibility and legitimacy:

Just by virtue of the fact that it's an adopted document that factors into the decision-making process, not only at the staff level, but on the political level has been important. I think that when it first started it was kind of perceived as "yeah it's a line that we have to put in our document but we're not seriously looking at the variables involved here". At least that was the way it was perceived. I think it's taken on much more credibility. I think it's a document that people turn to for some guidance when they're going through their recommendations to council at the staff level. And I think our politicians are asking questions about whether it fulfills some of the requirements of the document. I think there's been a great leap in credibility to this document and that's a real step forward. (Politician)

The operationalization of the Vision into the Sustainable Community Decision-Making Guide has not only helped give the document some added credibility and clout, it has signalled a move from an abstract concept to a more concrete decision-making tool. This represents an important positive development for Hamilton's Vision 2020 initiative, as the concept becomes integrated into Hamilton's civic decision-making framework:

If you look at any of the committee reports, you'll always find a heading under Vision 2020 impacts. So, they do discuss the impact of whatever the particular report is, and what the implications on Vision 2020 are. So that alone helps to make everybody aware of the Vision. I find that in the planning and engineering side of it, the Vision is definitely starting to be used a great deal. We have changed the way we have been doing business. I have been doing this for 25 years and the last 5 years we have changed it drastically. (Senior Manager, Regional Government)

The Decision Making Guide compelled decision-makers to consider (or at least hear) alternative viewpoints from environmental, social/health and economic points of view:

There's at least a formal recognition of 2020 and the regional recommendations. I sometimes have thought that these comments were not as fully tuned in with 2020 as I would have liked. They sometimes aren't much more than a passing nod at 2020. But they can also be... you can use the economic sections to achieve things that might not jive so well with the other sections. I don't think there's always a recognition of that in the staff recommendations. On the other hand, I guess it's something that, at least the politician is given a document that refers to 2020 and it's then up to them to dig into it if they feel it's unsatisfactory. (Community Member)

Although it may not be happening overnight (and, as we have seen, change of this magnitude take a long time to initiate), it would appear that, at some level at least, the Vision is slowly changing the way some decisions are being made in Hamilton. Certainly, it was generally felt that the Decision Making Guide was a step in the right direction, although it needed to be more closely adhered to by all departments in the organization. While the Guide was bringing some formal recognition to the concept of sustainability, and illuminating the potential

social/health, economic and environmental impacts of proposed policies, projects and plans, it did not force or require decision-makers to heed this advice (this problem is examined more closely in Chapter 6). To this end, respondents felt the need for greater accountability with respect to the use of the guide, particularly with respect to Departmental managers and senior staff. As the next respondent suggests, this may be beginning to happen:

_____ probably mentioned the decision making guide that we have and that's... I mean it's there but I doubt really if very many departments use it. Our staff reports have the line in it you know about sustainable community implications. And actually, I've been surprised because I've heard some people comment on it saying, you know, I think it's good that it is in there. It may be fully used or it may not... you know staff may just say not applicable or just put in a couple of rinky dink lines. But it's still there and sometimes it can come back and haunt somebody if they say something kind of innocuous when there are issues around it. A few people have been burned by that. It has crept in occasionally, I'm not saying all the time, but occasionally it surfaces in debates on fairly heavy issues. I think that's encouraging. It still has a long way to go. I don't think we've back slid on it. So, I look at it, as far as making progress, that it's working. (Politician)

Further, respondents noted that senior managers were also becoming increasingly supportive of the initiative and the decision-making guide. In other words, there is some evidence to suggest that the nature of decision-making in Hamilton was gradually beginning to change:

And then you get the usual bureaucratic barriers where you might get the director or the division head in one shop who would be really quite committed to it (Vision 2020), but further up the line couldn't get the senior management or department head to buy in. But over time those were diminishing a bit. People were seeing I think the advantages of being part of this unified thing. (Staff Member, Regional Government)

The fact that the initiative was housed within regional government therefore likely facilitated the incorporation of healthy/sustainable city concepts into regional decision-making.

5.3.1.2 Decision-Making Change in Sudbury

In Sudbury, fewer examples of changes of this type were observed, given that Sudbury's healthy community initiative had remained almost entirely outside of the local political/bureaucratic system. Unlike the Hamilton case, the Sudbury Roundtable was generally unable to significantly influence the nature of local governmental decision-making from the outside. Rather, the main outcome of the meetings of the Sudbury Roundtable on Health, the Environment and the Economy appear to have been the fact that the group, in many ways, introduced the community (both the general public and decision-makers) to the concept of healthy communities and to a broader, more holistic way of looking at social, economic and environmental issues facing the community (Table 5.5). As in Hamilton, then, the importance of this enlightenment function (Weiss, 1983) was highlighted by respondents. The experience of participating in the Roundtable influenced the way respondents thought about the future of the community and the importance of integrating social/health, environmental and economic concerns:

It was sort of like subtly changing the flavour of community in a way that all of us went away from the experience at the Roundtable different.
(Involved Academic)

TABLE 5.5: Impact of the Sudbury Roundtable	
Success	Total number of mentions, all interviews
Networking	10
Community Discussion/Awareness	5
Indirect Effects	5
Changes in Decision-making	3

The one thing that keeps coming back to mind is planting the seed of a vision of Sudbury. And there's a lot of people if you were to ask them what do you see, if you were to ask them what would you like Sudbury to look like 20 years down the road, I have this vision that I can articulate to you that I know that other people could articulate the same vision. It's a shared vision and that has come out of the Roundtable and the whole healthy communities movement. (Involved Academic)

This significant, though subtle change was identified across all stakeholder groups as an important contribution of the Roundtable.

In addition, while political support in general for the initiative was felt to be low, respondents noted that some of the younger generation of regional councillors and bureaucrats appeared to be supportive of adopting the concept as a guiding principle for the future development of the community. Many were in attendance at a more recent forum which examined the possibility of re-vitalizing the healthy community concept in Sudbury:

INT: So who was there?

Some of the neophytes. Neophyte regional councillors and one of the

older ones was there. Mostly the neophytes. They're still bristling with enthusiasm and want to be seen. I was a bit ticked... But you know, in all fairness, there were probably five of them there and back at the time of the other conference we had none... So, it was better. (Health and Social Services)

Even though there were not a lot of politicians there, two critical ones were there. (Community Participant)

People from the planning committee were there. One or two other politicians. But the representation was actually very poor if it hadn't been for the fact that _____ was there, as chairman of the planning committee with the responsibility to take something forward. (Involved Academic)

This recent interest in the concept on the part of city politicians and bureaucrats has culminated with the incorporation of the healthy communities concept in the new Official Plan for the new City of Greater Sudbury. While it is too soon to say, the impending (at the time of writing) incorporation of these concepts into the official plan and other decision-making protocols may signal a significant first step forward in the development of Sudbury as a healthy community.

Unlike Hamilton's urban sustainability initiative, Sudbury's healthy community initiative had remained almost entirely outside of the local government. Recently, however, the regional municipality of Sudbury (now the City of Greater Sudbury) has expressed interest in the healthy communities concept and has identified it as a priority for action to help guide the development of the community into the 21st century. The inclusion of the Healthy Communities concept as a priority for action for Sudbury in the new Official Plan was cited as a reason for the renewed interest of local government:

Healthy communities was identified as the central driving force behind the new Official Plan. That's really exciting. Now that means this should be driving the development of this official plan. (Staff Member, Regional Government)

The fact that the healthy communities concept was to be a key principle in Sudbury's new Official Plan was also seen as a positive step forward for the healthy community initiative:

I think if you put it as part of the planning act, then you have a mandate to do that type of work and you have you also have the responsibility to follow up with those plans. (Involved Academic)

The concept of healthy communities, therefore, has the potential to be incorporated more and more into decision-making within Sudbury as it becomes more familiar to councillors and more firmly entrenched in municipal structures and policy documents. While the inclusion of the concept into the Official Plan would represent a positive step forward, it does not necessarily guarantee that the concept will become a key factor in the decision-making process (see Goumans & Springett, 1997), only that some of the ideas and concepts have been incorporated as a guide for future development in the community. The possibility remained that this is as far as the concept will go in Sudbury.

There appear to be a number of reasons for this renewed interest in the concept, stemming from broader changes taking place within the community. First, Healthy Communities is being viewed as a vehicle which can help shift the focus of health systems in Sudbury from the traditional focus on treatment

towards an increased emphasis on prevention in the wake of significant health care restructuring:

I think there's been a lot more of the awareness raising in the community about some of our health issues and the fact that our experience in cancer, motor vehicle accidents, suicide and heart disease are much higher than most other areas of the province. This message has filtered out and I think that the politicians are hearing this from many different sources. Now I think they're realizing that "yeah we do have a problem here that we need to address". I think there are other things that have helped (re-generate interest in the healthy communities concept) in recent years like not the least of which is the hospital restructuring.... We're in the process of going from three general hospitals down to one. That has really focussed people's attention a bit on the services that are required in the hospital sector, what's required out in the community where the two have to work together and interface. I think those health issues have moved up front and centre on the political agenda. (Health and Social Services)

It (interest in healthy communities) may be because of them (the Region) having to look at the whole issue of health services restructuring. I think some of its been brought about by municipal downloading. We've had to look at human services differently but now that they're paying for them. Now they (local government) have to pay for social housing, and they have to pay for day care, and they have to pay for public health... I think they're getting interested in it (healthy communities) because of this. (Staff Member, Regional Government)

As the above respondents noted, increased awareness surrounding Sudbury's poor performance in a variety of health indicators (in particular, see Chapter 4, section 4.4) and the downloading of health and social service provision to the municipality have also increased interest in healthy community concepts. These external factors may have opened a policy window (Kingdon, 1995) of opportunity for healthy communities in Sudbury. It is apparent that decision-

makers are searching for something (i.e., a decision-making framework) that could potentially help them address these pressing health issues. The healthy communities concept is one potential policy “answer”.

Perhaps the most important factor behind the re-birth of the healthy communities concept, however, was the fact that the concept is beginning to receive support from people inside of local government and Council:

...it was an uphill battle with most of the politicians at that time (during the original Roundtable). What's happened is that many of those have now moved on and there's a new generation. And one particularly supportive one... (Involved Academic)

It is making lots of headway at the region right now, and that's because of having people in the right place.

INT: Key people in the right place?

Well one key person [*referring to a local politician and former member of the Roundtable*].

INT: And that can go a long way?

Ah. He's working on the inside. When you talk about the inside-out model, yeah, you've got to have that. There has been buy-in from councillors before but buy-in has been more around specific issues rather than the concept, and _____ understands the concept and he is bringing that forward. (Community Participant)

Now we have the planning committee chair. He's a young fellow and he understands all these things... It's the first time in 20 years that I've been here, that we have a planning committee chair that put that kind of interest (Healthy Communities) into planning. Number one he has the interest; number two he has the professional ability to do it. (Staff Member, Regional Government)

As these responses indicate, there is support for a healthy communities approach in some quarters within Sudbury's local government, most prominently the Chair of the Planning Committee and the head of the Social Services Committee. It

remains to be seen whether these individuals and their respective committees have the necessary power to enact significant change in Sudbury. In Hamilton, the support of the Planning Committee and Environment Department alone was not enough to enact substantial change. One positive sign in Sudbury is that, although the concept's infiltration of the local government is being driven by one or two key players, there also appears to be at least some broader support amongst the politicians as a whole:

INT: So are the politicians are more receptive to it now?

Yeah, they're talking. They're at least talking the talk. (Staff Member, Regional Government)

There's a high level political will among many of the council members. Not all of them. I think there's many council members that support it. There's others that don't even know what it is but it sounds good. And there's probably a few that don't think it's a priority because they're "pot hole" politicians in that they want to focus on building roads and doing those kinds of things. So there's always going to be people like that but I think what you're seeing is a higher level of appreciation for what healthy communities means and how we can do this. (Senior Manager, Regional Government)

The uptake of the concept within the local government perhaps represents the first step towards the integration of the concept into the decision-making process in Sudbury. In other words, its acceptance by government was viewed as a way of formalizing and re-invigorating the concept through its introduction into a different arena:

INT: So how do you feel then about the region picking it up now?

Oh I think it's a positive thing. It's a formal mechanism.

INT: Was that really lacking before?

Oh definitely.

INT: The structure?

Well before you couldn't help but feel that here you are, this group out somewhere in left field trying to tell the power brokers "hey maybe you ought to try this"... Now the people with the power seem to be opening their mind trying out these new concepts. I think that's great. That's terrific. So if the process becomes formalized and part of the decision making of the community, that's the way it ought to be. It's part of the key mechanism as to how the community should go ahead. (Staff Member, Municipal Government)

I think we (local government) can go some way to legitimize and factualize it (healthy communities) to do that kind of stuff. We'll put some real meat to the bone. (Senior Manager, Regional Government)

Having the concept supported and promoted by local government was also thought to enhance the chances that the initiative would be carried forward in the community:

... if we're (local government) not a part of something it doesn't happen instantly because we have the resources, the dollars, to put behind it. And also the media following. The media follows us. So we just have this centre of natural attractiveness. I'd say that we're probably a major institutional player in this community and that if we don't get on board with something, no not to say it can't happen, but I guess it's like the role of governments in that once we get involved with something it generally has a good chance of maintaining itself and getting momentum. (Senior Manager, Regional Government)

The role of the Sudbury Roundtable in facilitating these changes is difficult to determine. Indeed, respondents generally felt that the renewed interest in healthy communities in Sudbury was due more to the events discussed above (namely restructuring in the health and social services sector) than to the activities of the Roundtable itself:

I personally don't think that the Roundtable had a tremendous amount of impact. It did for those who were involved. It really strengthened a lot of our networks at the I guess the administrative and certain program level.

INT: So pull together people in the community who might not normally sit down and meet and talk.

Exactly. So it got us thinking about this but I don't think they were seminal turning points in the political process. I think the more recent things in the last year or two probably focused the political attention more. (Health and Social Services)

However, while respondents were uncomfortable saying that these changes were due to the influence of the Roundtable, they were nonetheless happy to see changes taking place:

I guess the bottom line of this case is that whether we can say yes or no as to what influence the Roundtable had we are hearing a lot of things of the future of Sudbury that the Roundtable was pushing which is good. Whether that's a coincidence I think it doesn't really matter as long as they're (the Region) aiming for those positive visions that's great. (Involved Academic)

In part we could say it really doesn't matter to me whether the Roundtable is recognized or not... as long as what we were pushing gets achieved that's great. So it doesn't matter where the pat on the back goes to. That to me is irrelevant. (Community Participant)

These quotes highlight the difficulty of pinpointing “causality” for broader societal change, as well as the subtle changes in decision-making being witnessed by respondents in Sudbury.

5.3.2 A Forum for Debate

5.3.2.1 Hamilton Debates the Vision

There was some indication from the interviews in both communities, that

the introduction of the initiatives had provided an opportunity for greater debate and community discussion with respect to the environmental, social/health and economic impacts of proposed policies and/or plans. While in Hamilton it is clear that the Vision has had more of a direct impact on decision-making within the local government than on the community (i.e., the general public) as a whole, participants did note that the Vision had provided much more opportunity for community debate by forcing both groups (decision-makers and the community as a whole) to formally consider the concept of sustainable development (i.e., the economic, social/health, environmental implications) and how it might be translated into local decision-making:

It broadens the debate and I think that's been important. More and more we're having to respond to the question, is this a good investment of local resources? How does this help/hurt the local economy?...Vision 2020 gives us a good tool for examining those kinds of questions and making choices. (Health and Social Services Sector)

The framework provided by the Vision, therefore, has the potential (if provided with the necessary buy-in from senior managers and local politicians) to engage local politicians, municipal employees and the community as a whole in a closer examination of local policies, initiatives and projects, and debate the relative (social, economic and environmental) merits and drawbacks of these from a variety of different perspectives:

It gives us an excellent comparison to look and see the way that other problems have been solved within the region. They have been solved by our system of bringing all the parties together, sitting down around the

table, and talking about working out compromises. That's the way that a lot of problems have been solved within the sustainable development movement. When we get outside of that you see a major problem. You get a polarized group and you don't get anything achieved at all. (Senior Manager, Regional Government)

There seems to be more debate in council about whether project X or project Y is actually following the Vision. I'll give you an example. Regional Council had a decision to make about purchasing low flow natural gas buses or diesel buses. There were accessibility, social and health values and then there were air quality values in place, so we had all three kinds of issues going. There were some councillors that argued that Vision 2020 says you have to have all these accessible buses and other councillors were saying "yeah, but Vision 2020 also says that we need to be fiscally responsible". So, to me as long as people are keeping in mind the goals of Vision 2020, there are going to be differences of opinion about whether course X or course Y is actually more in tune with the Vision. (Staff Member, Regional Government)

Local (often heated) debate over the pros and cons of the Red Hill Creek Expressway (through an urban green-space corridor) was cited as an example of the utility of the concept of urban sustainability in that it helped illuminate the various (social, economic, environmental) pros and cons associated with its possible construction:

There are some people who think that as long as council has approved going ahead with the expressway proves that Vision 2020 hasn't changed anything. So, I don't think that you can tie it to any one decision. I would hope that as long as there continues to be healthy debate in the community at large about whether projects are furthering the quality of life of the community as a whole and is it taking place within the context of what we are trying to achieve with the Vision, the Vision 2020 is doing its job which is to be a guide for decision making. That there is room for division and debate, I think is also a healthy thing. If it was going to be the kind of thing that you accept that it was written in stone, then you'd be in real trouble. (Community Participant)

Therefore, although many respondents were concerned that the wider community had not been involved enough in the implementation of the Vision, some community involvement and debate has been stimulated. However, while community debate is a necessary condition to change the way decision-making is carried out, it alone, is insufficient for participants and different viewpoints must not only be aired, but must somehow, be incorporated into the decision-making process in a meaningful way.

5.3.2.2 Sharing Ideas in Sudbury

The Sudbury case shares many similarities with Hamilton. In Sudbury, despite the lack of visible progress, many respondents suggested a number of successes which could be attributed to the initiative. First, the Roundtable clearly brought together a number of important players in the community from a variety of different sectors who would not normally have come together to discuss improving Sudbury's social, physical and economic environments:

...for me it was the first time where I sat down with people from the health unit at a table or the chamber of commerce and business, and started talking about a common vision. I never had that opportunity before. So for me it was a new experience. And I have a feeling for some of those players at the Roundtable it was the same. (Health and Social Services)

My feeling was that it was an excellent opportunity to see another point of view, to broaden horizons, to understand that there is more than one right answer, and that health and economy and everything is integrated.... I think that most of the people involved in the whole process felt that way as well. It gave them the opportunity to think along different lines and to

understand different viewpoints. (Local Economic Development)

This process not only got people thinking about issues around sustainability, but created a network through which lasting partnerships could be built:

I think it's provided a base for partnership in this community that wouldn't be there otherwise. (Politician)

The single best thing that's happened is we had informally the forum of people coming together and sharing the concepts. And you can pick up the phone and call those people and get them together around an issue and they understand it. (Community Participant)

It built an atmosphere of collegiality. I think that's important. Very, very important. You can spend all your time just fighting with each other or you can try and build relationships. I think the Roundtable has built relationships extremely well. (Involved Academic)

The development of networks of association is noted in the literature as an important component of organizational development (Clarke, 2000). As in Hamilton, however, the stimulation of community discussion and networks has not been, in itself, enough to ensure the integration of healthy communities concepts into decision-making.

5.3.3 Indirect Effects

5.3.3.1 Indirect Effects in Hamilton

In Hamilton, at least two other important positive outcomes of the Vision were noted by respondents. First, some respondents felt that while the Vision may not have had a significant impact on initiating direct action towards a more

sustainable community, they suggested that it has likely facilitated the implementation of other, indirectly related, initiatives and actions (e.g., Hamilton Air Quality Initiative, Green Venture). These more visible projects were perceived as tangible signs of progress and an indication of the changing climate of decision-making within the organization:

Most of them (recommendations and strategies in the Vision) would have been implemented anyway. Did they accelerate it? It's hard to tell but I certainly don't think that they impeded the move. In fact I'm sure that they probably helped but I'm not sure that they were as effective as we would have liked them to be. (Senior Manager, Regional Government)

The implementation of the bicycle lanes in Hamilton was an idea that was percolating amongst Regional staff, councillors and some people in the community for a long time, long before Vision 2020. But because they were able to hang their towel on it, it brought them forward a lot quicker than they would have occurred. The City of Hamilton Green Venture Initiative is an example of another initiative spurred-on by the Vision. If we hadn't done the Vision, hadn't gone through the process, the province would have required us to do something similar for two years before we could have established a H-W Green Venture. So, those kinds of things have come out of the project in the sense that it's a vehicle for these other initiatives. (Staff Member, Regional Government)

Second, the sustainability indicators created to augment the Vision were mentioned as a positive component of Vision 2020. While the problematic nature of the ability of the indicators to measure changes in Hamilton's quality of life and well-being were acknowledged by some respondents, it was suggested that this concern may be secondary because the indicators are primarily intended to generate community awareness and stimulate participation:

The indicators it seems to me are a vehicle that we use to interest new

parties and oh you know to give us an idea how are we doing as a community. It's simply a snapshot. And the context in which they then discuss how we're doing is probably more important than whether the indicators are actually accurate or not.... hopefully what the indicators can do is bring a number of different types of people to the table to talk about solving problems in the community... So, I think the indicators have served their purpose if there's debate about it. (Senior Manager, Regional Government)

Their ability to generate community awareness and debate appear to be as important as their ability to accurately measure and evaluate urban sustainability:

Well I like the indicators because it's another tool. It's another way of reminding people. Here's a list of things which capture in a representative way some of the elements of a sustainable community that we're trying to be mindful of and trying to influence. I think any time you list, I'm not sure how many indicators exactly are on the list right now, it must be 25 ...something like that. It's not just about those 25 things but I think those 25 things represent what's meant by the term sustainable community and then if you issue that annually it's a tool to hopefully help stimulate interest, more participation, more involvement, and hopefully inspire people to ask questions like why these indicators are the way that they are... (Politician)

The role of indicators in generating debate about quality of life issues in Hamilton, rather than providing concrete measures of success, is thus highlighted by respondents. The importance of involving the community in developing indicators of environmental quality is increasingly recognised in the literature (e.g., Gasteyer and Flora, 2000; Pinfield, 1997). In Hamilton's case, the process of developing the Vision 2020 sustainability indicators has been praised for its attempt to involve a wide variety of community sectors and organizations (Bekkering & Eyles, 1998; Regional Municipality of Hamilton-Wentworth, 1997).

However, their success in terms of measuring change towards sustainability, to influence policy change and increase community awareness remains questionable.

5.3.3.2 Indirect Effects in Sudbury

In Sudbury, a number of specific activities that have been influenced by the healthy communities initiative were described by respondents. However, it is difficult to discern whether or not Sudbury's healthy community initiative was the cause of, or a reaction to, broader changes in the physical (social and economic too for that matter) environments of the community. It would appear that the initiative was more likely a reaction to broader changes taking place in Sudbury (e.g., economic diversification, re-greening) in many ways, rather than a cause of them. As was the case with Hamilton's urban sustainability initiative, Sudbury's Roundtable was formed during an era when public support and interest in environmental/health issues was high, and money from the Provincial government to initiate local, community-based environmental initiatives was available. Regardless, it is apparent that the initiative has had an important, albeit subtle influence on the mind set of the community and the way issues are perceived and addressed. In particular, similar to the Hamilton case, the initiative had certainly facilitated on-going waterfront re-development and bicycle path construction:

I'm sure that even some of the things like having trail systems in Sudbury, there are trail systems now being put in areas that we reclaimed, re-greened. Twenty years ago people didn't think it was possible. So in that

sense there's a reflection that linked back to that whole idea of people walking and doing things. Cycle paths... So there's a link back through to the healthy communities idea. So I think there's been a change in attitudes in Sudbury towards the environment. (Staff Member, Municipal Government)

I think it's done some positive things. It certainly has made people think in a new way. (Involved Academic)

I think that it just kept the ideas going and people used to meet and sort of refresh ourselves and then we'd go back to our various areas to keep on promoting things. So it probably linked into some of the broader changes that have happened in Sudbury. (Health and Social Services)

These kinds of subtle, almost imperceptible changes in worldview were therefore reported in both Sudbury and Hamilton. It should be noted that, unlike Hamilton, indicators of progress towards a healthier community had not yet been initiated in Sudbury.

5.4 PERCEIVED FUTURE

A tremendous sense of uncertainty faces the healthy and sustainable community initiatives in both communities. It is clear, in both cases, that the next several years will be critical. While Hamilton's Vision 2020 seeks to move beyond the perception that it is solely a top-down bureaucratic initiative, Sudbury's healthy communities initiative is seeking renewed life through the possible integration of the concept into local government decision-making structures.

5.4.1 The Future of Vision 2020 in Hamilton

In Hamilton, respondents suggested that Vision 2020 will face some potentially tough and challenging times ahead (Table 5.6). The initiative appears

TABLE 5.6: Anticipated Future of Vision 2020 in Hamilton	
Scenario	Total number of mentions, all interviews
Depends on Restructuring/New CAO	13
Uncertain	10
Diminished Role/Small Role	8
Gradual Improvement/Strengthening	4
Needs to Undergo Changes	2

headed for an uncertain future largely because of the recent changes to the structure of local government. It is alarming that only four mentions (out of 39) indicated a stronger, more central role for the Vision in the next 3-5 years.

However, there was considerable variation in responses among the interview participants. It should be noted that since the time of the interviews (fall 1998), a number of these restructuring efforts are underway and have been for some time. The City of Hamilton has experienced a number of significant changes, including, amalgamation of the area municipalities into one administrative entity (the new City of Hamilton). This has brought with it significant changes and turmoil in terms of personnel and organizational structure. At the time of the interviews,

respondents felt that these changes would have a significant impact on the future of the Vision 2020 initiative in Hamilton. Their impact on Vision 2020 in many ways remains to be seen although it is clear that the recent organizational concerns have consumed most of the time and energy of government staff, management and local politicians.

Ongoing restructuring and amalgamation efforts, combined with a recently appointed CAO (at the time of the interviews who is now no longer on staff), were viewed as important factors which would inevitably shape the future of Vision 2020. As such, respondents felt that the future of the initiative was highly uncertain:

I think it's going to depend in large measure on how... the restructuring takes place and who are all of the division heads and who becomes department heads in the various groups within the organization. It will also depend in part, on our new CAO, or city manager as he's called and I don't yet know what his perspective is at this point. (Senior Manager, Regional Government)

Well there's a new senior manager coming in and I really don't know his, other than the workshop he gave a little blurb there, and I don't know what he sees in the value of it, yea, because his more immediate priorities are to get the restructuring done. I know he is a planner and he does believe in strategic planning as a valuable tool. The concern I would have is because this isn't his baby. Whether he'll try to maybe reinvent the wheel or put his own stamp on it or spin on it, and I don't know, it's really too early to tell. (Staff Member, Regional Government)

So, the future of the initiative appeared to hinge upon the importance it is given under the new Chief Administrative Officer (CAO) and the importance it is accorded amongst new management in Hamilton. It was felt that if the CAO was

supportive of the initiative and saw it playing a valuable role in shaping the new City of Hamilton, it would likely flourish. On the other hand, if it was perceived as a nice extra, or something that the new city cannot support financially, then it would likely die out. Again, at the time of writing, the city was still searching for a replacement CAO to carry the restructuring process forward. So, in large measure, these concerns still apply as their outcome remains uncertain.

Given these uncertainties, a number of respondents felt that the Vision would play a secondary role, at least until the amalgamation and restructuring efforts have taken shape:

...it's (future of Vision 2020) not clear. It's not clear at all because I suspect that sort of the Vision 2020 goal and concerns about long term sustainability I think in the shorter term, let's use the next 2 or 3 years, is going to be overshadowed by financial problems, government structure problems. Those two are linked political problems within, for example, this region, probably others. Those kinds of things are becoming really urgent. (Community Participant)

It was also perceived that until higher levels of government (i.e., federal and provincial) become more facilitative towards developing larger-level sustainable development policies, that implementing sustainability at the local level will be very difficult indeed:

I think in the short term it will play a secondary role. And until the economy changes in such a way that we initiate some initiatives from higher levels in government such as green taxes, taxes that really reflect true costs, for example, in terms of gasoline, in terms of fuel consumption, in terms of land use, and really embrace the notion that we are living on one planet and so every acre or hectare of green space is of primary importance to maintain and to provide some way to enhance the diversity

existing on that one acre. So there is not at this time a strong enough push for sustainable development at the regional level or any level in government as I see it in Canada right now. So, it's not going to take a high priority, it's going to take a back seat. (Community Participant)

The need for co-ordination between the local-level and national and perhaps even international decision-making in terms of sustainability is often identified as a necessary and sufficient condition for significant progress to be achieved (see Roseland, 2000, 1998; Schnaiberg & Gould, 1994; Hunter & Haughton, 1994). In other words, it is suggested that decision-making and policy development at the national or international level can constrain local attempts and efforts to develop more sustainable communities at the local level. The above respondent argues that more supportive national policies (such as the so-called "green tax") could be one mechanism whereby national level policy has a positive impact on local attempts to enhance urban sustainability. While in theory this should facilitate local action, as we have witnessed through recent experience with similar ideas in the United States under the Clinton administration, this too is difficult to enact.

On a more positive note, a relatively small minority (4 out-of 39 responses) suggested that the Vision will take on even greater importance during the next five- to -ten years. Perhaps in typical fashion for a politician, the following respondent optimistically sees a gradual improvement in the Vision 2020 initiative:

I think it will more or less be a continuation of, a gradual but progressive improvement in things. I see gradually more and more people getting

involved in it. So not only are you kind of keeping it for people who see it as important today involved in it, but always bringing in new people or organizations... I see the physical environment improving. I see better decision making. (Politician)

One community respondent suggested that the fact that a Progress Team has been mandated to evaluate the initiative every five years, is a good indication that the initiative will not fade away and that the local government remains committed to its implementation:

I don't think it will die. I think the fact that they now have come up with the concept of developing their 5 year review is a very progressive step. I think if they had left it with the original ideas that the whole thing by 2020 would be dead at that time. I think we've learned that what you decide on 10 years ago as to what our best for our community, you just don't have full enough Vision to be right on some of these. So you've got to look at them and constantly revise. I think that doing this type of revision is a stimulation that we need and if we keep doing that on a regular 5 year basis that will keep the thing going and progressing the way that it should be moving. (Community Participant)

While this may be an over-optimistic perception, the five-year review, if carried through, may have the potential to keep the initiative from disappearing altogether.

Finally, the threat of the initiative being shelved or replaced by something altogether new remains a possibility given recent changes in leadership and management and the fact that it is difficult to demonstrate the impact Vision 2020 has had on the community in the short term:

I think it's at a great risk right now of fading away and disappearing as an initiative that the organization really puts a focus on or an effort behind. I say this because I'm not sure that we can really lay claim to really great

and significant changes in the corporation. There's just been so many changes in the top levels of management. They may decide it's time to sweep the deck clean and start over again and try and achieve these goals differently. (Staff Member, Regional Government)

So, it would appear that Vision 2020 will face some tough days ahead in the near future. The future of the initiative is thrown further into doubt given the fact that the initiative's two most recent co-ordinators (and key champions of the initiative) are no longer employees of the local government. At present, the initiative appears to have been put on hold (in terms of a priority for local government) as the new city grapples with on-going restructuring and amalgamation issues.

5.4.2 The Future of Healthy Communities in Sudbury

In Sudbury, the recent revival of the healthy communities concept has left many cautiously optimistic about its future in the community. The Regional government has decided to adopt healthy communities as a key guiding principle for the future development of Sudbury (however, what this actually translates into in terms of resources remains to be seen). This endorsement has led many to see the future of the initiative as bright, but also to question what role, if any, the Sudbury Roundtable on Health, the Environment and Economy and the community as a whole, will play. This section examines the future of healthy communities in Sudbury in general, and the future of the Roundtable, in particular.

Respondents generally felt that local government adoption of the healthy communities concept as a guiding principle for the future development of Sudbury bodes well for the future of the initiative itself (Table 5.7). Indeed, it was

Scenario	Total number of mentions, all interviews
Gradual Improvement	8
Potential to be Co-opted by Local Gov't	6
Uncertain	6
Disappear Altogether	3

suggested that the mere fact that the Region had decided that they think the healthy communities concept is important, meant that it would not easily be forgotten

The region are the power brokers and if they're starting that initiative or they're picking up the initiative it means that it's not something that's going to be let go easily. And in fact it should expand more than anything. What I mean by expanding is to integrate a variety of different groups. The region should work harder on bringing them closer together. And since now they're accepting the Healthy Places movement or healthy community initiative, I think there's a tendency for that to happen.
(Community Participant)

Not surprisingly, the future strength of the initiative in Sudbury was seen to be contingent upon the nature of the leadership of the initiative. The following respondent suggested that once the issue becomes central to local politicians, it

would have made significant progress:

I hate to use the tired expression but I'm cautiously optimistic. I guess I would say it sort of tongue in cheek. Let's see what's on the agenda in 2000 when it comes up to municipal elections. If we see some of the current people or some of the wannabes take this up as a real issue into the next municipal elections, I think you'll have won the day. If we go back to just considerations of physical infrastructure and economic diversification... well, you'll have to do a lot more. A lot more groundwork. (Involved Academic)

Recent political support and endorsement of the concept might suggest that the concept will become more central to decision-making at the regional level:

I think there's a real chance that the regional plan will become a much broader reflection of the values of the community. It will be value-driven rather than technically-driven. It will be a touchstone for the way the community feels it needs to develop in order to be a good place to live in, a healthy place to live in, a place with a high quality of life. And I think that the people who are making that plan happen are people who put value in keeping in touch with the community and have had some experience in how to do it and will continue to do it. I think that's important and that's part of what gives me optimism. I think too that there's a much, much broader group of people, it's not just a small group any more, but a much, much broader group who think the way that we did in the Healthy Places arena 15, 20 years ago. So we don't have a communication problem. People are able to listen and understand new metaphors and think less narrowly and less self-interestedly than they used to. The perception of what's possible is much broader and much different. All of which makes me feel optimistic. (Community Participant)

In general, there appears to be more reason for optimism in Sudbury than Hamilton about the future of healthy and sustainability initiatives. The recent interest on behalf of local government and a few key politicians (perhaps due to the increasingly trenchant problems facing Sudbury's health system opening up a policy window) may help secure a higher place on the political agenda for healthy

communities while in Hamilton, the local government appears to have withdrawn from Vision 2020.

This change in attitude and leadership has not just taken place within political and bureaucratic circles in Sudbury, but in a variety of different community sectors as well:

In the past couple of years we have witnessed a tremendous change in leadership in a lot of sectors...we were absolutely amazed at how fragmented this community has been historically. How it hasn't come together in an integrated way to deal with problems, make decisions together. Well now they're working together. Even if there's still some problems I imagine, but they are making more of an effort to work together. (Politician)

Despite this generally positive outlook, respondents were concerned that increased government involvement the initiative could lead to its appropriation by the local bureaucracy:

...as governments, we have this tendency to take over completely and drive the agenda and then it depends where it ends up within government circles. It can also die within governments. Governments have a kind of capacity to take wonderful ideas and with bureaucracy stifle them. (Senior Manager, Regional Government)

I think this (the Roundtable) could be an entity that the city or the region would like to absorb in the future.

INT: Would you like to see that happen?

It all depends. If it can retain its own autonomy and not get taken over and not be led by the regional government. So if you have somebody from the region maybe sitting on it, on the board, which isn't too bad. As long as it doesn't get absorbed by them. (Involved Academic)

It certainly can be dangerous if they take it over. And, as you say, it depends on how you define it. I'm sure a lot of those people sitting around that table are defining it (healthy communities) in a totally different way.

(Health and Social Services)

As indicated above, there was also some concern expressed over the fact that, given the nature of the healthy communities concept itself, the initiative could be re-defined to mean something completely different from the original Roundtable's (broad) conception of healthy communities. This is not surprising as the concept of healthy communities (like sustainable development) is open to a wide variety of definitions and interpretations and no one accepted definition exists (see Eden, 2000; Maclaren, 1996; Dooris, 1999) and that new leaders are likely to interpret these concepts in potentially novel ways. Given Sudbury's precarious economic situation, the concept's potential to be used as a mechanism to promote traditional economic growth was also noted:

The region also realizes its importance because there's an economic win fall from having a better environment. (Staff Member, Municipal Government)

...many of the themes which were prominent in the Healthy People, Health Places conference came through in the final recommendations for areas for of development. However, there was rather more emphasis, as you might imagine, on economic development than was in Healthy People, Healthy Places. (Involved Academic)

Here, a link between an improved and enhanced physical environment (most notably in terms of improved leisure and recreation opportunities) and economic growth emerged:

The purse strings aren't loosening up, I don't think. We don't have as much capital resources. But the idea is still right so it's got to come back. But what does that mean? We're focused strongly like most municipalities or

towns on economic development and fundamentally job creation, and we're all trying to do that. But then backing that up or supporting that is all that stuff we talk about but I'm supposed to be doing. Quality of life. So we're doing the walking trails and making sure the water quality is there and looking after wetlands. (Staff Member, Municipal Government)

This link between environmental remediation and economic growth in the context of healthy and sustainable cities is explored further in Chapter 7 with reference to image enhancement through healthy and sustainable communities in both Hamilton and Sudbury.

There was much interest and debate surrounding the future of the Roundtable itself in Sudbury. The over-riding impression which emerged from the interviews was the sense that these are crucial times for not only the healthy communities initiative as a whole, but for the Roundtable as well:

Well with the Roundtable I think we're reaching a crossroads. Either it's going to peter out over the next year or it will revive itself when there's new fresh blood. At this point in time we're just approaching a crossroads. I don't know where it will go. (Health and Social Services)

...these are critical times... The Roundtable could disappear in 2 minutes. Right now.

INT: Why is that?

Because of two things.

INT: The lack of structure?

The structure, yeah. And funding. And third thing is the concept could be taken over. (Community Participant)

It was suggested that unless the Roundtable established some sort of core management structure, it could disappear completely:

I don't think the healthy community concept is as strong as some people perceive it to be in Sudbury. As strong as it should be. As strong as it

could be. I attribute that to the fact that we don't have a strong central management core group. A critical step is that. And if you asked me to eyeball what's going to happen, well unless that happens I think the thing will just sort of disappear. (Community Participant)

In addition, many were unsure of the utility of having the original Roundtable stay together if it would continue to operate entirely outside of the local decision-making sphere:

I'm not sure that the idea of a Roundtable is indeed going to be useful [in the future]. I think that I can be more helpful and more influential, help things change and happen by working with... planners and people of the region and just being around when [they] need a group of people.... That's a better way to use my time than going back to be part of a Roundtable and talking to the converted again. (Involved Academic)

It appears, then, that while respondents were generally optimistic about the future incorporation of the concepts of healthy and sustainable cities into regional government decision-making, they were less sure of the future of the Roundtable itself. It was suggested by the following respondent that perhaps its time had passed. This may be due to the gradual incorporation of healthy and sustainable decision-making into Sudbury's municipal structure:

I think the steam behind the Roundtable initiative, if that's what you call it, has died, but I think that may be because it's, as I've said, it's seeped into the blood stream of the community in a way that it hadn't been. And I guess that's part of my reluctance to say yes the Roundtable is an idea that we ought to resuscitate. I fear that the time might have passed to be useful to have people get together to talk amongst themselves and develop their own ideas. I think what's happened is we've gone out and we've started to do things and evolution has left the Roundtable behind perhaps. (Involved Academic)

It remains to be seen, however, to what extent healthy communities concepts are

actually incorporated into local decision-making within the new City of Greater Sudbury.

5.5 SUMMARY

The overarching goal of Hamilton's Vision 2020 initiative is to:

Integrate the concept of sustainable development into the decision making of individuals, businesses, community groups and government agencies by building an ethic of sustainability in all of our citizens.

With this in mind, it appears that the Vision 2020 initiative for urban sustainability has experienced limited success overall according to those interviewed. While the initiative has had an important, though subtle, influence on decision-making at the Regional level of government, the lack of visible projects and a relatively low public profile (in terms of its awareness amongst the general public) of the initiative has led many to question its value. In general, the implementation of the initiative has been incremental, with only a small fraction of the original strategies and actions having been acted upon. This is not entirely surprising and the policy literature highlights the long-term and conservative nature of changing public policy. These changes will not take place overnight and this realization has left some participants frustrated. However, despite this, there was some optimism that the Vision was changing (slowly) the way decisions were being made in Hamilton.

This is similar to the Sudbury case, in that the healthy communities

initiative was perceived to be making subtle changes to the nature of decision-making in the community, although there exists little tangible evidence of this change as of yet. Respondents expressed a sense of optimism at the likelihood that the local government would take-on the initiative and re-invigorate it. This optimism was tempered by the fear that the initiative could be taken over entirely by the local government and that the community would in fact be shut out of the process altogether.

With respect to the relative success of the initiatives in facilitating action on environmental, social/health and economic issues, respondents in both communities suggested overwhelmingly that the physical environment had received the most attention. A number of possible reasons exist for this including the strong participation of environmentalists and interest groups, and the significant and well documented environmental problems facing both communities. Further, the exclusive focus on the physical environment seems tied to two additional issues: first, a failure to embrace the holistic approach embedded in the concepts; and second, a preoccupation with projects which can be undertaken to provide immediate, tangible results. This has led to a focus on environmental remediation and rehabilitation projects, which can be pointed to as physical evidence of success. This issue will be discussed in more detail in Chapter seven.

Both economic issues and social/health issues had witnessed little action

as a result of the initiatives, although some respondents noted that social/health/quality of life issues are gaining more prominence in both communities. A recognition of both community's relatively poor performance in a variety of quality of life indicators (see Chapter 4, section 4.4) may be somewhat responsible for the increasing interest in social and health issues. This coupled with health and social services restructuring in both communities was also offered as a possible explanation for the renewed interest in health and social issues.

As far as changing the nature of decision-making in Hamilton, the introduction of the Sustainable Community Decision-Making Guide has been the most important policy document developed to date to guide local decision-making in a more sustainable manner. Despite this, the decision-making guide is still not being used as conscientiously as was originally hoped and intended in all instances. This has resulted in some cases of department heads and commissioners giving reports and proposals a rubber stamp when exploring the sustainability ramifications of a proposed plan or project. This has led to some frustration on the part of staff members who feel that they are not always getting the necessary support and/or leadership from the upper levels of management.

In Sudbury the Roundtable on Health, the Environment and Economy was largely unable to influence the local decision-making process due to a number of internal and external barriers. These will be explored in the following chapter. The initiative, however, appears to have performed an enlightenment function,

however, in that it has gradually introduced the community to the concept of healthy communities and to new ways of addressing issues facing the community.

Both Hamilton and Sudbury have achieved limited success in terms of integrating the concepts of healthy and sustainable communities into their local decision-making frameworks. Change towards this integration has taken place very slowly in both communities. This has led to some frustration and disillusionment amongst some participants. However, radical changes, such as those suggested by healthy and sustainable communities will inevitably take time to initiate, for as we have seen, changing the culture of decision-making structures does not happen quickly, or easily.

Further, recent changes in both communities, brought about most notably by municipal re-structuring and provincial downloading, have left the future of the initiatives in Hamilton and Sudbury in doubt. The long-term nature of the changes sought, in combination with the lack of concrete and tangible results thus far, suggest that the initiatives could well disappear during the next few years. However, in Sudbury in particular, there exists a degree of optimism surrounding the future of healthy communities. The fact that Sudbury's local government has recently identified healthy communities as a priority for action has given many close to the initiative some hope. The well publicized health problems facing the community and recent efforts to restructure the health system has left advocates of the healthy communities approach in Sudbury hopeful that it will increase its

agenda status. A policy window may have opened in Sudbury and the healthy communities framework for decision-making may provide the answers decision-makers are looking for. The visible and vocal support of just a few political champions has, in some ways, resurrected the initiative. However, a number of respondents were wary of local government involvement in the initiative, given their fear that the initiative could be co-opted and/or re-defined to mean something entirely different from the original conception. In fact, it is inevitable that it will get re-defined as new champions seek to put their stamp on the initiative.

Despite these concerns, most respondents suggested that the recent interest by politicians and bureaucrats in the concept was a positive step forward for healthy communities in Sudbury. In Hamilton, the recently created community-based group Action 2020 has been charged with broadening and enhancing community participation in the Vision 2020 initiative and remove the initiative from the exclusive purview of local government. This group must work to maintain strong links and connections with local government or risk being disconnected from the decision-making process in Hamilton. Regardless, healthy and sustainable community initiatives in both Hamilton and Sudbury have reached a critical juncture in their existence.

The following chapter (Chapter 6) explores the numerous barriers associated with initial attempts to implement these initiatives in both Hamilton

and Sudbury. In addition, suggestions for improving the effectiveness of the initiatives are offered by respondents.

CHAPTER 6

IDENTIFYING BARRIERS TO IMPLEMENTATION AND IMPROVING HEALTHY AND SUSTAINABLE COMMUNITIES IN HAMILTON AND SUDBURY

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter explored the rather limited successes encountered by healthy and sustainable community initiatives in Hamilton and Sudbury. This chapter goes on to examine the numerous barriers encountered by healthy and sustainable cities initiatives which have hindered implementation. The identification and discussion of these barriers may help lead to program improvement and policy change. Also, the identification of barriers to success can increase understanding of the tremendous difficulties involved in attempting to significantly change local public policy. In addition, this chapter explores respondents' suggestions on how to best improve the initiatives in Hamilton and Sudbury. Presenting participants' views of how they could best achieve change allows those closest to the initiatives, who arguably are most knowledgeable about their own situation, to voice their opinions about how to achieve change in their

respective contexts.

6.2 BARRIERS

Respondents reported a number of barriers to the implementation of healthy/sustainable community initiatives which could account for the lack of visible results thus far in both communities. These barriers have been arranged into three categories: internal barriers (i.e., those barriers which exist within each of the organization's (i.e., local government in Hamilton and the Sudbury Roundtable) responsible for the implementation of the initiatives in both communities); barriers of a political nature; and barriers with respect to broader community interest and involvement in the initiatives.

As introduced in the previous chapter, policy change (particularly at the local level) is an arduous, incremental and messy process (Goumans & Springett, 1997; Pal, 1992; Weiss, 1983). This is due in large part to the diffuse and fragmented nature of bureaucracies and their inherent resistance to change of any kind (Weiss, 1983; Pal, 1992). Blau (1974) suggested that bureaucracies operated largely according to a series of complex informal practices (what he refers to as social rituals) that subsequently become part of the daily routine and unofficial rules under which a bureaucracy operates (see also Hoy & Miskel, 1996). Wilson (2000) adds to this perspective, noting that bureaucracies can be characterized by a series of hierarchical power arrangements, the dominance and acceptance of

particular policy paradigms and generally inflexible organizational structures. These characteristics of bureaucratic organizations lead to a preference for customary or routine practices and turf protection (Wilson, 2000). Policy change (particularly the change from first to second order change) such as the kind suggested by healthy and sustainable community initiatives requires significant shifts in these informal rules and social rituals and the development of radically different ones. As such, these kinds of bureaucratic arrangements were important barriers hindering the implementation of healthy and sustainable community initiatives in both jurisdictions.

6.2.1 Internal Barriers

6.2.1.1 Internal Barriers to Hamilton's Vision 2020

Respondents identified several internal bureaucratic barriers which had impeded the local governments' efforts at implementing the strategies and actions of the Vision (Table 6.1). The general lack of available resources for implementing Vision 2020 was identified as one of the most significant barriers:

Well I think the biggest barriers to achieving some of these things are financial. I mean, socialism isn't hard to accomplish, it's the financial that's the weak link in all of this. Obviously all this is happening at a particularly difficult time financially. It's the weak link. There's no question about it. The difficulty people have here is not the willingness to get on with the things that need to be done, but to have the resources to be able to do it. (Politician)

TABLE 6.1: Internal Barriers (# of mentions, all interviews)	
Barrier	# of Mentions
Resources	9
Amalgamation/Restructuring	6
Lack of Buy-In from Senior Management	5
Lack of Implementation Follow-Up/ Mechanism for On-Going Implementation	5
Tied Too Closely to Regional Govt	3
Changes in Senior Management	2
Failure to Engage Community/NGOs	1

I think people are ready to start dealing with environmental issues. The difficulty that you always have is how do you fund them. My view had always been that it's going to cost a fair bit of money to unravel some of the things that we've got ourselves into: landfill site remediation, water quality, air quality, you name it, they're going to cost money. Right now when everyone is saying we're paying too much, how do you go to them and say, well here's some more you're going to have to pay for. I think everybody is in sync with the notion that environmental issues are important to get at. It's the cost that's going to be difficult to rationalize. So, a politician coming up and saying here's my \$20 million annual package for environmental issues and would you mind paying an extra \$200 for that on your tax bill is a pretty tough sell. It would be a brave soul that goes out and does it. (Senior Manager, Regional Government)

The above respondent sees the need for Vision 2020 funding to revolve around the environmental component of the Vision. This is interesting, particularly in the context of concerns about the overemphasis of the physical environment at the expense of the other (social and health concerns, in particular) of the initiative.

This (over) reliance on property taxes as a primary source of revenue for local governments remains a barrier with respect to the implementation of new initiatives (Tindal, 1988).

A lack of political will on the part of senior bureaucrats was identified as another important barrier. Respondents suggested that while staff was working hard and remained wedded to the Vision, some senior managers were not. A number of informants felt that the Sustainable Community Decision-Making Guide was not being adhered to as strongly as it should be. In other words, senior managers and directors were, in some cases, giving the rubber stamp to development proposals without fully evaluating their sustainability implications:

Like any operating procedure, it [the Sustainable Community Decision-Making Guide] needs commitment from senior management and it's their signatures that go on the reports and it's the commissioners when they sign off who aren't sending it back to own staff and saying, you haven't evaluated thoroughly enough for me. Why should anybody else further down the organization take it seriously? So, there's still not a serious commitment on part of senior management. You probably read the report, the evaluation that we did on Vision 2020... Part of that project was supposed to be an evaluation of success and failure of the project by senior management and councillors. All the commissioners and all the councillors were given a survey to fill out. We only got two councillors to respond. We couldn't get any of the others to respond to the survey so we couldn't make any meaningful conclusions from that. It was really disappointing... The rest of them [responses] were just full of the standard kind of political fluff statements that it's been the most positive and reinforcing the initiative for this community and it really fundamentally changes the way and how we do things, but there were no substantive statements to back up these broad things. For me anyway that was a good indicator of how truly uncommitted certain Councillors and managers are and have been to this project. (Staff Member, Regional Government)

It appears, therefore, that this lack of political will and bureaucratic inertia may be stronger at the higher levels of management. This could be due to a variety of factors. First, senior managers often have a number of responsibilities across a number of different departments, and as such may simply be too busy to work towards enacting significant change in the functioning and operation of the bureaucracy. Second, senior managers, as the name suggests, are individuals who have been a part of the bureaucracy for some time. The informal rules and rituals governing the operation of the bureaucracy are perhaps therefore more firmly ingrained in them and thus more resistant to change. Third, senior managers may be unaware of, and feel threatened by, new approaches to decision-making which could potentially radically change well established routine. Finally, particularly in the Hamilton case, many senior managers were likely gearing up for the (then) impending amalgamation and restructuring of the regional municipality. Concerns over job security and changing responsibilities likely took precedence over the implementation of new approaches to decision-making at this time.

Respondents also questioned how widespread support was for the Sustainable Community Decision Making Guide in certain departments in the organization. The existence of the decision-making guide has not necessarily guaranteed that all departments are using it as originally intended:

Several departments obviously just didn't care what they were doing.

Int: What were some of those departments?

Well, the economic development department obviously was not into it, the

roads department was getting into the habit of inserting a standard comment. Our development review section was doing the same thing. (Staff Member, Regional Government)

You know, you can lead a horse to water but you can't make it drink... It's being used effectively by a small number of people. It's being used by most but not effectively and a small group are not using it all. (Senior Manager, Regional Government)

It would appear that the broad and highly nebulous nature of urban sustainability has left it open to a variety of (often contrasting) interpretations in different departments. Further, the inability to effectively monitor the various departments within government has meant that the sustainability implications could be addressed briefly, or ignored altogether.

The failure to conduct ongoing evaluation of the implementation of the Decision Making Guide was identified as a significant impediment:

After we got it [the Decision-Making Guide] developed and approved by council, we spent three or four months going around to all of the departments with a half-day workshop to explain to all pertinent staff members how the guide works and what it is supposed to do. Six months later we did an evaluation of all the reports that went to council over that six month period to see what kind of information was coming out of it. And it kind of broke down after that. The intention had been, after that evaluation, to identify departments that obviously weren't "getting it" and to go back and do more training and work with them. We never did do that. (Staff Member, Regional Government)

It is unclear exactly why this evaluation never took place. However, it is relatively common for planned or proposed evaluations of social programs not to be conducted at all (Rossi & Freeman, 1993). A number of possible factors could have led to the lack of evaluation including a general lack of time and resources.

On the other hand, given the relative lack of buy-in from senior managers with respect to the Decision Making Guide itself, perhaps senior management was simply not interested (and thereby unsupportive) of the this type of program at this particularly volatile point in time.

Changes in the structure and functioning of the Regional Government were also identified as a significant barrier to implementation. As noted in the previous chapter, The City of Hamilton and its area municipalities officially amalgamated on January 1, 2001 to become the New City of Hamilton. The process of amalgamation was identified as a major barrier to implementing the Vision in Hamilton in that it became the focus of most people's time and energy, and concerns over restructuring and amalgamation could be usurping any previous interest/action in implementing Vision 2020:

I mean frankly, council has been so wrapped-up in the restructuring and who does what to whom arguments for the last couple of years, they don't have much energy to do anything else. (Senior Manager, Regional Government)

Whether we have two tier local government or not, the region and the city are going through this administrative amalgamation. I think it does take up people's time and energy thinking about how to structure themselves and it certainly doesn't make it easier for people to think more long term. (Staff Member, Regional Government)

Again, the Vision is seen as a nice extra to do when times are good, but an easy sacrifice when times are tough:

It's going to take a while. I mean at a staff level, we've got the core group of people, they're very committed and are willing to work really hard at

spreading the word if you will. But on a corporate level, I think that there are a lot of people who were interested before but are now feeling a lot of stress about whether they've got jobs or not and the whole restructuring that's going on. So the office environment is just not as conducive to it right now and people are more worried about those basic things in life as opposed to any sort of extras. (Senior Manager, Regional Government)

The previous respondent feels that the initiative will be forced take a back seat in times of fiscal restraint. Worries surrounding job security and potentially shifting job responsibilities has been a significant barrier to achieving progress towards Vision 2020 in Hamilton. These more immediate and unavoidable concerns (in the sense the they are being imposed by the Provincial government) which serve to threaten the stable functioning and routine of the bureaucracy have taken precedence in Hamilton. Thus, the organizational culture in Hamilton was not facilitative towards the types of major changes (in ways of 'doing business') suggested by Vision 2020. There were a number of serious external forces working against fundamentally changing the nature of decision-making within the organization. These forces may have conspired to close the window of opportunity for urban sustainability at present in Hamilton.

6.2.1.2 Internal Barriers to Achieving a Healthy Community in Sudbury

The general ineffectiveness of the Sudbury Roundtable on Health, the Environment and Economy appears to have resulted from a number of factors, including a number of which emanated from within the Roundtable itself. The

Sudbury Healthy Community initiative had adopted a different approach than Hamilton's urban sustainability initiative. While the Hamilton initiative was launched and effectively housed within the framework of the local government and attempted to effect change from the inside-out (or top-down), the Sudbury Roundtable attempted to effect change from the outside-in (or bottom up). As will be discussed throughout this section, there were a number of reasons why the group remained outside of the local decision-making process and subsequently found it difficult to influence this process. These problems were both internal (resulting from the nature of the organization of the community group itself) and external (resulting from decision-makers within local government).

Problems internal to the group, including a lack of focus (on precisely what the group was striving to accomplish and how this would be achieved), a failure to identify specific projects to initiate, the fact that all of the members of the Roundtable were extremely busy with other concerns, the lack of organizational and secretariat services, and the conflict of certain strong personalities within the group, were all identified as significant barriers encountered by the Roundtable (Table 6.2).

TABLE 6.2: Internal Barriers (total number of mentions, all interviews)	
Barrier	# of Mentions
Outside of political process/Lack of influence on decision-making process	10
Time Commitment	8
Lack of focus	6
Lack of secretariat services	5
Lack of Implementation Follow-Up/ Mechanism for On-Going Implementation	3
Personality conflicts within group	2
Declining participation	2
Lack of representativeness	1

The fact that the community group was outside of the decision-making process in Sudbury was identified as a significant barrier for the Roundtable:

My memory of the time was that we found it a little difficult frankly to pin down what we were going to try and do and how we were going to do it. Part of the reason for that, in fact, not just a part but I think a strong reason for that was that we were disconnected entirely from the political process. (Involved Academic)

This problem was perceived by decision-makers outside of the Roundtable as well:

...they (the Roundtable) were working from the outside. The outside-inside thing. There was no support inside. So after awhile you lose energy. There's only so much you can do from the outside. (Senior Manager, Regional Government)

As a result of this, respondents from the Roundtable noted that they had little

influence within the formalized decision-making process in the Region. This lack of influence was also identified by an individual from within the Regional government:

My analysis of it was that they (the Roundtable) weren't really a part of the formalized system. They were a community group. And they weren't a part of the, if you want to call it, the institutional side of this community. And I somehow think that they lacked the power and authority to influence us much... (Politician)

This separation from regional government and the political sector was intentional to some degree at least as the group wanted to maintain their autonomy and remain independent of the political process:

We were fearful of being swallowed by the political process of becoming, well being swallowed by, swallowed is maybe the way to put it, losing independence of action. (Community Participant)

I mean it's like trying to have your cake and eat it to. You can't quite do it. You want to remain at arms length from the political process because you don't want to be driven by politics or by being elected and so forth and so on. But at the same time if you're going to get something done, you need to be part of the political process. (Involved Academic)

Despite this, it is clear that others would have been more than happy to broaden their scope to include local politicians:

...if at some point we had several political leaders come up and say this is really great, go with our blessing, get on with it, bring us back a report, we want to act on it, now you guys go do the homework... (Health and Social Services)

However, these connections were not sought out. The following respondent suggests that there was little bureaucratic or political support because it was not

pursued vigorously enough:

I don't think that we knew how to recruit them (politicians) into the effort. We didn't make an effort, coming out of the conference, to ask those politicians who were there if they would like to meet with us, say, next week and try to make them part of something that was continuing. We didn't try to do that. (Community Participant)

The absence of an advocate or champion(s) from within the local government meant that, for the Roundtable, effecting change from the outside proved extremely difficult.

Given its position outside of the municipal structure, the Sudbury Roundtable had even fewer resources available than its Hamilton counterpart. This meant that, when group members had only limited amounts of time to commit to the initiative, other assistance was not available. This left the group unable and/or unwilling to deal with the mundane day-to-day administrative details of the organization:

You can only do so much with volunteers. These people bring a tremendous resource to the table, and they're more than prepared to have their brains picked and I think they're more than prepared on occasion to go out on a Saturday and do something for the community. But where I find the most problems, whether it's in sports, recreation, or health is in the administrative side of things. You don't tend to have as many advocates that want to do the books, that want to do constitution, that want to do visioning, that want to do the organization models, whatever have you. It's not as appealing. What happens is that you need secretariat services. You need people to do the books. You need people to take minutes. You need these things. (Involved Academic)

We did, in fact, get somewhat bogged down in administrative details... For sure. But then, _____ wanted us incorporated so that we could take donations and get proposals and this kind of thing. Because for

government proposals you have to be an incorporated body in order to take the money. So he wanted us incorporated. So we did get somewhat bogged down on the constitution and that kind of stuff. (Community Participant)

These kinds of organizational problems are quite common to community groups. Some of these include the fact that people are often involved on more than one committee and therefore have too little time to devote to any one specific initiative, the fact that operational frameworks and processes are generally absent and the fact that it is difficult to keep everyone involved unless they have clearly defined tasks (Conrad and Glenn, 1983). All of these appear to have been missing from the Sudbury Roundtable.

Specifically, the lack of secretarial services and time on behalf of the Roundtable participants had a negative and, over time, eroding influence on the group. In addition, this hurt the credibility of the initiative, particularly to those new to the group and those interested in making a more immediate impact. A municipal staff member, more familiar with the process of enacting change from within local government noted:

The meetings were very stimulating. You know, interesting discussion, a lot of new information. But they lacked credibility because I didn't see any reports when people talked about environmental health issues, water quality issues, or sustainable economic activities ... And it was an informal agenda, no formal reports, no staff resources to back it up. If you asked for some report, it could be 2, or 3 months before you got it and if you did it was based on some guy's photocopy of an article. It, in a way, almost lacked credibility. (Staff Member, Municipal Government)

The limited influence of the Roundtable was, in the eyes of respondents, due to

the simple fact that many of the community participants in the Roundtable lacked direct paths to influence the political process and lacked the time and energy to change this situation:

...they were all jazzed up about healthy communities - “we should be doing this, this and this” - and then the meeting adjourns. The ideas go away. These are all the same people that are involved in a million other things and they don't have the time to roll up their sleeves and really get the work done. (Health and Social Services)

As in any strong community group, the work always falls on the shoulders of a few people and if those few people are so busy doing everything else, you know it's not going to happen. (Community Participant)

This lack of action led to the gradual demise of the Roundtable:

A lot of interesting ideas and exchange of ideas came out of the meetings, but the ongoing structure sort of fell apart and it went into almost sort of a limbo for a while I think largely because of the busyness of everybody that was involved. (Community Participant)

A general lack of resources, then, proved a substantial problem for the Roundtable as well. While this was not introduced as vehemently as a problem in Sudbury as it had been in Hamilton, the lack of resources potentially played an even greater role, as it led to the unravelling of the group's structure.

Concerns were also raised by respondents about a lack of focus within the initiative, about the representativeness of the Roundtable as a community group, and about interpersonal relationships within the Roundtable. The Roundtable struggled at times to identify its purpose, objectives and specific projects that it could initiate:

INT: So what was your purpose?

It's difficult to pin it down for you. I don't think we ever pinned it down. I don't think we ever really pinned it down. (Involved Academic)

As Dimock (1987) notes, the most successful community groups are those with a good understanding of clear and attainable, short-term goals as well as an eye on the bigger picture. While the Sudbury Roundtable had a clear idea of this bigger picture, it obviously lacked the requisite short-term goals and objectives for success.

The nature of the personalities of the individuals involved in the Roundtable and their egos, also led to some internal problems as well which proved to be a barrier in the functioning of the Roundtable:

I think one of the things that happens frequently in groups like that is that you get a lot of very strong personalities together and so more could have been done but you get into a conflict of personalities if you like, and all of a sudden power struggles keep you from doing more than you are doing. And I think that did happen. I think there were a lot of very good ideas but we broke up I think because of a certain amount of inability to compromise. (Health and Social Services)

Strong community groups are also characterized by a high degree of cooperation amongst their membership where internal competition is low and where everyone is working towards a common goal (Dimock, 1987). This was not the case with respect to the Sudbury Roundtable.

All of these influences led to a significant decline in participation at the Roundtable meetings over time:

INT: How many people were coming to the meetings?

It was very few actually. It was falling off a good deal... When _____ got onto the Ontario Healthy Communities Coalition I think he sort of felt that this thing (the Roundtable) should be ready to run by itself. And it wasn't. (Health and Social Services)

We used to be able to bring together 20, 25 people from different sectors of the community. It would be hard to do that now. It would be like reviving the committee. Whose really active, there's been about six of us, who've been coming out steady at all the steering committee meetings. It has shrunk quite a bit. (Community Participant)

For example, participation by the Chamber of Commerce was discontinued later in the process, as the following representative notes:

...the last activity that we did linking with the Roundtable was the Healthy Places 3 (conference) which was very successful. That was in 1993. Following that the Chamber determined that, yes it was very successful, but we were going through downsizing times and that we didn't have the manpower or the finances to commit to continue in that way. So, we drew back from it. (Local Economic Development)

These internal factors contributed towards the limited success experienced by the Roundtable. However, forces external to the group, most notably the lack of bureaucratic and political support, had, at least an equally damaging effect.

6.2.2 Political Barriers

6.2.2.1 Political Barriers in Hamilton

A number of political barriers to the implementation of healthy/sustainable city initiatives were identified in both communities. In Hamilton, respondents identified a general lack of political will and the nature of local politics within the City of Hamilton as significant barriers to implementation (Table 6.3).

Table 6.3: Political Barriers in Hamilton	
Barrier	Number of mentions, all interviews
Politicians/Lack of Understanding/Lack of Political Will	12
Decision-Making Time Frame	6
Nature of Local Politics	2
Lack of Power at Municipal Level	1

It is important to bear in mind that the actions and behaviours of political actors is influenced by institutional duties, routines and roles as well as self interest (March & Olsen, 1989). Thus, it is not simply that politicians do not care about sustainable development, but that the very nature of their position within an institutional setting, governed by a set of rules and norms (which prescribe appropriate behaviour), may make radical change very difficult. In other words, the magnitude of the changes to decision-making suggested by sustainable development are more difficult to implement, given inherent institutional resistance to change because they are perceived to be threatening.

Despite this, respondents were concerned by the perceived lack of support and interest on the part of many politicians on council to implement the strategies of Vision 2020:

In terms of the Region's decision-making itself, I think that there are champions [those supportive of the Vision 2020 initiative and intent on carrying it forward], both staff, management and even some of the

politicians...But I think that the majority of politicians who are making the decisions are not particularly interested. I'd bet you that half of them don't even know what it [Vision 2020] is. (Community Participant)

It's difficult in a structure like regional government to get everybody lined up and marching in the same direction. You have a council, for there aren't any political parties, where every politician is an individual player, so you basically have 28 agendas at a council meeting. So that made things difficult. They needed people acting in a contrary manner from what they perceived as was a political advantage and a certain amount of that would filter into the departments. (Senior Manager, Regional Government)

Similarly, the apparent conflict/tension between the long-term nature of sustainable decision-making and the perceived short-sighted nature of current civic decision-making represented another significant barrier to implementation:

There are a good chunk of elected politicians that don't give it [the Vision] much thought and aren't in sync with the kind of environmental issues being an economic factor down the road. They're just more immediate. Immediate concerns on what's happening today with budget and why should we look long term. I can't answer for why they feel that way, but I can tell you it exists and it's there and we're going to have to work on it. (Staff Member, Regional Government)

One of the major impediments is the political system in that we have somebody running for office every three years. You tend to get people running on short-term issues and a sustainable community is not going to be built on short-term issues. A sustainable community is built on the ability to make a sacrifice and you're not likely to make a sacrifice today unless there's a benefit tomorrow. So, if you're not sure you're going to be around when the payoff is, then you don't make the sacrifice. (Community Participant)

As previously discussed, both healthy and sustainable community initiatives are process-oriented initiatives focussed on long-term benefits (in terms of enhanced community well-being). By their very nature then, municipal organizations

(characterized by frequent elections and turnover of municipal council members) are not well suited to such a long-term focus (Tindal & Tindal, 2000). However, it is worth noting that the majority of incumbents at the local level are re-elected. Thus, although there is some turnover in local governments, they tend to remain relatively stable. It is perhaps more likely that priorities frequently change within municipal organizations which are geared towards short-term, crises response (Pal, 1992).

The inability of the Regional Government to get significant buy-in from constituent area municipalities with respect to Vision 2020 was also noted as a barrier as it was seen to preclude local-level interest and activities, something deemed necessary by respondents and advocates alike (see Roseland, 2000; Goumans and Springett, 1997). The City of Hamilton's (former) area municipalities have had very little (almost no) involvement with the initiative to date. The long history of animosity (Whynott, 1994) between the region and its area municipalities has certainly not facilitated the implementation of the Vision:

One of the most important barriers was that Vision 2020 came out of regional government and never even made a ripple with any of the area municipalities. (Senior Manager, Regional Government)

Interestingly, something as simple as not asking the municipalities to participate would become an important barrier for implementing the Vision:

The one mistake that we did make, and we checked back with the area municipalities you know, was why weren't they more involved, and the response

was “you never asked us”. Ok, I guess we did in a way in that we asked them to attend the workshops but we never formally asked their councils or our council to be a partner in this. (Staff Member, Regional Government)

I'd have to say that it's [participation from the area municipalities] limited and in part that was perhaps the fault of the initiative itself is that it didn't really formally ask them to be a party to it. When you ask them well why aren't you implementing Vision 2020 more actively, they say, “well we were never invited”, they'd say or something like that. So we don't really know whether there's enough in it that municipalities can act on... We really need the area municipalities to implement it... (Senior Manager, Regional Government)

The perceived animosity between the region and area municipalities could stem from concerns over turf protection between the two administrative entities with respect to the provision of services. For instance, given that both the Region and the area municipalities were responsible for land use planning, it might have been thought that the municipalities would be unwilling to participate in the Vision 2020 initiative because they would have felt that the Region was once again meddling in their affairs and telling them what they could and could not do (particularly given that no one asked them to participate in the early decision-making).

One final political barrier identified to achieving the Vision was the relative lack of power given to local governments in relation to provincial and federal powers, and particularly the impact of policy directives at the provincial level. These directives, according to the following respondent, may counteract the holistic and broad-based nature of decision-making as outlined in the Vision and

constrain decision-makers to more traditional practices.

There have been some decisions at the provincial level that really challenge our ability to work on an integrated level.

Int: What would those be?

Say, for example, the new guideline on health promotion that took some of the preventative healthy lifestyles things out of the mandatory guidelines for health. There is less justification for some of the principles of sustainability, which are preventative or deal with problem solving at that integrated level. So I think we've got some people in our organization that are willing to work together on a partnership level, that look at solutions in the same way that Vision 2020 sort of sees the community in an integrated holistic perspective. But I don't know if some of those other forces are going to overwhelm that good will if you like because there's a real resource crunch coming in. I don't think we've seen the whole of it yet. That tends to make people look at things in a more traditional manner.
(Staff Member, Regional Government)

Given that municipalities receive their charter (and resources or lack thereof) from the province, provincial influence is significant and constrains municipalities' ability to effect sweeping change (Begadon & Agocs, 1995).

6.2.2.2 Political Barriers in Sudbury

A number of inhibiting factors outside of the control of the Roundtable itself impeded the growth and development of the healthy community movement in Sudbury (Table 6.4). In particular, political barriers, such as a lack of political support and the lack of political influence of the Roundtable on the decision-making process severely constrained the functioning of the Roundtable. The lack of political support was likely due to a number of factors. As indicated in the previous section, their awareness of the initiative was likely low given that the

Roundtable was unable to recruit the support of politicians into the movement. In addition, the nature of the initiative itself and its desire to fundamentally change the nature of local decision-making was potentially seen as threatening and too disruptive to the stable routines of the local bureaucracy.

Barrier	# Mentioned
Lack of political support	8
Lack of community buy-in	7
Municipal cutbacks	4
Municipal size and structure	2

This lack of political interest and enthusiasm for the initiative was apparently evident even early on in the process, dating back to the first Healthy Places, Healthy People conference in the early 1990s:

...we really didn't get a sense of we had a lot of political commitment to it at the level of regional council. I was sort of uncomfortable at the first conference because there was so very little involvement of the local politicians. They were just not evident at the conference... So we had an uncomfortable feeling right back then that we had a tremendous challenge sort of getting the politicians to buy-in to the concept. (Health and Social Services)

There weren't very many politicians and it was quite clear that the ideas that came out of the Healthy People, Healthy Places conference were not going to get carried forward by politicians. (Local Economic Development)

Without political support for the initiative, the group found it difficult to move

ideas forward and to influence decision-making:

...there wasn't enough political support to help it to really flourish. You need political leadership to make this happen, and I think there's been a void there. And so you've got a group of well intentioned community people that are saying this is what we should be doing, but the healthy community concept absolutely has to involve high level, the political leadership. If it's not there, it ain't going to happen. It hasn't been there. (Involved Academic)

...pulling something off and actually making it happen proved too difficult for us because we had to come back to our day jobs, and we didn't have a politician who actually bought into it sufficiently to make anything happen. (Community Participant)

The fact that the group had too little time to devote to the initiative inhibited their ability to influence the political process:

My memory there was that we had good ideas that we were ready to go with, but there really we had in a way a hook into the political system but you need to be at it full time in order to be in the right place at the right time to talk to people at meetings of this committee and that committee and the other committee and be constantly there. And in a way you're kind of a lobby group and unless you're there all the time you cannot push these things forward. So even when we got hooked into the, we had the ear of _____, a politician, we still didn't have the time to give to it. (Involved Academic)

It was also suggested that there was little political support for the Roundtable and Sudbury's Healthy Community initiative because local politicians did not fully understand the concept and have even viewed it as a threat:

I think also the politicians at the time found the whole thing a bit threatening. Politicians then and largely now are able to understand things like road budgets and repairing sewers and building sidewalks and so forth, but they find the ideas of a healthy community pretty hard to tangle with because they are abstract and conceptual. You have to be a leader if you're going to make those things happen. You can't sort of hold your

finger up to the political wind and do what the majority want if you're going to implement the values of a healthy community. And many politicians work that way because they want to get re-elected next time. So they follow rather than lead. So we weren't able to find politicians to be part of us. (Involved Academic)

I think the time was not right. There was no support here. We as individuals supported it. As professionals we can support it but we can't make the administration, or the politicians accept it. They don't understand it (healthy communities). Absolutely don't understand it. (Staff Member, Regional Government)

This lack of commitment, and even outright hostility, to the Healthy Community initiative amongst Sudbury politicians was seen as a major barrier to the incorporation of these ideas into decision-making. The Healthy Communities initiative was viewed as potentially threatening given that it represented a fundamental challenge to well-established ways of decision-making in the community. This perception is not surprising given that policy change is more likely to occur when routinized and accepted ways of decision-making are not directly challenged (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1993; Levy & Merry, 1986). Thus, it is perhaps not surprising that the Healthy Communities concept was able to garner little initial support from the political arena in Sudbury. The jury is still out on whether or not Healthy Communities has risen significantly on the political agenda in Sudbury.

The lack of visible support has continued even recently, when there was little visible political support of the concept at a visioning session, which included discussions on how the healthy community concept might be applied to Sudbury:

INT: Were there more political representatives present at this recent visioning session?

Unfortunately there weren't.

INT: There weren't?

There were more than in previous conferences. However, the mayor wasn't there, the Regional Chairman wasn't there. Nobody from the health and social services committee was there. (Community Participant)

... a lot of the councillors weren't there. The planning committee was there. A couple of other councillors dropped in but disappeared on Saturday. (Staff Member, Regional Government)

...there were very, very few at this session which apparently was well done, there were very few politicians there. That's just great. Now you go away and your decision, your board of governors doesn't have a clue of what's going on... the mayor wasn't even there. That's a real shortcoming. (Senior Manager, Regional Government)

In Sudbury, then, a shortage of political support (with the exception of a small number) has been a major constraint of the initiative, as it was in Hamilton. It is important to remember, however, that the process of policy learning is often slow, and while issues may be softening up the system (Weiss, 1983), it can take years (perhaps decades) to reach the point where the necessary political support is available (Kingdon, 1995). In Sudbury, the support of one or two well-positioned politicians could prove to be enough.

The administrative structure of the (former) Regional Municipality was also seen as a considerable barrier to implementing the initiative within the Sudbury Regional government at the time. This was due to the fact that the component of the bureaucracy that was most supportive of the initiative, the health and social services committee, lacked the power to influence decision-

making given the fact that they were not a full scale department. The following respondent notes that this resulted in an inability to enact the kinds of changes necessary to implement healthy communities in Sudbury's bureaucratic organization:

... municipal structures vary all over the place in Ontario. In other regions, for example Durham, Hamilton, Ottawa, and Haldimand-Norfolk they have a health services department which incorporates the public health aspect and a broad range of health and social services. The health and social services committee in the Sudbury Region is just one committee of the region and is not a full scale department so it's not as all encompassing. So they have a more limited mandate and unless the health and social services committee catches hold of an idea like healthy communities and really takes it to the council at large and really pushes it, the council itself isn't going to pick up on an idea. So I think it was probably the right idea but not the right time in the evolution of our region. (Health and Social Services)

In addition, the following respondent notes that the size of the municipality (i.e., mid-size) was also a barrier to implementing the healthy communities initiative in Sudbury given what this respondent considered an ill-equipped bureaucratic infrastructure. This respondent suggests that the larger municipalities, such as Hamilton, would have the necessary bureaucratic structures in place to carry out such an initiative:

I think the chances of making it work are better in two contexts. One is in a small community which has a very strong sense of community already. And I think it can work in large communities where you've got a solid infrastructure to pull stuff off. I think where it has difficulties is in communities like ours where we've got, I think to me at least one of the biggest drawbacks to something like that taking off in this community is that we're big enough that we've got the infrastructure but we're not so big that we've got ... no let's put it this way, we're big enough that we've got all

the services but we're not big enough to have a really solid bureaucratic infrastructure at the municipal level to pull it off. (Senior Manager, Regional Government)

Like Hamilton, Sudbury was, until recently, administered by a two-tiered system of government. This system was also identified as a barrier to implementing healthy communities at the regional level:

I think the other thing that is counterproductive here in Sudbury is just the anomaly that we have this two tier system of government. We're got the regional government looking after certain components and the seven area municipalities looking after different components. People at the regional level who theoretically should be able to pull this off are also so frantically busy because they not only have to sit on their own municipal council, sitting on regional council, the poor guys are just swamped really in all fairness. Our political structure here is really awkward that way. (Senior Manager, Regional Government)

Lack of involvement at the City level was also identified as a barrier. It would appear that cut-backs at the municipal level during the early 1990s were, at least in part, responsible for the lack of involvement at both the City and Regional levels:

...municipal departments in the province in '92 and on ran into all kinds of budget problems with the province's social contract and the downloading. That's been going on for 5 or 6 years. We were getting the proverbial ---- kicked out of us. We became quite insular to a degree and just tried to survive. So we weren't getting involved much and we backed off I guess. We didn't get involved very much in the Roundtable because we were just having too much difficulty. We were cutting back in masses. Millions of dollars in staff and so on and so on. (Staff Member, Municipal Government)

I guess we were all caught up in that NDP social contract stuff and we were cutting back. We were retrenching. We were doing all that restructuring, realignment, downsizing, whatever the word happened to be.

We've done it and we're still trying to do that.... So you can't do everything. (Senior Manager, Regional Government)

As was the case in Hamilton, sustainability concerns were perceived to take a back seat to other issues in times of fiscal restraint. Healthy/sustainable community initiatives were seen by respondents as necessarily requiring a certain level of funding to be successful. Problems in securing funding were noted as contributing to the lack of action by the Roundtable:

One of the things that we were working on was our health promotion plan. But, by the time that we worked on that, government funding (for the Roundtable) had been scrapped. (Health and Social Services)

Respondents in both Hamilton and Sudbury, then, saw their initiatives as competing with other programs for limited pools of funding to subsidize their work. The long-term nature of the changes required in healthy and sustainable community initiatives likely made them less appealing than changes focused on shorter term and more immediately visible results (see Pal, 1992).

6.2.3 Community Barriers

6.2.3.1 Community Barriers in Hamilton

The lack of overall community buy-in was identified by respondents as a significant barrier to the development of a more sustainable Hamilton. A general lack of community understanding, awareness, concern, and support were all identified as major impediments to the successful implementation of Vision 2020.

Also, the general impression was that unless citizens are prepared to change their behaviour toward a more sustainable lifestyle, then the Vision will ultimately accomplish very little:

I think one of the largest barriers is that we don't necessarily have the community-at-large on side. We have a limited part of the community on side. There tend to be concerned, active working people that are prepared participate. We don't have the Vision adopted in the community. We have some aspects of it kind of making some in-roads. But I think the biggest barrier that we have is communication with the taxpayers out there as to what their role is in the whole process. And if they're not prepared to buy into the things that they need to do, which is significant, we're going to have some difficulties here because all the funding in the world isn't going to make a difference if people aren't prepared to change their behavioural habits. (Senior Manager, Regional Government)

In order to move significantly towards some of those goals, I think things like improving the environment, improving the quality of the neighbourhoods, improving or changing transportation behaviours just using those three as examples, you have to take some difficult measures to do it in the short term. Even to achieve it in the long term, you have to take difficult measures in the short term. And I'm not sure that the community still understands the need to take those measures so they're still resisting them, and our political leaders are really a reflection of the community. It's very, very easy to say what we would like it to be like, but it's difficult to actually get people to make those sacrifices and change their behaviour until they truly see the need to do it. (Community Participant)

This emphasis on changing the unsustainable behaviour (i.e., over-reliance on automobiles, etc.) of the general public emerged as a key barrier to achieving success with Vision 2020. The question remains, however, how many of the “public” do you need because it is unlikely that the “community at large” is going to make massive sweeping changes in its behaviour, at least in the short- to

medium-term. Respondents suggested that this lack of adherence to a more sustainable form of behaviour may be due to a lack of general awareness of the

Vision amongst the general public:

Another thing that has to be improved is the educational component of the whole initiative. The awareness of the sustainable development movement, people that are involved in it get so much involved that they feel that everyone knows about it and aware of it. And in reality that's not true. That's not true at all. You step out and talk to your next door neighbour, they wouldn't know what you're talking about. You get into these groups where everybody thinks like you so you kind of think ah yeah our whole community knows. But our whole community does not know what it's about.... That's what I think is really holding the initiative back is that it's not the vocabulary of everybody in this community. (Staff Member, Regional Government)

This assertion is borne out by results from a 1996 survey about the awareness of the general public with respect to Vision 2020. Approximately 22% of people interviewed had “heard about” Vision 2020 (Paboeuf, 1997). While this number may or may not be high in comparison with other initiatives, certainly the initiative is unknown to the majority of the population. In addition, the survey did not attempt to assess how well, or if, people understood the goals of the Vision or not, so understanding of the initiative may be well below 22%.

Similarly, another respondent noted that it is not simply the short-sightedness of politicians that is preventing the Vision from achieving any degree of measurable success, but that it is also the lack of concern of the general public and the inherently unsustainable nature of life in today's society:

I think it's a combination but I think primarily it's that the citizens have not

developed a sufficient awareness of the situation as it is currently, and being able to strive for future improvements that may not benefit them directly. They seem to be more interested in sort of day-to-day improvements in their lives, rather than looking toward a future that's good for their children and grandchildren. I think because ... I don't think it's because of selfish motives that this has resulted from. I think it's primarily because people are so busy in their own lives and to a large degree are detached from what goes on in the community. (Progress Team Member)

In other words, the very nature of everyday life in today's society may act as a barrier towards adopting more sustainable behavioural patterns. The underlying message seems to be that if the general public is educated about their unsustainable behaviours, they will in turn make changes towards a more sustainable lifestyle. However, this is unlikely given the public's lack of willingness to significantly change their behaviour.

Interestingly, while community members appear to have had a significant voice in the development of the initial Vision statement itself, they have been almost excluded entirely from the subsequent phases of Vision development and implementation:

Once they put together the nice package of 400 recommendations and got it endorsed by council, we failed to develop any kind of ongoing mechanism to really pull these people back and work with them actually to implement what they said was needed to be implemented. So we didn't create any kind of focus for ongoing implementation. (Senior Manager, Regional Government)

This was curious given the fact that a highly successful citizens advisory group was created to help oversee the implementation of the Hamilton Harbour RAP:

...they're (Vision 2020 and the Hamilton Harbour Remedial Action Plan)

very similar as to how they got groups together from the community, put their ideas together and made recommendations that were then passed on to the higher government levels. Remedial action and sustainable development were both the same in that sense. But one of the things that happened with the remedial action plan was that in the recommendations they put in there, as one of the major recommendations, that a citizens' group be created to monitor the implementation of the plan. That didn't happen for some reason with Vision2020. That didn't happen with sustainable development. (Community Participant)

While it is unclear why a citizens' group to monitor on-going implementation was not initiated for Vision 2020, this oversight has been a major barrier for the initiative to overcome. Perhaps local officials were more focussed on developing the Vision document itself in order to generate the perception that Hamilton was "cleaning-up" its polluted environment (in an effort to change its image as a dirty industrial city, see Chapter 7) and were less interested in actually implementing it and therefore did not want or need citizen input. On the other hand, the fact that opportunities for direct citizen involvement were not available could have simply been an oversight on the part of local officials or have resulted from the fact that they were not sure how to involve the public. This, however, is unlikely given that the Hamilton Harbour Remediation Action Plan (RAP) had successfully instituted a citizen's group.

It should be noted that broad and widespread community participation in these or any initiatives is highly unlikely and potentially undesirable. As noted in Chapter 2, much of the health promotion literature naively assumes that community members want to be involved in the decision-making process and that

the decisions they make will lead to healthier and more sustainable communities (Robertson & Minkler, 1994). In many instances, community groups can mask hidden interests and agendas which may lead them to propose solutions that reflect racism, sexism, NIMBYism and so on.

Healthy and sustainable community initiatives face the further challenge of improving levels of citizen participation given the reality that “the public often does not participate when there is nothing for it to react against” (Steelman, 2001, p. 85). In other words, since these initiatives are perceived as having little immediate impact on the day-to-day lives of citizens, many of whom may fail to recognize the long-term benefits and quite simply do not have the time available to commit to such activities, high levels of active involvement in these initiatives are unlikely. Finally, research into public participation in decision-making has revealed that many citizens do not want to be involved in the decision-making process at all, and would prefer to let experts make the tough decisions (i.e., resource re-allocation and priority setting) (see Lomas, 1997). So, it may be unrealistic to expect widespread public participation in both healthy and sustainable community initiatives, particularly beyond exercises such as visioning. However, individual choices towards healthy and sustainable lifestyles, as well as more substantive public involvement, are important components of healthy and sustainable city initiatives, and so this failure to engage more thoroughly with the broader community has limited the success of Vision 2020.

6.2.3.2 *Community Barriers in Sudbury*

As in Hamilton, a major barrier identified in terms of preventing the Roundtable from achieving much progress in Sudbury was the general lack of awareness of, and involvement in, the initiative amongst members of the general public:

...if you walk down the street and ask somebody about it (the healthy community initiative), they'll say "I don't know, what's that". We haven't marketed it (healthy communities), we haven't promoted it, we haven't sold it. (Politician)

This may have been due, at least in part, to the abstract nature of the concept itself which made it inherently difficult for the general public to understand:

It wasn't concrete enough. People in the community at large don't grab onto them, concepts like that (healthy communities). (Involved Academic)

Part of what we emphasized at the Roundtable in part what was a theme of the Healthy People, Healthy Places was this notion of economy, environment, and health being linked. You know this concept which I think just turned out to be too darned abstract to be sold to the community.

INT: The community at large?

Yea. It wasn't concrete enough. People in the community at large don't grab onto them, concepts like that. (Community Participant)

The following respondent notes that many people in the community are too concerned with the demands of daily life to become interested (let alone involved) in something as abstract as healthy communities:

...there are still lots of people in Sudbury that probably don't know what... the healthy communities movement is all about.

INT: Like the average citizen?

The average citizen may still not know. And then you get in some of the poorer areas of Sudbury and they don't care what it is because they're more

concerned about day-to-day living. (Involved Academic)

Similar to Hamilton residents, then, Sudbury residents were seen as generally unaware of, or uninterested in the initiative and generally apathetic about creating this sort of change in their communities (or at least too concerned with other things). It is interesting to see that, despite the fact that the Sudbury initiative was in fact community led, problems in generating interest and recruiting volunteers were still significant barriers to the project.

6.3 INCREASING EFFECTIVENESS

6.3.1 Improving Vision 2020

Respondents were asked what suggestions they could give to improve the functioning of the healthy/sustainable city initiatives in their communities. They offered numerous suggestions for improving Vision 2020 (Table 6.5). Many of the suggestions for improvement centred around the need for increased community involvement and control of Vision 2020. Improved community awareness and education were perceived to be a necessary (though not unproblematic) precursor for improvement. Respondents, from both within and outside of the local government, overwhelmingly felt that in order for the project to move forward it must be moved from strictly within the purview of the

TABLE 6.5: Improving Hamilton's VISON 2020	
Suggestion	Number of mentions, all interviews
More Community Involvement	12
Increased Education/Awareness	9
Become More Decentralized/More Community Control	7
New Champions Needed	7
Demonstrate Practicality/Applicability	5
Improved/Increased Monitoring and Evaluation	4
More Supportive Council/Politicians	3
Increased Emphasis on Social Issues	3
Greater Focus on Long-Term Decision-Making	3
More Involvement from Private Sector	3
Ensure Politicians "Understand" Vision 2020	3
Changes in Individual Behaviour	3
Establish Clear Priorities/Targets	3
Stronger Leadership	2
More NGO Involvement	2
Don't Ignore Original Document	2
Stronger Environmental Policies	1
Build Into Current Budget Process	1
More Participation from Industry	1
Implement at Neighbourhood Level	1

Regional Government and more firmly into community sectors and groups:

You're looking at what has been very much a top-down process whereby the region has done this and has done reasonably well with it. It's beginning I hope as a result of the progress team's work and things like the annual day and whatever we can set up in as an implementation process will get a stronger community grassroots involvement. It struck me that even the community forum, a couple of weeks ago, it was still, and it was probably inevitable, primarily in the agency grouping there were some community organizations, but there was a fairly strong official component and it's key for individual citizens to get involved. (Staff Member, Regional Government)

Indeed, a major conclusion of the Vision 2020 Progress Team was that the Vision lacked the "broad community-wide ownership" (Vision 2020 Progress Team, 1998) necessary to make the Vision a reality in Hamilton. As such, many of the renewed strategies suggested by the Progress Team in their Final Report (Vision 2020 Progress Team, 1998) attempted to address issues surrounding greater community participation, access and control:

So, the overall conclusion from the whole group was that you need to get buy in from the community as a whole to get done but doesn't have control over. So we want to see other groups brought in so that they feel that the Vision is for them too and that it's not just the region dictating it to them. (Progress Team Member)

I think that the Progress Team has put a lot of stress on the future development of community capacity, community empowerment. We're proposing to put a section at the end of each of our theme areas for community empowerment recommendations so that there's a broadening of the aims of Vision 2020. Well not so much the aims because the aims are in the original mission statement, but the implementation is being recommended for a much wider involvement by the community. (Progress Team Member)

While this community component appears to have been missing from initial

attempts to implement Vision 2020, the danger exists that the local government could withdraw its participation from the initiative entirely as it tends to more immediate concerns centred on the restructuring of the organization. The danger is that by downloading the initiative entirely to the community sector, much of the good work done by the local government in recent years (i.e., the Sustainable Community Decision Making Guide, etc.) could be lost. This scenario is probable given the fact that, as we have seen, urban sustainability is not high on the agenda of local government at the moment.

The following respondent suggested the need for the formation of a citizens advisory group that would work in partnership with the local government to aid in the implementation of the initiative, thereby ensuring continued commitment from government as well as simultaneously increasing community control:

Well, one of the things that I want to do when the progress team finishes was to sort of create an independent citizens group or voluntary group that would kind of serve as a hub as the whole initiative. Sort of take it out of municipal government and create a focus of community leaders as opposed to political leaders that would try and lead the charge and try and keep that group as diverse as possible. (Community Participant)

It bears noting that this type of citizen's watch dog group was attempted previously in Hamilton at the outset of the Vision 2020 initiative. Citizens for a Sustainable Community (CSC) (see section 4.5.1.1 for a discussion of the formation and role of this group) was intended to fill this role. However, similar

to Sudbury's Roundtable, this group lacked the direct paths to political influence and although it still exists as an organization, its ties to the local government and the Vision 2020 initiative remain tenuous. This is not to say that such a group could not be effective, as there are many examples of successful community advisory groups working in conjunction with government towards the development of public policy (see Butcher et al., 1993 for examples of successful community/government partnerships), but that care and vigilance must be taken to ensure that the partnership is a productive one. The key idea again is partnership, and the fact that the community cannot do it alone (Wilson, 1990). There is increasing evidence that successful policy development requires some combination of so-called top down approaches in conjunction with more community-based, bottom-up decision-making (see Keare, 2001; Meier & Smith, 1994; Steelman, 2001).

This shift towards broader community ownership and involvement has happened to some extent already with the formation of Action 2020, an incorporated non-profit body intended to facilitate and encourage community participation and community ownership of the initiative. It remains to be seen, however, what role the new City of Hamilton will take in relation to this new community group and in terms of its own operations with respect to Vision 2020.

Even though general community awareness of the initiative is relatively high, in terms of those who have heard about the Vision 2020 initiative, it is still

felt that direct public involvement in the development of local public policy as it pertains to Vision 2020 must increase:

We know from survey research we've done that some 20% of community sort of knows and understands what Vision 2020 is... So I think as an awareness process it has been fairly successful, but as a process where people are broadly involved...

Int: Like in the general public?

Yes. In the general public I think that we've definitely not been as successful as we might have liked. (Staff Member, Regional Government)

...we've got to figure out what things we can do to try to assist getting the public more involved in it in order to achieve the Vision because I think, as I said at the beginning, my biggest concern is that we're not getting out to enough people now. We're sort of "yeah, we've got our group and you know everybody is committed and we're making changes", but we have got to get a larger group to buy in. (Senior Manager, Regional Government)

The following respondent suggested the importance of increased public awareness in terms putting sustainability higher-up the local political agenda. While community groups can play an important role in policy development of this kind (see Smith, 1993) significant change in the short term is more likely to come from rules and regulations instituted by governments (at all levels) which impact individual behaviour. Despite this, respondents suggested that if more people in the community were aware of, and understood the concept of sustainable development, that they would likely voice their concerns in this area to their local political representative(s) who would then bring these concerns to the local government for action:

It has to become mainstream, you know, widely known and the value of it

recognized. The municipal politicians are really close to the people who elect them. They won't really believe that until they start to meet a lot of people at the coffee shop who believe that it (sustainable development) is important. (Community Participant)

The implication is further that the relative lack of citizen involvement in the initiative may have much to do with general apathy or a lack of concern about urban sustainability on behalf of the general public in combination with the lack of mechanisms to ensure timely citizen input for those whom are interested:

I think one of the failures in the first round has been having a good, well structured, citizens initiative, that gives clear access points and sort of serves the needs of citizens as they get involved. There are some citizens who want practical information and there are some citizens that want to get involved. How to serve both those different parties has been a challenge. (Senior Manager, Regional Government)

By and large, the overriding sentiment which emerged from the interviews was the fact that in order for the Vision to be successful, individuals need to change their currently unsustainable pattern of behaviour and that this could be most effectively accomplished through increased education and awareness:

The best way to have it happen is educate people so that they take it home. I think we should concentrate some of our efforts in that area because generally speaking, a middle class couple or family in Ancaster to be realistic for Hamilton mountain or whatever are going to say, "yea I've got two cars and I like it that way because I have to be mobile and I'm not going to take the bus, or I'm not going to walk to work because work's 30 miles away". (Senior Manager, Regional Government)

It's people making their choices. It's people making the choice to live a sustainable way... I don't know. That's just my sense. But people are making dumb choices. To me they're dumb choices. (Progress Team Member)

There appear to be two main issues here, the first dealing with increasing community involvement in the initiative and second improving community awareness and education about sustainability to improve individual behaviour. Both are, of course, extremely difficult and long-term endeavours (particularly the latter). In the short-term it is likely that increasing community involvement in the initiative has the potential to simultaneously increase community control in the initiative and raise community awareness. However, the likelihood of a massive shift in values in the short term is unlikely and unrealistic.

It was suggested that increasing community involvement and interest in the initiative could be achieved (at least partially) through demonstrating the applicability and the practicality of the initiative. In other words, Vision 2020 advocates must show people in the community what the initiative has done and can do in terms of making Hamilton a more sustainable community:

I don't think you'd have very many people saying, oh that's terrible. I think most people would support it (in principle). I guess they need to still be able to see that they can be involved to make some practical things happen on the way to achieving that Vision. And sometimes maybe they need to feel that there are some tangible things that are going on. (Community Participant)

One way it was suggested that this might be accomplished in practice would be by demonstrating the ability of the Vision to enact change towards sustainability. This could potentially be achieved through some relatively small-scale projects which gradually work towards shifting policy in the long term. For,

as Goumans and Springett (1997) note with respect to Healthy Communities initiatives in Europe and Australia, even if these relatively small-scale projects do not immediately lead to policy change, “they can facilitate the policy-making process” (p. 320) through involvement in the “process of participating in and seeing the consequences of a series of projects” (p. 320). This is particularly applicable if policy-making is thought of as a continual process of learning and innovation (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1993).

Similarly, the following respondent highlighted the need for more visible projects associated with Vision 2020:

I'd like to see more flagship projects that increase the credibility of the initiative over time so that people can clearly point to and say, yes the clean up of the harbour and the overflow tanks is something that is done because it's consistent with the Vision and that therefore shows that this community is committed to achieving Vision 2020. (Community Participant)

In some ways it would appear that Vision 2020 has become formalized on the backs of other policies, such as the reference to the CSO tanks mentioned above.

Another respondent felt that the movement could gain momentum and increased community support through the development of clearly identifiable targets to work towards:

I think if we can set some realistic but achievable targets... then we can keep people involved who want change to happen faster because there's a lot of people who don't buy into Vision 2020 because they see it as unrealistic. And then you've got another group of people as see it as going too slow and they get frustrated with the pace of change. So, ok how do

we counterbalance these two disparate kind of constituencies? To me you can probably do it if you've got a long term goal in mind that may not be achievable in the short term, but you've also got something that's realistic. (Senior Manager, Regional Government)

Curiously, as noted in the Regional overview of the Vision 2020 initiative (Regional Municipality of The City of Hamilton, 1997), "a detailed action plan containing information about responsibilities, time frames and priorities... has never been developed for Vision 2020" (p. 26) as it was not in the Task Force's original mandate or time frame. This represents a serious shortcoming with respect to the implementation phase of the initiative in that things do not get done unless these types of contingencies are put in place. This lack of direction and targets also re-enforces the lack of commitment and political will for Vision 2020 in Hamilton.

The following respondent went so far as to note that increased pressure (with respect to an evaluation of its successes and limitations) from the Regional organization to demonstrate its effectiveness might actually work in favour of the initiative:

Int: Is there any pressure as far as proving that it is making a difference?
No, Interestingly that hasn't come. It kind of surprises me, but on the other hand, if you were more familiar with this organization, it's not well known for its accountability. Council adopts all sorts of commitments that get forgotten or lost. For example, they adopted as an operating procedure the Decision Making Guide. So it's now effectively a regulation and governs our operations and, in theory, it governs the operations of all personnel. Its implementation has been sporadic, well not sporadic, but has varied, but there's no follow through for it. So definitely not, no pressure in that sense. On the other hand, I think it might be a good idea if

there was more pressure and it might actually, cause the organization to start to look at itself and create some of that accountability. (Staff Member, Regional Government)

The important point here is that often, despite original intentions, many social programs and initiatives (particularly those in large bureaucracies) never get evaluated (Rossi & Freeman, 1993). So, the fact that there is little pressure to demonstrate the effectiveness of Vision 2020 should not come as a complete surprise. In this case the lack of an evaluative component to the Decision Making Guide was perhaps due to a lack of resources (in terms of time and money), interest (on the part of senior managers), or the fact that other concerns (such as amalgamation and restructuring) came to the fore. In addition, senior bureaucrats may have been uninterested in undertaking an evaluation given that they suspected that the results would be negative.

Similarly, the following respondent suggested that the profile of the Vision could be enhanced if it were to be the deciding factor in a contentious issue within the Region. For instance, if a project was allowed/disallowed because of its adherence (or lack thereof) to the principles of Vision 2020:

The thing that strikes me is that Vision 2020, to really take the next step in building community awareness or community profile or community acceptance, is going to have to be credited with, and this is going to be tough because it can be kind of ugly, and I'm not even sure that this will be a good thing, but it would have to be credited as being almost the sole reason for allowing or disallowing some proposal for change. In other words, "if we do this, it would be such a gross violation of Vision 2020 that we can't do that", and then have that stick. Then Vision 2020 goes to next level where it could be that powerful. Right now it has an influence.

I think it's consideration. It's sort of a quiet, subtle affect. But at some point you know you have to turn something around for people stand up and take notice of it. (Health and Social Services Sector)

However, for this to happen, a tremendous level of political commitment would be necessary; political will that has been missing thus far.

There was also general agreement about the need for new champions (both in the community and from within the local government) to take on the challenge(s) of implementing the Vision. Strong leadership, particularly amongst senior management and regional politicians is desperately needed to not only ensure that the Vision does not disappear, but that it becomes stronger in

Hamilton:

...it needs some champions as well and that's probably where it's been difficult. The guys in regional planning were the original champions. The ball hasn't been picked up for them. There hasn't really been a politician, or regional council member that's really been a very strong visible champion of this, and there probably haven't been too many senior people in administration that have been strong champions of it either. (Local Economic Development Sector)

What I think you need though is someone with some leadership, and you need some charismatic gung ho person. From what I hear about the Portland experience, it was because they had the mayor was so for sustainable community that he was ok with not rebuilding after the earthquake or whatever and not rebuilding that expressway or ripping up that expressway. I mean there was such commitment. I feel that here we have a bureaucratic understanding of what the Vision is. Well, we don't have a champion for the Vision. I mean _____ is a champion for the Vision, but _____ is a staff person. (Community Participant)

This has not taken place likely because of the local focus on economic development, the lack of public pressure to adopt make serious changes to

implement Vision 2020 and general bureaucratic inertia. Up until this point it has been Regional government staff people who have championed (i.e., someone who has supported and argued for the implementation of Vision 2020) the Vision.

Unless the initiative can attract new leaders and supporters, respondents suggest, it is in danger of declining and possibly disappearing altogether:

It needs new blood. It needs a new group of people to pick up the banner, to put in the energy, to take the next step. And unless new people come in and do that, then I think it's inevitable that it will decline. (Senior Manager, Regional Government)

This may not be feasible, however, given the current organizational climate in Hamilton.

I think the strengths come from the willingness of certain individuals to participate and keep moving this thing forward. If that disappears, then this thing dies on the vine. (Politician)

It should be noted that leaders are generally thought to be made, not born (Dimock, 1987). That is, leadership develops as an interaction between individuals and situations, and individuals in some situations may not be leaders in others. In calling for champions, then, respondents may be offering a naive view of leadership. They might be better served by focussing on how to increase organizational capacity, including how to develop leaders among those already within the initiative. Also, new leaders will inevitably want to put their own mark on the initiative and will therefore, change and adapt the concept of urban sustainability to fit their own interests. Finally, while leadership can be important, Begadon and Agocs (1995) remind us that controversy still exists about the degree

to which leaders (namely the mayor and CAO's of Canadian municipalities) are able to influence organizational performance and outcomes. They note that constraints posed by economic conditions, the provincial government and bureaucratic inertia all work towards limiting their power to affect significant change (Begadon & Agocs, 1995). So, while leadership can be important, leaders must work to overcome a number of barriers to achieve progressive policy change.

Political support was seen as a necessary component to ensure that Vision 2020's agenda status increases. Respondents noted that this political support must come not merely in the form of lip service to the concept. Instead, politicians need to understand the concept and recognize the utility of using sustainability as a framework for civic decision-making:

You need strong, committed political leadership. That's imperative. If you don't have that there, you're fighting an uphill battle. (Senior Manager, Regional Government)

So, I think what you run into is you have to have a council that not only approves and supports a concept, but is willing to approve and support the action that will support the concept. (Community Participant)

Given the discord, however, between the political time-cycle and the long-term nature of sustainability, however, respondents felt this would be extremely difficult to accomplish:

We're talking 20 years or something (for changes to be seen), so it's hard for them [politicians] to relate to that. Some of them more, how could I put it diplomatically, I would call them maybe wiser politicians who do see the

value in it, but they're a minority. Most of them either see it as, well that's nice, I'll ignore it though. Some even see it as a threat. (Staff Member, Regional Government)

So, gaining genuine support from elected politicians within the municipal structure was seen as a central (but difficult to achieve) component of ensuring Vision 2020's success in the future.

Interestingly, the issue of provincial downloading on to the municipality was seen as a potential opportunity in that it might give the municipality more latitude in the allocation of funds to address issues of local sustainability.

I think the good thing overall is that it's (downloading) going to put more and more responsibility for spending money in the regional council.... You could spend it on things like the Vision and the objectives, then the better the chance of implementing it. (Senior Manager, Regional Government)

I think there's an opportunity. I think that the initial feeling is that it's more difficult. I think it's a key and it's opened up and it says ok, if you have federal and provincial governments who are downloading stuff to community or off-loading stuff, so what. That just gives you more control to actually do the kind of things you want to do... (Senior Manager, Regional Government)

I think the restructuring is a way of funding this whole scenario (Vision 2020). I don't see that we're going to restructure and then say well we've now got a bundle of money in our pocket let's just give it back in to the taxpayers. I think the opportunity here is to hold the line on taxes and I think that's what everybody is interested in doing. And hopefully through that process we'll have some surplus that we can identify some of the very important environmental issues that we have to deal with. I see restructuring as an opportunity to free up money that we can utilize to do the things that we need to do to fulfil the document, fulfill the Vision. (Politician)

However, while some respondents felt that Provincial down-loading might have a

positive impact on the Regional level of government's ability to allocate funds, others were somewhat more hesitant, given the generally unsupportive philosophy and attitude of the current Provincial government towards preventive and long-term initiatives such as Vision 2020. Also, it is difficult to know precisely how this will play out given the early indications of the highly acrimonious nature of the relationship between the new city and the former area municipalities. Initial indications suggest that this relationships will continue.

6.3.2 Changes for a Healthier Community in Sudbury

Although there was a general air of optimism about the future of healthy communities in Sudbury, a number of suggestions were made about how to improve implementation in the future (Table 6.6). First, the availability of funds (as small as they may be) was seen as vital to the program's success, and the fact that these funds may not be available could act as a barrier towards implementing healthy communities in Sudbury:

...you have to have buy in from the places from where the money comes from which really is some government system, either municipal or provincial or both. The feds actually have been quite good in sustaining the health promotion branch of the federal government. It's the one place where you can still get some funding for what I would call healthy community initiatives. But the provincial has almost stopped completely, and the municipal of course is so busy trying to catch up with what it's downloaded with that it doesn't have a lot of extra money either.
(Community Participant)

TABLE 6.5: Improving Hamilton's VISON 2020	
Suggestion	# of Mentions (across all interviews; n=75)
More Community Involvement	12
Increased Education/Awareness	9
Become More Decentralized/More Community Control	7
New Champions Needed	7
Demonstrate Practicality/Applicability	5
Improved/Increased Monitoring and Evaluation	4
More Supportive Council/Politicians	3
Increased Emphasis on Social Issues	3
Greater Focus on Long-Term Decision-Making	3
More Involvement from Private Sector	3
Ensure Politicians "Understand" Vision 2020	3
Changes in Individual Behaviour	3
Establish Clear Priorities/Targets	3
Stronger Leadership	2
More NGO Involvement	2
Don't Ignore Original Document	2
Stronger Environmental Policies	1
Build Into Current Budget Process	1
More Participation from Industry	1
Implement at Neighbourhood Level	1

The problem is money, and seems to me that they need to commit some

money to this and they don't. We have a really neanderthal city council, or we have had. And now with all the downloading it's got worse... I mean we need a lot more commitment from the region but mostly what we need is money... Unless it gets more resources I don't think it's going to survive. (Health and Social Services)

I think that it needs some staffing but it also needs ... well somewhere it's got to get the resources to recruit new people who want to do more development. It really needs that desperately. (Staff Member, Regional Government)

These comments are unsurprising, given the many of the Roundtable's difficulties stemmed from their lack of access to resources. The jury is still out with respect to the utility of Healthy Communities for Sudbury, and the concept may only now be increasing in its agenda status (as evidenced by the recent interest in the concept by local government). This means that a re-allocation of resources toward the healthy community initiative may not happen to any significant degree for some time. How these issues are dealt with in the near future, however, will likely ultimately determine the fate of the initiative in Sudbury:

...there are going to be obstacles. There'll be some hidden agendas, there will be some how do you shift resources into this when they're being used in other places. That's why the inside-out model is helpful because now you've got the political leadership that's saying yes we can do this, your staff has to figure out how are you going to resource this and, at some point, there are going to be some proposals forwarded to council where you have to say if you're going to spend money on this, you can't spend it on this. We said this was a priority issue and now we have to shift resource dollars, develop policies and so on. All those kinds of things have to happen. That's when it really hits the road. There's no doubt that we'll have to figure that out. (Politician)

I think there may well be political commitment but in the absence of money I can't see anything happening unless there is a pocket money appears from either the feds or the province and that the region can then go to that source of money and say we want some seed money to get this concept up and running...and I don't think we're talking big bucks. (Staff Member, Regional Government)

It was suggested that unless the funding situation improves markedly in the near future, the initiative will be limited to a number of relatively small-scale projects and policy changes. However, these could prove beneficial for the future success of healthy communities in Sudbury by providing the initiative with much needed visibility in the community:

I think we probably can do a number of little things like those bike trails and that kind of thing. We can probably do a fair bit given the money constraints that we have. And maybe the no smoking by-laws will get passed... But in terms of big things, I'm not too sure. I don't know because politics is a strange game. (Staff Member, Municipal Government)

However, local authorities in Sudbury might gradually build on these small successes in an effort to strengthen the Healthy Communities initiative.

Like Hamilton, the need to increase widespread community involvement, understanding and support was also identified as a way to improve the healthy community initiative in Sudbury:

Now the question is we have to convince our people and convince our community that there's benefit to taking on a whole new way of thinking. And I think that's going to be our strategy is that if we play any part in this is how do we play the critical role of human transformation... So that mind, human idea transformation into people, cultures, organizations is something that we can play a role in. And that's probably going to be our biggest contribution to the healthy communities movement... I think we've got to come to a new awareness and that's going to take some education.

(Involved Academic)

Again, while greater community support and awareness is likely necessary for the movement to grow, this type of widespread behaviour and attitude change on behalf of the general public is unlikely to occur overnight if at all (see section 6.2.3.1). Community support is deemed necessary in order to get the local politicians to take the movement seriously. As the following respondent noted:

If there is community support, then they (local politicians) will move.
(Staff Member, Regional Government)

One of the most popular suggestions for improving Sudbury's healthy community initiative was that the Roundtable should become a sort of advisory committee that would work in partnership with the Regional government:

I think it would be nice if a future Roundtable was more connected the regional government, and that the regional government could use it as a sounding board and advice and recommendations for certain topics.
(Senior Manager, Regional Government)

I would hope that... we would form a healthy community secretariat management group that would be the Roundtable. And the Roundtable would take on the function and would change itself, metamorphosize into a combination of outside-in inside-out group of people who would become the clearinghouse, the forum, the promoter, the instigator, the force behind maintaining a healthy community approach in the Sudbury Region.... I would see it becoming a non-confrontational body whose only agenda is the promotion of Sudbury as a healthy community. And whatever that takes, then it will work towards it and it will be directed at influencing and changing the way in which people live and behave, and assisting government and bureaucrats making decisions which are in accord with healthy community approach. (Politician)

Again, however, advisory committees typically have little power to enact policy

change. As such the idea of a community advisory committee as a potential solution to past problems surrounding political and bureaucratic interest in healthy communities is questionable. Regardless, the idea that there needs to be some sort of partnership between the Regional government and the community (be it the Roundtable or some other group) emerged as a prominent theme. It was felt that this partnership would strengthen healthy communities in Sudbury significantly and was also viewed as a way to maintain some “community” control of the initiative. This is similar to the Hamilton respondents’ suggestions for the formation of a citizen advisory committee to strengthen the Hamilton initiative.

Once again, however, it was suggested that the initiative will not achieve its potential if it resides entirely within local government. The lack of trust among citizens for local government was highlighted as an important issue to be considered:

I think that (it will be successful) if it doesn't become too overly bureaucratic... People want to see results and if we continue to work with these people, they'll buy in. They'll feel more comfortable. Because I'll tell you, the other thing is that there are a lot of people on the committee who have no use for councils, municipal councils. They have very little respect or trust for councils until they get [to be] part of the process.
(Involved Academic)

The challenge of trying to integrate local government involvement with widespread community participation was highlighted as a key consideration for the near future. In other words, how can the right mix between inside-out and outside-in be achieved (see Steelman, 2001)? This inevitably will take shape

differently in different places. It could be that the future of the healthy communities initiative in Sudbury rests largely on the answer to that question:

So the question is, how do you create the community vibrance? You know the community drive, the community input, the community visioning, the sense of grassroots participation, the energy, the new energy, the new focusing, and how do you get your community involved and yet have government being a participant in it. How do we mix with that sector? The critical balance that I find is it's needed. If it's strictly in government it has its own weakness, and if it's strictly out in the community... but when you try to bring those two together sometimes it's a real challenge.

(Politician)

Unlike in Hamilton, where the focus has been almost entirely on increasing community involvement, Sudbury respondents are most concerned with achieving a balance between community and government stakeholders. This has likely resulted from the experience of the original Roundtable and their inability to make inroads into the local decision-making process.

One way to raise public awareness of the initiative could be to demonstrate the applicability and practicality of the initiative in the community. This could be achieved through the implementation of some small-scale, action-oriented initiatives:

I hope we get into specific action-oriented programs that the public can see a benefit from. And I hope that in the next 4 or 5 years we actually do some demonstrative programs that we can say that was specifically brought about by the healthy communities movement be it environmental, be it whatever... I think it's most critical point will be in the first 5 years.
(Senior Manager, Regional Government)

I would think it may be useful if Roundtable could come up with some

projects on their own just to wake people up...

INT: So specific issues or projects?

Some issue or project rather than just ideas... I just think because of what happened before, people would just get fed up with that. (Health and Social Services)

Similar to their colleagues in Hamilton, then, Sudbury respondents felt that the community needs to see tangible results (i.e., small-scale projects, etc.) from having the healthy communities initiative in place. Again, this could, over time, lead to greater policy learning and ultimately soften up the system towards the gradual incorporation of more radical changes to the process (and outcomes) of local decision-making (Kingdon, 1995). In fact Goumans and Springett (1997; see also Dooris, 1999) suggest that moving forward may be accomplished by adopting a more pragmatic approach whereby the concept becomes linked with other, potentially more politically appealing issues such as unemployment or community safety.

However, actually getting to the point of action on smaller-scale projects is itself often fraught with difficulties:

It's fine to sit around the table and talk about visions and talk about goals and where we want to go, but ultimately you have to come to do two things. You have to come to action and as soon as you come to action, to be active you have to make decisions. And as soon as you make decisions then you get into the application and it's difficult. (Involved Academic)

It was also thought that the initiative needs to attract some new faces who might be able to pick-up where the original Roundtable members are now and re-energize the grassroots component of the initiative:

I think we need new blood and I think _____ would be the first to say that. In fact he said that a few weeks ago. So yeah we've (the original Roundtable) been together for a long time and we all think alike. Maybe that's the problem, maybe we're in a rut. We need some new faces and new approaches. (Community Participant)

Probably need someone with a new spark.... I don't think the people who were on there (the original Roundtable)... are going to be in a position to fire it up again...they're probably already doing too many things, involved in too many things. (Senior Manager, Regional Government)

Again, this is similar to concerns in Hamilton about the importance of new champions for the initiative. It is evident that the Sudbury Roundtable, if it is to survive and flourish needs to develop the necessary political skills (Clarke, 2000) something that was clearly missing from the original group but appears to be more firmly in place at present. In particular, the groups needs to build stronger networks and alliances (Clarke, 2000). As in Hamilton, leadership will likely play an important determining factor as to whether the Sudbury initiative flourishes or dies:

We're at a critical stage... It will depend on the leadership that it will have in the next 5 years. It needs new leadership in terms of younger, more committed people. I think there's a lot of people who've set the groundwork and are saying ok there it is now, let's take it over and move from there. I think that's critical. (Involved Academic)

While the movement in Sudbury (and Hamilton too for that matter) has had a number of champions (i.e., those overtly supportive of the concept), it has arguably lacked the necessary leadership (i.e., those with the know how, resources and influence) to move the healthy communities concept on to the political

agenda. Although, as suggested in the previous section, improved leadership alone will not be enough.

And finally, unlike in Hamilton, there was a recognition in Sudbury of the need to get buy-in from the area municipalities from the start to make the initiative work:

...ultimately, for this plan to work and to get buy in, it will need to get champions from each of the area municipalities. If it's going to be a regional type of initiative, that's fine. But you have to have buy in from the area municipalities. The city is a natural. I mean everybody is doing some great things. But I think what has to happen is that under the guise of healthy communities, we've got to tell people about this. (Senior Manager, Regional Government)

This initial recognition may help Sudbury to create a unified approach to healthy communities within its municipal structure, although municipal buy-in may be less important in the wake of the regional restructuring which has recently taken place in Sudbury (resulting in the amalgamation of local area municipalities into the City of Greater Sudbury).

6.4 SUMMARY

In Hamilton, the lack of buy-in from senior management was identified as a major barrier to progress, as was the perceived lack of commitment and support from local politicians and councillors. Respondents felt that most of the Councillors simply paid lip-service to the concept, did not really understand what it meant or what its implications for decision-making were, or simply lacked the

necessary political will to enact substantial change towards more sustainable decision-making in the community. Many respondents also noted a conflict between the short-term focus of decision-making within local government and the long-term nature of decision-making necessary to progress towards achieving greater urban sustainability. The fact that most of the benefits of sustainable development might not be realized for a number of years provides little incentive for local politicians (who run for election every three years) to take significant action. The inflexible organizational structures within the municipality (e.g., short elected terms for politicians), therefore, result in bureaucratic resistance to change and the preference to maintain stable policy systems (Wilson, 2000). As such, second-order policy change (i.e., significant shifts in the rules and structures of decision-making), such as that required by healthy and sustainable community initiatives, will be much more difficult (though not impossible) to accomplish (Crosby, 1996).

Similarly, in Sudbury respondents saw a lack of political support for the Sudbury Roundtable on Health, the Environment and the Economy as a major barrier to achieving success. This lack of support was compounded by the fact that the group was located entirely outside of the Region's bureaucratic and political structures. The volunteer base of the group (comprised of a number of community leaders and volunteers interested in exploring the healthy communities concept in Sudbury) simply did not have time to devote to ensure that the

initiative got off of the ground.

Respondents in both communities suggested that the overall lack of involvement of the general public and awareness of the initiatives had been a serious impediment to realizing significant change towards sustainability. It was felt that unless the general public begins to recognize and value the importance of adopting more sustainable forms of behaviour, the initiative has little chance of achieving success. However, large-scale behaviour change on the part of the general public is unlikely. A far more realistic scenario would be one in which the local government (in collaboration with provincial and federal levels) enact policies which shape individual behaviour into a more sustainable form. However, it is questionable as to whether or not the public is ready/willing to accept these kinds of policies.

While widespread participation is unlikely, and potentially undesirable, without public pressure to change the way local government carries out its operations and makes decisions, politicians would be unlikely to change their approach to decision-making (Smith, 1993). Interestingly, increasing community involvement was a serious concern in both communities, despite the large difference between these initiatives in terms of orientation towards the community (i.e. inside-out vs outside-in). Respondents in both communities also suggested that their initiative needs to be re-energized and re-invigorated with new participants who are eager to take on the challenge of working towards making

their communities healthier.

However, other suggestions for improvement did vary in relation to the current structure of the initiatives. Suggestions for improvement to the Vision 2020 initiative focussed on increasing engagement with the community in a meaningful sense, something the initiative has had difficulty doing, particularly since the development of the initial strategies and actions. It will be interesting to see if community involvement in the Hamilton initiative increases during the next few years with the recent creation of a citizen-led, community implementation team (Action 2020), which is intended to improve and increase community involvement in the implementation of Vision 2020 which is intended to move the initiative from the control of local government. The danger, however, is that the local government will withdraw from the initiative altogether and leave it for the community group to carry forward on its own. The initiative could disappear altogether if the Action 2020 is disconnected from the political process. As the Sudbury group demonstrated, initiating these kinds of initiatives entirely from the “outside” is an extremely daunting task. The support and partnership of local government is critical. While increased community control would be a much needed improvement, local government still must work towards bringing Vision 2020 forward.

In Sudbury, suggestions focussed on the need to combine the outside-in approach of the original Roundtable with the inside-out approach which would be

adopted by the Regional government. The need to maintain a vital community-based component (whether it is the Roundtable or some other body) was repeatedly voiced, as was the need for government and community to work together in partnership. In Hamilton, too, there were calls for a stronger partnership between community sectors and the Regional organization to achieve progress towards Vision 2020. The strength of this partnership (between the community and local government) may already be in doubt as it is clear that the Vision faces some tough times in the near future, particularly from pressures within local government. Respondents suggested that the Vision's future remains highly uncertain, with the likelihood that it will decline in prominence within the Regional Corporation as concerns surrounding amalgamation and restructuring have come to the fore in recent months. Similarly, while respondents in Sudbury were quite optimistic about the future of sustainable/healthy cities in Sudbury given their recent endorsement by the municipal government, the future of the program is far from certain. In both cases, at the moment healthy and sustainable community initiatives are low on the agenda status.

One way in which the agenda status of both initiatives could increase over the next few years is by their becoming associated with smaller-scale projects that do not directly challenge the core beliefs of decision-makers and thus make them less threatening. This was suggested in both communities as a way to potentially increase the agenda status of these initiatives. Indeed, there is some evidence of

this taking place in both Hamilton and Sudbury: both cities have focused on developing environmental remediation and rehabilitation projects, with an emphasis on improving and enhancing leisure and recreational activities (including improved access to waterfront areas through the development of such amenities as walking and bicycle trails).

These changes may be positive. As Goumans and Springett (1997) note, if policy learning plays an important role in policy change, then perhaps it is not so much the practical outcomes of a large initiative that influence decision-making, as it is the process of participating in and seeing the consequences of a number of visible projects. Social marketing campaigns could be one way to make the public (and decision-makers) more aware of the concepts and approach of the healthy and sustainable communities movement. This could allow the concepts to remain in the policy stream, gradually making decision-makers more receptive to them over time (Kingdon, 1995; Weiss, 1983). In addition, localities (Cooke, 1989) can use these projects to regain control of their own increasingly precarious economic situations by attracting increasingly mobile capital through improved imaging and marketing efforts (including efforts to improve leisure and recreational opportunities).

However, there is some cause to be concerned about these recent developments. In particular, this new focus on specific, mostly environmental projects could lead to a watering-down of the original goals of the initiative to

make it more palatable to decision-makers. In fact, these changes to the original aims of the project could lead to the initiative being co-opted by traditional business interests (Wilson, 1990). As the following chapter (Chapter 7) argues, these initiatives appear to be being used by business interests in an effort to re-image Hamilton and Sudbury and improve each community's stagnant economies.

CHAPTER 7

HEALTHY AND SUSTAINABLE COMMUNITIES AS RADICAL SOCIAL CHANGE OR IMAGE RE-CONSTRUCTION

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on notions of city image as an important emergent theme from the interview data. While respondents were not asked to comment directly on the role that image has played in the adoption and subsequent implementation of healthy and sustainable community initiatives in Hamilton and Sudbury, the topic repeatedly emerged during the course of the interviews with key informants in both cities. In this chapter, it is suggested that the healthy and sustainable community initiatives are being used as a mechanism to re-construct and/or re-build the negative images of these post-industrial cities. Further, it is argued that the intent of this image change is to promote economic revitalization and growth. This is somewhat problematic in that the original (radical and holistic) definition(s) and philosophy of the new public health, in general, and healthy and sustainable communities in particular, is being obscured and defined by urban elites to represent a rather narrow definition of economic well-being (i.e., economic growth is good) and another attempt to portray a more positive

image for the industrial cities of Hamilton and Sudbury. These findings are situated within the literatures surrounding the notion of the entrepreneurial city (see Harvey, 1989; Short & Kim, 1999; Hall & Hubbard, 1996, 1998; Logan & Molotch, 1987), image re-building and place promotion (see Kearns & Philo, 1993; Gold & Ward, 1994; Ward, 1998).

7.2 RE-IMAGING THE CONTEMPORARY INDUSTRIAL CITY

7.2.1 Shifting Forms of Urban Governance

A number of urban commentators have observed a recent shift in urban governance during the transition from the industrial to post-industrial city. This line of argument suggests that local governments have increasingly shifted their priorities from a focus on welfare and service provision (a managerial approach to urban governance) to a more direct and active role in local economic development activities (a more entrepreneurial approach) (see, for example, Harvey, 1989; Hall & Hubbard, 1996, 1998). This entrepreneurial approach to urban governance is characterized by the active pursuit and promotion of inward capital investment (now most commonly light industry, but can also be government, administrative, office and tourist functions) by local governments (Hall & Hubbard, 1996). In other words, they argue that local governments' earlier focus on re-distribution has increasingly been replaced by a "politics of (economic) growth" (Harvey, 1989).

There has been some debate over whether or not this “new urban politics” (Cox, 1993) is new as cities, to some degree at least, have often pursued entrepreneurial strategies. Further, it is often difficult to discern whether these entrepreneurial strategies are supplanting or simply supplementing, more traditional managerial approaches (Hall & Hubbard, 1996). However, despite these uncertainties Harvey notes:

In recent years in particular, there seems to be a general consensus emerging throughout the advanced capitalist world that positive benefits are to be had by cities taking an entrepreneurial stance to economic development. (1989, p. 4)

This stance, Harvey (1989) goes on to note, holds across national boundaries and even across political parties and ideologies. Following Harvey (1989), this more entrepreneurial approach on behalf of local governments can be characterized by three key aspects:

- 1) Increasingly common public-private partnerships;
- 2) The highly speculative nature of these public-private partnerships (as opposed to a more planned and co-ordinated approach); and,
- 3) An emphasis on the political economy of place (as highly localized entities characterized by large-scale developments), as opposed to a broader regional or territorial focus.

The rationale for this shift in local governance is generally attributed to broader changes related to the globalization of production and an overall greater degree of industrial locational flexibility in the contemporary economy (Short & Kim, 1999). Technological developments and innovations have meant that more

traditional manufacturing activities are less location-dependent than in the past and can now be undertaken almost anywhere around the world. The costs of labour rather than the need to be close to natural resources or markets is now the major determinant of industrial location. This has resulted, they argue, in the fact that jobs and investment now move much more freely (in the post-industrial or post-Fordist economy) than during the industrial phase.

This phenomenon has, in some cases at least, led to the creation of “place wars” (Haider, 1992) whereby (typically older) declining industrial cities are increasingly forced to compete with each other in order to attract this highly mobile and increasingly global capital in an effort to revitalize their economies (see Harvey, 1989). Hall and Hubbard (1996) note that the local state plays an active role in this process (through attempting to lure external investment) and is not merely at the whim of uncontrollable global economic trends. As a consequence Hall and Hubbard note that this has resulted in:

the need to distinguish the social, physical and cultural character of places so that they might be more attractive to international investment. (1996, p. 159).

For many past (and present) industrial cities, this shift in the global economy has resulted in “a crisis of urban representation as old images are cast aside and new images are presented for the new urban order” (Short & Kim, 1999, p. 97).

7.2.2 Re-Imaging the Industrial City

We form distinct images of cities in an effort to simplify our perceptions of them (Hall & Hubbard, 1998). In doing so, we inevitably reduce and/or exaggerate their complex social, physical, cultural and/or economic characteristics. As such, Hall and Hubbard (1998) suggest that these perceptions have the potential to be manipulated and/or transformed without real or significant change having taken place and, conversely, that negative images often remain fixed even if the actual conditions leading to the original image may no longer exist. Finally, depending upon the prevailing social and cultural values of the time, city images can be perceived as positive or negative (Hall & Hubbard, 1996). While our mental images of cities often remain unchanged, but their meaning in relation to broader society may change markedly over time. This characteristic of urban images is particularly evident with reference to the changing image of the industrial city.

The industrial city was viewed positively for much of the late 19th and early 20th century. Industrial cities were seen as being progressive, wealthy, ambitious and hard working (see Ward, 1998). In fact, Hamilton itself was variously promoted as the “Birmingham of Canada” and the “Pittsburgh of Canada” as a conscious claim drawing explicit attention to its industrial prowess as a wealth generating and progressive city (Eyles & Peace, 1990). As Eyles and Peace comment, “industry for Hamilton, at least, was the icon of the era.

Factories were symbolic of wealth, power, achievement and success” (1990, p. 76).

As societal values and norms have changed, however, (coupled with, and resulting from, the process of deindustrialization), the images of industrial cities have suffered and become much more negative. Industrial or, perhaps more accurately, deindustrialized cities now convey images of dereliction, economic blight, unemployment and pollution (despite the fact that they may actually be less polluted due to deindustrialization). As Short et al. (1993) note:

To call a city industrial in the present period... is to associate it with a set of negative images: a declining economic base, pollution, a city on the downward slide... Industrial cities are associated with the past and the old, work, pollution and the world of production. (p. 208)

A contrast to the highly negative image of the industrial or de-industrialized city is the more positive imagery associated with the post-industrial era. Again, according to Short et al. (1993):

Cities with a more positive imagery are associated with the post-industrial era, the future, the new, the clean, the high-tech, the economically upbeat and the socially progressive... The post-industrial city... is associated with the new, the future, the unpolluted, consumption and exchange, the worlds of leisure as opposed to work. (p. 208)

As a result, it is no longer beneficial (economically) for a city to be considered industrial (Short & Kim, 1999). Today, to be economically viable, the city “has to appear as an innovative, exciting, creative and safe place to live or visit, to play and consume in” (Harvey, 1989, p. 9). Cities that produce (or perhaps more

accurately, manufacture) are now viewed in a negative light while cities designed for consumption and leisure possess a more positive image. Clearly then, most industrial cities are suffering from an image crisis and many past and current industrial cities have actively sought to re-image themselves to something more in tune with current post-industrial values and norms.

7.2.3 Place Promotion

The active marketing and promotion of place is one way in which many cities have actively sought to become more entrepreneurial (see Kearns & Philo, 1993; Ward, 1998). A number of commentators have noted the apparent rise in place marketing and place promotion as strategies to lure and attract external investment to the city (Kearns & Philo, 1993; Hall & Hubbard, 1996, 1998). This argument draws upon Logan and Molotch's (1987) notion of the city as a "growth machine". From this perspective, the city (as place) is seen as a marketable commodity capable of generating economic power and wealth. In order to compete for capital investment, cities are increasingly being marketed as commodities.

While the idea of selling the city is not new, many recent academic analyses suggest that the renewed emphasis on image represents more than simply extolling the virtues of a city's attractive features. Rather than mere place advertising, they suggest that increasingly, city marketing efforts are explicitly

concerned with image re-building and re-construction (Hall & Hubbard, 1996). In other words, the old image of the city is often consciously replaced in an attempt to improve the city's competitive position in terms of attracting industry and investment into the city. In general, many blue-collar manufacturing cities have gone to great lengths to re-image themselves. The dirty-city image (i.e., billowing smokestacks) is no longer an acceptable symbol of civic pride and wealth, as in earlier civic boosting campaigns (see Ward, 1998). To the contrary, images that portray the city as having a high quality of life (environmentally, socially and economically) have been used to try and replace these old images (Ward, 1998). Civic boosterism appears to have come full circle. This re-imaging, further, is intended to enhance (internal) local civic pride as well as attracting outside investors.

Civic officials and city elites view the re-imaging of cities as a necessary undertaking because the perceived physical, social, cultural and economic appeal of a place has a significant impact upon levels of inward capital investment and similarly, the likelihood of attracting potential employees and employers to work and live there (Hall & Hubbard, 1998). In fact, the perceived quality of life a city has to offer is an increasingly important consideration in firm (re)location today (Burgess, 1982; Hall & Hubbard, 1996; Harvey, 1989). Leisure, recreational and cultural attractions and opportunities are all positive components of the successful (in terms of the traditional economic growth model) post-industrial city.

This emphasis implies a fundamentally altered relationship with the natural environment (Short & Kim, 1999). During the industrial phase, the physical environment was typically viewed as the backdrop (at best) and/or a dumping ground (at worst) for industrial activity. However, this relationship with the physical environment is fundamentally re-constituted during the process of re-imagining from the industrial to the post-industrial city (Short & Kim, 1999; Short et al., 1993). The increased societal and cultural value assigned to leisure and recreational opportunities translates into an increased premium on the availability of and accessibility to, an unspoiled or remade natural environment. This has been most commonly achieved by re-developing and improving accessibility to waterfront areas in many former industrial cities to provide for leisure and recreational opportunities. Whereas the waterfront was primarily used as a site of production and storage during the industrial phase, it becomes, increasingly, a place for leisure, recreation and consumption in the post-industrial phase (Hall & Hubbard, 1996; Short & Kim, 1999).

In addition to waterfront redevelopment and improved accessibility, such efforts at re-imagining the city, often involve the creation of a new urban landscape often through the construction of large-scale flagship developments such as parks, conference centres, shopping malls, and so on. A number of such examples from the U.K. and U.S., in particular, are evident in the literature. For instance, Hubbard (1996) explores the re-imagining of Birmingham through the construction

of new hotels, a convention centre and shopping facilities in an effort to re-image and thus re-vitalize a declining industrial city in the UK. Similarly, Paddison (1993) examines Glasgow's image building campaign through the promotion of the city as a centre for arts and culture. Crilley (1993) and Brownill (1994) cite the post-modern design of London's Docklands (re)development scheme as a conscious effort to re-image an older industrial area of the city.

Examples of re-imaging through urban design are also replete for cities in the US. For example, Short et al. (1993) and Roberts and Schein (1993) explore the transformation of Syracuse, New York from a "landscape of production" to a "landscape of consumption" through a variety of urban re-development schemes (e.g., shopping facilities, convention centre, office buildings) and the development of a new, more environmentally friendly city logo. Similarly, Holcomb (1993) investigates efforts by Cleveland and Pittsburgh to re-package themselves as post-industrial cities through efforts to revitalize their downtown areas. Finally, Harvey (2000) presents a highly critical portrayal of urban regeneration in Baltimore's inner harbour area and the role of private and public partnerships in financing its re-development.

7.3 THE RE-IMAGING OF HAMILTON AND SUDBURY THROUGH HEALTHY AND SUSTAINABLE COMMUNITIES

The following section explores the importance of city image as an

emergent theme from the key informant interviews in Hamilton and Sudbury. It is argued that the Healthy and Sustainable Community initiatives in both cities are being employed, at least partly, as mechanisms to generate economic growth and promote economic revitalization. The number of respondents who mentioned and/or discussed the role of image with respect to their healthy and sustainable community project is listed in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1: Number of Respondents Mentioning “Image”, by Location	
Hamilton (n=20)	Sudbury (n=16)
10 (50%)	11 (69%)

7.3.1 Hamilton

Hamilton, like many industrial cities has suffered from a generally negative image since the late 1960s and early 1970s (Eyles & Peace, 1990). The following excerpt from the Financial Post is indicative of this generally negative perception of the city:

Hamilton’s image as a steel town persists particularly for motorists creeping along the Burlington Skyway bridge during rush hour. Looming over Hamilton Bay is the giant silhouette of Stelco Inc’s 920-acre Hilton Works, its smokestacks afire as they burn off the waste gases from the blast furnaces and coke ovens. These stacks not only contribute to Hamilton’s industrial image - they are also one of the sources of the slightly sulphurous aroma that permeates Hamilton’s air (Financial Post, 1987 cited in Eyles & Peace, 1990, p. 79).

Further, despite significant changes (namely diversification) to the Region's economic base, and a relatively low unemployment rate, the perception of Hamilton as a "steel city" persists. Using excerpts from the interviews themselves, it is suggested that Hamilton's Vision 2020 initiative represents (in the minds of some at least), another mechanism to re-image Hamilton as a clean(er), environmentally responsible, post-industrial city boasting plenty of outdoor recreational opportunities and leisure amenities.

The importance of changing Hamilton's image as a dirty and polluted industrial city through Vision 2020, was seen as paramount according to a number of respondents including staff members (within regional government), citizens and members of the political sector. The importance of providing an overall high quality of life as a mechanism to attract firms and workers to want to come to Hamilton is illustrated by the following staff member who notes:

Industries tend to locate in areas with a high quality of life which in turn attracts the people that they need for their industries. And Hamilton's image has not been a good one. So we've had a real image problem. Coming in here and working to try and change that, partly through the Vision, I think is very important for industrial growth. People today are very selective you know, "I'm not going to work there, I'm not going to live there no matter how much they pay me", and that sort of thing. It's a different way that people look at work today. They sort of say, "I'm going to go and work in that area because there's something attractive in that area". So, the more appealing we can make our area, the more it's going to benefit business and industry.

This respondent sees the Vision as playing an important role in making Hamilton more appealing and attractive for the benefit of business and industry. The ability

to attract business, industry and workers (and their families) is linked directly with Hamilton's Vision 2020 sustainable community project.

These sentiments were echoed and expanded upon by a respondent from the political sector in Hamilton who comments on the need to improve the city's image not only to attract newcomers, but as a mechanism to change Hamiltonians' negative perceptions of the city in which they live:

Well, Hamilton has one hurdle to cross which is the perception out there that it's a dirty city. That perception was certainly true at one point in time. I don't think it's true anymore. I don't think you can point to Hamilton and say it's worse than anywhere else. I don't think that's true. We may not be as good as others, but then we're certainly not worse than most. So yeah, that is a hurdle and one that we are our own worst enemy in. I think that Hamiltonians speak less well of Hamilton than most outsiders do. And secondly, obviously it's a quality of life issue for those that are here and those that are proposed to come. If we can't attract people to bring business down here, even though we may have a growing population, if we don't have work for them to do, then we're going to have difficulty as a community sustaining what we have.

Again, the importance of attracting jobs and workers to Hamilton is seen as a key policy imperative and one in which Vision 2020 has a vital role to play.

Similarly, a senior staff member commented on the importance of achieving international recognition as a mechanism to increase Vision 2020's profile and change the image amongst Hamiltonians of the city:

Not too many people know that the reason we went after Agenda 21 (International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives designation of Hamilton as a Model Sustainable Community) was that we needed to get the award in order to generate some enthusiasm to move to do something. We needed to change the image that we lived in an industrial town. We needed to get people to feel good about it so they would want to take the

next step, want to make that sacrifice. That's really where it was useful. So, image change is seen not only as a way to attract external investment to the city, but as a mechanism to build and enhance civic pride and galvanize local support. Perhaps if Hamiltonians are able to come to view the city more positively, they will begin to act in a more sustainable manner and, thereby, buy-into the project.

This enhanced international recognition is evidenced by the increase in international groups and delegates to Hamilton in order to learn more about the sustainability initiative:

They (Hamiltonians in general) don't know that we have been selected as a model community. Like people in Japan and South-East Asia are more aware of Vision 2020 than most people in Hamilton are.

INT: That's interesting. It's come up before too that the initiative may have had more impact or is maybe having more impact and outside (of Hamilton) and maybe even outside Canada than it is within ...

You can almost judge that by the number of foreign visitors that we have who come in here to see what the whole operation is about. I've had interviews with people from Thailand, from Japan, a couple from China, from the US, from Mexico.... These groups are coming to see what this model is that we have here, how has it worked, and can we do anything similar to that in our own countries. So there's an interest being created there on a worldwide basis.

The role of VISON 2020 in changing Hamilton's image was also noted by several community members involved with the initiative:

I think that the Vision is trying to change our image around and they're using that to sell Hamilton. And again, Hamilton's logo, you know, their flag showing the water, the land and the escarpment. It used to be the hard hat and smoke stacks. The smoke stacks were symbolic of Hamilton. You could see the smoke stacks and the smoke coming out of them. We were

proud of the fact that we were a progressive industrial city. It's all changed around now. Look at what they have in economic development now. They've got shots there of Cootes Paradise [a local area of significant ecological interest], things of that sort. It really is a big change over a 10-year period or so... It's image that they're beginning to sell. That's what they feel people want. They want quality of life.

This illustration of Hamilton's past and aspiring image highlights the importance of using natural environmental features and attributes (e.g., Cootes Paradise) to attempt to make the region more appealing to visitors and potential employees. This change in perception or valuing of the physical environment is illustrated, as this respondent suggests, in the change in Regional insignia from an emphasis on industry to a focus on the natural amenities that the city has to offer. Short and Kim (1999) discuss a similar change in city logo in another former industrial city, Syracuse, New York. Interestingly, the previous respondent recognizes the efforts of the Economic Development Department and the Chamber of Commerce to use the Vision and the notion of Hamilton as a model sustainable community as a way to sell the city by promoting its high quality of life.

Finally, a more cynical view from a senior manager in Hamilton's regional government who suggested that the Vision 2020 initiative is primarily a way for the Region to market itself to potential future employers, regardless of type:

I don't even know if there's something like an economic strategy that's ever followed up, you know, the challenge of Vision 2020. There's all the typical things of course like we'd like to have high tech industries, we'd like to develop the health and environmental industry sectors. But basically, I'm not sure we wouldn't take anybody that comes along with a

hundred jobs. I think it's driven by economic growth and I'm not blaming staff people because they're driven by political direction. It's (Vision 2020) essentially a marketing exercise to market the region to potential employers.

This respondent implies that decision-making concerns have not changed significantly and that economic growth is still the major driver of civic decision-making in Hamilton. Further, Vision 2020 is seen as playing an important role in this process by making the Region more attractive for industry (regardless of type) to (re)locate in Hamilton.

7.3.2 Sudbury

Sudbury, like Hamilton, has also suffered from the stigmatization and negative national and even international image associated with being a dirty one-industry mining town (Wallace & Thompson, 1993). As Richardson (1991) implies, this reputation was not entirely undeserved:

By mid-century, the city's grimy, often dilapidated buildings were surrounded by thousands of hectares of slag heaps, mine-tailings, and blackened rock. The emissions of the INCO smelter on its outskirts not only stripped the land of vegetation but periodically immersed the city in choking smog. Sudbury literally became a byword in Canada for urban desolation. (p. 174)

As a result, efforts to change Sudbury's image and create an improved physical environment have had a relatively long history dating back to at least the late 1960s (Richardson, 1991). Re-imaging, as mechanism to re-vitalize Sudbury's boom-bust economy, was clearly an important priority. Again, Richardson notes:

The desire to create a more congenial living environment was a natural consequence of the maturing Sudbury and the emergence of a substantial middle class. But even in the days of its prosperity, Sudbury's unfortunate public image, as well as the reality behind it, was also recognized as a serious impediment to attracting new industrial firms or new regional service functions. Changing this image became a priority for the city, and subsequently the new Regional Municipality, probably at least as much for material reasons as to enhance the quality of life of Sudburians. (1991, p. 174)

A document released by the Sudbury Roundtable on Health, Economy and Environment (1992) is also replete with references to Sudbury's negative image and, perhaps more importantly, Sudbury's efforts to change this perception:

The epic proportions of this environmental impact (primarily the destruction of vegetation from the smelting operations) are widely known. It degraded Sudbury's image, and created a hurdle Sudbury supporters could never quite overcome in the past. But much has changed. Sudburians are no longer on the defensive. Positive action has brought about improvements in our local environment and our self-image has evolved accordingly. More importantly, others see us in a new light. National media are acknowledging the progress. *Chatelaine* magazine recently named Sudbury as one of the top ten communities to live in across Canada (p. 2).

Clearly then, changing Sudbury's negative image has long been at the fore of municipal concerns as a mechanism to attract inward investment to the region. These efforts (such as the re-greening initiative), though in many cases similar to, pre-date the formation of the Healthy Communities movement in Sudbury. In fact, Richardson (1991) suggests that Sudbury's first conscious efforts to re-image can be traced back to the late 1960s downtown urban renewal program which included a shopping mall, office buildings, a new civic square and a theatre

centre.

Since then, image-enhancing improvements to the physical environment have included the massive (and by most accounts highly successful) “re-greening” of Sudbury and its surrounding region (see, for example, Lees, 2000). Further environmental improvements were facilitated by reduced sulphur-dioxide emissions and the installation of the 400-metre “Superstack” which, if nothing else, served to improve Sudbury’s physical environment by dispersing the pollutants over a wider geographical area. In 1973 the Vegetation Enhancement Technical Advisory Committee (VETAC) was formed to guide re-greening efforts in the newly formed regional municipality. Re-imaging Sudbury was clearly of interest to VETAC as well. VETAC’s mandate was “to change Sudbury’s reputation as a barren and inhospitable environment”. According to a recent article in *Canadian Geographic*, this “meant that its focus at first was on image more than environmental remediation” (Lees, 2000, p. 68).

As such, efforts to diversify Sudbury’s economy and subsequently change the image of the one-industry town have a relatively long history in Sudbury. Economic diversification, particularly through improved opportunities for small businesses and the expansion of white-collar public sector employment also served as important precursors to Sudbury’s Healthy Community movement (Richardson, 1991; Smith, 1992). I suggest, thus, that Sudbury’s Healthy Communities program represents another in a relatively long line of initiatives

aimed at re-building Sudbury's negative image in an effort to attract jobs and investment to the city. And further, while many of these efforts at economic diversification and re-greening are not explicitly tied to the Healthy Communities movement in Sudbury per se, they are, in many ways, inextricably tied to these other programs and initiatives by way of approach and philosophy. Many of the participants involved in these "outside" initiatives were/are also connected to Sudbury's Healthy Community initiative.

The importance of re-imagining the region was evident in the Sudbury interviews, perhaps even more strongly than in Hamilton. Once again, respondents highlighted the fact that their (Sudbury's) engagement with the Healthy Communities project represents an important mechanism to help change the image of Sudbury as a polluted and declining industrial city to an environmentally appealing and attractive city in which to work and live. The following excerpt from the Sudbury interviews situates Sudbury's Healthy Communities project within other efforts to re-image the city:

INT: In some ways it would appear that Sudbury was already moving towards a more self-sustained community in as far as some of the re-greening efforts that were taking place, the attempts at economic diversification and that kind of stuff. To what extent did the Healthy Communities movement here tap into that?

I think in some ways, the Roundtable is a product of that because you have people who..., like the re-greening initiative for example was a joint effort with the university, regional government and the two mining companies. They made the re-greening of Sudbury possible and with the re-greening came a different image of the way, not only Canada sees Sudbury, but the way Sudburians look at themselves... I think Sudburians began looking at

Sudbury as a better place to live than they previously thought.... I mean we have come a long way. Mining still plays a big part, but to call us a mining town would be erroneous. Tourism is now the second biggest thing.

Further, as one community member commented:

I think that what started the whole (Healthy Communities) thing was the image issue. Trying to move from the national and international image of Sudbury as a one industry mining town. That's one of the main reasons why the re-greening thing happened. It was certainly intended to make people here feel better about it (Sudbury) but it was also very much intended for outsiders, to try and draw new people into Sudbury.

As with Hamilton, changing image is viewed as important, not only to make Sudbury more appealing to outsiders (through improved outdoor and leisure opportunities), but to people already living in the Region as well. The need to keep people from leaving Sudbury and halt further population loss was mentioned by a number of respondents. The initiative can be seen therefore, as a way to enhance civic pride and make people feel good (or at least better) about the Region. As one member of the Roundtable noted with respect to the construction of Science North:

I think that Science North made a very big difference to this community. It helped the community, first of all, become less defensive. We were very much tied into the image of Sudbury as a place with no culture and big smokestacks. And with Science North we were actually able to pull it off to actually do it and do it big... It made a big difference to the way that community leaders and the politicians think what's possible. It was a model for them. The architecture of the place is a metaphor... you can't say that Science North was an accomplishment of the Roundtable per se...but it was an accomplishment that grew out of new values and new ways of being self-confident.

So clearly, the construction of new tourist facilities, such as Science North, appears to have had a profound influence on addressing Sudbury's negative image, particularly for Sudburians. A number of respondents also commented on the need to address Sudbury's image problems through direct efforts to rehabilitate and remediate the physical environment. As well, Sudbury has made efforts to enhance its range of outdoor leisure opportunities in an effort to make it more attractive as a tourist destination and potential location for business, industry and workers. As a member of the Sudbury Roundtable on Environment and Economy commented:

If you haven't seen it already, the latest issue of Explorer magazine ranks Sudbury as one of the top 15 outdoor communities in Canada, which doesn't surprise me at all. It's nice when other people recognize it. If you go back to Sudbury 2001 (a document produced by the Sudbury Roundtable on Environment and Economy) and people said, "Ok, if we want to broaden our economic base and bring people here, what we've got to do is change the image and the first thing we've got to do is rehabilitate the environment". Image was a clear factor for me in our conferences because up to that point if you saw Sudbury on the news it was the typical CBC (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation) view of the stacks.

While changing the image of Sudbury was commonly identified as an important role for the healthy community initiative, a number of respondents also emphasized the extremely difficult and long-term nature of this image re-building.

As one senior manager noted:

We've tried defending our image, tried to get it out there. You try and take ads saying how beautiful Sudbury is. Try that. I mean it becomes a bit of a joke.

INT: It sort of reinforces the opposite?

Yeah, it's like a defenceman in hockey trying to play hockey by himself. You need to play offence to score a goal. So you're better off to start strategically to do something positive and be known for some positive elements to overcome some of your image issues. I mean we're working on image, but images of Sudbury are images that are deeply ingrained. We've been left with certain physical and historical attributes that, I'm not sure we can overturn in a short period of time. It's going to take a long time.

Some respondents suggested that the need to address Sudbury's image were most keenly advocated by Sudbury's local politicians and economic development sector. As mentioned in the previous chapter (Chapter 6), after the initial Roundtable on Health, Environment and Economy had largely failed to attract interest from the local Regional government, the concept of Healthy Communities in Sudbury is attracting newfound interest amongst Regional politicians and economic development sectors, arguably as a potential mechanism to attract industry and workers. As a senior manager from the health sector commented:

My read is that addressing Sudbury's negative image is a really big issue with the politicians, the regional development corporation and the economic development people. And, they're quite right to be concerned about a city like Sudbury. There is that image problem. I think that changing our image is a driving force. I don't think that health or social issues are a driver.

INT: What issues are driving the agenda?

Employment, particularly mining employment. That's a big, big concern. There are major concerns about downsizing in the mining industry, and how we're going to replace those jobs....There are also concerns about the aging of our population. The young people are leaving Sudbury. They can't find jobs.

And a community member notes:

I don't think that image was so much a motivating factor for the people directly involved (in the Roundtable). I can certainly see, however, where it would be a motivating factor for the regional council.

INT: In terms of?

Oh attracting business. One of the main reasons we can't get business to come here is that because you can't even hire people here because the man will think it's a wonderful job, I'm being sexist here, and the wife will come up and look at the city and say, "I'm not coming here!"

In contrast to the rhetoric of Healthy Communities then, economic issues such as job creation become the focal point while social and health issues assume a secondary role.

This perception was reinforced by a Sudbury politician who went so far as to suggest that the initiative's name should be changed to reflect its true economic interpretation:

One of the real challenges I think, is the way this thing gets marketed. You have to think about developing what I would call a community marketing strategy that would help people understand what it is. First of all, get rid of the name. Quit calling it healthy communities. You say healthy communities and people automatically start thinking about smoking by-laws and stuff. They're not thinking about a healthy economy... What if you called this thing healthy people, healthy economy?... I think that's the kind of identity that it has to be given.

Once again, it would appear that the value of the initiative is being interpreted in terms of its potential ability to generate economic growth rather than addressing broader issues of community well-being and sustainability. This reaffirms many of the respondents' suspicions that the politicians and the Regional government, in general, are interpreting the Healthy Community initiative primarily in terms of

its ability to improve Sudbury's precarious economic position.

7.4 DISCUSSION

From this exploration, it appears that the use of the healthy and sustainable community concepts (in Sudbury and Hamilton at least) represents a kind of place promotion and place marketing for cities. While it is not uncommon for cities to highlight their high quality of life and cultural amenities in their marketing campaigns (see, for example, Short & Kim, 1999), the use of the healthy and sustainable communities concepts as the vehicles for these purposes appears to be quite novel. In Hamilton and Sudbury, healthy and sustainable community initiatives are being employed as a policy instrument for urban-economic regeneration/revitalization, an exemplar of the politics of economic growth. By being associated with, and actively marketing themselves as healthy and sustainable communities, such initiatives are one way to re-construct the images of these declining post-industrial cities.

As a result, concerns for community health and sustainability are not (as of yet at least) the main focus of civic decision-making (as the healthy and sustainable communities rhetoric suggests). To the contrary, economic growth is the focus and preeminent concern of local governments in Hamilton and Sudbury, Ontario. It would appear that these cities see the main potential of these initiatives in their ability to attract new industry, workers and tourists while at the

same time aiming to enhance local civic pride, thereby preventing population erosion, and not as a fundamental change to the nature of decision-making and decision-making structures in these communities.

This interpretation by local governments and decision-making elites is problematic, though inevitable, in that the original definition and meaning of healthy and sustainable communities is co-opted or re-defined to mean economic growth. While these initiatives employ the language and discourse of radical social movements such as community equity, empowerment, sustainability, implying collective responses to shared problems, they have come to represent another means for attempted economic expansion and growth in Hamilton and Sudbury. In other words, while the rhetoric suggests that these initiatives are designed to develop and enhance personal and community empowerment, in reality, they facilitate the status quo (Jessop, 1998). Rather than radical social change then, these initiatives can be viewed as a vehicle for social reproduction and the maintenance of existing social and economic relations.

This interpretation and re-definition by local elites has much to do with the highly abstract and nebulous nature of the concepts themselves and the lack of an overarching definition of healthy or sustainable communities (see Maclaren, 1996). While this lack of accepted definitions is seen as enabling communities to develop their own contextually sensitive definitions of these concepts, this characteristic leaves them open to a multitude of different, often conflicting,

interpretations as these concepts become translated into practice at the local level. Some local elites in both Hamilton and Sudbury, have seized these initiatives, at least in part, to re-image their cities in an effort to better position themselves in the highly volatile post-industrial economy.

The concerns surrounding image enhancement are illustrated by the fact that the predominant focus of the initiatives in both Hamilton and Sudbury has been on environmental rehabilitation and restoration. Efforts in Hamilton have centred on achieving cleaner air and improved water quality, as well as opening-up of the waterfront for improved leisure and recreational opportunities. Similarly, efforts in Sudbury have been primarily focused on extensive re-greening as well as enhanced leisure and recreational opportunities, particularly along the urban waterfront (in the form of walking and biking trails and the construction of a boardwalk).

There would appear to be at least two possible explanations for this finding. First, the emphasis on the physical environment has much to do with the fact that it is arguably the area in which local governments have the most decision-making control. In contrast to broader socio-economic issues, regional government has much more power and influence pertaining to matters related to the physical shape and structure of the city. In Hamilton, the project is housed and administered within the Environment Department (formerly the Planning Department). Similarly, in Sudbury, although the initiative is just beginning to

permeate the structure of the regional government, it has its strongest ties with Sudbury's Planning and Development Department.

Second, changes to the physical environment, in the form of environmental remediation and clean-up efforts represent the most visible and immediate form of change. Addressing the image of the dirty city is most easily accomplished through environmental clean-up and remediation efforts (see Burgess, 1982, for an interesting discussion on the importance of environmental images in the investment and locational decision-making of executives). This fact, in combination with the decision-making latitude of the regional government, would suggest that changes to the appearance of the physical environment would take precedence over more fundamental changes to the nature and structure of the economic and social/health environments.

Finally, the links between image reconstruction and economic growth would appear to be stronger in Sudbury than in Hamilton. In fact, the majority (69%) of the respondents interviewed in Sudbury mentioned Sudbury's negative image and the need to change it. Several possible explanations could account for this finding. First, Sudbury has likely been harder hit by the process of de-industrialization. For instance, between 1971 and 1996 Sudbury lost approximately 67% (nearly 17,000) of its jobs in the mining industry (Regional Municipality of Sudbury, 1998) while Hamilton lost roughly 25% of its manufacturing jobs from 1981-1991 (Social Planning and Research Council of

Hamilton, 1993).

Secondly, and directly related to the first possible explanation, is that Sudbury has perhaps been somewhat less successful at diversifying its economic base than Hamilton. Despite significant deindustrialization since the early 1970s, Hamilton has been able to maintain a low level of unemployment while Sudbury has experienced more extreme fluctuations, due at least in part, to the relative importance of the mining sector (see Chapter 4). Sudbury was able to diversify to some degree during the 1970s and 1980s largely due to Provincial and Federal government assistance, but this influx of government money has since dried up.

Finally, Sudbury has suffered historically from a more negative image than Hamilton and attempts to change this image will be slow and laborious at best. Sudbury's infamous "moonscape" image came to represent all of the negative aspects of heavy industry and indelibly, influenced peoples' (both outsiders and insiders) perceptions of the area. Image, whether it is accurate or not, is slow to change. It would appear that both cities have a long road ahead.

7.5 SUMMARY

In summary, it appears that one of the ways in which healthy and sustainable communities is employed, is as a mechanism to re-image Hamilton and Sudbury in an effort to make them more attractive for inward investments of industry and workers. "Place" is therefore being utilized for its exchange value, in

terms of its ability to generate economic wealth (Logan & Molotch, 1987) as opposed to its ability to promote and generate overall community well-being, health and sustainability. It should be noted that there is some covert attempt to undermine these initiatives, but rather, that the abstract and nebulous nature of the concepts themselves leaves them open for (re)definition and interpretation during the translation from concept into practice. Everybody wants to be sustainable and healthy, but what this actually means and how it is to be translated from concepts into practice may be radically different from person to person and from sector to sector. In both Hamilton and Sudbury, healthy and sustainable communities has been (re)defined by local elites (including politicians, economic development staff, and the chambers of commerce) as a way to promote economic growth and revitalization in these stagnating post-industrial cities. It is apparent, then, that we must be aware of this potential for re-definition where the “language of opposition” becomes translated into a “knowledge of domination” (Sachs, 1993). This failure to challenge the system directly, as the rhetoric of healthy and sustainable communities suggests, represents a serious issue, a challenge in attempting to plan for more just and equitable human settlements; a key imperative for many local, national and international agencies such as ICLEI (International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives) and UNCHS (United Nations Centre for Human Settlements).

Further, this interpretation is not intended to demean what has taken place

in both locales, particularly with respect to efforts at environmental remediation and rehabilitation. In fact, both are likely more sustainable and healthy places (at least they are “greener”, cleaner and generally less polluted) than at any other point in their recent (industrial) history. And certainly, the development of leisure and recreational facilities certainly can improve the health, well-being and quality of life of urban inhabitants. However, while there have been some visible successes, the process of civic decision-making appears to have changed little, as each of the local authorities appears to have adopted a weak (Turner, 1993) interpretation of healthy and sustainable communities. In other words, concerns for health and sustainability (and perhaps more broadly human development) are not the drivers of urban policy, economic growth is. How and if this can be changed, remains to be seen.

While sustained or reasonable economic growth is an undeniably important component of healthy and sustainable community initiatives, the concept of economic sustainability implies much more. As noted in a recent statement by the U.S. National Science Foundation Workshop on Urban Sustainability (2000), “economic objectives are defined not only in terms of high and/or increasing economic growth rates but also in terms of *maintaining social capital, achieving distributive and procedural justice, and expanding democratic participation and accountability*” (p. 13-14, emphasis added). While addressing these issues under existing institutional and policy-making structures will not be

easy (and changing existing institutional structures may be necessary), it would appear that the initiatives require a shift in priorities, from a pre-occupation with economic growth to broader concerns for social, health and environmental issues, in order for these initiatives to be declared successful in achieving progress towards the development of healthier and more sustainable human settlements.

CHAPTER 8

DISCUSSION and CONCLUSIONS

8.1 INTRODUCTION

This final chapter serves a number of important functions. First, the implications for decision-makers and practitioners engaging with healthy and sustainable community initiatives are considered. These implications are considered in terms of the broad-based nature of healthy and sustainable communities and the challenges and potential opportunities that this broad definition implies. Issues surrounding accountability, building cooperation and collaboration, along with the role of interpretive, process-oriented evaluations are explored as well. Next, based on the major findings, the future of healthy and sustainable community initiatives in Hamilton and Sudbury is explored. Following this discussion, an attempt is made to assess the relative success (according to how the concepts have been integrated into civic decision-making) of both initiatives based on their ability to integrate concerns of health, sustainability and overall quality of life into their respective local decision-making structures. Given the findings examined in chapter 7, an effort is made to discuss the use of place as a locus for health (as argued by original advocates of healthy and sustainable communities) versus the use of place as a mechanism to generate

wealth through image enhancement (by decision-makers in Hamilton and Sudbury). Finally, the major contributions of the research and possible avenues for future investigation are identified.

8.2 CONCEPTS, COMMITMENT AND POLICY CHANGE

This section links the Hamilton and Sudbury experiences with healthy and sustainable communities with the policy literature to illuminate what we have learned about decision-making structures and the nature of policy change in Hamilton and Sudbury. In turn, this thesis provides some important insights which can increase our understanding of policy processes.

First of all, it is useful to remember that changing public policy is by its very nature difficult to accomplish, and any policy change that does take place is almost always incremental in nature (Goumans & Springett, 1997; Lindblom, 1959; Pal, 1992). This is particularly true for policy change at the local level (Curtis & Taket, 1996, in Goumans & Springett, 1997). The cases of both Hamilton and Sudbury bear this out. In both communities, only relatively subtle, though important, changes (i.e., broader community awareness and understanding) have been observed. In both communities hierarchical power arrangements, dominance of accepted policy paradigms, and inflexible organizational structures have served to limit radical and swift changes to both communities decision-making structures. Again, significant policy change (such as that suggested by

healthy and sustainable community initiatives) requires major shifts to the ways decisions are made and bureaucracies are, by their very nature inherently resistant to change of this magnitude (Crosby, 1996; Blau, 1974).

Policies do change, however, change is most likely to occur when the current ways of doing business are threatened as little as possible and in ways which are perceived to be less threatening to decision-makers (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1993). These first-order changes (Levy and Merry, 1986) require relatively minor adjustments in decision-making and do not fundamentally alter the core of the local decision-making apparatus. In essence, initiatives in both Hamilton and Sudbury have focussed on first-order change: the overwhelming interest in projects related to leisure and recreational amenities is indicative of the predominance of ideas which readily fit into accepted decision-making frameworks. If this is conceptualized in terms of Sabatier's (1987) and Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith's (1993) typology of "belief systems of policy elites", the emphasis on leisure and recreational amenities does little to directly challenge or threaten the core beliefs and convictions of policy elites, which by their very nature, are much more difficult to influence. However, second order change is what healthy and sustainable communities is trying to accomplish in the long run. This is a long-term (decades perhaps) endeavour that is inherently difficult to do (Sabatier, 1987; Sabatier, Jenkins-Smith, 1993). It will likely take many more years before this level of change in Hamilton and Sudbury can be achieved if at

all.

However, there has been change in both Hamilton and Sudbury, albeit subtle and incremental in nature. As mentioned previously, there is a need to remain patient and to document more closely how changes to the decision-making process are occurring, even if the outcomes in terms of measurable changes in community health status may not be evident for some time. In the field of health promotion, Cosswaite and Curtice (1994) observed that more abstract and nebulous concepts (e.g., healthy and sustainable communities) tend to penetrate into an organization slowly gradually increasing awareness and understanding. This is true of initiatives in both Hamilton and Sudbury which have thus far served an important enlightenment function (Weiss, 1983) and have introduced their respective communities to new concepts and approaches to decision-making.

Given the fact that policy-making is often characterized by a crisis response mentality and short-term time frames (Pal, 1992), it is perhaps not surprising that more long-term and holistic ideas, such as healthy and sustainable communities, often remain floating in the policy stream for some time (Goumans & Springett, 1997; Sabatier, 1987). However, the fact that they are still floating in the policy stream does not mean that they are not performing a valuable and necessary role through the gradual infusion of new ideas and approaches to decision-making and gradually changing the concepts and views of decision-makers. This act of policy learning (Sabatier, 1987; Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith,

1993), and raising awareness about the role of healthy public policy (Hancock, 1993b) in general, and healthy and sustainable communities in particular, can take years (maybe decades?) to reach a point where the concepts' agenda status rises sufficiently to receive the necessary political commitment to fully integrate these concepts into local decision-making (Sabatier, 1987; Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1993).

Labonte (1991) has argued that the concepts of health and sustainability are best understood as metaphors which are characterized by a richness of meaning and comprised of knowledge from a wide range of disciplines. Accordingly, this characteristic may make concepts such as healthy and sustainable communities appear threatening to decision-makers who may perceive the initiatives as a direct challenge to their particular (core) belief systems or who may simply not fully understand them. Some have suggested that the way forward for healthy and sustainable communities would be to focus on a more pragmatic approach, perhaps even forgoing the "language of health" altogether and attach themselves to more visible, short-term, crisis-oriented problems such as unemployment, community safety and environmental improvement projects (Goumans & Springett, 1997; cited in Dooris, 1999).

While in the short-term this may represent a way for healthy and sustainable communities to move up the political agenda, given the evidence from Hamilton and Sudbury, there would appear to be considerable danger of the

concepts being co-opted and re-defined to facilitate traditional economic growth. The very fact that the concepts have been interpreted or re-invented in this manner is not surprising. Orlandi et al. (1990) remind us that it is quite common for concepts in health promotion to be 're-invented' during the process of operationalization. Further, this interpretation is understandable given the rather precarious socio-economic situation of both communities (Sudbury in particular) as evidenced by the range of socio-economic indicators discussed in chapter 4. Local officials may see the healthy and sustainable communities concepts as a potential framework to address some of these (primarily economic) concerns. As chapter 7 argued, image enhancement, through improved leisure and recreational activities, is one way in which cities can attempt to attract inward investment and employers and employees to a city (Hall & Hubbard, 1996; Short & Kim, 1999).

However, a potential downside to this interpretation exists. This interpretation implies an abandonment of the more radical aspects of concepts which may compromise the potential of healthy and sustainable city initiatives to significantly impact the health and well-being of urban residents. Once these concepts are removed from the agenda the initiatives may ultimately fail to have any success. That is, by making the goals of the initiatives more palatable and less threatening to decision-makers, the potential for fundamental change towards sustainability may be lost. If, however, as Pearce et al (1994, p. 10) suggest, "sustainable development, in practice, is more about changes of emphasis than a

wholesale restructuring of decision-making” which at best “is likely to involve a further movement of environmental concerns up the political agenda”, then perhaps this is the best we can hope for. Indeed, Murphy (2000) implies that this is *all* we can hope to accomplish (given the fact that current modes of decision-making are dominated by concerns over economic growth and are extremely difficult to change) and that local governments should work towards sustainability so that they are “seen as attractive locations for investment as well as pleasant places to live and work” (p. 241-242) (see also, Cooke, 1989).

Healthy and sustainable communities could be much more than this. There are, as of yet, however, relatively few examples of the successful incorporation of a more radical and holistic interpretations. As such, there remains, in Hamilton and Sudbury, much more work to be done to move beyond the first phase of change to achieve second-order changes wherein healthy and sustainable cities concepts become firmly integrated into the decision-making framework of local government. Unfortunately, the long-term, gradual nature of this process also implies the potential for regression (back-sliding) as more immediate concerns surrounding organizational structure and responsibilities emerge. This means that issues around responsibility and accountability must be addressed if healthy and sustainable community initiatives are to continue. In both Hamilton and Sudbury, concerns were raised about the extent to which departments and individuals within the local government were held accountable

for the decisions they make in terms of urban sustainability. This issue was more pointed in Hamilton, where the greater level of (at least superficial) incorporation of the initiative into decision-making has highlighted areas where the concept has received relatively less attention. In Sudbury this issue is also important, however, as advocates must keep a close eye on the local government as the concept becomes integrated into the municipal structure there.

Respondents suggested that, in both instances, a community watchdog/advisory group was necessary to ensure that the original, holistic conceptions of the concept do not become lost or replaced. In both communities, respondents suggested that this type of community advisory group would be a welcome addition to the process and would help ensure the combination of a top-down and more bottom-up (or inside-out, outside-in) orientation, something that is lacking in both communities at present. Optimistically, the presence of a community group working in partnership with local government to monitor progress towards the integration of these concepts into decision-making could go some way to prevent back-sliding. In addition, the development of a larger network of participation which links diverse groups in a community around this particular policy goal may be facilitative of policy change in its own right (Hays et al., 2000; Nathanson, 1999). Although Hamilton's Vision 2020 did, initially at least, have such a group (Citizens for a Sustainable Community), it was never able to fulfil its original mandate.

However, an advisory group is likely to be ineffective if it lacks the power and ability to have its suggestions and recommendations acted upon. If the group was to become an official committee to local council, it may be able to overcome some of these difficulties. Other potential mechanisms to improve the implementation of healthy and sustainable community concepts include structures such as ombudsman's offices and sustainability audits which could be adapted to health and sustainable community initiatives to aid with the monitoring of local decision-making. In the field of health promotion Goodman (et al., 1993) have developed what they refer to as "Level of Institutionalization Scales" which can be used to measure the degree with which novel concepts, approaches or programs have been institutionalized within an organization.

Based on the experience in Sudbury, the community alone cannot expect to significantly impact the local decision-making process. Instead, a system which divides responsibility for developing healthy and sustainable communities among stakeholders (and particularly between government and community interests), and which sets up community-led mechanisms for the evaluation of decisions made by local governments (i.e., watch dogs), would enhance the monitoring of progress towards healthy and sustainable communities within bureaucratic structures. Indeed, such a structure would set up a decision-based (rather than indicator-based) system for monitoring progress, which could be a very effective tool in encouraging the development of healthy and sustainable cities. However, such a

system would only be effective if each organization involved had both the power and responsibility to make change in well-defined realms (Steelman, 2001), an admittedly difficult prospect given the amorphous nature of healthy cities initiatives.

There has been little evidence to date of a wholesale adoption of the concepts of healthy and sustainable cities in either Hamilton or Sudbury and their agenda status has remained low. However, in Sudbury in particular there is some evidence to suggest that the window of opportunity for healthy communities may be opening up, if only slightly. This may be evidenced by, not only recent changes in leadership and the emergence of new champions, but by the fact that the region continues to perform so poorly in a number of traditional health indicators (see Chapter 4 and Jenish, 1999) and is currently being faced with significant restructuring in its health care and human services sectors. This crisis has the potential to move the healthy communities concept higher up the political agenda. In addition, some observers argue that a broader readiness for policy change is emerging due to the continuing and escalating problems in local environmental quality, the provision of meaningful employment, and general quality of life that environmentalists and social activists warn of (Schnaiberg & Gould, 1994). Only time will tell whether these crises will lead to the adoption of healthy and sustainable community concepts. Regardless, the presence of these ideas in the policy stream enhances that likelihood that they will be adopted in the event of a

crisis of some kind. However, these concepts are not alone in that they are competing for a higher place on the political agenda along with a number of other ideas and concepts (e.g., smart growth). Their ultimate success will depend on political support, leadership and new champions to “win out” as the preferred alternative.

In their original incarnation, the idea of healthy and sustainable communities represents an attempt to fundamentally (radically) change the culture of decision-making within local governments (Poland, 1996). This suggests a significant shift from the way that decision-making takes place within local government at present. This shift, it appears, if it is to take place at all, will likely take place very slowly in terms of very gradual policy-learning (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1993). The efforts in Hamilton and Sudbury to date, therefore, represent important first steps towards the integration of healthy and sustainable community principles into decision-making at the local level, but only the first steps.

8.3 THE FUTURE OF HEALTHY AND SUSTAINABLE CITIES IN HAMILTON AND SUDBURY

The next several years are going to be pivotal for the long-term survival and integration of the concepts of healthy and sustainable communities into civic decision-making in both Hamilton and Sudbury. In Hamilton, the concern that the

Region will slowly distance itself from the initiative have already begun to materialize. Equally, a new administration may decide to wipe the slate clean and start from scratch with a new strategic approach. Such an occurrence is unfortunate as there have been a number of important advances in attempting to integrate the concept within the decision-making framework in Hamilton. In particular, the Sustainable Community Decision-Making Guide (which is still official policy of the local government despite concerns surrounding its effectiveness), has the potential to fundamentally change the way civic decision-making has been carried out in Hamilton. It is unlikely, unless the Vision can attract a champion amongst senior management or in Regional Council, that staff people alone will be able to make the kind of changes needed to ensure that the Vision becomes an important directive for the future of the city. Now is not the time for local government to withdraw from the initiative, but for it to move forward with the necessary leadership required to move Hamilton towards a more sustainable community in the 21st century.

It will be interesting what shape Sudbury's healthy community initiative takes in the near future. As mentioned earlier, there is some reason for optimism although one cannot help but sense that, in a number of ways, the original initiative has essentially been discarded and a new one, housed within regional government, is just beginning. While a window of opportunity may now be available, healthy communities is not the only policy option available for

decision-makers. Sudbury's 2020 Focus on the Future visioning workshop (Regional Municipality of Sudbury Planning and Development Department, 1999) also identified smart communities and sustainable development, along with a host of economic development concepts as other potential frameworks for future decision-making. So, it is still unclear if healthy communities will emerge as the solution in Sudbury. Also, if the window of opportunity is open, it likely will not remain so for long (Rist, 1994). However, the fact that it has been incorporated into the new Official Plan for the City of Greater Sudbury and Sudbury's poor performance according to almost all health measures, suggests that healthy communities may yet become a guiding framework for future decision-making in the community. Officials in Sudbury appear to be looking for ways to try and improve health and well-being in the community and, as a result, healthy communities may become prominent on the decision-making agenda and gain the type of political support previously lacking.

The future of the initiatives in both communities is coloured by the prevalence of internal (bureaucratic) versus external (community) interests. In Hamilton, the potential danger rests in the local government essentially downloading the urban sustainability initiative onto the community (through Action 2020). By turning the project over entirely to the community, local government could essentially 'wash its hands' of the initiative while it tends to more immediate concerns surrounding recent amalgamation and reorganization.

This could threaten the viability of the initiative. More optimistically, the formation of Action 2020 could serve to strengthen the initiative in that new leaders and champions may be able to raise the initiative's profile, thereby potentially opening-up a window of opportunity. However, it could prove difficult to 'get back in' and on the agenda of local government now that it is on the outside. In Hamilton, unlike Sudbury, the window of opportunity for urban sustainability may be closed.

While Hamilton's Vision 2020 initiative is now being administered largely by a community group (Action 2020) operating outside of the regional government, Sudbury is now attempting to initiate healthy communities from the inside-out. In Sudbury, respondents were both encouraged and concerned about this development. While many were optimistic about recent interest in the concept on behalf of local government, respondents were concerned about the potential for the initiative to be 'taken over' by government interests. Those involved with this recent incarnation of the Sudbury initiative would be well advised to pay close attention to Hamilton's experience to date. Also, new leadership for the Sudbury initiative will likely result in a new interpretation of the concept as new champions will inevitably put their mark on the initiative in an attempt to start fresh. In both communities, initiatives are in a state of flux and are in the process of being re-positioned in an effort to find different approaches and strategies that might work better. As Pal (1992) suggests, policies are

continually being made and re-made. Changes in approach in Hamilton and Sudbury attest to this.

8.4 EVALUATING THE INITIATIVES: HAVE THEY BEEN SUCCESSFUL?

So, can we say that the healthy and sustainable community initiatives in Sudbury and Hamilton have been successful? That depends on how one defines success. “Success” is defined in fairly vague terms by the Oxford Dictionary as a favourable outcome (Oxford Concise English Dictionary, 1995). In Chapter 3, success for healthy and sustainable community initiatives was defined as the point when the concepts of health, sustainability, and quality of life become integrated into the process of local decision-making. The end point need not necessarily be a formal policy or protocol (as in Hamilton’s Sustainable Community Decision Making Guide) although this would certainly appear to be a very important first step towards the integration of the concept. A favourable outcome for the healthy and sustainable community initiatives in Sudbury and Hamilton, at this stage in their evolution, would be that the concepts become part of the decision-making structures in each community to a point where they are no longer considered as specific projects or initiatives, but rather, part of the everyday decision-making process: when they become institutionalized (Goodman et al., 1993). It is at this point, when the concepts have become a routine part of organizational decision-

making in Hamilton and Sudbury that the initiatives will have been successful.

Interestingly, this definition of success was also recognized by some participants.

As the following participant from Sudbury commented::

I like to think of it (success) in terms of a healthy approach to decision making, and I think that if we can permeate that throughout the decision-making circles within our community... it will lead to better outcomes for our community.

Only after a number of years, perhaps decades, after this has taken place, might we expect to see changes in, for instance, the quality of life profiles of both communities. However, it is only by integrating these concepts into decision-making in the short to medium term that we can expect to witness long-term changes to the health profiles of communities.

If we consider Hancock's (1993a) conceptual model of health and sustainability (subsequently adapted by Dooris, 1999) in terms of decision-making, the ultimate goal of healthy and sustainable city initiatives would be to achieve as much integration as possible between the three spheres (social, economic and environmental) of decision-making (Figure 8.1). In both Hamilton and Sudbury, decision-making still very much takes place according to traditional divisions as indicated by the first stage (far left) of the conceptual model.

Hamilton's Sustainable Community Decision Making Guide and the Staff Working Group on Sustainability represents an important attempt to break-down this silo approach to decision-making in an effort to progress towards the middle

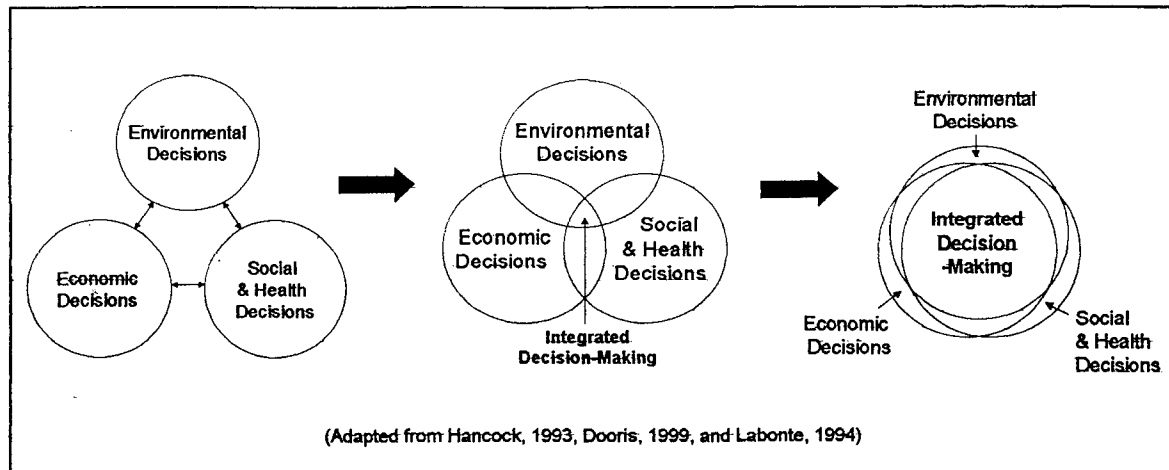


FIGURE 8.1: Achieving Progress Towards Healthy and Sustainable Cities

of the model where decision-making begins to become more integrated. The final ideal stage depicts, "...convergence of the three circles, indicating a co-ordinated and holistic approach to human development that integrates the social, economic and environmental" (Dooris, 1999, p. 374) spheres of decision-making. Much remains to be done in both Hamilton and Sudbury in order for them to reach this final stage of almost completely integrated decision-making. In fact, the bulk of decision-making in both of the study communities still takes place according to the far left position in figure 8.1 although there were some indications that both were moving towards the middle position.

With respect to this dissertation, the long-term nature of integrating the

concept of healthy and sustainable communities concepts into local decision-making structures, precluded any kind of analysis of pre- and post- changes to decisions made at the local level in Hamilton and Sudbury as both communities are still struggling with how to accomplish this task. While Hamilton's Vision 2020 had begun to make some progress towards integration, this process, as we have seen, was very slow and fraught with a number of difficulties. Sudbury's initiative is presently struggling with integration as well. This type of pre- and post- analysis of decision-making will be helpful once the concepts of health and sustainability become firmly integrated into local decision-making structures whereby concerns for health and sustainability come to the fore.

8.5 HEALTHY AND SUSTAINABLE COMMUNITIES IN HAMILTON AND SUDBURY: IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY DEVELOPMENT

8.5.1 Defining Health and Sustainability

Most healthy and sustainable community initiatives both in Canada (including initiatives in Hamilton and Sudbury) and throughout the world (Dooris, 1999) have attempted to incorporate a broad and holistic interpretation in that they attempt to include environmental, economic as well as social/health concerns into a broad-based decision-making framework for improving health. For instance, Hancock's (1993a) conceptual framework for a healthy city is predicated upon the interconnectedness of economy, environment and society (community). With

respect to urban sustainability, Hancock's framework is similar to Maclaren's (1996) "three dimensions" of sustainability; namely the economy, environment and society. Despite Eden's (2000) assertion that "the only thing about sustainability that academics seem to agree upon is that there is no clear meaning or definition" of the concept, in general a more holistic interpretation of the concept has prevailed. Here, decision-makers are forced to consider a wide range of views and values, this may be unwieldy for decision-makers within the context of local decision-making (Maclaren, 1996). This holistic emphasis has had both positive and negative impacts in Hamilton and Sudbury in that it has opened-up debate and discussion in both communities but it has also allowed decision-makers to interpret the initiatives as mechanisms for economic growth (see Chapter 7).

The broad, holistic and all-encompassing nature of the concepts represents both the appeal of and part of the problem for decision-makers and players in the political arena (Eden, 2000; Pinfield, 1997). In short, the terms "sustainable" and "healthy" (especially when incorporating a broad definition of both) can essentially be made to mean whatever one wants them to mean. This reality has led to difficulties in attempts to implement and incorporate the terms and tenets of healthy/sustainable cities in local decision-making structures in both Hamilton and Sudbury. For example, the concepts are being interpreted in different ways by different governmental departments and divisions in Hamilton. This is evidenced

by the differing usage of the Sustainable Community Decision Making Guide: those departments with a stronger environmental focus (e.g., land use planning, waste management, etc.) appear to be taking the decision-making guide more seriously than other areas (e.g., economic development). This finding is similar to some recent work in the UK, where Gibbs et al. (1998) found that different departments within the local authorities had fundamentally different conceptions of urban sustainability (see also, Healey & Shaw, 1994). Further, they discovered that the less radical interpretations of the economic development groups continued to hold sway in the decision-making process. This appears to be the case in Hamilton and Sudbury as well.

Thus, the holistic nature of healthy and sustainable communities appears to be problematic in traditional governmental decision-making structures as they can be defined and interpreted in ways contrary to their original usage by advocates. Current attempts at more integrated decision-making (as an attempt to break down the “silos” approach) have not worked in Hamilton and Sudbury and it is apparent that the integration of traditionally fragmented decision-making remains a challenge to the implementation of healthy and sustainable community initiatives.

In Sudbury, although the healthy cities concept has yet to be integrated into the decision-making structure of the Region, this less radical view of sustainability is already apparent, given that healthy communities is being viewed,

by some at least, as a potential mechanism to re-invigorate a stagnating economy through image enhancement efforts (see Chapter 7). This interpretation stands in stark contrast to the Sudbury Roundtable's original holistic definition of the concept as a mechanism to improve community health and well-being. This situation clearly has to change if the concept is going to have a measurable impact on the nature of local decision-making (especially given that concerns over traditional economic growth continue to dominate local government decision-making). In addition, the perception of these initiatives, by some, as luxuries, something nice (and possible) to do only when resources are abundant, needs to change if the initiatives are going to make permanent and lasting changes to the nature of local decision-making in both communities.

So, despite efforts to integrate these concepts into decision-making at the local level in Hamilton and Sudbury (particularly in Hamilton through the Sustainable Community Decision-Making Guide), the concepts have become re-defined during the process of translation from concept to practice from holistic and radical conceptions to more narrowly defined weak (i.e., not challenging the current modes of decision-making head-on) interpretations which facilitate economic growth (Turner, 1993). If this is the case, why and how has this happened? Simply, it would appear that those with the most power in regional government structures (politicians, economic development, senior managers, commissioners) are interpreting the concept as a way to promote economic

growth. Therefore, this definition is winning out over the more holistic and radical interpretations of other (less powerful) groups and departments.

However, while the initiatives in both Hamilton and Sudbury have thus far done little to change the focus from economic growth to human well-being and development, the concept does seem to have the ability to broaden the debate and engage a wider variety of interests and values, and can act as a mechanism to focus competing interests and sharpen the debate around social/health, economic and environmental issues (Campbell, 1996). This characteristic was highlighted as a positive aspect of the initiatives in both Hamilton and Sudbury, and in this context the expansive nature of the definitions used in healthy and sustainable cities can be seen as a positive means of encouraging widespread participation. However, more tangible and visible projects and specific actions are necessary in order for the initiatives to become catalysts for change in Hamilton and Sudbury and move beyond merely serving an enlightenment function.

8.5.2 Building Cooperation: Inside-Out or Outside-In?

Perhaps the most immediate difference between Hamilton's urban sustainability initiative and Sudbury's Healthy Communities initiative is the nature of approach taken to integrate the concepts of health and sustainability into the local decision-making framework of each regional municipality. While Hamilton's Vision 2020 initiative had largely attempted this from the inside-out,

Sudbury's initiative was launched and controlled by a group comprised of individuals outside of the formal decision-making process. These differences led to distinctive problems in each community. The Hamilton initiative has had difficulty engaging the general community in any sort of meaningful way while the Sudbury Roundtable has experienced significant barriers in its attempts to change the nature of local governmental decision-making in Sudbury.

While the health promotion and new public health literature (including the literature on healthy communities) has emphasized the necessity of adopting a bottom-up (outside-in) approach (see Robertson & Minkler, 1994; Bracht & Tsorous, 1990; Hancock, 1987), there are a number of difficulties associated with the over-reliance on problematic conceptions of terms like community and empowerment (see Chapter 2). As argued previously, the assumption that members of the community want to be involved in the decision-making process and that their decisions will justly represent the concerns of the community as a whole are dubious (see Robertson & Minkler, 1994; Lomas, 1997). As such, the emphasis on community ownership and empowerment from original advocates of the healthy and sustainable community concepts would appear to be misguided and unrealistic.

Further, based on the Sudbury experience, an entirely bottom-up, community-based approach may not be able to enact change in local systems of decision-making alone. A number of internal problems and the lack of buy-in

from the local political sector, thwarted the efforts of the Sudbury Roundtable. This is also not to say that the top-down approach, as evidenced by the Hamilton case was any more successful. A number of bureaucratic barriers and general institutional inertia, along with difficulties engaging the general public, have limited the implementation of Hamilton's Vision 2020 initiative. This suggests again that a more balanced approach is necessary (Steelman, 2001) and highlights the fact that complex initiatives (such as healthy and sustainable communities) have difficulties succeeding in complex bureaucratic organizations.

The key issue facing both communities, however, is how to facilitate coordination between internal interests and external ones. It is now widely agreed that some kind of combination between an inside-out and outside-in approach is necessary (Steeman, 2001; Keare, 2001; Dooris, 1999; Goumans & Springett, 1997). In other words, how might broader community participation be developed and sustained, while local government involvement and commitment is simultaneously formalised and strengthened?

One solution, suggested by respondents themselves, centred on the initiation of projects at the neighbourhood level as well as the regional level, since local initiatives may be more effective at stimulating citizen interest. The greater involvement of local governments of each municipality could facilitate the development of neighbourhood-level initiatives, as these governments are in a much better position to initiate projects at this scale. In addition, there are a

number of existing smaller-scale projects that practitioners in both communities could build upon⁴. However, in both Hamilton and Sudbury, the involvement of (former) local municipalities has been limited at best, and given the recent amalgamation of local municipalities in both Sudbury and Hamilton, the potential for local-level implementation is questionable. In any case, this research indicates that neither bottom-up (outside-in, community led) nor top-down (inside-out, government led) approaches are sufficient on their own to fulfill the promise of healthy and sustainable cities. The combination of bottom-up (neighbourhood level) and top-down (regional level) need to happen together for healthy and sustainable communities to be successful (Goumans & Springett, 1997; Dooris, 1999).

8.5.3 The Role of Evaluation

It is interesting to note that there was little mention (from respondents) of the quantitative indicators which have been developed to evaluate Vision2020 in Hamilton, except when mentioned in a facilitative way in terms of raising community awareness around the Hamilton initiative. In Sudbury, the development of quantitative indicators of success has not taken place, although

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For instance, In Hamilton, more specific action-oriented projects include the Hamilton Air Quality Initiative (HAQI), the Bay Area Restoration Council (BARC) and waterfront re-development schemes. In Sudbury, potential linkages could be forged with the Better Beginnings, Better Futures initiative, and various local social, environmental and economic development projects.

there have since been some initial attempts to develop baseline indicators. This thesis has argued that, given the relative newness of the initiatives in each community and the fact that the concepts are only just recently being introduced into the decision-making process, any attempt to measure progress with quantifiable indicators would be premature. Further, it would be extremely difficult to determine whether or not any observed changes were the result of the initiatives themselves.

Despite the lack of comparable quantifiable indicators of progress, the initiatives still have much to learn from each other. In particular, practitioners and advocates of healthy communities in Sudbury should be able to learn from the lessons of Hamilton, in terms of attempting to integrate the concept of healthy communities into local decision-making structures and, in particular, the need to maintain strong links with the community at this stage. Similarly, practitioners of urban sustainability in Hamilton must be aware of the need to maintain links with local government, for as the Sudbury experience demonstrates, community groups are unlikely to be able to achieve substantive changes to the nature of decision-making on their own.

In short, practitioners and advocates can learn more at this stage from, for example, a discussion of the facilitators and barriers to achieving success than by the direct comparison of quantitative outcome indicators. However once, and if, the concepts have become fully (or even partially) integrated into the local

decision-making structures of each community, outcome indicators will play an important evaluative role. For now, their contribution would seem to be limited to providing important baseline data on the overall quality of life in each community.

In the interim, more subtle, though no less important changes to the process of decision-making need to be demonstrated as well. If this does not take place, the potential exists that the initiatives could be discarded before they are able to impact health and sustainability outcomes in Hamilton and Sudbury (and beyond). These successes (and failures) need to be better documented and ultimately built upon as changes to outcomes will take some time to materialize.

8.5.4 Place as Health vs. Place as Wealth?

In their original and more radical interpretation, advocates of healthy and sustainable community initiatives have argued that places (e.g., regions, cities, neighbourhoods) have a profound influence on health (Kearns, 1993; Fitzpatrick & LaGory, 2000) and that it is imperative that concerns for community health, well-being and sustainability become integrated into decision-making at the local level (Hancock, 1993b; Dooris, 1999). However, as discussed in chapter 7, these concerns for health and sustainability have come to represent an attempt to re-image Hamilton and Sudbury, largely through improvements to leisure and recreational amenities, in an effort to improve their stagnating economic situations (see Chapter 4). In other words, concerns that place becomes the locus of health

have been supplanted by concerns over the ability of places to generate wealth (see Logan & Molotch, 1987). In other words, a more radical interpretation of the concepts of healthy and sustainable communities has been supplanted by a focus on traditional economic growth. Given the economic and industrial make-up of each of the study communities it is not surprising that the initiatives have been interpreted in this manner.

It should be noted that while the focus on improving leisure and recreation amenities in both communities has been identified as an attempt to improve the economic situations of Hamilton and Sudbury, these amenities (e.g., walking trails and bicycle paths) may improve the health and well-being of residents in both communities by providing more opportunity for physical activity. It is worth noting that changing lifestyles and health related behaviours of individuals was a key focus of health promotion during the 1970s and 1980s (Robertson & Minkler, 1994). It could be that public health at the local level has come full circle from the days of the sanitary movement and its emphasis on improving the physical environment to reduce disease to an emphasis today on improving the physical environment to facilitate physical activity through leisure and recreational pursuits. However, researchers investigating the links between health and place have suggested that local governments could do more towards building healthier and more sustainable urban communities, particularly at the neighbourhood level (Kearns, 1993; MacIntyre et al., 1993).

In fact, recent research has illustrated the deficiencies associated with focussing on changing individual behaviour and lifestyles (see Robertson & Minkler, 1994) and has instead implicated the social environment as a (perhaps the) key determinant of the health of individuals and societies (Hayes & Dunn, 1998; Wilkinson, 1996; Kawachi et al., 1997). Ellaway et al. (2001) highlight the importance of the local residential environment (particularly aspects of the neighbourhood's social and physical environment) on health status, and suggest that local governments need to pay more attention to housing, health and social policies as a way to build healthier neighbourhoods and, ultimately, urban communities.

In conclusion, economic regeneration need not be the only outcome of healthy and sustainable community initiatives in Hamilton and Sudbury, Ontario. Government policies (developed in partnership with urban communities) need to re-focus on the urban neighbourhood (as in the UK's current focus on neighbourhood management policies) in an attempt to build and enhance levels of social capital amongst urban residents. This could ultimately lead to improvements in the health status of urban populations above and beyond those resulting from a focus on individual lifestyle and behaviour.

8.6 RESEARCH CONTRIBUTIONS

In summary, this research has sought:

1. To explore contextualized understandings of the healthy and sustainable community initiatives as understood and experienced by a variety of stakeholder groups;
2. To identify those factors which facilitate or inhibit the development of healthy and sustainable communities;
3. To compare and contrast initiatives in the study communities to determine their relative success; and
4. To investigate the utility of a qualitative approach to the evaluation of healthy and sustainable community initiatives.

In so doing, this research makes contributions to both theoretical and methodological development; in addition, it provides practical advice and suggestions to policy makers and practitioners of healthy and sustainable communities.

More specifically, this thesis has helped enhance our understanding of the translation of theory to practice *vis a vis* healthy and sustainable communities. In particular, it has investigated how these concepts are translated from abstract notions into components of the decision-making structures in Hamilton and Sudbury, Ontario and how they have been (re)defined and (re)interpreted in markedly different ways by different groups and departments within each community. This investigation highlighted the diffuse nature of healthy and sustainable cities concepts as a potential disadvantage, since this flexibility may allow the concepts to be co-opted by policy elites as a mechanism to further a traditional economic growth model. The potential for appropriation of the

concepts underscores the dangers associated with approaches to policy development which emphasize a more pragmatic approach. That is, approaches which eschew the more radical components of healthy and sustainable cities in favour of visible, short-term goals which are palatable to decision-makers may in fact eviscerate the concept and render it unable to cultivate sustainable decision-making in the long term. On the other hand, this kind of first order change may represent a first step towards the gradual and incremental incorporation of healthy and sustainable community concepts into often resistant bureaucratic organizations. This represents an important contribution to a literature which often describes mechanisms of policy change with little regard for the effect of those mechanisms on policy content.

From a policy/practice perspective, this thesis contributes to both knowledge and policy development among practitioners. The lessons learned in these case studies, though specific to Hamilton and Sudbury, could be transferable to other jurisdictions and locales which find themselves with similar dilemmas. In particular, the perceived utility of integrated (i.e., outside-in *and* inside-out) approaches to healthy and sustainable community initiatives, the importance of assigning responsibility for progress, and the presence of subtle changes in decision-making (often in lieu of large visible impacts on the community) in communities where a healthy and/or sustainable community approach is being urged on decision-makers, all represent important lessons for practitioners in the

field. The numerous barriers encountered by practitioners in Hamilton and Sudbury offer important lessons as well.

Finally, from a methodological perspective, this thesis demonstrates the utility of an interpretive qualitative approach to the evaluation and exploration of attempts to implement healthy and sustainable communities. This thesis attempted to demonstrate that a qualitative, process-oriented evaluation can identify subtle but important changes in the nature of decision-making and policy debate. These changes might otherwise go unrecognized, and an important area of potential change would be ignored. Recognition and awareness of this change is necessary in order to sustain the initiatives and gather momentum. The long-term nature of the kinds of changes to decision-making envisioned by the healthy and sustainable communities approach are best captured by an interpretive approach. Quantitative indicators of success are problematic for evaluating these initiatives at this early stage in their evolution. For instance, even in Hamilton's case where a series of twenty-nine indicators of urban sustainability have been developed (using a highly acclaimed multi-stakeholder approach) it would be difficult to trace any changes observed directly back to the initiatives themselves (particularly given the messy and inherently unpredictable nature of local decision-making). While quantitative indicators of success may be valuable in terms of providing baseline data and in measuring the overall quality of life of a community in broad terms, until the concepts of health and sustainability become more firmly

integrated into local decision-making structures, their utility for evaluating the success of healthy and sustainable communities is limited. Finally, an over emphasis on quantifiable success could lead to an even greater focus on projects which fail to emphasize the holistic nature of the healthy and sustainable community concepts, but which instead can show easily demonstrable benefits in the short term (e.g., trail development). By emphasizing evaluation rather than progress, practitioners could inadvertently encourage decision-makers, like educators, to “teach to the test”, causing longer-term policy change to fall by the wayside.

8.7 FUTURE DIRECTIONS IN THE EVALUATION OF HEALTHY AND SUSTAINABLE CITIES

This thesis highlights a number of avenues for additional future research. First, more regional and/or international comparisons of healthy and sustainable cities, using process-oriented approaches, are necessary to further our understanding of the translation of these concepts to practice. While some such comparisons exist, the focus has been on quantifiable indicators. More interpretive, process-oriented comparisons could provide valuable insights into the characteristics of successful (and unsuccessful) initiatives which might then be applied by health promotion practitioners in an attempt to make our communities better places to live.

Similarly, much is to be learned from an examination of already (arguably)

healthier cities (i.e., Vancouver, Toronto, etc.). In other words, what is it about these cities that makes them comparatively healthier places to live and can (and if so how?) these attributes be adopted by other less healthy cities and communities? These questions remain to be answered.

Second, there are other arenas of healthy public policy development, at a variety of scales, which would benefit from systematic and critical evaluation. In particular, a better understanding of how certain concepts supposedly related to healthy and sustainable communities (e.g. “smart growth”) are being used to rationalise a traditional approach to economic development would contribute to the literature in this area. In addition, an evaluation of how and why certain ideas related to sustainability (e.g. bioregionalism, ecological foot print) have attracted only limited incorporation into public policy deserves further investigation as well. In other words, why and how do these concepts become introduced and occasionally endorsed by local governments, only to be subsequently lost, forgotten, or replaced by something else?

Third, many questions still surround the nature of agenda-setting and how notions of healthy and sustainable cities can be moved-up the priority list on behalf of local governments. The dissertation has suggested that the concepts of healthy and sustainable communities have entered the policy stream in Ontario. It will be interesting to see when, if and how these concepts make progress up the decision-making agenda and once they do, how they become integrated into local

decision-making structures. As mentioned earlier, this could be accomplished through connecting with other, already existing initiatives. This was the concepts may be able to remain in the policy stream until a policy window opens-up for them to gain a higher place on the political agenda. There is some evidence of this taking place in Hamilton and Sudbury through both communities emphasis on improving leisure and recreation opportunities. Other opportunities exist through vehicles such as Hamilton's air quality initiative and Sudbury's on-going re-greening efforts. These connections, however, must be visible or the initiatives could disappear altogether. If, and/or once they do achieve a high(er) position on the decision-making agenda, analyses of changes to pre- and post-decision-making could play a valuable role. Similarly, the role of image enhancement through healthy and sustainable communities as a way to generate economic growth for de-industrializing cities deserves further investigation. If this is all healthy and sustainable communities can hope to achieve, we need a better understanding of why and how this is so.

The thesis suggests that one potential mechanism to keep this (weak interpretation) from happening would be to have an advisory or watch dog group comprised of community members, government officials and local politicians dedicated to the maintenance of a holistic vision of the concepts of healthy and sustainable communities which would work in partnership with local government authorities. However, an advisory group without any real power to ensure that its

ideas and recommendations are heard and listened to, would likely be ineffective.

Some of these concerns could be ameliorated if the groups was an official committee of council. We need a better understanding of this process and how this can and might be achieved.

Finally, the dissertation also argues that since healthy and sustainable community initiatives are fundamentally about changing the nature of local decision-making in communities, we need better ways (both qualitative and quantitative) to evaluate the nature of these changes. Indicators of community well-being and quality of life tell us very little about the extent to which decision-making is being changed by the integration of these concepts. While most attention thus far, has focussed on the development of outcome indicators, little effort has been directed towards the development of decision-based process indicators. In short, more process-oriented indicators are badly needed. However, we need to remember that ultimately we (i.e., decision-makers in this case) choose what is to be measured and evaluated and that to be measured, something needs to be deemed important enough to warrant attention, along with the necessary resources (human and financial) to undertake the evaluation. Until healthy and sustainable community initiatives achieve an agenda status high enough to receive this attention, there is little chance of this taking place.

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APPENDIX A

Key Informant Interview Guide

Key Informant Interview Guide

Intro: Who I am, what the study is about, etc.

- do you mind if I tape record the interview for future reference?
- ask about your perceptions, experiences, opinions and feelings about

HC/SC

- confidentiality and anonymity are guaranteed

Background:

Could you provide me with some background information on what you do?

- name, job title, responsibilities, etc.

How did you first become involved in HC/SC?

At what stage of the initiative did you become involved?

How long have you been involved?

Are you still involved in HC/SC?; If no, why not?

How did you contribute to the initiative?; What was your role?; What areas did you address?

Tell me about your experience as a member of the Chairman's Task Force on Sustainable Development/ Sudbury Roundtable on Health, the Economy and Environment?

- why was it initiated?
- what was it intended to do?
- was it successful at achieving its goals/mandate?; why/why not?
- looking back, was it worthwhile?
- what might you change about it now?

Implementation:

To what extent were the ideas and suggestions developed through the work of the Task Force/Roundtable been implemented/put into action?; If not many, why not?

What do you see as some of the barriers to the implementation of HC/SC?

How successful has the implementation of the detailed actions and strategies been? Why/why not?

How has HC/SC changed since your involvement?

Process Issues:

Community Participation:

How successful has HC/SC been at involving citizens and the community?

- to what extent has the public been involved
- how was the public involved?; who was involved?
- barriers/facilitators to public involvement
- should community participation be encouraged?

Intersectoral Collaboration:

How successful has the initiative been at bringing together stakeholders from different bodies?

Have new partnerships and ways of working been established?

Facilitators/barriers to working in a more integrated fashion?

Changing Local Decision-Making:

Has decision-making changed as a result of the initiative?; If so, how?; if not, why?

Has the initiative influenced policy at the Regional level?; if yes, how; if no, why not?

- what about the municipalities?

Barriers/facilitators to changing local decision-making structures?

Overall:

How do you now feel about the initiative?

How successful has the initiative been at bringing about action on environmental issues?; why/why not?

-social/health issues

-economic issues

What would you consider to be the strengths/weaknesses of the initiative?

Are there any changes you would like to see to make it work better?; what is working/has worked/what is not working?

What makes HC/SC distinct from traditional planning efforts?

What direction/shape *do* you see the initiative taking in the future?; future role of HC/SC

What direction/shape would you like to see the initiative take in the future?; preferred future role of HC/SC

Overall, how successful has HC/SC been at achieving progress towards sustainability?

If this initiative had not happened would Hamilton/Sudbury look different today?; if so, how?

Is Hamilton-Wentworth/Sudbury a more sustainable Region than before the initiative began?

Conclusion:

Would you like to add anything?

Closing comments?

Thank you for your time and cooperation.

APPENDIX B

Interview Theme/Code List

NVivo revision 1.0.118 Licensee: Colin McMullan

Project: Sustainable Cities User: Colin McMullan Date: 4/1/02 - 7:34:09 PM

NODE LISTING

Nodes in Set: All Nodes

Created: 1/17/00 - 3:35:02 PM

Modified: 1/17/00 - 3:35:02 PM

Number of Nodes: 602

- 1 (1) /Background
- 2 (1 4) /Background/Current Involvement
- 3 (1 4 5) /Background/Current Involvement/Councillor
- 4 (1 4 2) /Background/Current Involvement/Progress Team
- 5 (1 4 2 1) /Background/Current Involvement/Progress Team/Previously Unaware
- 6 (1 4 1) /Background/Current Involvement/Reasons
- 7 (1 4 1 1) /Background/Current Involvement/Reasons/Transportation Review
- 8 (1 4 4) /Background/Current Involvement/Round Table
- 9 (1 4 3) /Background/Current Involvement/Staff Working Group
- 10 (1 3) /Background/Initial Involvement
- 11 (1 3 6) /Background/Initial Involvement/Community Member
- 12 (1 3 6 7) /Background/Initial Involvement/Community Member/Better Beginnings
- 13 (1 3 6 1) /Background/Initial Involvement/Community Member/Citizens for a Sustainable Community
- 14 (1 3 6 5) /Background/Initial Involvement/Community Member/Community Activist
- 15 (1 3 6 6) /Background/Initial Involvement/Community Member/Heart Health
- 16 (1 3 6 4) /Background/Initial Involvement/Community Member/Private Sector
- 17 (1 3 6 2) /Background/Initial Involvement/Community Member/Progress Team
- 18 (1 3 6 3) /Background/Initial Involvement/Community Member/RAP
- 19 (1 3 12) /Background/Initial Involvement/Contact with Community Leaders
- 20 (1 3 8) /Background/Initial Involvement/DHC
- 21 (1 3 3) /Background/Initial Involvement/First Impressions

- 22 (1 3 11) /Background/Initial Involvement/HP Conference
 23 (1 3 11 1) /Background/Initial Involvement/HP
 Conference/Purpose
 24 (1 3 1) /Background/Initial Involvement/Implementation Team
 25 (1 3 10) /Background/Initial Involvement/Leisure Plan
 26 (1 3 10 1) /Background/Initial Involvement/Leisure Plan/Origins
 27 (1 3 4) /Background/Initial Involvement/Process
 28 (1 3 2) /Background/Initial Involvement/Reasons
 29 (1 3 2 1) /Background/Initial Involvement/Reasons/Broaden
 Definition
 30 (1 3 2 2) /Background/Initial Involvement/Reasons/Partner with
 Private Sector
 31 (1 3 2 3) /Background/Initial Involvement/Reasons/Why HC
 32 (1 3 14) /Background/Initial Involvement/Regreening
 33 (1 3 13) /Background/Initial Involvement/Round Table
 34 (1 3 7) /Background/Initial Involvement/Staff
 35 (1 3 5) /Background/Initial Involvement/Task Force
 36 (1 3 5 4) /Background/Initial Involvement/Task Force/Preparation
 of Reports
 37 (1 3 5 1) /Background/Initial Involvement/Task Force/Rationale
 38 (1 3 5 2) /Background/Initial Involvement/Task Force/Recruitment
 39 (1 3 5 3) /Background/Initial Involvement/Task
 Force/Sub-committee
 40 (1 3 9) /Background/Initial Involvement/While Involved in 2020
 41 (1 2) /Background/Job Description
 42 (1 1) /Background/Job Title
 43 (1 1 1) /Background/Job Title/Tenure
 44 (1 5) /Background/Length Living in Area
 45 (1 6) /Background/Personal History
 46 (6) /Changes
 47 (6 3) /Changes/Barriers
 48 (6 3 7) /Changes/Barriers/Community Understanding
 49 (6 3 5) /Changes/Barriers/Difficult to Operationalize
 50 (6 3 9) /Changes/Barriers/Implementing Action
 51 (6 3 4) /Changes/Barriers/Larger Economic Forces and Trends
 52 (6 3 6) /Changes/Barriers/Linking Region and Community
 53 (6 3 10) /Changes/Barriers/Loss of Young Leaders
 54 (6 3 11) /Changes/Barriers/People Too Busy
 55 (6 3 11 1) /Changes/Barriers/People Too Busy/Lack of \$
 56 (6 3 2) /Changes/Barriers/Political Time Frame
 57 (6 3 3) /Changes/Barriers/Politicians' Understanding of~

- 58 (6 3 1) /Changes/Barriers/Public Values and Preferences
- 59 (6 3 8) /Changes/Barriers/Specialist Focus
- 60 (6 1) /Changes/Becoming More Effective
- 61 (6 1 30) /Changes/Becoming More Effective/Anticipating
- Economic Change
- 62 (6 1 11) /Changes/Becoming More Effective/Become More
Decentralized
- 63 (6 1 11 2) /Changes/Becoming More Effective/Become More
Decentralized/Community Implementation
- 64 (6 1 11 1) /Changes/Becoming More Effective/Become More
Decentralized/More Community Control
- 65 (6 1 4) /Changes/Becoming More Effective/Build Into Current
Budget
- 66 (6 1 16) /Changes/Becoming More Effective/Changes in Ind
Behaviour
- 67 (6 1 26) /Changes/Becoming More Effective/Comprehensive
Strategy
- 68 (6 1 25) /Changes/Becoming More Effective/Continue to Re-Visit
- 69 (6 1 28) /Changes/Becoming More Effective/Creation of a
Coordinating Group
- 70 (6 1 2) /Changes/Becoming More Effective/Demonstrate
Practicality
- 71 (6 1 2 1) /Changes/Becoming More Effective/Demonstrate
Practicality/More Visible Projects
- 72 (6 1 12) /Changes/Becoming More Effective/Don't Ignore Original
Docs
- 73 (6 1 12 1) /Changes/Becoming More Effective/Don't Ignore
Original Docs/Re-Visit
- 74 (6 1 18) /Changes/Becoming More Effective/Establish Clear
Priorities
- 75 (6 1 35) /Changes/Becoming More Effective/Establish Secretariat
- 76 (6 1 24) /Changes/Becoming More Effective/Focus on
Neighbourhood Level
- 77 (6 1 27) /Changes/Becoming More Effective/Focus on Small Goals
- 78 (6 1 34) /Changes/Becoming More Effective/Focus on Social
Issues
- 79 (6 1 8) /Changes/Becoming More Effective/Increased Education
and Awareness
- 80 (6 1 8 2) /Changes/Becoming More Effective/Increased Education
and Awareness/Marketing and Promotion
- 81 (6 1 8 1) /Changes/Becoming More Effective/Increased Education

and Awareness/Partnerships with Schools

- 82 (6 1 23) /Changes/Becoming More Effective/Individual
Behavioural Change
- 83 (6 1 19) /Changes/Becoming More Effective/Industry Participation
- 84 (6 1 33) /Changes/Becoming More Effective/Link Roundtable to
Govt
- 85 (6 1 6) /Changes/Becoming More Effective/Long-term
Decision-Making
- 86 (6 1 14) /Changes/Becoming More Effective/Make Sure Politicians
Understand
- 87 (6 1 17) /Changes/Becoming More Effective/Monitoring and
Evaluation
- 88 (6 1 17 2) /Changes/Becoming More Effective/Monitoring and
Evaluation/Group to Follow-Up
- 89 (6 1 17 1) /Changes/Becoming More Effective/Monitoring and
Evaluation/Targets Set
- 90 (6 1 36) /Changes/Becoming More Effective/More \$
- 91 (6 1 31) /Changes/Becoming More Effective/More Clout
~Roundtable~
- 92 (6 1 3) /Changes/Becoming More Effective/More Community
Involvement
- 93 (6 1 3 4) /Changes/Becoming More Effective/More Community
Involvement/Among General Public
- 94 (6 1 3 7) /Changes/Becoming More Effective/More Community
Involvement/Communications Strategy
- 95 (6 1 3 6) /Changes/Becoming More Effective/More Community
Involvement/Community Implementation Group
- 96 (6 1 3 3) /Changes/Becoming More Effective/More Community
Involvement/Go to Them
- 97 (6 1 3 1) /Changes/Becoming More Effective/More Community
Involvement/Increased Education and Awareness
- 98 (6 1 3 2) /Changes/Becoming More Effective/More Community
Involvement/Marginalized Need to be Involved
- 99 (6 1 3 5) /Changes/Becoming More Effective/More Community
Involvement/Other Sectors and Institutions
- 100 (6 1 3 8) /Changes/Becoming More Effective/More Community
Involvement/Shared Power, Partnership
- 101 (6 1 5) /Changes/Becoming More Effective/More Emphasis on
Social Leg
- 102 (6 1 29) /Changes/Becoming More Effective/More Holistic
Perspective

- 103 (6 1 29 1) /Changes/Becoming More Effective/More Holistic
Perspective/Education
- 104 (6 1 21) /Changes/Becoming More Effective/More Municipal
Involvement
- 105 (6 1 10) /Changes/Becoming More Effective/More Private Sector
Involvement
- 106 (6 1 7) /Changes/Becoming More Effective/New Champions
Needed
- 107 (6 1 7 1) /Changes/Becoming More Effective/New Champions
Needed/Politicians
- 108 (6 1 9) /Changes/Becoming More Effective/NGO Involvement
- 109 (6 1 32) /Changes/Becoming More Effective/Principle of Reg
Decision-making
- 110 (6 1 22) /Changes/Becoming More Effective/Specific Targets,
Projects
- 111 (6 1 22 1) /Changes/Becoming More Effective/Specific Targets,
Projects/Incorporate Into Day-to-day Ops
- 112 (6 1 20) /Changes/Becoming More Effective/Strengthen Institutional
Partnerships
- 113 (6 1 13) /Changes/Becoming More Effective/Stronger
Environmental Policies
- 114 (6 1 13 1) /Changes/Becoming More Effective/Stronger
Environmental Policies/Transportation
- 115 (6 1 13 1 1) /Changes/Becoming More Effective/Stronger
Environmental Policies/Transportation/Impact on Urban Development
- 116 (6 1 13 2) /Changes/Becoming More Effective/Stronger
Environmental Policies/Water
- 117 (6 1 15) /Changes/Becoming More Effective/Stronger Leadership
- 118 (6 1 1) /Changes/Becoming More Effective/Supportive Council
- 119 (6 1 1 1) /Changes/Becoming More Effective/Supportive
Council/Used to Impact Big Decisions
- 120 (6 2) /Changes/Facilitators
- 121 (6 2 2) /Changes/Facilitators/Industry
- 122 (6 2 1) /Changes/Facilitators/University
- 123 (4) /Critical Appraisal
- 124 (4 7) /Critical Appraisal/Barriers
- 125 (4 7 5) /Critical Appraisal/Barriers/Broader Economic Forces
- 126 (4 7 3) /Critical Appraisal/Barriers/Bureaucratic Infrastructure
- 127 (4 7 1) /Critical Appraisal/Barriers/Community Education~
Awareness
- 128 (4 7 2) /Critical Appraisal/Barriers/Cutbacks

- 129 (4 7 4) /Critical Appraisal/Barriers/Two-Tier Govt
 130 (4 4) /Critical Appraisal/Economic Issues
 131 (4 4 7) /Critical Appraisal/Economic Issues/Diversification
 132 (4 4 9) /Critical Appraisal/Economic Issues/GEODE
 133 (4 4 4) /Critical Appraisal/Economic Issues/Industry Needs to be
 More Involved
 134 (4 4 3) /Critical Appraisal/Economic Issues/Limited Interpretation
 135 (4 4 3 1) /Critical Appraisal/Economic Issues/Limited
 Interpretation/Defining Economic Development
 136 (4 4 3 2) /Critical Appraisal/Economic Issues/Limited
 Interpretation/Loss of Local Business Owners
 137 (4 4 1) /Critical Appraisal/Economic Issues/Little Change
 138 (4 4 1 1) /Critical Appraisal/Economic Issues/Little
 Change/Emphasis on Attracting Any Business
 139 (4 4 1 1 1) /Critical Appraisal/Economic Issues/Little
 Change/Emphasis on Attracting Any Business/Driven by Public Attitudes
 140 (4 4 1 2) /Critical Appraisal/Economic Issues/Little
 Change/Transportation
 141 (4 4 5) /Critical Appraisal/Economic Issues/Need to Create Jobs
 142 (4 4 8) /Critical Appraisal/Economic Issues/Need to Focus On
 143 (4 4 6) /Critical Appraisal/Economic Issues/Receiving More
 Emphasis
 144 (4 4 2) /Critical Appraisal/Economic Issues/Some Success
 145 (4 4 2 1) /Critical Appraisal/Economic Issues/Some
 Success/Diversification
 146 (4 6) /Critical Appraisal/Facilitators
 147 (4 6 1) /Critical Appraisal/Facilitators/Community Leaders
 148 (4 1) /Critical Appraisal/Overall
 149 (4 1 4) /Critical Appraisal/Overall/Created Decision-Making
 Framework
 150 (4 1 7) /Critical Appraisal/Overall/Depends on Who You Ask
 151 (4 1 12) /Critical Appraisal/Overall/Facilitated Other Initiatives
 152 (4 1 12 1) /Critical Appraisal/Overall/Facilitated Other
 Initiatives/Air Quality
 153 (4 1 12 2) /Critical Appraisal/Overall/Facilitated Other
 Initiatives/Bike Lanes
 154 (4 1 12 3) /Critical Appraisal/Overall/Facilitated Other
 Initiatives/Sudbury 2001
 155 (4 1 11) /Critical Appraisal/Overall/Inconsistent
 156 (4 1 1) /Critical Appraisal/Overall/Increased Awareness
 157 (4 1 8) /Critical Appraisal/Overall/Incremental Progress

- 158 (4 1 8 3) /Critical Appraisal/Overall/Incremental Progress/Moving Very Slowly
- 159 (4 1 8 2) /Critical Appraisal/Overall/Incremental Progress/Nature of Process
- 160 (4 1 8 1) /Critical Appraisal/Overall/Incremental Progress/Used to Apply for Grants
- 161 (4 1 14) /Critical Appraisal/Overall/Ligitimation of SD Concept
- 162 (4 1 10) /Critical Appraisal/Overall/Little Progress
- 163 (4 1 10 1) /Critical Appraisal/Overall/Little Progress/Poor Timing
- 164 (4 1 6) /Critical Appraisal/Overall/Long Way To Go
- 165 (4 1 5) /Critical Appraisal/Overall/Pleasant Surprise
- 166 (4 1 16) /Critical Appraisal/Overall/Significant Improvements
- 167 (4 1 3) /Critical Appraisal/Overall/Somewhat Successful
- 168 (4 1 3 1) /Critical Appraisal/Overall/Somewhat Successful/Official Plan
- 169 (4 1 15) /Critical Appraisal/Overall/Subtle Influence
- 170 (4 1 15 1) /Critical Appraisal/Overall/Subtle Influence/Partnerships and Communication
- 171 (4 1 2) /Critical Appraisal/Overall/Too Closely Linked with Environment
- 172 (4 1 2 1) /Critical Appraisal/Overall/Too Closely Linked with Environment/Elite Mainly Involved
- 173 (4 1 13) /Critical Appraisal/Overall/Uncertain
- 174 (4 1 13 1) /Critical Appraisal/Overall/Uncertain/Lack of Outcome Measures
- 175 (4 1 9) /Critical Appraisal/Overall/Vehicle
- 176 (4 2) /Critical Appraisal/Physical Environment
- 177 (4 2 1) /Critical Appraisal/Physical Environment/Most Attention and Progress
- 178 (4 2 1 8) /Critical Appraisal/Physical Environment/Most Attention and Progress/Air Quality
- 179 (4 2 1 4) /Critical Appraisal/Physical Environment/Most Attention and Progress/Environmental Focus of Depts~
- 180 (4 2 1 5) /Critical Appraisal/Physical Environment/Most Attention and Progress/Environmental Participation
- 181 (4 2 1 7) /Critical Appraisal/Physical Environment/Most Attention and Progress/Industry Involvement
- 182 (4 2 1 11) /Critical Appraisal/Physical Environment/Most Attention and Progress/Leisure
- 183 (4 2 1 6) /Critical Appraisal/Physical Environment/Most Attention and Progress/Media

- 184 (4 2 1 3) /Critical Appraisal/Physical Environment/Most Attention and Progress/Planning In Charge of Initiative
- 185 (4 2 1 1) /Critical Appraisal/Physical Environment/Most Attention and Progress/Problem
- 186 (4 2 1 1 1) /Critical Appraisal/Physical Environment/Most Attention and Progress/Problem/Politicians
- 187 (4 2 1 12) /Critical Appraisal/Physical Environment/Most Attention and Progress/Regreening
- 188 (4 2 1 2) /Critical Appraisal/Physical Environment/Most Attention and Progress/Successful Partnerships
- 189 (4 2 1 10) /Critical Appraisal/Physical Environment/Most Attention and Progress/Transportation
- 190 (4 2 1 9) /Critical Appraisal/Physical Environment/Most Attention and Progress/Water Quality
- 191 (4 2 2) /Critical Appraisal/Physical Environment/Ups and Downs
- 192 (4 3) /Critical Appraisal/Social and Health Issues
- 193 (4 3 7) /Critical Appraisal/Social and Health Issues/Arts and Culture
- 194 (4 3 7 1) /Critical Appraisal/Social and Health Issues/Arts and Culture/Quality of Life
- 195 (4 3 6) /Critical Appraisal/Social and Health Issues/Better Beginnings
- 196 (4 3 6 1) /Critical Appraisal/Social and Health Issues/Better Beginnings/Example of HC
- 197 (4 3 4) /Critical Appraisal/Social and Health Issues/Increasing in Prominence
- 198 (4 3 3) /Critical Appraisal/Social and Health Issues/Integration of Soc~ Health Concerns
- 199 (4 3 3 1) /Critical Appraisal/Social and Health Issues/Integration of Soc~ Health Concerns/Breast Feeding Example
- 200 (4 3 3 2) /Critical Appraisal/Social and Health Issues/Integration of Soc~ Health Concerns/Increasing Importance
- 201 (4 3 3 3) /Critical Appraisal/Social and Health Issues/Integration of Soc~ Health Concerns/Partnership with SPRC
- 202 (4 3 2) /Critical Appraisal/Social and Health Issues/Little Attention
- 203 (4 3 2 1) /Critical Appraisal/Social and Health Issues/Little Attention/Environmental Interpretation
- 204 (4 3 5) /Critical Appraisal/Social and Health Issues/Lower Profile
- 205 (4 3 1) /Critical Appraisal/Social and Health Issues/Some Success
- 206 (4 3 1 1) /Critical Appraisal/Social and Health Issues/Some Success/Indirect Influence

- 207 (4 3 8) /Critical Appraisal/Social and Health Issues/Still Doing Poorly
- 208 (4 5) /Critical Appraisal/Strengths~Weaknesses
- 209 (4 5 1) /Critical Appraisal/Strengths~Weaknesses/Strengths
- 210 (4 5 1 2) /Critical Appraisal/Strengths~Weaknesses/Strengths/Broad Involvement
- 211 (4 5 1 2 1) /Critical Appraisal/Strengths~Weaknesses/Strengths/Broad Involvement/Bringing Together Diverse Groups
- 212 (4 5 1 3) /Critical Appraisal/Strengths~Weaknesses/Strengths/Comitted Leadership
- 213 (4 5 1 3 1) /Critical Appraisal/Strengths~Weaknesses/Strengths/Comitted Leadership/Vehicle
- 214 (4 5 1 1) /Critical Appraisal/Strengths~Weaknesses/Strengths/Committed Community Members
- 215 (4 5 1 4) /Critical Appraisal/Strengths~Weaknesses/Strengths/Dedicated Staff
- 216 (4 5 1 10) /Critical Appraisal/Strengths~Weaknesses/Strengths/Facilitator
- 217 (4 5 1 9) /Critical Appraisal/Strengths~Weaknesses/Strengths/Holistic Approach
- 218 (4 5 1 7) /Critical Appraisal/Strengths~Weaknesses/Strengths/Influence on Decision-Making
- 219 (4 5 1 11) /Critical Appraisal/Strengths~Weaknesses/Strengths/International recognition
- 220 (4 5 1 12) /Critical Appraisal/Strengths~Weaknesses/Strengths/Process
- 221 (4 5 1 8) /Critical Appraisal/Strengths~Weaknesses/Strengths/Provides Opportunity for Debate
- 222 (4 5 1 6) /Critical Appraisal/Strengths~Weaknesses/Strengths/Re-visiting Original Document
- 223 (4 5 1 5) /Critical Appraisal/Strengths~Weaknesses/Strengths/Vision Document Itself
- 224 (4 5 1 5 1) /Critical Appraisal/Strengths~Weaknesses/Strengths/Vision Document Itself/Conceptual Framework
- 225 (4 5 1 13) /Critical Appraisal/Strengths~Weaknesses/Strengths/Vision for Future
- 226 (4 5 2) /Critical Appraisal/Strengths~Weaknesses/Weaknesses
- 227 (4 5 2 1) /Critical Appraisal/Strengths~Weaknesses/Weaknesses/Departmental Buy-In

- 228 (4 5 2 2) /Critical
 Appraisal/Strengths~Weaknesses/Weaknesses/Environmental Perception
- 229 (4 5 2 8) /Critical
 Appraisal/Strengths~Weaknesses/Weaknesses/Expressway Issue
- 230 (4 5 2 3) /Critical
 Appraisal/Strengths~Weaknesses/Weaknesses/Implementation
- 231 (4 5 2 3 1) /Critical
 Appraisal/Strengths~Weaknesses/Weaknesses/Implementation/Lack of Strategy
- 232 (4 5 2 10) /Critical
 Appraisal/Strengths~Weaknesses/Weaknesses/Lack of Industry Involvement
- 233 (4 5 2 9) /Critical
 Appraisal/Strengths~Weaknesses/Weaknesses/Lack of Political Will
- 234 (4 5 2 4) /Critical
 Appraisal/Strengths~Weaknesses/Weaknesses/Lack of Widespread Public Support
- 235 (4 5 2 4 1) /Critical
 Appraisal/Strengths~Weaknesses/Weaknesses/Lack of Widespread Public Support/Failure to Communicate
- 236 (4 5 2 6) /Critical
 Appraisal/Strengths~Weaknesses/Weaknesses/Little Impact on Big Decisions
- 237 (4 5 2 5) /Critical
 Appraisal/Strengths~Weaknesses/Weaknesses/Regional Ownership
- 238 (4 5 2 7) /Critical
 Appraisal/Strengths~Weaknesses/Weaknesses/Understanding the Concept
- 239 (5) /Future
 240 (5 1) /Future/Anticipated
 241 (5 1 10) /Future/Anticipated/Can't Continue As Is
 242 (5 1 9) /Future/Anticipated/Changes
 243 (5 1 7) /Future/Anticipated/Continues As Is
 244 (5 1 11) /Future/Anticipated/Crossroads
 245 (5 1 1) /Future/Anticipated/Depends on Restructuring
 246 (5 1 1 2) /Future/Anticipated/Depends on Restructuring/Lack of \$
 247 (5 1 1 2 1) /Future/Anticipated/Depends on Restructuring/Lack of \$/Could Change with One-Tier
- 248 (5 1 1 1) /Future/Anticipated/Depends on Restructuring/New CAO
 249 (5 1 1 1 1) /Future/Anticipated/Depends on Restructuring/New CAO/Influence of Senior Managers
- 250 (5 1 2) /Future/Anticipated/Diminished Role
 251 (5 1 3) /Future/Anticipated/Gradual Improvement
 252 (5 1 3 1) /Future/Anticipated/Gradual Improvement/5-year Review
- Key

- 253 (5 1 3 4) /Future/Anticipated/Gradual Improvement/Headed in
Right Direction
- 254 (5 1 3 2) /Future/Anticipated/Gradual Improvement/Measureable
by 2020
- 255 (5 1 3 3) /Future/Anticipated/Gradual Improvement/Slowly
Impacting Decision-Making
- 256 (5 1 8) /Future/Anticipated/In Jeopardy of Being Dropped
- 257 (5 1 8 1) /Future/Anticipated/In Jeopardy of Being
Dropped/Difficult to Measure Benefits
- 258 (5 1 8 3) /Future/Anticipated/In Jeopardy of Being Dropped/Lack
of Funding
- 259 (5 1 8 4) /Future/Anticipated/In Jeopardy of Being Dropped/Lack
of Structure
- 260 (5 1 8 2) /Future/Anticipated/In Jeopardy of Being Dropped/Unless
Communication Improved
- 261 (5 1 12) /Future/Anticipated/Obstacles to Overcome
- 262 (5 1 6) /Future/Anticipated/Re-done
- 263 (5 1 4) /Future/Anticipated/Small Role
- 264 (5 1 4 1) /Future/Anticipated/Small Role/More Influence on Other
Cities
- 265 (5 1 5) /Future/Anticipated/Uncertain
- 266 (5 1 5 3) /Future/Anticipated/Uncertain/Demographics
- 267 (5 1 5 2) /Future/Anticipated/Uncertain/Depends on \$
- 268 (5 1 5 2 1) /Future/Anticipated/Uncertain/Depends on \$/Depends
on Leadership
- 269 (5 3) /Future/Challenges
- 270 (5 2) /Future/Desired
- 271 (5 2 6) /Future/Desired/Build Momentum
- 272 (5 2 3) /Future/Desired/Complete Societal Buy-In
- 273 (5 2 4) /Future/Desired/Creation of a Community Vision
- 274 (5 2 11) /Future/Desired/Integrated Into Decision-making
- 275 (5 2 1) /Future/Desired/Integrated Into Education System
- 276 (5 2 5) /Future/Desired/Integration in Day-to-day Operations
- 277 (5 2 8) /Future/Desired/Integration of Social and Economic
- 278 (5 2 9) /Future/Desired/More Progress On Environment
- 279 (5 2 7) /Future/Desired/Neighbourhood-Level Initiative
- 280 (5 2 10) /Future/Desired/Ouside-In, Inside-Out
- 281 (5 2 2) /Future/Desired/Political Will and Leadership
- 282 (5 2 12) /Future/Desired/Regional Buy-In
- 283 (2) /Original Strategies and Vision
- 284 (2 2) /Original Strategies and Vision/Barriers

- 285 (2 2 15) /Original Strategies and Vision/Barriers/Community Not Prepared to Change
- 286 (2 2 16) /Original Strategies and Vision/Barriers/Extremely Difficult To Do
- 287 (2 2 10) /Original Strategies and Vision/Barriers/Failure to Engage NGOs
- 288 (2 2 19) /Original Strategies and Vision/Barriers/Lack of Clout
- 289 (2 2 3) /Original Strategies and Vision/Barriers/Lack of Community Concern
- 290 (2 2 3 2) /Original Strategies and Vision/Barriers/Lack of Community Concern/Fail to Link Env and Econ
- 291 (2 2 3 1) /Original Strategies and Vision/Barriers/Lack of Community Concern/Little Behavioural Change
- 292 (2 2 13) /Original Strategies and Vision/Barriers/Lack of Community Participation
- 293 (2 2 13 1) /Original Strategies and Vision/Barriers/Lack of Community Participation/Lack of Awareness
- 294 (2 2 6) /Original Strategies and Vision/Barriers/Lack of Education
- 295 (2 2 6 1) /Original Strategies and Vision/Barriers/Lack of Education/Among Politicians
- 296 (2 2 14) /Original Strategies and Vision/Barriers/Lack of Implementation Monitoring
- 297 (2 2 8) /Original Strategies and Vision/Barriers/Lack of Municipal Buy-In
- 298 (2 2 20) /Original Strategies and Vision/Barriers/Lack of Political Influence
- 299 (2 2 18) /Original Strategies and Vision/Barriers/Lack of Political Will
- 300 (2 2 9) /Original Strategies and Vision/Barriers/Lack of Private Sector Involvement
- 301 (2 2 11) /Original Strategies and Vision/Barriers/Mechanism for On-going Participation
- 302 (2 2 7) /Original Strategies and Vision/Barriers/Nature of Local Politics
- 303 (2 2 2) /Original Strategies and Vision/Barriers/Not Realistic
- 304 (2 2 5) /Original Strategies and Vision/Barriers/Resources
- 305 (2 2 12) /Original Strategies and Vision/Barriers/Tied Too Closely With Gov't
- 306 (2 2 1) /Original Strategies and Vision/Barriers/Too Many
- 307 (2 2 4) /Original Strategies and Vision/Barriers/Too Vague
- 308 (2 2 17) /Original Strategies and Vision/Barriers/Unable to Sustain

- Momentum
 309 (2 3) /Original Strategies and Vision/Facilitators
 310 (2 3 1) /Original Strategies and Vision/Facilitators/Effective
- Leadership
 311 (2 3 1 1) /Original Strategies and Vision/Facilitators/Effective
- Leadership/Champions
 312 (2 3 2) /Original Strategies and Vision/Facilitators/Regional Staff
 313 (2 1) /Original Strategies and Vision/Implementation
 314 (2 1 1) /Original Strategies and Vision/Implementation/Extent
 315 (2 1 1 8) /Original Strategies and
- Vision/Implementation/Extent/Heart Health
 316 (2 1 1 1) /Original Strategies and
- Vision/Implementation/Extent/Incremental
 317 (2 1 1 1 1) /Original Strategies and
- Vision/Implementation/Extent/Incremental/Nature of Community Process
 318 (2 1 1 1 2) /Original Strategies and
- Vision/Implementation/Extent/Incremental/Subtle Influence
 319 (2 1 1 7) /Original Strategies and
- Vision/Implementation/Extent/Leisure Plan
 320 (2 1 1 7 1) /Original Strategies and
- Vision/Implementation/Extent/Leisure Plan/Successful
 321 (2 1 1 2) /Original Strategies and
- Vision/Implementation/Extent/Limited
 322 (2 1 1 2 1) /Original Strategies and
- Vision/Implementation/Extent/Limited/More Planning, Less Action
 323 (2 1 1 5) /Original Strategies and
- Vision/Implementation/Extent/Mixed Results
 324 (2 1 1 5 1) /Original Strategies and
- Vision/Implementation/Extent/Mixed Results/Limited Impact Outside Gov't
 325 (2 1 1 5 2) /Original Strategies and
- Vision/Implementation/Extent/Mixed Results/Up and Down
 326 (2 1 1 6) /Original Strategies and
- Vision/Implementation/Extent/Policy Formulation
 327 (2 1 1 4) /Original Strategies and
- Vision/Implementation/Extent/Poor
 328 (2 1 1 4 1) /Original Strategies and
- Vision/Implementation/Extent/Poor/Citizen Awareness
 329 (2 1 1 4 2) /Original Strategies and
- Vision/Implementation/Extent/Poor/Transportation
 330 (2 1 1 4 2 1) /Original Strategies and
- Vision/Implementation/Extent/Poor/Transportation/Rel Bet Land Use and Trans

- 331 (2 1 1 3) /Original Strategies and
Vision/Implementation/Extent/Surprisingly Well
- 332 (2 1 1 3 3) /Original Strategies and
Vision/Implementation/Extent/Surprisingly Well/Decision-Making
- 333 (2 1 1 3 4) /Original Strategies and
Vision/Implementation/Extent/Surprisingly Well/Greater Recognition of Issues
- 334 (2 1 1 3 2) /Original Strategies and
Vision/Implementation/Extent/Surprisingly Well/Natural Environment
- 335 (2 1 1 3 1) /Original Strategies and
Vision/Implementation/Extent/Surprisingly Well/Region Can't Solve All
Problems
- 336 (2 6) /Original Strategies and Vision/Leisure Plan
- 337 (2 6 1) /Original Strategies and Vision/Leisure Plan/Development
of~
- 338 (2 5) /Original Strategies and Vision/Process
- 339 (2 5 2) /Original Strategies and Vision/Process/Consensus
- 340 (2 5 2 1) /Original Strategies and Vision/Process/Consensus/Why
2020
- 341 (2 5 4) /Original Strategies and Vision/Process/Healthy Places
- 342 (2 5 1) /Original Strategies and Vision/Process/Implementation
Teams
- 343 (2 5 3) /Original Strategies and Vision/Process/Participants
- 344 (2 4) /Original Strategies and Vision/Rationale
- 345 (2 4 1) /Original Strategies and Vision/Rationale/Creation of~
- 346 (2 4 2) /Original Strategies and Vision/Rationale/New Staff
- 347 (7) /Other Issues
- 348 (7 14) /Other Issues/3-Legged Stool
- 349 (7 4) /Other Issues/Amalgamation~Restructuring
- 350 (7 10) /Other Issues/Better Known Internationally
- 351 (7 10 1) /Other Issues/Better Known Internationally/Little
Awareness, Interest Here
- 352 (7 13) /Other Issues/Community Cohesiveness in H-W
- 353 (7 9) /Other Issues/Defining Community Participation
- 354 (7 2) /Other Issues/Definition of SD and HC
- 355 (7 2 4) /Other Issues/Definition of SD and HC/Broadness Fosters
Debate
- 356 (7 2 1) /Other Issues/Definition of SD and HC/Contrasted with HC
- 357 (7 2 6) /Other Issues/Definition of SD and HC/Emphasis on
Process
- 358 (7 2 2) /Other Issues/Definition of SD and HC/HC or SC in H-W
- 359 (7 2 5) /Other Issues/Definition of SD and HC/Nebulous

- 360 (7 2 3) /Other Issues/Definition of SD and HC/No Easy Formula
- 361 (7 2 7) /Other Issues/Definition of SD and HC/Why HC
- 362 (7 12) /Other Issues/Evaluation
- 363 (7 20) /Other Issues/Example of HC Process
- 364 (7 1) /Other Issues/Expressway
- 365 (7 8) /Other Issues/ICLEI
- 366 (7 8 1) /Other Issues/ICLEI/Impact of~
- 367 (7 3) /Other Issues/Image
- 368 (7 3 1) /Other Issues/Image/Change Image
- 369 (7 3 1 1) /Other Issues/Image/Change Image/Attract Industry and
Workers
- 370 (7 3 1 1 1) /Other Issues/Image/Change Image/Attract Industry and
Workers/Environmental Rehabilitation
- 371 (7 3 1 1 1 1) /Other Issues/Image/Change Image/Attract Industry
and Workers/Environmental Rehabilitation/Recreational Opportunities
- 372 (7 3 1 1 2) /Other Issues/Image/Change Image/Attract Industry and
Workers/Keep Young Population
- 373 (7 3 1 5) /Other Issues/Image/Change Image/For Residents
- 374 (7 3 1 3) /Other Issues/Image/Change Image/Influence of
Professionals
- 375 (7 3 1 3 1) /Other Issues/Image/Change Image/Influence of
Professionals/Changed Attitudes
- 376 (7 3 1 3 2) /Other Issues/Image/Change Image/Influence of
Professionals/Political Influence
- 377 (7 3 1 6) /Other Issues/Image/Change Image/More Important for
Politicians
- 378 (7 3 1 4) /Other Issues/Image/Change Image/Not Driving Force
- 379 (7 3 1 2) /Other Issues/Image/Change Image/Tourists
- 380 (7 3 1 2 2) /Other Issues/Image/Change
Image/Tourists/Eco-Tourism
- 381 (7 3 1 2 1) /Other Issues/Image/Change Image/Tourists/Science
North
- 382 (7 7) /Other Issues/Indicators and Evaluation
- 383 (7 7 1) /Other Issues/Indicators and Evaluation/As a Tool to Create
Awareness
- 384 (7 7 1 1) /Other Issues/Indicators and Evaluation/As a Tool to
Create Awareness/Social Well-Being Index
- 385 (7 7 4) /Other Issues/Indicators and Evaluation/Difficult to Discern
Payoffs
- 386 (7 7 3) /Other Issues/Indicators and Evaluation/Lack of Specific
Targets

- 387 (7 7 2) /Other Issues/Indicators and Evaluation/Planners More Interested than Public
- 388 (7 22) /Other Issues/Influence of White-Collar
- 389 (7 11) /Other Issues/ISO 14000
- 390 (7 11 1) /Other Issues/ISO 14000/Relation to 2020
- 391 (7 23) /Other Issues/Life in a Mining Town
- 392 (7 5) /Other Issues/Model Community
- 393 (7 19) /Other Issues/Name
- 394 (7 19 1) /Other Issues/Name/Change
- 395 (7 16) /Other Issues/Role of Professionals
- 396 (7 16 1) /Other Issues/Role of Professionals/Driving the Process
- 397 (7 21) /Other Issues/Sudbury Changes
- 398 (7 21 1) /Other Issues/Sudbury Changes/Improved
- 399 (7 6) /Other Issues/Uniqueness of VISION 2020
- 400 (7 17) /Other Issues/VETAC
- 401 (7 18) /Other Issues/Wellness Centre
- 402 (7 15) /Other Issues/What is Community~
- 403 (3) /Process
- 404 (3 1) /Process/Community
- 405 (3 1 1) /Process/Community/Awareness and Involvement
- 406 (3 1 1 1) /Process/Community/Awareness and Involvement/Annual Day
- 407 (3 1 1 1 3) /Process/Community/Awareness and Involvement/Annual Day/Lack of Politician Participation
- 408 (3 1 1 1 2) /Process/Community/Awareness and Involvement/Annual Day/Little Increase in Participation
- 409 (3 1 1 1 1) /Process/Community/Awareness and Involvement/Annual Day/Preaching to the Converted
- 410 (3 1 1 4) /Process/Community/Awareness and Involvement/Biggest Challenge
- 411 (3 1 1 4 1) /Process/Community/Awareness and Involvement/Biggest Challenge/To Influence Politicians
- 412 (3 1 1 2) /Process/Community/Awareness and Involvement/Children's Fair
- 413 (3 1 1 8) /Process/Community/Awareness and Involvement/Citizen's Committee
- 414 (3 1 1 7) /Process/Community/Awareness and Involvement/Increased Indirectly
- 415 (3 1 1 12) /Process/Community/Awareness and Involvement/Involved in Other Projects
- 416 (3 1 1 6) /Process/Community/Awareness and

- Involvement/Involving Cultural Groups
- 417 (3 1 1 13) /Process/Community/Awareness and Involvement/Low
 - 418 (3 1 1 3) /Process/Community/Awareness and Involvement/Mobile Exhibit
- Involvement/Participants Not Representative
- 419 (3 1 1 10) /Process/Community/Awareness and
- Involvement/Regreening
- 420 (3 1 1 14) /Process/Community/Awareness and
 - 421 (3 1 1 14 1) /Process/Community/Awareness and
- Involvement/Regreening/Not Linked to HP
- 422 (3 1 1 11) /Process/Community/Awareness and
- Involvement/Roundtable
- 423 (3 1 1 11 7) /Process/Community/Awareness and
- Involvement/Roundtable/Can Do More
- 424 (3 1 1 11 7 2) /Process/Community/Awareness and
- Involvement/Roundtable/Can Do More/As an Advisory Body
- 425 (3 1 1 11 7 1) /Process/Community/Awareness and
- Involvement/Roundtable/Can Do More/Needs New Leadership
- 426 (3 1 1 11 1) /Process/Community/Awareness and
- Involvement/Roundtable/Green Communities
- 427 (3 1 1 11 4) /Process/Community/Awareness and
- Involvement/Roundtable/Influence on Decision-Making
- 428 (3 1 1 11 4 4) /Process/Community/Awareness and
- Involvement/Roundtable/Influence on Decision-Making/Creation of Stronger Networks
- 429 (3 1 1 11 4 2) /Process/Community/Awareness and
- Involvement/Roundtable/Influence on Decision-Making/Fear of Cooption
- 430 (3 1 1 11 4 1) /Process/Community/Awareness and
- Involvement/Roundtable/Influence on Decision-Making/Influence on Politicians
- 431 (3 1 1 11 4 3) /Process/Community/Awareness and
- Involvement/Roundtable/Influence on Decision-Making/Little
- 432 (3 1 1 11 3) /Process/Community/Awareness and
- Involvement/Roundtable/Lack of Specific Projects
- 433 (3 1 1 11 6) /Process/Community/Awareness and
- Involvement/Roundtable/Less Impact Now
- 434 (3 1 1 11 2) /Process/Community/Awareness and
- Involvement/Roundtable/Role of~
- 435 (3 1 1 11 2 1) /Process/Community/Awareness and
- Involvement/Roundtable/Role of~/Future Role
- 436 (3 1 1 11 5) /Process/Community/Awareness and
- Involvement/Roundtable/Structure

- 437 (3 1 1 5) /Process/Community/Awareness and
Involvement/Significant Efforts
- 438 (3 1 1 5 2) /Process/Community/Awareness and
Involvement/Significant Efforts/HP Conference
- 439 (3 1 1 5 2 1) /Process/Community/Awareness and
Involvement/Significant Efforts/HP Conference/Unable to Sustain Momentum
- 440 (3 1 1 5 1) /Process/Community/Awareness and
Involvement/Significant Efforts/Successful
- 441 (3 1 1 9) /Process/Community/Awareness and Involvement/Task
Force
- 442 (3 1 2) /Process/Community/Barriers
- 443 (3 1 2 3) /Process/Community/Barriers/~Environmental~
Perception
- 444 (3 1 2 15) /Process/Community/Barriers/Administrative Problems
- 445 (3 1 2 21) /Process/Community/Barriers/Broader Economic Forces
- 446 (3 1 2 25) /Process/Community/Barriers/Conflicting Personalities
- 447 (3 1 2 14) /Process/Community/Barriers/Contrasting Values
- 448 (3 1 2 4) /Process/Community/Barriers/Difficult to Grasp
- 449 (3 1 2 4 1) /Process/Community/Barriers/Difficult to Grasp/Lack of
Understanding of SD
- 450 (3 1 2 2) /Process/Community/Barriers/Doesn't Impact Them
Directly
- 451 (3 1 2 18) /Process/Community/Barriers/Good Ideas, Little Action
- 452 (3 1 2 18 1) /Process/Community/Barriers/Good Ideas, Little
Action/Lack of Specific Projects
- 453 (3 1 2 18 2) /Process/Community/Barriers/Good Ideas, Little
Action/Lack of Structure
- 454 (3 1 2 19) /Process/Community/Barriers/Lack of \$
- 455 (3 1 2 1) /Process/Community/Barriers/Lack of Interest in Process
- 456 (3 1 2 23) /Process/Community/Barriers/Lack of Leadership
- 457 (3 1 2 20) /Process/Community/Barriers/Lack of Political Support
- 458 (3 1 2 20 1) /Process/Community/Barriers/Lack of Political
Support/Focus on Other Issues
- 459 (3 1 2 22) /Process/Community/Barriers/Loss of Population Base
- 460 (3 1 2 12) /Process/Community/Barriers/Modest Citizen
Involvement
- 461 (3 1 2 12 1) /Process/Community/Barriers/Modest Citizen
Involvement/Vested Interest Groups
- 462 (3 1 2 6) /Process/Community/Barriers/More Immediate Concerns
- 463 (3 1 2 24) /Process/Community/Barriers/Narrow Thinking
- 464 (3 1 2 8) /Process/Community/Barriers/Not Representative

- 465 (3 1 2 5) /Process/Community/Barriers/People Less Passionate
- Now
- 466 (3 1 2 17) /Process/Community/Barriers/Power Struggles
- 467 (3 1 2 16) /Process/Community/Barriers/Provincial Cutbacks
- 468 (3 1 2 16 1) /Process/Community/Barriers/Provincial
- Cutbacks/Downloading
- 469 (3 1 2 7) /Process/Community/Barriers/Radical Shift in Values
- Required
- 470 (3 1 2 10) /Process/Community/Barriers/See VISION as
- Unrealistic
- 471 (3 1 2 9) /Process/Community/Barriers/Still Need Political Support
- 472 (3 1 2 13) /Process/Community/Barriers/Too Busy
- 473 (3 1 2 11) /Process/Community/Barriers/VISION Moving Too
- Slow
- 474 (3 1 3) /Process/Community/Facilitating Participation
- 475 (3 1 3 1) /Process/Community/Facilitating Participation/Focus on
- More Specific Projects
- 476 (3 1 4) /Process/Community/Facilitators
- 477 (3 1 4 1) /Process/Community/Facilitators/Strong Leadership
- 478 (3 5) /Process/Municipal Involvement
- 479 (3 5 3) /Process/Municipal Involvement/Adhering to Regional OP
- 480 (3 5 4) /Process/Municipal Involvement/Indirectly
- 481 (3 5 4 1) /Process/Municipal Involvement/Indirectly/Planners
- Aware
- 482 (3 5 2) /Process/Municipal Involvement/Need More Cooperation
- 483 (3 5 1) /Process/Municipal Involvement/No Impact
- 484 (3 5 1 1) /Process/Municipal Involvement/No Impact/Not Invited
- to Participate
- 485 (3 5 5) /Process/Municipal Involvement/Varies
- 486 (3 3) /Process/Outside Sectors
- 487 (3 3 9) /Process/Outside Sectors/Better Beginnings
- 488 (3 3 1) /Process/Outside Sectors/Education
- 489 (3 3 4) /Process/Outside Sectors/Environmental Groups
- 490 (3 3 2) /Process/Outside Sectors/Industry
- 491 (3 3 2 2) /Process/Outside Sectors/Industry/INCO
- 492 (3 3 2 1) /Process/Outside Sectors/Industry/Stelco~Dofasco
- 493 (3 3 7) /Process/Outside Sectors/Lack of Buy-In
- 494 (3 3 8) /Process/Outside Sectors/Little Involvement in
- Implementation
- 495 (3 3 3) /Process/Outside Sectors/Private Business
- 496 (3 3 5) /Process/Outside Sectors/Social Groups

- 497 (3 3 5 1) /Process/Outside Sectors/Social Groups/Unsuccessful
 498 (3 3 6) /Process/Outside Sectors/Successful
 499 (3 4) /Process/Progress Team
 500 (3 4 4) /Process/Progress Team/Findings
 501 (3 4 4 2) /Process/Progress Team/Findings/Community Coalition
- Re~ Imp
 502 (3 4 4 1) /Process/Progress Team/Findings/Lack of Community
- Ownership
 503 (3 4 4 4) /Process/Progress Team/Findings/Limited Implementation
 504 (3 4 4 3) /Process/Progress Team/Findings/Quality of Life Issues
 505 (3 4 2) /Process/Progress Team/Mandate
 506 (3 4 1) /Process/Progress Team/Selection Process
 507 (3 4 3) /Process/Progress Team/Structure and Process
 508 (3 4 3 3) /Process/Progress Team/Structure and Process/Burnt Out
 509 (3 4 3 1) /Process/Progress Team/Structure and Process/Challenge
 510 (3 4 3 1 1) /Process/Progress Team/Structure and
- Process/Challenge/Problems
 511 (3 4 3 1 1 1) /Process/Progress Team/Structure and
- Process/Challenge/Problems/Politicians
 512 (3 4 3 2) /Process/Progress Team/Structure and Process/Group
- Dynamics
 513 (3 4 3 2 1) /Process/Progress Team/Structure and Process/Group
- Dynamics/Too Much Staff Control
 514 (3 6) /Process/Provincial Influence
 515 (3 6 1) /Process/Provincial Influence/Downloading as Positive
 516 (3 6 3) /Process/Provincial Influence/Funding
 517 (3 6 3 1) /Process/Provincial Influence/Funding/More Difficult to
- Get
 518 (3 6 2) /Process/Provincial Influence/Impact on Local Level
 519 (3 6 2 1) /Process/Provincial Influence/Impact on Local Level/Less
- Emphasis on Prevention
 520 (3 6 4) /Process/Provincial Influence/Regulations
 521 (3 2) /Process/Region
 522 (3 2 7) /Process/Region/Barriers
 523 (3 2 7 3) /Process/Region/Barriers/Amalgamation and
- Restructuring
 524 (3 2 7 4) /Process/Region/Barriers/Budget Restraints
 525 (3 2 7 4 1) /Process/Region/Barriers/Budget Restraints/Influence of
- Economy
 526 (3 2 7 5) /Process/Region/Barriers/Bureaucratic Barriers
 527 (3 2 7 5 1) /Process/Region/Barriers/Bureaucratic

Barriers/Improving

- 528 (3 2 7 8) /Process/Region/Barriers/Changes in Senior Managers
- 529 (3 2 7 6) /Process/Region/Barriers/Conceptual Concept
- 530 (3 2 7 9) /Process/Region/Barriers/Failure re~Day-to-day

Operations

- 531 (3 2 7 10) /Process/Region/Barriers/Lack of Community Support
- 532 (3 2 7 11) /Process/Region/Barriers/Lack of Public Pressure
- 533 (3 2 7 2) /Process/Region/Barriers/Political Time-Cycle
- 534 (3 2 7 1) /Process/Region/Barriers/Politicians and Local Council
- 535 (3 2 7 1 1) /Process/Region/Barriers/Politicians and Local

Council/Depends on Individual

- 536 (3 2 7 1 4) /Process/Region/Barriers/Politicians and Local

Council/Lack of Understanding

- 537 (3 2 7 1 3) /Process/Region/Barriers/Politicians and Local

Council/Less Supportive than Staff

- 538 (3 2 7 1 5) /Process/Region/Barriers/Politicians and Local

Council/See VISION as Impractical

- 539 (3 2 7 1 2) /Process/Region/Barriers/Politicians and Local

Council/Turf Protection

- 540 (3 2 7 7) /Process/Region/Barriers/Understanding SD
- 541 (3 2 10) /Process/Region/Challenges
- 542 (3 2 10 1) /Process/Region/Challenges/Keep it on the Agenda
- 543 (3 2 2) /Process/Region/Corporate Approach
- 544 (3 2 2 1) /Process/Region/Corporate Approach/Incremental Process
- 545 (3 2 2 1 1) /Process/Region/Corporate Approach/Incremental

Process/Subtle Influence on Thinking

- 546 (3 2 2 4) /Process/Region/Corporate Approach/Silos Still Present
- 547 (3 2 2 2) /Process/Region/Corporate Approach/Some Individuals

Don't Care

- 548 (3 2 2 3) /Process/Region/Corporate Approach/Some Progress
- 549 (3 2 11) /Process/Region/Council
- 550 (3 2 11 1) /Process/Region/Council/Mixed Bag
- 551 (3 2 11 2) /Process/Region/Council/Need Champions
- 552 (3 2 3) /Process/Region/Decison-Making Guide
- 553 (3 2 3 5) /Process/Region/Decison-Making Guide/Adds Credibility
- 554 (3 2 3 1) /Process/Region/Decison-Making Guide/Barriers
- 555 (3 2 3 1 4) /Process/Region/Decison-Making Guide/Barriers/Inertia
- 556 (3 2 3 1 3) /Process/Region/Decison-Making

Guide/Barriers/Political Time-Frame

- 557 (3 2 3 1 2) /Process/Region/Decison-Making

Guide/Barriers/Politics~Council

- 558 (3 2 3 1 2 1) /Process/Region/Decison-Making Guide/Barriers/Politics~Council/Lack of Public Pressure
- 559 (3 2 3 1 1) /Process/Region/Decison-Making Guide/Barriers/Restructuring
- 560 (3 2 3 1 5) /Process/Region/Decison-Making Guide/Barriers/Senior Management Support
- 561 (3 2 3 3) /Process/Region/Decison-Making Guide/Creation of~
- 562 (3 2 3 4) /Process/Region/Decison-Making Guide/Current Status
- 563 (3 2 3 4 1) /Process/Region/Decison-Making Guide/Current Status/Lack of Follow-up
- 564 (3 2 3 2) /Process/Region/Decison-Making Guide/Use
- 565 (3 2 3 2 1) /Process/Region/Decison-Making Guide/Use/Making Progress
- 566 (3 2 3 2 2) /Process/Region/Decison-Making Guide/Use/Not Being Used Effectively
- 567 (3 2 3 2 3) /Process/Region/Decison-Making Guide/Use/Provides Opportunity for Debate
- 568 (3 2 8) /Process/Region/Facilitators
- 569 (3 2 8 1) /Process/Region/Facilitators/Staff
- 570 (3 2 6) /Process/Region/Not Participating
- 571 (3 2 6 1) /Process/Region/Not Participating/Why
- 572 (3 2 5) /Process/Region/Participating Departments
- 573 (3 2 4) /Process/Region/Regional Role
- 574 (3 2 4 1) /Process/Region/Regional Role/Catalyst
- 575 (3 2 4 3) /Process/Region/Regional Role/Constrained
- 576 (3 2 4 7) /Process/Region/Regional Role/Leisure Plan
- 577 (3 2 4 5) /Process/Region/Regional Role/Need to Become More Involved
- 578 (3 2 4 5 1) /Process/Region/Regional Role/Need to Become More Involved/Becoming More Involved
- 579 (3 2 4 5 2) /Process/Region/Regional Role/Need to Become More Involved/Threatening to Politicians
- 580 (3 2 4 6) /Process/Region/Regional Role/OP Review
- 581 (3 2 4 2) /Process/Region/Regional Role/Policy
- 582 (3 2 4 4) /Process/Region/Regional Role/Supportive of Concept
- 583 (3 2 4 4 1) /Process/Region/Regional Role/Supportive of Concept/Initial Stages
- 584 (3 2 9) /Process/Region/Resources Available
- 585 (3 2 9 2) /Process/Region/Resources Available/Money
- 586 (3 2 9 2 1) /Process/Region/Resources Available/Money/Indicator of Commitment

- 587 (3 2 9 1) /Process/Region/Resources Available/Staff
- 588 (3 2 1) /Process/Region/Staff Working Group
- 589 (3 2 1 3) /Process/Region/Staff Working Group/Formation
- 590 (3 2 1 3 1) /Process/Region/Staff Working
- Group/Formation/Membership
 - 591 (3 2 1 2) /Process/Region/Staff Working Group/Quite Successful
 - 592 (3 2 1 1) /Process/Region/Staff Working Group/Reasons
 - 593 (3 2 13) /Process/Region/Sudbury 2020
 - 594 (3 2 13 1) /Process/Region/Sudbury 2020/Deja Vu
 - 595 (3 2 13 2) /Process/Region/Sudbury 2020/Future Uncertain
 - 596 (3 2 13 6) /Process/Region/Sudbury 2020/HC as Decision-Making
- Frame
 - 597 (3 2 13 7) /Process/Region/Sudbury 2020/Level of Political Will
 - 598 (3 2 13 3) /Process/Region/Sudbury 2020/Limited Political
- Participation
 - 599 (3 2 13 5) /Process/Region/Sudbury 2020/Moving Forward
 - 600 (3 2 13 4) /Process/Region/Sudbury 2020/Origins of~
 - 601 (3 2 12) /Process/Region/Transportation Review
 - 602 (3 2 12 1) /Process/Region/Transportation Review/Little Impact on
- Reducing Car Use

APPENDIX C

List of Documents Consulted

Documents Consulted (Not Referenced)**Hamilton**

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