

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities
Re-Imagining the Silent City: Planning
Urban Cemeteries in Municipal City Planning in Ontario

Nicole Natalie Hanson

A Major Paper submitted to the Faculty of Environmental Studies in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a degree of Magistrate in Environmental Studies.

Masters of Environmental Studies; Accredited Urban Planning Program

York University, North York, ON, Canada

Nicole Natalie Hanson, MES Candidate 2015

Dr. Honor Ford- Smith, Supervisor

September 3, 2015



Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

Abstract

This paper explores the question of how to plan equitably for death in Toronto. Given the diverse composition of the city of Toronto and its cultural needs in death, this paper alerts the regime of urban and regional planning (in theory and in practise) to consider new urban vocabularies, to address the politics of death, and memorialization. I argue, that the spatial organization of the cemetery perpetuates inequities and inequalities in death, dying and memorialisation. There is a lack of cemetery land in Toronto, but more broadly the structures of city planning, which do exist, do not adequately take account of the racial, cultural differences and class hierarchies among the city's population in urban cemeteries to spatially plan for death. Death it seems is an equity issue which urgently needs to be addressed in planning and policy – with respect to equity, diversity and inclusiveness.

My findings reveal that cemeteries in Toronto are running out of space to provide a means of disposition for human remains. It is this principal finding that calls into question the city's ability to strategically plan for death and its on-going demands in creating a functional city. More centrally, cemeteries are presented here not only as sites for religious performativity, but also as sites that are enveloped in a larger body of power relations. Within this context, we may rightfully ask some principal questions: how is place-making in the cemetery political? Who is remembered in the archaeology of performance, and who is forgotten? By viewing cemeteries through a web of power relations and treating them as political spaces, we are able to contest issues surrounding race, class, and space from a new perspective. My investigation relies strongly on critical urban thought, race, space and place studies, as well as political ecology. Taken together these principles have informed questions of consultation for interviews with funeral directors, cemetery operators, city planners, land use planners and the general public in understanding the role and need for urban cemetery space in Toronto.

My motivation here is to challenge planners to confront our cultural anxieties surrounding death in order to equitably and effectively plan for the full life-cycle of the city: live, work, play and die. I therefore propose a number of ways of approaching equitable planning for death. Urban cemeteries are a part of a city's story; they are perpetual generational reflections of our lived realities, structuring our stories, how our story gets told, re-told and remembered.

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

Acknowledgements

Firstly, I would like to thank my family: my parents and my daughter Audrina Janae for their unwavering support and love throughout my ongoing academic and personal journey. I am grateful for their joint academic commitment. My family has supported me to explore the deeper depths of higher education, where they would also contribute to this academic conversation based on their knowledge, their ways of knowing and their life experience. Thank- you for helping me be all that I am and all that is to come.

I am appreciative of Dr. Honor Ford- Smith and Dr. Laura Taylor - the guiding winds of my sails as I ventured into a new realm of urban and regional planning, arriving at the unseen shores of the silent city. These women have not only mentored and guided me in their professional capacities in completing the Masters of Environmental Studies; Urban and Regional Planning program, but have provided a tremendous amount of support and patience throughout this journey. I am also appreciative of Dr. Andrea Davis, Dr. Michelle Mawhinney and Dr. Linda Peake, who, in the pursuit of my undergraduate degree continued to push and challenge me academically as a deep thinker.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank the committed senior staff that have supported my research tirelessly in their given capacities. A special thank-you goes to; Hogle Funeral Home, Ogden Funeral Home, Mount Pleasant Cemeteries, Arbor Memorial Services Inc., Larkin + Associates Planning Consultants, City of Toronto, Michael Spaziani Architect Inc. and McDoux Preservation. Your meaningful contributions have not only guided the outcome of this paper, but continues to materialize as tangible efforts in my professional capacity as a progressive urban and regional planner, this is only the beginning for me. My research in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) and the dialogue of this emerging discourse could not of been possible without you and your commitment to public awareness, public trust and active considerations of sustainable city municipal planning. I would also like to give a very special thank- you to Mr. Michael D'Mello; Registrar of Cemeteries in Ontario who provided me with the professional capacity to exercise and expand my expertise in cemeteries. As a Licensing and Registration Officer (LRO) at the Cemeteries Regulation Unit at the Ministry of Government and Consumer Services (MGCS) in the Consumer Protection Branch, I can confronted with my research and its need each and everyday from the work I facilitate. Given the environmental climate of cemeteries in Ontario, my role as a Licensing and Registration Officer (LRO) could not of been more timely and fitting, thank you Michael. You will never know how grateful I am to come to work everyday.

I must also thank my supportive colleagues and faculty members at FES in the MES program - from lectures, to workshops and site visits, I continue to learn from your contributions and hope to have ongoing conversations with you in our professional capacities in the not too distant future. You've made the difference in my learning, and what I understand learning to be. Thank-you.

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	1
Acknowledgements.....	2
Table of Contents.....	3
Foreword.....	4
Chapter Breakdown.....	6
Chapter 1: The Silent City–Conjuring Up the Cemetery in the Everyday Urban Experience.....	10
The Problem, Spatial Crisis, Equity and Urban Cemeteries.....	11
The Tools: Political Economy of Death, Race and Space.....	13
How Capital Creates Memory.....	17
How Capital Removes Memory.....	18
Space and Production: Unpacking Spatial Theory.....	19
Power, Race, Space and Class.....	21
Chapter 2 Literature Review: Planning Theories, Principles and Practices.....	26
The Political Economy of Death: Race, Class in the Cemetery.....	27
Critical Urban Theory.....	41
Cultural Needs in Death.....	46
City of Difference: Mortality, Memory, Memorialization & the City.....	59
Conclusion: Addressing the Gap in Urban & Regional Planning.....	61
Chapter 3: The Afterlife of Diversity, Race and Class in the City of Toronto.....	62
Municipal Challenges in Planning for Cemeteries	67
Population Forecast: Greater Toronto Area.....	70
Changing Needs in Death, Dying and Memorialization.....	72
New uses for Old Spaces: The People’s Park & Passive Recreation.....	86
The Need for Municipal City Planning to Plan For Cemeteries.....	88
Public Engagement & Civic Dialogues.....	92
Chapter 4: Recommendation ‘The Right to Death in the City’.....	95
Bibliography.....	102
List of Interviews.....	106
Appendix A- Informed Consent Form.....	107
Appendix B – Interview Questions.....	109

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

Foreword

I learned a great deal about unexpected traumatic loss as a funeral celebrant – providing celebration of life ceremonies to bereaved families. This experience offered deep insights into loss, but it also raised many questions about the way that the city planned for the changing needs of death across diverse races, cultures and also about the flows of capital in death across of time. My MES plan of study, course work, field experiences and self-directed learning activities allowed me to explore these questions further.

This research brings a spatial lens to death, dying, memorialization and remembrance in the city. It alerts urban planners and municipal authorities to plan for death in more equitable ways. This paper aims to track the positioning of the urban cemetery as a space and place of essential necessity and value. It is a place where all living persons have an imminent appointment. My task here is to arrest metanarratives of the cemetery as external to planning functions. Current debates about city planning in Toronto, narrate a discourse that accommodates a particular kind of development which stresses accommodating growth; waterfront development, gentrification, affordable housing and extending transportation infrastructure. Yet cemeteries have yet to be a part of the conversation of land use needed to accommodate the dead, given mortality rates and population projections. My discussion raises important issues in planning for land use needs of the dead that are culturally appropriate, equitably accessible to all regardless of class or race, demographically accommodating, and environmentally friendly.

I contend the ironies of this phenomenon can be condensed in one principal question: *how can we spatially plan for death in the city of Toronto given the changing cultural needs and racial composition of the city- in the context of urbanization, where the city expands and cemetery space continues to shrink?*

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

I draw on theories of the *political economy of death, race and space* to support my investigation. My point of theoretical departure is the concept of the deathscape. Maddrell & Sidaway define it as the relationship between space/place, death, bereavement and mourning in Western Societies (2010, p.1). They adapt the broad heading of deathscapes to invoke the places that are associated with death and which exist for the dead. They argue that these deathscapes are imbued with meanings and associations: the site of a funeral, the places of final disposition, remembrance and their representations (Maddrell & Sidaway, 2010, pg. 4).

A discussion of planning for death, dying and memorialization in Toronto is an opportunity to create a space in which images of the tabooed cemetery cease to operate as a dysfunctional voice of storytelling, fear and a grotesque urban reality. This discussion also offers a chance to shape current planning debates in equitable ways, across a number of hierarchies of difference. Differences are growing in the city of Toronto alongside a widening gap between the classes. Class and race geographies play out spatially for the living but also for the dead. In what follows I hope to discuss just how class and race acquire a spatial afterlife, which we ignore at our peril.

Addressing these challenges can best be accomplished through community consultation which can most usefully inform the built form of cemeteries and by enhancing social policy that improves outcomes of planning for death in Toronto.

In *Rethinking community: Conservation, practice, and emotion*, Kathryn Pratt notes that complex community critique helps to explain what happens when environmental projects experience friction. When ideals of group life are disrupted on the ground, specificities of place and culture matter for how collaboration takes shape (Pratt, 2012, pg.179). The materiality of

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

the cemetery spaces can be reimagined and planned for in Toronto through consultation with cultural and religious community members, cemetery operators, funeral services providers as stakeholders and gatekeepers but only if planners are committed to providing an equitable means for people to die in their city.

In this paper I rely on a variety of methods. Apart from carrying out an extensive literature review, I approached my research on spatially planning for death through interviews and participatory consultations. I facilitated and continue to facilitate public dialogues on policy needs of urban cemeteries. These are informed by community critique as well as the theory that I have outlined thus far. I draw on planning tools such as cemetery needs analysis policy frameworks, focus groups and observation as a means of inquiry but also as a means of generating further discussion on planning for changing material and cultural needs of death in the urban cemetery located in the city. It is my hope that my research and ongoing dialogue will bridge the gap in planning to create functional communities where people can live, work, play and die in Toronto.

Chapter Breakdown

Chapter 1: Begins with a journalistic account of being confronted with the cemetery within my lived urban experience. I then unpack this pedestrian exploration of the cemetery using the principal theoretical works that I draw on. It is this moment in the paper that exposes the social positioning and designated land use positioning of the cemetery, while capturing dynamic social formations, bodily experiences of space and place within particular socio-economic and historical contexts.

Chapter 2: Provides a review of literature on death, space and place deepening the discussion of how, this material has yet to inform the planning discourse in Toronto. I argue

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

there is an absence of spatially planning for death in planning practices given that Toronto is a city of difference. I will demonstrate that planning for the full life cycle of a city is a complex and interdisciplinary task, which needs to be informed by the changing class, race and cultural composition of the city. Through predictive and diagnostic planning scholarship approaches, the literature produces a vital discourse to critical urban theory and planning in theory and practice. Centrally, an extensive literature review on scholars contributions to planning for death in cities are positioned to assist a general understanding of the relationship between space, place and death. Dealing with questions of diversity and death is significant not simply because it solves the problem of locating a means of disposition for human remains, but because it also contributes to the ways in which memory informs how equality is lived in the city; how we understand the right of each community to our city and how we redress the historical inequities of the past in the city of the living and the dead.

Chapter 3: Confronts the problem of the City of Toronto not spatially planning for death respective to equity, diversity, race, space, culture and class. It brings to the forefront a particular language of planning, a certain type of privileged planning metanarrative taking place. The focus here is that identities within lived spaces of the city are the same identities in the perpetual spaces of the dead. Hence, given the diverse racial composition of Toronto, the racial spatialization of bodies is important to the discussion. Given the racial spatialized bodies in Toronto, I situate this process in its correct colonial narrative, which informs the secondary discussion on the political economy of death, respective to equity, diversity, race, space, culture and class. In addition to this, this chapter explores how land in death is structurally quantified (land in death is not abstract from capitalistic structures experienced in the 'living city' but are mirrored in an overarching system of production) as a crucial point of equity and public interest. With this said, this chapter reimagines spaces of death and memorialization asserting an equitable approach to spatially where the city of the living and the city of dead unfold as a site of

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

contradicting realities. The lasting exposition here is to bring to light the necessary, complex and interdisciplinary discourses that highlight how spaces of death and memorialization are organized, and how such organization is about power - the way in which power is structure in society. This chapter alerts the regime of urban and regional planning (in theory and in practise) to consider new urban vocabularies, to address the politics of death in urban realities, by broaching a relationship between planning for the diversity of people and the political economy of death.

Chapter 4: Chapter four is twofold. Firstly, chapter four attends to the participatory observation, qualitative research method which has significant implications on our dialogue on the role of the cemetery, cultural practices of memorialization and the meanings invested in space and place. I confess, in complications of reading cemetery spaces – as cemeteries are serene and pastorally inviting, they are emotionally charged, politically structured based on religion and culture. Following that, this section attends to the implications of capital not being abstract from the site of the cemetery as bodies assume the process of dust to dust and ashes to ashes in going retuning to nature. Here, spaces of the dead mirror capitalist modes of production and consumption. Being made aware of the socio-economic spatial organization of the cemetery, I was able to map and remap spatial distributions of power. The execution of this practise was necessary, in order to illustrate patterns and trends of how cemetery space operates within the urban fabric of the city. The foregoing analysis will show that neoliberal city planning processes are capable of entering the cemetery space through a historical materialist contextual approach. Here we will re-mobilize our discussion on deathscapes, eliciting the critical impulse it lens to environmental sustainability and environmental resource management in land use planning and community development.

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

Secondly, chapter four consults and solicits purposive interviews as a qualitative research method to collect data and better understand the cultural changing needs of death and the need for planning cemetery for memorialization. More importantly 'perpetual' land use is central to our conversation as it probes at the ways in which cemeteries in Toronto are running out of space for familial generations, creating a need to equitably designate cemetery land use in the city to accommodate the dead. Purposive interviews were conducted with nine informants, ranging from cemetery operators, managing funeral directors, progressive, land use planners, cemetery master planners and the general public. The focus in conducting purposive interviews are to offer a unique perspective by virtue of the informants constellation of experiences in addressing and dealing with death in the city. Hence, interviewees were not representative of others but the experience of what they had – what they experienced and what they said about the experiences.

Chapter 5: Chapter five concludes on recommendations for municipal and regional planning. As urban cemeteries continue to fill up, the environmental resource management of cemeteries become magnified. This proposal puts re-imagining the 'Silent City' forward based on municipal fieldwork experience in spatially planning for death in cities, civic consciousness and public engagement. Here, historical and current demands for provisions for re-imagining the built form of cemeteries are further discussed. Recommendations synthesis the appropriateness of cemetery land use outside the urban growth boundary, pushing for an expansive municipal approach that is ecological, environmental sustainable, regenerative and transformative – which are to criteria addressed in Official Plan and Secondary Plans.

Chapter 1: The Silent City -Conjuring Up the Cemetery in the Everyday Urban Experience



Figure 1. The sun setting in Mount Pleasant Cemetery. Photo taken by Cathy Zhao

Storytelling: January 19, 2013,

It was a snowy winter evening driving east along Bloor Street West. On my right, was a city- barricaded unto itself: a cemetery, a silent city. It was Park Lawn Cemetery. If this cemetery was a part of the city, why did the space seem to not belong to streetscape? Why was the cemetery fenced, treed and shunned from the streetscape? It's commanding presence was hauntingly beautiful, utterly silent, and mortifyingly confronting. The glistening gravestones sparkled through the snow covered iron gates, peering onto the streets. The gravestones were mantled and still on the rolling hills. Their presence was strong, eternal and looked imprisoned from the city street. The cemetery captured my gaze – the cemetery was full, the crowding of gravestones was repeatedly eternal. Why was I not able to access the cemetery from the street? I drove slowly around its bordering corners, where people were stepping down from the sidewalk onto the road – walking away from its hauntingly silent frame. Why was the entrance hidden from the main street? Why was this space successful in keeping people away? Why was the entrance rendered invisible? I drove slowly along the side of the road, peering at diverse cultural landscapes of markers and monuments in the cemetery- dressed in capitalistic performances of memory. The practice of culture, ritual, and ceremony through race, space, place and capital was at work in this space, and was still at work even in death. Finally I found an entrance awaiting me. The entrance grew wider and wider as I got closer and closer. Here I entered this Silent City. Here I entered the spatial language of the cemetery.

Walking the cemetery I compared its spatial language to that of the lived city; its cultural communities, arterial roadways, transportation networks that were aiding of 'bodily goods and services', public space amenities such as fountains, benches and fountains. The cemetery looked a lot like the city from which it hides from; in its built form it is very much reflective of that reality. I saw people come in and stay a while, paying their respects and then leaving. Exploring the space I saw posted public notice of intensification, promising expansion and density – the city was growing and growing up. A development proposal sign was posted for a mausoleum proposed to be five to six storeys high, providing notice to the general public of the intensification and densification of the cemetery. Mirroring the intensification and densification of

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

planning outcomes in the city of Toronto, the process of condofication, to my surprise this process was happening right here in the cemetery. I felt the spaces where one would feel alone and where one would feel peaceful and visible, depending on where the sun would hit you and warmed your face as you walked through the space. In structures of monuments and markers, I saw the historical narrative of architecture any landscape architect and planner would admire, but I also saw a very troubling reality: I could see that there was a shortage of cemetery land because roads and paths were being torn up to create space for new burials. All this led me to question the absence of cemetery land, a time would come where the cemetery operator could turn my family away, due to not having space to inter human remains. In front of me were ethnic enclaves, cultural communities of the dead materializing their grief through– a performance symbolically memorializing a person's life. Leaving me to question how the absence of cemetery land use, will accommodate diverse future interments whether in-ground burial or cremated remains if the cemetery becomes full? How is the existing population going to equitably practice their beliefs, honour their creed, and embrace their values and their traditions in death, dying and memorialization in the city?

I write as a person who experiences space as a minority and as a part the African Diaspora. I write as a person whose historical narrative is informed by the violent legacies of colonization within the Black Diaspora. I write to represent a greater populace of minorities who often times experience racial limits of place-making in cities due to the geographies of race and racism. Race, influences how one engages and navigates space and place within a particular socio-economic context. It is for this reason I question how planning can address equitably planning for death. Allowing for diversity in planning will help to achieve functional communities ensuring a transparent planning process accountable to all people living, working, playing and dying in the city.

The Problem: Spatial Crisis, Equity and Urban Cemeteries

As the reflection above demonstrates, urban cemeteries across the GTA are facing a crisis: as Toronto continues to expand, cemeteries in the city continue to shrink and are running out of space to bury the city's' dead. Based on the shortage of cemetery land and designated cemetery land use, cemeteries face a structural crisis. To further complicate matters Toronto's population is increasing and it is increasing in racial diversity. There are great disparities in income and wealth in the wide range of ethno-racial communities throughout Toronto but many are among the city's poorest. The present population has a wide variety of religious and cultural practices that inform how death is treated and how people are interred and remembered. This also makes planning more challenging as planning for death in Toronto was traditionally dominated by Anglo and French settlers.

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

The shortage of cemetery land in the city of Toronto imposes serious limitations on ethnic, religious and racial communities in the city. The urban pastoral cemetery constructs a cultural landscape that does not mirror the diverse hierarchy of cultural difference in Toronto, Rather it reproduces and maintains hierarchies of difference in the political economy of death. This paper seeks to extend the diagnostic and predictive planning scholarship of urban planning- by searching for an equitable discourse and policy analysis for planning for death in Toronto.

For the purpose of this paper death will be defined as the flight of the soul, the stopping of the heart, the cessation of brain function, the body ceasing to exist as a living and breathing being (Eggener, 2010, pg. 15). Likewise, the cemetery will be defined as the use of land purposed for the disposition of humans in lands that are established as perpetual, dignified to accommodate the dead.

The question of how to provide an equitable response in planning for the dead and for the present and future populations of our city can only be answered by drawing attention to how planning perpetuates the inequalities of death in the city by omitting cemetery planning almost entirely. It is the role of the planner to address inequality within the urban fabric as a discourse and as a profession, and it is the spatial peculiarities of the urban cemetery that are rife with inequality.

I find it imperative to challenge how planners are trained to deal with cemeteries and the social issues that arise from the spatial context in which they are placed. Given the trajectory planners operate in, they ought to be equipped to face the challenges of equity in the cemeteries which are an inherent part of the urban fabric and the cultural landscape of people living in cities.

Accordingly, my approach puts an analysis of space and death into conversation with questions of diversity, political economy and urban planning. Implementing a municipal conversation on culturally accommodating growth of death in the city depends on an understanding of the dynamics of the political economy of death, race and space by evaluating how cultural landscapes of the cemetery are positioned in structures of capitalism.

S. Tyrell reminds us that:

The economic materiality of headstones, vaults, plots, and the maintenance of the cemetery have become vulgarized and expensive material relations. More importantly such economic relations within spaces of the dead mirror that of the living: bourgeois class, middle class and lower class, whereas forms of accessibility come into question: who has the right to be buried in prime commodity spaces in the cemetery? How do such spaces produce value as bodies are being valued in death the same way people buy and sell products within the market? Not all cemeteries are equal as not all human relations are equal -which will continue to inform how and who gets remembered (S. Tyrell, personal communication, May 10, 2015).

Ideas such as these foreground the relationship between commodification, death, race and space. Such discussions can perhaps help us understand how an emphasis on growth leads to the resulting deracination of memory through the spatial organization of cemeteries.

The Tools: Political Economy of Death, Race and Space

Cemeteries and death are a part of the political economy of all urban centres. The political economy of death is the systematic process by which dead bodies are structurally quantified and objectified as “commodities” for profitable exchange in capitalism through modes of memorial production and memorial consumption -in the most elementary form. Dead bodies are objectified, commodified and forced into commodity relations for the making of wealth, by social systems of production and reproduction. These processes are features of bourgeois, capitalist economic structures which organize themselves around the exchange of commodities in the cemetery as elsewhere. In addition to this, cemeteries are cultural landscapes, where

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

capital creates memory, removes memory and where some memories are made objects of less value than others in order to conform to exchange value relations within the market.

I will elaborate on how the political economy of death operates as the systemic process of dead bodies being structurally quantified and objectified as a 'commodity corpse' in capitalism through modes of memorial production and memorial consumption. I will begin with a story of commodification taken from my own experience.

April 16, 2015

We got the call. There was a baby to be picked up at St. Joseph's hospital, to be brought back to the funeral home. We entered the unmarked van. Makes sense, no one wants to see a human body being transported in the streets – especially when it's not the funeral procession. We arrived, and turn into our designated parking spot. We knock on the hollow metal-framed hospital door located to the west side of the building, peeped through the window hole to see the elevator shaft. It wasn't moving. The porter was not yet ready to put in his appearance.

The elevator shaft thumped, the hollow metal door exposed its frame as we walked into the elevator. The ride was steady, quiet and noticeably slow. We arrived in the basement of the hospital, the door slide opened. We walked out to be confronted with the last accessories of the living human experience; two empty wheelchairs scattered in the lounge, a cane leaning on the wall and a plastic bag with belongings on the floor by a single sofa chair. Whose items were these and why have they been left here? We walked over to a large room where lifeless bodies were covered in white sheets. The odour, could not be ignored - it was a medical smell of bodies, a medical smell of the cold, dead bodies. Where was the baby? I didn't see the baby. The porter led us to these shelves, thick shelves, mounted on the wall; there was an endless supply of containers. Where was the baby? What I missing something? There he was, a tiny baby, swaddled and tagged in a Tupperware container.

I was shocked speechless by the sight of the child, which had now been irrevocably transformed from a human being into thing, a commodity. Someone needed to resolve my questions, someone needed to resolve this timely untimely encounter.

My experience in picking up the lifeless child speaks of a particular narrative, an economy that one passes through in the afterlife – the political economy of death. This small lifeless body had already become a commodity, conjuring up themes of accumulation and class

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

struggle. He was going to have a funeral service, he was going to be remembered, yet in his innocence and stillness he was subject to the use and exchange value of the market attributes in forms of fixed capital. Such attributes, as Harvey (1978) notes, become the pursuit of new and more productive forms of fixed capital, thus setting the tone to explore how urban identities come into cyclical conflict with capital and its inherent contradictory tendencies in the context of death.

According to Marx (1990), a commodity is nothing but a “thing” that has value. This “thing” has a use value and an exchange value. The use value, which is qualitative value, is measured by the usefulness or the consumption of the commodity. The body in death is of value. The body is of social value, where the life of the deceased is memorialized in reverence through service that varies based on one’s ethnicity, class, culture and religious beliefs. The social value of the body informs how capital operates to produce the body in death and place-making practices, thus informing how the body will be consumed in the material production in memory: Richardson reminds us that bodies have been commodities for a long time:

Corpses were touted and priced, haggled over, negotiated for, discussed in terms of supply and demand, delivered, imported, exported, transported, where services are bought and sold. Bodies were compressed into boxes, packed in cases, barrels, crates. They were carried in carts, wagons and steam-boats, handled in transit, stored in cellars, dismembered and sold in pieces or measured and sold by the inch (Richardson, 1978, pg.72).

Stallybrass points out that the body as a commodity is valued differentially subject to any number of variables and contexts. He contends that:

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

The body- the commodity corpse 'objects of value' are subject to policy and pricing. The value that is produced of the body happens from when death takes place until the body is spatially mapped into the cemetery is a process of transcendental relations. Value processed through these transcendental relations, magically transforms gold into ships, ships into guns, guns into tobacco, tobacco in sugar, sugar into gold and all into an accountable profit (Stallybrass, 1998, pg.186).

Capital organizes the death of the body and produces the use and exchange value of the corpse. The corpse is of use value, as it has properties that serve a human need and want, the need and want for people to memorialize the body. This use value of the body is only realized in consumption. According to Cowell (1996) the body was the source of value through its natural needs and desires, and value was found in objects or commodities useful to those needs (Cowell, 1996, pg. 149). Secondly the corpse is of exchange value, as labour is spent on its production, whether in the funeral home at a viewing or in the cemetery interred in the earth of a cemetery, or if the body is hoarded in a mausoleum, stockpiled and archived in sky preserving the body from decomposing back to nature, or powdered in a columbarium – someone's labour was spent on the production of the body's final means of disposition. In addition to this, the notion of exchange is crucial here, as value is created within the context of a relational system of desires – it cannot be understood independently, but only via comparison to other commodities (Cowell, 1996, pg. 153). Without the possibility of exchange there is not value as the exchange and desire of the materiality of the cemetery establishes a relational system of values, determining the worth of any corpse entering its borders.

Marx's work allows us to see and understand how memories are mediated by capital and how some objects come to have less value than others so as to have greater profitability in the market. The question here becomes *how can capital create memory when the political*

economy itself strips objects of memory and sensuousness, and what are the implications of this process given the racial composition of Toronto?

How Capital Creates Memory:

Here we unpack how capital creates memory in the cultural landscape of the cemetery, informing how the commodity corpse is treated in death and how perpetual place-making operates through capital informing how people get remembered, where hierarchies of difference are to be maintained in the political economy of death. The body is therefore of social value, where the life of the deceased is memorialized in reverence through service, that varies based on one's ethnicity, class, culture and religious beliefs. But because of the commodity relations discussed above the social value of the body deepens on the way capital operates to produce the body in death and place-making practices, thus informing how the body will be consumed in memory.

Discussing the ways in which a commodity assumes value will direct our evaluation towards a general understanding of Marx's theory of commodity fetishism. To create sentimental value is to not make something a commodity, and we cannot discuss cemeteries without discussing fetishization. To understand fetishism of commodities is to understand the way in which commodities consume living labour and present it as their own nature (Marx, 1990, pg. 165). Marx, notes bourgeois fetishized relations rely on the devotion of objectified impending value; where bodies in the cemetery are used to produce value. The implications of this theoretical (and practical) underpinning rest, on the following conclusion: if capital (or the system of capitalism) inherently negates memory, it should come as no surprise that we see the proliferation of monuments, statues, and headstones to demarcate "memory". But the grounding contradictory basis of this form of memory production is in fact anti-memory based on the

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

production process *in-itself*. The fetishization of commodities (things of exchange-value) rips away memory, purely and simply. It abstracts from social productivity in order to uphold vulgar exchange relations. The productive process is, in essence, dismembering: abstract, isolated, and detached from the social productive relations that breath life into those value relations themselves.

How Capital Removes Memory:

To create sentimental value is not to make something a commodity. The implications of this theoretical (and practical) underpinnings rests, in the following conclusion: if capital (or the system of capitalism) inherently negates memory, it should come by no surprise that we see the proliferation of monuments, statues, and headstones to demarcate "memory". But the grounding contradictory basis of this form of memory production is in fact anti-memory based on the production process *in-itself*. The fetishization of commodities (things of exchange-value) rips away memory, purely and simply. It abstracts from the social productivity in order to uphold vulgar exchange relations. The productive process is, in essence, dismembering: abstract, isolated, and detached from the social productive relations that breath life into those value relations themselves. The land crisis around cemeteries in Toronto is to this linked market-produced nostalgia in the greater context economic relations.

It is imperative to highlight these relations moving forward as the production of death in cemeteries is not equal just as not all human relations in the city are equal based on class, ethnicity, race, gender, age and ableness. Moving forward, as the hermeneutics of death play out on the level of race, class, space and place, it should become clearer that what planners are about to confront is the *political economy of death*: the systematic creation, and ironic disappearance of memory within space and time.

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

Marx enables us to understand how commodification and exchange for profit underlies inequity. He helps us to get at the contradiction between human need and commodity fetishism in relation to death but he does not say much about what memorialisation of the dead in space produces or about its influence on everyday life. To understand this we have to turn to discussions to the production of space and unpack spatial theory where the relationship of the social production of space in the everyday urban experience is further recognized in the cemetery.

Space and Production: Unpacking Spatial Theory

The preposition here is that since cemeteries are seen as dynamic social formations, it is important for us to address the phenomenology of space; the bodily experiences of space and place within particular socio-historical contexts will show its relevancy. In other words, I solicit here for an *embodied* sense of space and place: *as we make space, space makes us* – the relationship is unquestionably dialectical. Addressing equity in death is of critical importance because the way we remember to remember in our city impacts our everyday relations. I contest that this urban experience is one with sensational character, and thus requires a framework that can hone these *lived experiences* without compromising their validity. Cemetery landscapes socially produce meaning and value. Through this entryway, the ‘otherizing gaze’ of deathscapes becomes ruptured in the city -as a visible space that is rendered as invisible. According to Gottdiener (2010) space is a force of production everyday life, as daily life depends on the production of space. Given that cemetery spaces and place-making practices are to memorialize the dead, the production of such, are not neutral. The productions of space in cemeteries are highly political and emotionally charged, as social aspects of memorialization. Our evaluation reminds us that spaces and place are not neutral; they are social and political spaces products identical to the society that cradle them (Lefebvre, 1974, pg. 34).

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

Reading the symbolic spatial narratives of the cemeteries I visited in conducting my research, I reflected on the way these performed social relations of race, gender, class, culture and religion. The material signs of the cemetery (lots, graves, markers owner, flowers, candles and trinkets by specific families) transformed the dead in living time, ordering the space and symbolically maintaining their ongoing individual identities (Francis, 2003, 223). Lefebvre's social theory (Butler 2012) recognizes the importance of aesthetics and creativity in struggles for transformations in everyday life. This speaks to the fact that cemetery spaces are not fixed but rather constantly shifting and hybridizing their meaning. The productive process of space that will amplify our analysis on as a foundational framework will be on the three representations of space: 1) Spatial practice of a society - how society masters and appropriates space (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 38), 2) Representations of space: how people identify what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 38), 3) Representational spaces: space that is lived through its associated images and symbols - a space of inhabitants and users, in addition, this space is passively experienced which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 38). In other words, cemeteries are not solely religious spaces or fixed grounds to dispose of bodies, but they are rather connected to the social production of space and place. In addition to this, the representation of cemetery space in the everyday lived urban experience is central to political economy.

More carefully, Lefebvre described everyday life as contradictory. Everyday life is central to the "reproduction of social relations of production" by which he meant not just consumption and labor reproduction but all aspects of which make capitalism survive (Kipfer, 2002, p.131). The objective here is to show that daily life is knitted to a system of capital production and reproduction based on every daily practises that make up all spheres of life: work, leisure, politics and language (Kipfer, 2002, p.131). This forging analysis of everyday life hegemony

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

will demonstrate the type of considerations needed to imagine and re-imagine cemetery planning practices for the arrangement of death as spatial framework. The need to reimagine, and reassess the urban dwellers' relationship with space, death and memorialization is imperative as death formally and informally produces space and creates perpetual place in Toronto.

Lefebvre's work allows us to understand how the production of space is based on the conditions of production in society. Hence, cemetery spaces and place-making practices which memorialize the dead are not neutral but are located in the conditions of production of society. To understand the implications of this for race and class in death we have to turn to discussions to discussions of power, race and space.

Power, Race, Space and Class

The myth of a classless society, with respect to 'multiculturalism' has become an urban exaggeration which masks issues of race, class and power. According to Allahar and Cote (1998) challenge the myth of classlessness in Canadian cities exposing contradictions of such myth in a consumer society. As class assumes occupation, an economic character – what it means to be poor means a different thing given ones racial composition and how they are situated as an 'other'. This narrative speaks to the myth of a classless society in death- where class inequality is the most basic form of inequality and inequity of vulnerable persons embedded in a capitalist society. According to Fincher and Jacobs (1998) identities in political struggles surrounding their material production, bear witness not only to a cultural politics of difference but class formation and capital that play a role in the stakes and outcomes of such struggles. With this said, planning as a discourse and practice ought to provide well-suited policies that understand the social economical dynamics of the living city that provide and expected outcome in the city of dead 'the silent city'. Fincher and Jacobs (1998) state particular

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

identities are foregrounded, transgressed and at times subverted through negotiations that have bear the name identity politics where the spatial relations of difference can be reconfigured. Geographies of race and racism reflect the location of racial positioning through power.

According to Omi and Winant (2014) race-making can be understood as a process of “othering” where perceived distinctions are frequently evoked to justify structures of inequality, differential treatment, and subordinate status and in some cases violent conflict and war (Omi & Winant, 2014, pg. 105). Racial formation is not fixed but rather shifts depending on social and political struggles. Historically dominant groups placed those who are physically different from them in a hierarchy of groups and assigned social and psychological values and meanings to their biological characteristics. Racism is the process by which the social identities assigned to racial groups are used to justify social inequalities and labour exploitation. Privileges are withheld from non-dominant groups and they are exposed to certain oppressions. According to Hooks (1992) these stereotypes, however inaccurate are one form of representation. Like fictions, they are created to serve as substitutions, standing in for what is real. They are a fantasy, a projection onto the Other that fixes them and makes them less threatening. The racialization process is happening all the time around us. It is the reproduction of this process of racial hierarchy that underlies the expansion of capitalism in colonialism and the accumulation of wealth in the mercantile and industrial periods (Williams, 1994, pg.24). Likewise, the historical systems of colonialism, slavery and violence speak to how power produces race in the present through the construction and uses of space, geography and land.

According to Kipfer (2007) the racialization of everyday space makes the ‘relief of anonymity’ or the “melting pot” of modern city difficult to experience for those racialized as non-White. Kipfer further asserts that by reducing human beings to their physical appearance and the historical weight of past racism tied in bodily image- is achieved by putting Black bodies in

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

place, where this form of objectification makes it impossible to escape such bodily confinement. More carefully, Kipfer notes that it is this strategy and process that defines spatial separation. Fanon's analysis of the organization of colonial social space is as multidimensional as Lefebvre's critique of the production of space even as it 'stretches' Lefebvre's Marxism 'every time we have to do with the colonial problem' (Fanon, 1963, pg. 40). Furthermore, Kipfer (2007) notes that in Fanon's work, colonial space was the conceived product of colonial planners oriented to dominate, homogenize, and exclude.

At the same time, colonial abstract space integrated the colonized into colonial abstract space through daily spatial practices and affective, bodily spatial experiences. Here such colonial abstract space produces peculiar contradictions creating an opportunity for liberation and re-appropriating the colonial city (Kipfer, 2007, pg. 718). As a result of this ongoing traumatic historical practice in the origins of race theory, *spatial separation* becomes apparent in post-colonial spaces where cultural performance and spatial representation are recreated as community spaces in death and perpetual place-making of cemeteries. Hence, race where it operates is a social, political and economic construction demanded to perpetuate unequal hierarchies that serve to keep groups in power and other groups subordinate. In sum, the social imaginary and cultural enclaves of deathscapes in culturally diverse cities are not independent of the economic empires of colonization in Africa, the Caribbean, Latin America and the Americas.

According McKittrick (2013) geographies of slavery, post slavery, and black dispossession provide us opportunities to notice that the right to be human carries in it a history of racial encounters and innovative black diaspora practices that spatialize acts of survival. McKittrick positions the cemetery as providing a 'rare setting' where the enslaved could assert their humanity and respect their own culture" within a context of anti-black violence, where it is

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

impossible to delink the built environment, the urban and blackness. The enslaved did this through the production of space in burial, which contextualizes black life in contemporary global cities and futures (McKittrick, 2013, pg. 5). In addition to this, past colonial encounters are interlocked with workings of human worth, race, space and demonstrate the ways the uninhabitable still holds currency in the present and continues to organize contemporary geographic arrangements (McKittrick, 2013, pg. 6). The objective here is to show how the production of burial space in a historical, colonial and racialized context is not separate from the production of burial and memorial practices in the contemporary city as bodies are still racialized in their preferred practices.

This theoretical framework of history, memory and urban space is imperative for considerations in spatially planning for death in Toronto. It positions thinking about the ways in which black life and black histories are linked to post-slave conceptualizations of site specific geographic violence. Following this, McKittrick brings into sharp focus the plantation as an ongoing space of anti-black violence and death, demanding de-colonial thinking of present practices of racial exclusion. McKittrick (2013) states plantations shed light on the ways painful racial histories hold in them the possibility to organize our collective futures. Racial violence among and within the black community in North America, specifically in Toronto, runs deep and is connected to a traumatic colonial history. McKittrick (2013) argues that black perspectives on the city reveal that spaces of absolute otherness, occupied by racially and economically condemned are geographies of resilient survival, resistance, creativity and the struggle against death. Such forms of resistance I propose might usefully inform planning for death and interment in cities.

Razack (2002) is less interested in spatial forms of resistance. She analyzes the racial spatialization of bodies in the city through the organization and mapping of space, land and

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

geography and arguing these are the by-products of colonization. But while the act of categorizing people and assigning different attributes to such categories may be universal, the categories themselves are subject to enormous variation over historical time and space (Omi & Winant, 2014, pg.105). The idea here is to uncover societal practices of racial spacialization of the cemetery in the context of space and power so as to forge new paths and new ways of seeing. That is as we uncover the ways in which the production of space is linked to diverse forms of power relations (race, class, gender, etc.). More importantly, the analysis of race is a historical and ideological process, whose meaning is changing, meriting conversations of power, race, space and class in the cemetery. It is therefore imperative that these be discussed if hierarchies of difference are not to be maintained in the political economy of death.

Conclusion

I began this chapter by describing the questions and concerns that came up for me when I visited a Toronto cemetery. This chapter has unpacked these concerns by discussion the forces that produced them. I have put an analysis of space and death into conversation with questions of race, class, political economy and spatial theory. The principles discussed here are important if we are to understand the deeper systemic questions underlying obstacles to spatial planning for death in the context of growing aging urban population, accelerated diversity, an accelerated loss of spaces, finite land and the certainty of death. The next chapter provides a review of literature informing planning for death, space and place so as to deepen the discussion of these issues, which has yet to inform the planning discourse in Toronto. I will demonstrate that planning for the full life cycle of a city is a complex and interdisciplinary task, which needs to be informed by the changing class, race and cultural composition of the city.

Chapter 2: Literature Review - Planning Theories, Principles and Practices



Figure 2: Toronto Necropolis Cemetery, summer 2015. Source: Taken by Nicole N. Hanson

Throughout history, human communities have converted the dead into sources of living power by grafting symbolic structures onto them and their places of interment. The impact of these structures on society, however, indicates that the 'dead' are understood as more than physical remains. When conflict arises and the meaning and handling of the dead are disputed by interested parties, the battle for control can lead to important changes in both identity and the distribution of power (Flynn & Laderman, 1994, p.51).

As cities of the living are planned, so must cities of the dead be. The certainty of our mortality guarantees the need for ways to dispose of our mortal remains. – Basmajin & Coutts

This chapter provides a review of the context for discussions on death, race space and place; I show the critical need for interment spaces in the city and discuss the context for death and burial in the city. I show that there is a widening gap between rich and poor and that the poor are racialized. This is creating a changed environment for interment. There is a gap in critical urban theory and practice around planning for death in cities. I demonstrate that spatially planning for death, the full life cycle of a city is a complex and interdisciplinary task which must always reflect class and race. Currently, planning in the City of Toronto needs to be informed by class; the political economy of death, racial spatialization dynamics and the changing cultural composition of the city. I demonstrate that there is a lack of local community involvement on this

issue this exacerbates the inequities in the political economy of death. As a result planning practices are not informed by ideas that promote ideals of democracy, agency and the critical consciousness of communities.

This discussion has yet to inform the discussion of planning for death in Toronto. Further, I propose that dealing with the question of diversity and death is significant not simply because it not only resolves a location for the disposition of human remains but it also contributes to the ways in which memory informs how equality is lived in the city, how we understand the right of each community to our city and how we redress the historical inequities of the past.

The Political Economy of Death: Race, Class in the Cemetery

Storytelling: November 21, 2014

We walked along the snowy crisp cemetery path. The mausoleum was before us. It was tall, grand, still and entombingly beautiful. It was positioned to stop the urban sprawl of the cemetery. I just finished presenting at the CAPS Conference on spatially planning for death in city. I followed my presentation with a cemetery tour of Mount Pleasant Cemetery. This Jane's Walk was about using our feet to rewrite narratives of planning, place-making by entering the spatial language of the cemetery by fostering a sense of local responsibility, collective consciousness as a community of urbanists. I reflected to only look up into the sky, at the condofication of the cemetery-hoarded bodies in the air, the perpetual erection of bodies entombed above ground stories into the sky.

Harvey's argument about the urban process under capitalism sets the tone to explore the spatial order and the built environment of the cemetery through the lens of ethnicity, race, gender, sexuality, class. It is this spatial arrangement and order that reflect the lived neoliberal city in spaces of death, dying and memorialization. Harvey discusses capitalist forms of urbanization, which make the class character of capitalist society explicit, by arguing the contradictory dynamics of the accumulation process. I draw upon Harvey who calls the accumulation process into question as it reproduces both itself and the domination over labour

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

(Harvey, 1978, p. 101). Thus, begging the question as to how capital abstracts the human relations within such a fictitious economy (as the needs are generated through market indicators). Taking Harvey's perspective to an ecological philosophical point of departure – Kovel (2002) highlights another contradictory tendency that capitalism has become subordinate to: capitalism must grow to exist, with this said, how is it possible for capitalism to grow on a planet with finite (limited) resources, especially with capitalism degrading its own conditions (conditions and grade of production) needed to exist?



Figure 3: Mt. Pleasant Mausoleum Source: CAPS Conference Janes Walk 2014

How is it possible that capitalism grows in the cemetery, when the cemeteries in Toronto will soon run out of land? The commodification of the human scale and spatial mappings of the body in spaces of production based on themes of accumulation and class struggle, convert intrinsic value (use value) to exchange value (market price) in a way that requires physical environmental attributes. Such attributes as Harvey (1978) notes, become the pursuit of new and more productive forms of fixed capital. In addition to this, Harvey (1978) states that as capital represents itself in the physical landscape as both dead labour and living labour - capitalist development is in a constant flux of negotiating itself between preserving exchange values and destroying the investments to further accommodate room for accumulation. In addition to this, Harvey (1978) states that as capital represents itself in the physical landscape

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

as both dead labour and living labour - capitalist development is in a constant flux of negotiating itself between preserving exchange values and destroying investments to further accommodate room for accumulation. It is this analysis that unmask structures of power, urban performance and memorialization in the cemetery (See Figure 2). Park Lawn Cemetery highlighted the constant flux of capital negotiating itself between preserving exchange values and destroying investments to further accommodate room for accumulation, when I was approached by an interment right holder that was protesting the roads to his wife's lot were being dug up to accommodate more burials. The investment of roads and paths in the cemetery were being destroyed to further accommodate room for accumulation. With this it can be said that capital creates memory and the implications of this process universalize the production of the economy of the dead in the cemetery.

The story above demonstrates the increased need for spaces of interment in the city. In July 05, 2015, Noor Javed, columnist for the Toronto Star, reported on the scarceness of cemetery land and on the conflicts which arise as a result of this:

As land across the GTA becomes scarce, there are increasing tensions between the preferences of the living and the needs of the dead. Holy Cross says it is looking for ways to ensure they the burial needs of the community can be met for the next few decades. "The building is sized to accommodate the 100,000 Catholics living in the Markham area," said Amy Profenna, manager of marketing and public relations for Catholic cemeteries. "We are at the situation where our existing mausoleum is becoming very full, and the supply of crypts available is very finite," she said. This is the second and biggest of three planned mausoleums, and will have 6,320 crypts. A full-size crypt starts at \$550, said Profenna (Javed, 2015, G9).

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

Clearly, cemetery land, as a use situated in the political economy of death are based on need and supply, where the cemetery has applied for the consent to establish, later or increase its capacity.



How does the political economy of the dead connect to urban planning?

The political economy of the dead connects to urban planning as capital creates memory, removes memory to be exchange value relations within the market *given* the racial composition of Toronto, not everyone will be able to access their desirable means of interment where people will get remembered in cemeteries equally where there are hierarchies of difference. In addition to this the political economy of the dead connects to urban planning by the means of the establishment, altering or increasing of the capacity of a cemetery to accommodate the growth of needed interments. The economy of symbolism of modern capitalism are found in the material spatial arrangements of the cemetery where flows of capital, accumulation through the modes of memorial production and consumption are not abstract from spaces of living and where funerary practises are not evenly distributed within cultural groups across the city, but are subjective to class:

Regarding the political economy of death, Ontario's Board of Funeral Services, which regulates all the funeral homes located in province averages the cost of a funeral service to be roughly five thousand dollars (\$4,500) plus more than two thousand dollars (\$2,000) for a casket another one thousand (\$1000) dollars for a vault. These

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

figures do not include the cemetery plot, opening and closing fees for burial and for the marker (headstone), says Doug Simpson, Registrar of the BOFS (Javed, 2015, G9).

Like a house, a burial plot or mausoleum is property, real estate, and as real estate it readily becomes an expression of social status and individual personality (Egger, 2010, pg. 17). The cultural ornaments of the cemetery are permanent reminders of the socio-economic status of people who built them. The same can be said of those who had little to no means. From this the city prioritizes the growth of economic development over human need for cemeteries, providing reasoning as to why the cemeteries of aboriginal people and of people of color have disappeared; growth has always resulted in the displacement of human needs.

In addition the tendency toward individual burial increased with the expansion of personal wealth, the rise of the middle class and the emergence of philosophical and political movements emphasizing the sovereignty of the 'individual' (Egger, 2010, pg. 17). The rise of memorial parks and spaces in cemeteries designated for those who served in the military became emphasized as profitable landscapes after the Civil War into the twentieth century (Egger, 2010, pg.17). Today the urban cemetery in Toronto reflects vivid imagery whether one is interred by the means of in-ground burial, entombed in a mausoleum or interred in a niche of a columbarium. In addition to this family plots are distinct enclaves that can still be found in many cemeteries, where the technological advances of computerized "visual eulogies" become a performance associated with social status of the person who died (Egger, 2010, pg. 20).

The contemporary economic climate of employment precariousness highlights how historical global narratives of colonialism and urban marginality continue to run deep within the current landscape of the city of Toronto. .

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

Equally important, is to recognize that precarious bodies located in the cemetery reflect a global narrative of colonialism and stories of urban marginality, where many people are constantly struggling to survive in the context of class in the lived city. It can be said people continue to survive their status even in death. With this said, it is anticipated that geographically isolated populations are subject to further marginalization in the spatial permanency of the cemetery.

Furthermore it is anticipated that cultural practices of memorialization in the cemetery may not be subject to a traditional means of disposition but to the means of affordability of precarious and vulnerable persons. On May 21, 2015, David Shum, a columnist for the Global News, reported that precarious jobs were on the rise in the Greater Toronto and Hamilton area, based on the report titled “The Precarity Penalty”, a new study released by McMaster University and United Way Toronto:

Workers in precarious jobs are often caught in a cycle of lower wages, limited benefits and high levels of uncertainty. The study found that as many as 44 per cent of working adults in the GTHA are in jobs with some level of precarity due to part-time, temporary and contract work, including self-employment. The results of the study also found that people in precarious jobs earn 51 per cent less than those in stable, secure work, and live in households with 38 per cent lower-income. While these effects are most pronounced in low-income households, insecure employment also creates challenges in middle-income households (Shum, 2015).

The report titled “The Precarity Penalty” is based on a survey of 4,193 workers aged 25-65 from the Greater Toronto and Hamilton Area (GTHA) conducted during 2014, and 28 interviews conducted during 2015. It is essential to bring into focus the fact that different

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

racialized workers have a somewhat different experience than white workers, where racialized respondents score about one- third higher on the *Employment Precarity Index*, which indicates on average that their employment is less secure (The Precarity Penalty, 2015):

Table 8: Comparison of male and female, white and racialized samples: 2011–2014

	Male White		Male Racialized	
	2011	2014	2011	2014
% <45 years old	57.2	44.5	65.9	69.2
University degree	51.8	53.1	56.9	49.4
Born in Canada	81.2	80.3	24.9	23.8

Source:
PEPSO surveys
2011 and 2014.

	Female White		Female Racialized	
	2011	2014	2011	2014
% <45 years old	41.4	47.9	65.9	67.5
University degree	51.2	53.1	54.4	50.6
Born in Canada	76.2	80.2	18.2	25.8

Source:
PEPSO surveys
2011 and 2014.

Figure 5. Source: The Precarity Penalty, 2015

While the report indicates that precarious work leads to poverty, increased health and mental issues, it does not address precariousness in relation to death. Therefore this analysis puts an emphasis on low-income households and in middle-income households into conversation with how a precarious person’s social class, race, religious values, cultural traditions, will be negotiated in death.

We can align the increase of cremation not to cultural traditions but rather to one’s income and resource, to by pre-need and at- need cemetery supplies and services for a final means of disposition. The percentage of cremation in GTA is 65 per cent and 35 percent for traditional burial. The 65 per cent choosing cremation find themselves in an existing lot or a cemetery niche, depending if there is a lot family from the previous generation. If this use is

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

permitted by the cemetery bylaws; a lot of burials will be interred into existing inventory and existing inventory is being used up quickly. With this said, in the next 10 – 15 years it will be impossible to buy a cemetery lot in Toronto unless it is bought privately through resale (G. Carmichael, 2015, May 12, 2015).

Access To Death, Dying & Memorialization: Can Marginalized Groups Afford to Die?

Recent research by David Hulchanski, *The Three Cities Within Toronto, Income Polarization Among Toronto's Neighbourhoods, 1970 – 2005* provides a detailed overview of divided city. Hulchanski's report informs us of a shrinking middle class, the City of Toronto. The city is becoming more polarized between the low-income and the wealthy. Here the changing needs given the limits to cemetery space raise questions of access to dying and memorialization for marginalized groups in the city. These changing needs are linked to the cemetery land use practices that are needed to accommodate, those less privileged. Seeing the details in the cemetery made the difference, my individual experience made the difference in understanding how people experience cemeteries – to inform planning. I also noticed, a cemetery in a growing city most likely accommodates bodies out of the city's boundaries, vice versa -as persons who are wealthy have more access to privileges such as cemetery land in the city than persons of middle- to low income.

According to Hulchanski (2010) the proportion of middle income neighbourhoods in Toronto decreased from 66% to just 29%, high income neighbourhoods increased from 15% to 19% and low income neighbourhoods increased from 19% to 53% over the last twenty-five (25 years). Hulchanski (2010) states from the middle-income neighbourhood's, high-income neighbourhoods and low-income neighbourhoods, geographically divided the city of Toronto into three (3) distinct cities. Hulchanski (2010) characterizes City #1 as an area of concentrated wealth and gentrification in the downtown core, City #2 is characterized as being mainly a

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

middle-income area and City #3 is characterized as being a generally low income area with concentrated poverty. The long term trends of City#1, City#2 and City #3 illustrate the segregation of the city by income are not inevitable and the polarization of the city into wealthy neighbourhoods and poorer neighbourhoods are increasing where the middle –income neighbourhoods are disappearing at a steady rate (Hulchanski, 2010, pg. 1)

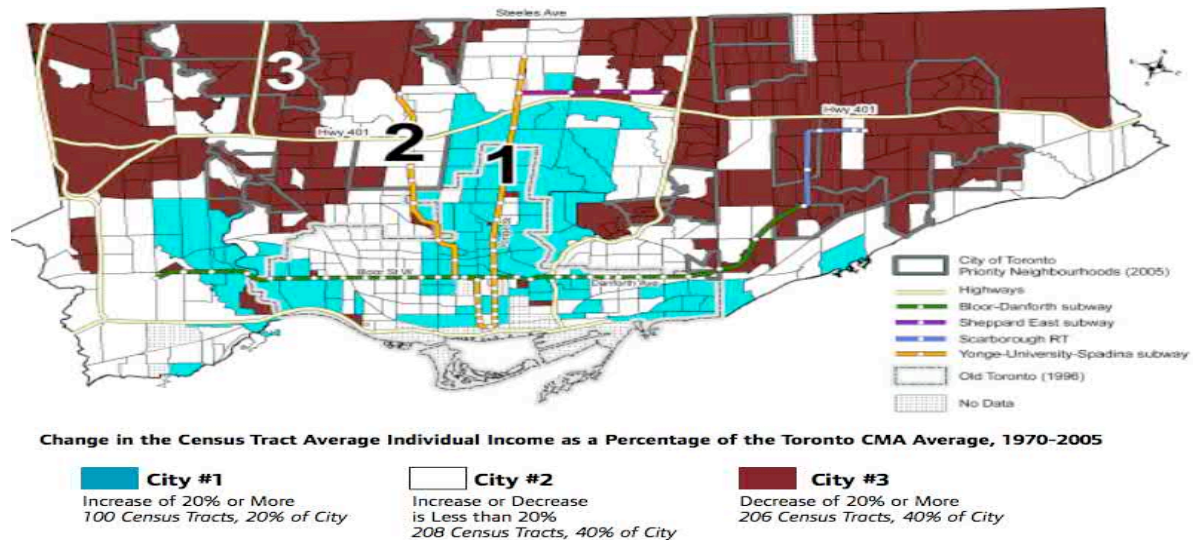


Figure 6. Toronto's income polarization. Source: (Hulchanski, 2010, pg.2).

Hulchanski's study concluded with the evidence of equity issues arising out of the three distinct cities in Toronto based on the context of income polarization in Toronto neighbourhoods. With this, it can be said that the diplomacy and cultural expression of death in Toronto is not only threatened by space as land- use but by the economic means of perpetuating and creating value systems in death in the city.

The discussion of this analysis becomes complex in postmodern culture. Within postmodern urban culture, class is not the only determinant of experience and worldview, as age, gender, sexual orientation, ethnicity, race and a host of other sources of social differentiation are now considered as both reflectors and shapers of urban culture (Short, 2006, pg. 47). The city of difference can be further divided to explore marginal bodies, as our city

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

reflects a high rate of poverty and wealth kept in the downtown core. The high rate of poverty has been afflicted with inner-city joblessness, teenage pregnancies, welfare dependency and high crime rates. There are also those who lack training and skills who do not experience long-term employment or are not a part of the labour force (due to access or being abled, disabled)—these are the populations that make up the underclass. Such precarious bodies become dead precarious bodies, where ones cultural identity of difference in the city of the living is synonymous in the city of the dead. The relationship between cultural identity and its production in the city is the crux of how the spatial practice of memorialization unfolds, historicizes and performs itself in urban cemeteries.

The income disparity within Toronto foreshadows how social services resources for funeral aid are a municipal growing need:

On Friday Aug 1, 2014, London Free Press columnist Jennifer Bieman reported that social services funeral aid was a growing need in the City of London mirroring that of Toronto:

Families that can't afford basic funeral and burial costs are looking to discretionary benefits — a government-funded social assistance program — for help. “We feel we are seeing an increasing trend in the past few years in funeral requests,” said Julie Watts, manager of Ontario Works operations for the city. In 2013, about 60% of the program's \$2.8-million budget went to dental, dentures and funeral expenses. Every year, the program funds about 200 funeral cases, though it receives many more applications. Families seeking assistance must apply to the program and demonstrate financial need. Watts said the department is planning a community needs assessment to help pinpoint areas of growing need.

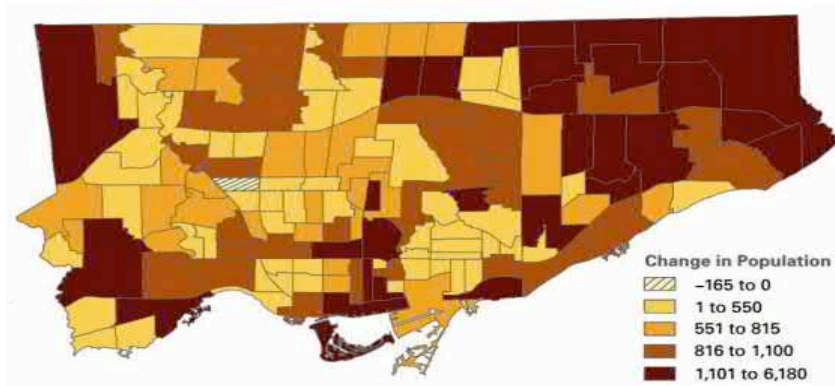
Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

As a result of what I have discussed above, death is clearly an equity issue, where planning in addressing the need to spatially plan for death need to take account of the racial and cultural differences and class hierarchies among the city's population. The rise of Toronto's aging population raises particular issues with respect to equity, diversity and inclusiveness.

The aging population and aging city discourse continues to inform the planning process on a variety of scales; affordable housing, community planning, transportation planning, urban farming and community services. Given the timely relevance of the aging population, death further informs how the timeline of the body must be mapped into their respective perpetual urban environments. In addition to this the dramatic increase of the GTA's elderly population is growing, where in the coming decades there will be a need to dispose of a larger number of the that population which have religious, cultural and economic needs (See Figure 3). According to Basmajin and Coutts (2010) the aging of the baby boomer generation portends a dramatic increase in the elderly population in the coming years, which will inevitably increase the demand for cemetery space. Also Basmajin and Coutts (2010) state the ethnic and religious diversity of the baby boomer generation will also demand a range of other after-death treatments. For these reasons planners will have a hand in allocating and managing the space needed for the growing variety of options for disposing of human remains (Basmajin, 2010, p. 306). The growing need of a variety of options for disposing human remains will also be experienced by the funeral home. G. Hogle also claims the aging population will put pressure on facilities, while balancing the changing funeral service style: the increased need for more funeral homes, will be a trickle through (personal communication, May 11, 2015). All this points to a critical role for planners in the context of deathscapes in cities like Toronto.

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

Population Change (2001-2011) in Older Adult Population 55+¹²



The number of adults 55 years and older has increased in all but one of Toronto's neighbourhoods over a 10-year period.

Source: Statistics Canada Census. Map prepared by City of Toronto Social Development Finance and Administration Division.

Map1 : Toronto's Aging Population. Source: City of Toronto, SFDA.

Dying in Difference: Challenges for planners in theory and practice

Fincher et al. (2014) point out that conflict can ensue when spaces and facilities are claimed by some ethnic groups to the exclusion of others even as planners seek to promote intercultural awareness. For this reason interrogating the involvement of planning in either celebrating diversity or reinforcing difference is important as planning is well positioned to produce both outcomes. Positioning planners to have a more effective, creative and visible engagement with ethnic and racialized difference in the neoliberal city should be a priority (Fincher et al., 2014).

The lived experience of land use diversity warrants the close regulation city planning in a policy framework in Toronto. This will avoid entrenching inequities based on the hierarchies of difference as an official mandate for multicultural cemetery policies position planners to promote and cultivate intercultural awareness that celebrates diversity in perpetuity.

Dying in difference places multi-generational demands on cemetery land use. Whether a person desires in-ground burial or to be cremated, the use of cemetery space is linked from

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

generation to generation. Various groups want to experience and embrace their ethnic, cultural and religious affinity over time, and this will overwhelm existing cemeteries as they presently exist. According to Basmajian and Coutts (2010) urban cemeteries have been understood as a religious, cultural and economic problem, but not a planning problem. Given this, Basmajian and Coutts (2010) argue that as population demographics change, environmental concerns intensify, and the demand for urban space grows, future land use decisions will have to balance a diverse set of social, cultural, and environmental expectations, taking into account burial practices. There are only a handful of alternatives to traditional burial in a cemetery: burial in a multiple-use cemetery; natural burial; entombment in a mausoleum; cremation, with the ashes preserved in a columbarium or scattered elsewhere; and burial in a grave that will be reused in the future. Alternatives to the perpetual cemetery space are emerging, but remain limited. For the city of Toronto to be proactive in planning for death, advanced case studies showing how to integrate burial grounds into existing communities and how to alter public policy to permit alternatives to burial should be further explored in satisfying the 'uncertainty of death needs' in the city. Though cremation is on the rise in the 21st century, research confirms that burial is still been the desired practice of interment where burial spaces within cemeteries but have become extremely limited for many communities. This narrative is vital as it questions how planners can usefully contribute to this new social imaginary of permitting cemetery land use in the urban fabric of existing communities.

The disposal of the dead as a cemetery land use issue depends on forecasting mortality rates. Measuring how many deaths are likely to occur in Toronto may be used as a planning tool to predict accommodate human remains. As projecting demand for cemetery space is further complicated by a lack of data, Basmajian et al. (2011) bridge this gap by projecting local supply and demand for interment space for planners and policy makers even though national trends point to a future of more cremation, a significant portion of the population will sustain burial as a

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

dominant choice of disposition, with this said, environmental and social issues are just beginning to emerge. This measure signifies that a common function of municipal city planning lacks a comprehensive inventory of the location of cemeteries and perpetual land use designations. Furthermore new knowledge's about environmental, economic and social side-effects of a lack of cemetery land development will continue to grow as a cross-cutting community land problem at large.

As race, space, place and culture set the context for the discussion for equitably spatially planning for death in Toronto, the framework of critical urban theory allows for the further exploration of problems and progressive solutions to effectively assisting planning for death in the city.



Figure 7: Park Lawn Cemetery Columbarium, 1 vacant space . Image by Nicole .N. Hanson

Critical Urban Theory

Within the frame of critical urban theory, spatial sites of death are interwoven with the dialectics of emotional geography. This is a type of human geography that deals with the emotions, senses and meanings we give to space and place. Such dialectics are mediated within the framework of capitalism in both the private and public realm. Critical urban theory informs planning scholarship and planning processes, which also discuss and highlight the social impacts of urban processes.

The Urban Planning Process:

A general overview of the planning process can aid this discussion on the need for planning to facilitate a diverse perspective on achieving equitable planning outcomes for cemetery land use in Toronto. Urban planning is the process by which land development and land use is regulated due to urbanization. The nature of planning in Ontario is directed by the Provincial Policy Statement, Planning Act, Official Plan, zoning by-laws and site plan controls. The Provincial Policy Statement is a policy statement issued on a provincial scale by the Minister of Municipal Affairs and Housing (MMAH) and approved by cabinet of specific matters land use planning. The Planning Act regulates the use of land. In order to enforce land use regulations, zoning-bylaws are created and amended as planning instruments. The technical planning process has four main phases (Hodge, 2003, pg. 186):

1. Diagnoses: The diagnostic planning processes are the desire to solve problems in the development of a community, identifying and delineating the problem.
2. Prediction: The predictive planning processes are concerned with predicting what is possible in the context of problems and likely solutions (i.e. population forecasting, economic

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

forecasting).

3. Design: The design planning process predicts possible alternative for future arrangement of communities build environment (i.e. goal and objectives, results of analysis undertaken).

4 Evaluation: The evaluative planning process formulated to assess consistency, tested for unintended consequences and plan has been adopted, where methodologies are developed to accomplish plans.

The aforementioned are the technical principles in addressing issues in planning and policy-making. They also provide a relevant and responsive framework for planning for cemeteries. An interdisciplinary approach to explore who urban planners are, how they contribute to and enhance the urban environment is vital in understanding how traditional urban planning practices fall short of materializing effective plans that are culturally compatible in representing the urban politics of difference in planning for cemeteries. According to Hodge (2003) the role of the planner is to provide a basis for a balanced consideration of economic, socially rooted and public interest factors through land use planning process.

Planners participate from a position of a greater economic system at work. It is this, language of planning that shapes social power relations. Hence, negotiating and mediating conflict in planning are not a neutral process but carry underlying assumptions, carrying different values and interests, meaning different things to different people. It is these assumptions, values and interests that undercut the possibility of change, leaving inequality of power intact in planning as a practice (Forester, 1987, pg. 303). Furthermore, I contend that the ironies of planning be condensed into one principal question: *How can planners exercise practical judgement in the need to plan for cemetery space in Toronto in a growing city with limited space, is not this a land use need for the public interest and planners?* My task here is to inform planners of the associated problems of cemetery land use conflicts, and see them as

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

opportunities to negotiate culturally compatible cemetery land use strategies through land -use regulations to spatially plan for death in Toronto.

Urban planners require an extensive background in education in order to showcase such diplomacy in accessing the needs of a given community, whether it is residential community, a business community or a community of commuters (transportation development). Popenoe (1963) asserts that a background in urban planning provides a critical lens in understanding the social relations of space in order to adequately plan for metropolitan regions. Furthermore Popenoe (1963) states that a graduate level education of urban studies, should be able to further, develop and transfer planning knowledge in two spheres: substantive knowledge about urban infrastructure, dynamics of urbanization and techniques whereby the planner is able to utilize this knowledge practically. Urban planning needs to be reviewed if planning is to meet the needs of communities, become a tool of empowerment in urban communities and provide solutions to challenges urban cemeteries are currently facing. Urban planners need be aware of the demographics that inhabit the city in order to adequately determine land use planning and its associated activities.

With regards to how urban planners plan and contribute to enhance the urban environment, their planning revolves around two types of theories. According to Hassan (M.K. Hassan, personal communication, January 24, 2014):

Firstly urban planning theories seek to explain how social systems change (how cities grow, decline and the dynamics of such changes). Secondly, urban planning theory focuses on tools to change the process such as a master plan, planning charettes and zoning laws. Within Western academic institutions, planning practices are carried in a way that is the most cost effective to limit planning uncertainties. It is uncertainties that

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

tend to rise with the urban planning practice that directly affects planners, can challenge what they know academically and impact the traditional ways they are trained to deal with urban issues and the social issues that arise from those issues. What this means is that, no matter how educationally equipped urban planners are, they will always face urban issues that have been created due to spatial, cultural and economic processes.

In acknowledging and defining the role of urban planners through an interdisciplinary approach, a better understanding of an urban planners role, who they are, how they plan and how they contribute to enhance urban environments and serve public interests can be analyzed. This paper probes one to think about the relevance of urban planning in relation to culture, race, class and space, taking into account how people live in cities is how they die in cities. Hence, those that share urban planning practices (urban planners) need to think globally and act locally. According to Sanyal (1989) the central focus of contemporary planning education should challenge the disparity of urban planning between the rich and the poor. Furthermore Sanyal (1989) endorses that these issues should not be “too macro” for urban planners to understand and other issues need to be probed such as the large influx of foreign capital on real estate development to build consensus. According to Blanco et al. (2009) asserts that urban planners can better position themselves in society through different scales and fields such as planning for disaster recovery, climate change, shrinking mitigation, rapidly urbanizing impoverished cities and shrinking cities. Furthermore Blanco et al. (2009) points out that human dimensions of social cohesion and solidarity needs to be a goal of planning and that a multi-dimensional approach to settlement development by planners will strengthen civic life and citizenship in the city. The urban planning process will be examined in relation to the role of urban planners addressing spatially planning for death in Toronto.

Urban planning is located in Toronto is located in the realm of socio- economic and political governance, which regulates and informs land use and the built environment in the

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

context of urbanization. The built urban form, is a process by which influences social relations and issues stemming from those relations. As the city prioritizes planning for economic growth over planning for the human need of cemetery land use, we become more aware of the actors involved in the municipal city planning process. The actors involved with urban planning in cities are for the most part, planners, politicians, architects and developers. They are central to the planning process whether it is planning a neighbourhood, transportation infrastructure or designating natural heritage uses. The urban assignment for planners and associated actors is to consider the interaction, and transition between different forms of land uses locally and regionally. I employ that in order for city planning to address spatially planning for death given changing community needs and the diverse composition of Toronto, community planning is the site of reference to equitably plan for death in Toronto. Hodge and Gordon (2013) use the term community planning to adequately convey the idea that modern planning is an activity undertaken by the community involving all who live in it, where city planning and both town planning suggest a technical activity dominated by professional planners.

It is important to note that further to planning attempting to regulate the process of urbanization related to the development of the built environment in Toronto, dualistically, planning can be discussed as an economy of forgetting, an economy of polarizing dualism to that of history and memory of the cemetery. Selective memory requires public enactments of forgetting, either to blur the obvious discontinuities, misalliances, and ruptures or, more desperately, to exaggerate them in order to mystify a previous time now lapsed (Roach, 1996, pg. 3). How planning forgets and negates the cemetery as part of the urban, a part of the culture as planning as a discourse and practise, negates historical and cultural narratives of memory already embedded in the landscape – which needs to be acknowledged. From the perspective of communities dealing with problems around death, dying and memorialization, planning for deathscapes becomes an imperative planning category in the city and the right to the city.

Harvey (2008) asserts the right to the city is not just a right of access to what already exists but also a right to change it after our hearts desire; it is the right to remake ourselves by creating a qualitatively different kind of urban sociality, which is one of the most precious human rights. The need to exercise our right to the cemetery in the city is a right to be re-imagined, nurtured and perpetually embraced, where various social groups that possess unequal power are afforded the right to shape the urban landscape and experience of the cemetery based on their hearts desire. We must imagine a more inclusive, even if continuously fractious city, based not only upon a different ordering of rights but upon different political economic practices (Harvey, 2008, pg. 941). If our world has been imagined and made, then it can be re-imagined and re-made (Harvey, 2008, pg.941). Given the racial, religious and cultural diversity of Toronto, the cemetery is constantly conflicted in the effort to accommodate diverse means of disposition. This is important for all cultural, religious and racial groups because practices of memorialization for each group, allow them to re-imagine their understanding of the meaning of life and the world. Re-imagining death, re-imagining interments and memory is therefore a way of being in conversation with utopian ideals of a perfect city. Eggener (2010) reminds us that the cemetery can be a sort of ideal, utopian city – well-organized, self-sufficient, egalitarian and void of social conflict. This is only possible if the needs of all racial groups are taken into account in planning as a practice.

Changing Cultural Needs in Death:

When his father died more than 15 years ago, Hindu priest Pandit Roopnauth Sharma took his ashes down to Lake Ontario, Sharma looked around, made sure no one was watching and placed them in the water – Isabel Tetonio & Megan Ogilvie, May 16, Toronto Star

As the above quote shows the changing class and race composition of the city is forcing the need to plan equitably for diverse groups in Toronto. Re-imagining the cemetery for different

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

social groups in Toronto means addressing the changing cultural needs that people have in regard to spaces of death and dying. Claims to space made by social groups that possess unequal power in the city that shape the urban experience, have been entwined with property rights and related economic interest, tied to the accumulation of capital (Harvey, 2008, pg.1). Thus, the changing cultural needs of people in death, of persons considered as urban outcasts will not be afforded the privileges to satisfy their needs and wants of death in the city. The city is polarized. It is comprised of the extremes of high society and dark ghetto, luxurious wealth and utter destitution, cosmopolitan bourgeoisie and urban outcasts. These flourish and decay side by side (Wacquant, 2008, pg. 230). Such dualism erases continuity of humanity's need to be accommodated in the cemetery but amplifies processes of marginality and access to spaces in the cemetery. Similarly, Sidaway and Maddrell (2010) argue that spaces for the dead and dying are a reflection of the changing condition of the living and are anchored in space and place, which create a meaningful experience for us through our emotions. Through a sensuous geographical perspective there is an utopian urban imaginary at work in the cemetery- where this paper questions who gets to be remembered and how. According to Degan and Rose (2012) planners and developers create a new visual order through the conscious stylization of urban space, while neglecting how the city is experienced through multiple sensory modalities. More importantly, in re-imagining the cemetery for different social groups, this imagination doesn't stem from a metaphysical force it comes from material conditions, and these conditions are to be biased in cultural practices that are fitting and inclusively representative. Therefore it is necessary to interrogate these changing cultural needs in relation to claims to the city cemetery as the bodies that occupy those spaces are positioned in relation to capitalism and ongoing class struggles.

This conceptualization of the 'Silent City' resituates deathscapes as a key part of the city's planning narrative. In this way - planning can recognize its significance in the spatial

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

planning for perpetuity. According to Popenoe (1963), a graduate level education of urban studies should be able to further, develop and transfer planning knowledge in the spheres of substantive knowledge and techniques to utilize such knowledge practically. The idea of the 'Silent City' animates a multifaceted framework for understanding the cemetery as a transformative space in planning discourse. Our connections to the cemetery are informed by our lived experiences and emotion. These drive the politics of death and place-making in the cemetery. Furthermore Sidaway and Maddrell (2010) assert that death and dying are anchored in space and place, which creates a meaningful experience for us through our emotions. By the means of a sensuous geographical perspective, our lived conditions and experiences take planners to a point of departure that is imperative as planners do not plan to die in cities, and new knowledge's from existing lived experiences can ground planners in such planning implications.

Bringing a critical lens to the politics of death, space, class, race and cultural identities allows for careful examination of how societal needs and wants intersect with cultural diversity. It reveals that new negotiations of space and place are needed within the structure of capitalism. In this, re-imagining of urban planning practices for cemeteries creates a spatial framework that reassesses the urban dwellers relationship of space, place, death and memorialization.

Given the diverse cultural composition of Toronto, traditional expressions of the funeral are changing at an accelerated rate. More and more ethnic, religious and nondenominational cultures are committed to practicing their belief systems as a form of cultural identity in the landscape of memory and time. It is these funerary practices that influence and impact the land use of cemeteries through place-making. The practice of place making and how it operates, reveals, conceals and shape conversations about, who we are and where we are. According to

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

Schneekloth & Shibley (2008) those involved in planning and design professions share a common practice we have called place-making. Placemaking as an alternative professional practice seeks to create relationships between people and among people, places and relationships among people in places. Schneekloth & Shibley (2008) found that making relationships and communities is the goal and making places is the vehicle for the practice. Schneekloth & Shibley (2008) state the first task of placemaking is to open a space for conversation about place: a dialogic space and within open spaces we share goals, concerns, hopes and desires for places and it is within these spaces we trust one another. Secondly Schneekloth & Shibley (2008) defines how we occupy space is premised on the practice of constant confirmation and interrogation. From this the perspective, it is impossible to deny the importance of deathscapes in the everyday urban experience. Even if the cemetery as a place is unacknowledged and unrecognized places, they are still rendered significant in the definition of people and their respective communities (Schneekloth & Shibley, 2008, p.208). This informs how planners must be challenged to meet local community interest of the politics of death, race, space and place-making, where the materiality of such place-making becomes a perpetual generational land use that is to be prioritized.

Place-making within the cemetery is created once, and is created forever. The plurality of religious place-making amongst the population of the GTA constructs culture in the physical landscape of the city, where diasporic community building becomes materialized. Examples of these religious are Hinduism, Buddhism, Christianity, Islam, Catholicism, Sikhism and Judaism to name a few that create transnational linkages and influence. According to Mazumdar and Mazumdar (2009) religion continues to define a structure the personal and community identities of many new immigrants in the creation of transnational identities, contestation and conflict. Similarity, significant places provide stability and security acting as anchors, defining group boundaries and stabilizing memories which is very much an expression of communally held

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

beliefs and values (Mazumdar & Mazumdar, 2009, pg.309). Cemeteries in the GTA such as Bathurst Lawn Jewish Community Cemetery, Toronto Muslim Cemetery or Holy Cross Roman Catholic Cemetery are invested with deep emotional meaning and strong communal sentiments, where further planning consideration is required to ensure the definitive nature of community building through place-making of the cemetery.

Regarding the changing cultural needs in death each religion has its own set of beliefs, its own practices and traditions. Below is a list of the common practises of diverse cultures in the GTA where familial preferences and variations apply:

Buddhist:

Cremation is traditional, but burial is also an accepted practice. Cremation is generally followed by interment in ceremonial units, urban spaces or columbaria. Families may also chose to keep cremated remains in their homes, or place them in monasteries, or scattering area (Mount Pleasant, 2014, pg.8).

Catholic:

The revised Code of Canon law went into force in the Catholic Church on November 27, 1983 declaring the church recommends the pious custom of burying the bodies of the dead be retained. The Code of Canon law does not forbid cremation unless it has been chosen for reasons which are contrary to the “Christian Teaching”. The selection of cremation is to be the specific choice of the individual. Where cremation is chosen, burial of the remains are not mandatory but strongly encouraged (Mount Pleasant, 2014, pg.9).

Christian :

Allow for variations according to family preference (Mount Pleasant, 2014, pg.9).

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

Hindu Cultural Practices:

For married men and women, cremation is expected. Those who are unmarried may be buried. By custom, the eldest son preside at the cremation witnessing, in the company of the priest and ashes are collected and scattered into a great body of water (Mount Pleasant, 2014, pg.21).

Islamic:

Cremation is strictly forbidden for Muslims. The deceased must be interred within 24 hours of death; burial is generally not in coffins. Before burial the body is washed and shrouded. Before the body is lowered into the grave, it is turned slightly so that it rest on its right side, held in position by sand ensuring the body is facing Mecca. If Mecca is to the north, the grave is dug east – west and the headside of the body would be on the east (Mount Pleasant, 2014, pg.22).

Jewish:

Historically the Jewish community in Toronto have been buried together in their own cemeteries, where communally each synagogue will own a parcel of land in the cemetery to accommodate death for their congregation. Jewish cemeteries such as Bathurst Lawn Cemetery is operates my Jewish Management Inc., that host roughly 15 – 20 various different Jewish cemetery operators and congregations (N. Hanson, personal communication, May 24, 2015).

Cremation is forbidden by Jewish law, since resurrection is a cardinal dogma and destruction of the body by cremation is by implication a denial of resurrection. Reform and Liberal Synagogues will permit cremation.

Secular; Non-denominational Cultural Practice:

These allow for variations according to family preferences. They also allow for other spiritual rites and practices outside of the established institutionalized religions.

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

The changing cultural needs of communities in death have yet to be addressed, because local communities tend to be ignored by planners. Unfortunately, as Bennett and Davies (2014) show, that local needs for cemeteries have been disregarded. They demonstrate this has to do with significant divisions between the interests of local communities in regard to immediate amenity land use, the need for cemeteries and the long term needs of society. The ongoing and longstanding resistance to cemetery planning in land use planning brings into focus five (5) issues that are relevant and contentious:

1. The relationship between local versus regional decision making.
2. The value of flexible and compatible planning instruments.
3. Importance of strategic diagnostic planning.
4. The need for social and cultural facilitation and integration.
5. Educational literacy and programming for Not In My Backyard (NIMBYism) predispositions.

I will unpack the longstanding resistance to cemetery planning in land use planning which will direct our discussion towards a general understanding of why this process is relevant to a planners role:

The relationship between local versus regional decision making.

The relationship must be supported by both local and regional policies. According to Bennett & Davies (2014) the determining authority needs to be supported by planners familiar with both local and regional policies and planning instruments based on their notable level of understanding the environment, social and economic factors related to such proposals.

The value of flexible and compatible planning instruments.

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

The value of flexible and compatible planning instruments are required to strategize where new cemeteries are to be located in Toronto. Flexibility in planning controls are key to facilitate where the market (private and public) can best provide this service for cemeteries (Bennett & Davies, 2014, pg.456). The valuable of flexible and compatible planning instruments may also assist in community opposition, which will always be a socialization process to regional land use policies.

Importance of strategic diagnostic planning.

Strategic diagnostic planning for cemeteries is required in Toronto. Metropolitan planning is often set with a generational (20-30 year) horizon (Bennett & Davies, 2014, pg.456). This type of diagnostic planning has not yet been laid for cemeteries, where generationally the land use serves about four generations. Given this, the framework of diagnostic planning will need to consider a generational timeline of 100 – 115 years, for the supply and demand of lands for cemetery use.

The need for social and cultural facilitation and integration.

There is a dire need for social and cultural facilitation and integration of cemeteries in Toronto. Social and cultural integration is an issue tied closely to land use compatibility and how societies accommodate the emergence of new religions and cultures within their social structures including the allocation of land and approval of certain activities (Bennett & Davies, 2014, pg. 456). Francis (2003) tells us that cemeteries play an important role in anchoring cultural communities, helping to root an immigrant community to the new homeland, where burial practices and grounds assist in the informal, national and community identity. Such social and cultural facilitation and integration will need to be addressed on a regional planning level to be further implemented in official and secondary plans.

Educational literacy and programming for Not In My Backyard (NIMBY) predispositions.

NIMBY motivated positions can weigh heavily within the planning process as there may be a divergence between the strategic direction of regional strategies and the wants or interests of local communities (Bennett & Davies, 2014, pg. 456). The challenge for Toronto is to integrate the local wants with the cemetery needs, with how regional and local planning represent cemetery land use needs.

Given the position of Bennett and Davies, who argue there should be a process of local and regional planning for cemetery land use, it follows that planning bodies need to take account of how cemeteries should be integrated into the community fabric by the means of democratic municipal city planning. Only in this way will the differing needs of many cultural groups be equitably valued by society. Currently, in the next section, community members speak to the impact of this absence of planning has on their experience.

Diversity, Race & Planning in the Multicultural City

Local residents of Toronto strongly believe that city planning has a role to play in spatially planning for death in the city to further address death in diversity, race and culture. Cemeteries are privately owned but serve as public space. This creates a conflict. Seon Tyrell, a local resident, who represents the general public, from the Guyanese community, explains why municipal city planning must not delay in addressing this problem:

There is a sort of divide between public and private space in the cemetery. The cemetery is still seen as a space that is very private and not public, where the typical layout of a cemetery informs privacy. In order to make cemeteries a part of a community we have to rethink cemeteries as a public space. Institutionally it may be offered as a public space but it operates very privately: Given the limits of land in Toronto, municipal

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

city planning has a role and should start looking into how they are going to accommodate the dead. We should start to question the way they operate as a business if we look at procurement (cost cutting within capital), space and density.

My observation in Park Lawn Cemetery was that were literally shuffling bodies, shifting and moving corpse for one thing: to create more room for the dead. This is questioning how business is being done. If we look at capital in the cemetery, Park Lawn highlights how the body becomes the 'commodity' and can be stored in a space efficiently, and how dense you can do it without utilizing as much land. With this we have to ask are there any ethical boundaries that are being challenged here, for your loved ones being disrupted and moved. Municipal city planning needs to consider how to navigate and resolve these tendencies. (S.Tyrell, personal communication, May 4, 2015).

Tyrell's comments vividly demonstrate the ways in which the community needs come into conflict with the commodification of death resulting in the inequitably performance of bodies. To counteract this, communities need to work alongside of planners to reclaim cemeteries as part of the right to the city.

Melissa Kencher, a local resident, who represents the general public, from the Italian community also claims that city municipal city planning in Toronto needs to commit to an active role in effectively planning for death in cities:

Any successful city has to take every aspect of their city into account when designing, when creating when zoning and when building. Such as when you're building a subdivision, there needs to be a certain number of school in the area, retail space, transit, parks etc., everything has to tie in city planning. With baby-boomers at their end, we are going to see an increase of the demand for plots and lots in cemeteries, where a

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

city is responsible for the fundamentals in making the city functional. In making a city functional for birth we need hospitals, after birth we need schools, we need the old age homes, we need the funeral homes and we need land for cemeteries. A successful city will provide these functional needs for the full human life cycle.

With cemeteries running out of space people will not be able to fulfill their cultural desires and traditions, which may undermine their values and rituals- while culture is at work, this conversation is also about what is feasible, what each family is able to do and what just won't work. Funeral services and cemetery interments have everything to do with tradition and may have very little to do with the money – as the true meaning of the service and how the tradition play out are based on people coming together to celebrate the life of their loved one (M. Kencher, personal communication, May 10, 2015).

Laksh, a local resident from the Hindu community explains planning for the dead and spaces to scatter for the Hindu community is need city planning needs to address in the not so distant future, as areas like Brampton are in need of more cremation witnessing facilities:

Planning for the dead is important, given the trends these days there is a role in planning. There are groups such as Hindus that may not require a large amount of land to perform in ground burial but bodies of waters, and lands designated for cemetery use, will need to be zoned by city planners who make an impact on how groups can memorialize their loved one. There are a lot of cultures in Toronto that require special provisions for land use or memorial space use, which will further make an impact on how people will and get to live in the city (L. Vig, personal communication, May 4, 2015).

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

The demand for more cemetery land in Toronto has long been made by local residents, interment right holders, cemetery land use planners, cemetery operators and provincial regulatory representatives. Toronto as city, has been proclaimed one of the most multicultural cities in the world, with a population of 5.5 million in the Greater Toronto Area, where 140 languages and dialects are spoken and just over 30 per cent of Toronto residents speak a language other than English or French at home (City of Toronto, 2015). With cemeteries playing a vital role in anchoring cultural communities through its storytelling and archiving of the space, cemeteries serve to root Torontonians to their respective diverse communities. At an empirical level those involved in city planning and planning consciousness need to contribute to both short and long-term planning practices addressing this reality. They need to facilitate an action-oriented dialogue on the demands of death for diverse communities in Toronto. These spatial challenges in Toronto merit both a retrospective and futuristic community planning response to better address issues of race, class, culture and the changing cultural practices of death in Toronto as the majority of the population of Toronto are visible minorities – making up a large percentage of the Torontonians population.

According to the City of Toronto *Diversity Facts*, Statistics Canada define 'visible minority' as persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in color (City of Toronto, 2015). Persons who are defined as being a visible minority make up 16 per cent of the population in Toronto. The top visible minority communities in Toronto are South Asian, Chinese and African Canadian (National Household Survey, 2011). The diversity of such a population is highlighted by Invest Toronto spokesperson Jameson Cameron, who confirms that diversity, race and culture of Toronto are inherent in the landscape of the city:

Diversity of race, religion and lifestyle help define the city and set Toronto apart from other global centres. It is home to virtually all of the world's cultural ethnicities and is a

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

city where more than 100 languages and dialects are spoken. With over 200 distinct ethnic origins represented, the Toronto region is a true mosaic of cultures, languages, abilities, hopes and dreams. Toronto doesn't just welcome diversity, it encourages it (J. Cameron, personal communication November 27, 2014).

The fact of the diversity and racial difference of Toronto means that further investigation of the relationship between planning in the multicultural city and planning for society's changing needs in death are timely and extremely relevant. The sense of difference defined in popular usages of the term "race" has described and *inscribed* the difference of language, belief systems, artistic traditions, and celebrations (Gates Jr., 1986, pg.5). The multicultural city is subject to race becoming a troupe of ultimate irreducible difference between cultures, linguistic groups that more often than not – have fundamentally opposed economic interests, as this difference is very arbitrary in its application (Gates Jr., 1986, pg.5). Nevertheless, inequalities and unequal treatment persist, where racial profiling by the police who stop minority youth in specific low- income neighbourhoods continues and there is a growing association between poverty and minority status in specific Toronto neighbourhoods (Fincher et al., 2014, pg. 7). With this, there is a tremendous variation in local planning for ethnic and racialized diversity within the metropolitan area, trained to act in the interest of an undifferentiated municipal public, planners and local politicians have been slow to institute even basic policies such as translation and interpretation services at public meetings (Fincher et al., 2014, pg. 7). For this reason, we must analyze and trace the ways in which planning operates and serves ethnic differences that are to be maintained and reinforced in the cemetery as the language of contemporary planning in itself are color-blind, apolitical and appear to be neutral, only to reinforce inequalities in cemetery land use planning. Given the aforementioned argument is it vital to know that given the diverse changing cultural practices of deathscapes, equity in death needs to be further addressed as practices are memorialization and perpetual place-making are not bound within

the borders of the cemetery but are materialized on the cityscape further highlighting cultural needs and practices of death, dying and urban memory.

City of Difference: Mortality, Memory, Memorialization & the City

Memorialization practices are not bound to the cemetery - as there is a rising trend communal place-making in the materiality of make-shift memorials, commemorative benches, memory boulders, monuments and markers honouring the dead but more specifically those that have lost their lives traumatically and violently. The forecasting of mortality rates are vital in understanding memorialization practices in Toronto, as a city of difference.



Figure 8. Source: Make-shift memorial at Finch and Sentinnel Road. Image by Nicole N. Hanson

Short (2006) argues that social differences are imposed and adopted, resisted and celebrated; they are sources of constraint and platforms for creativity, which are subject to change. Furthermore, I contend that we are in the middle of a period of flux where traditional categories are being redefined as well as being held on to, where issues of gender, race, ethnicity and sexual orientation are all being both undermined and reinforced, depending on time and space (Short, 2006, pg.9). The city of difference within urban theory and planning as a

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

practice is not only an important site in the production of knowledge but it is vital in producing perpetual space of the dead for the living. Cemeteries, spaces of memorialization and deathscapes alike are positioned to represent the relationship of a wider life cycle. As cemeteries are ecological and regenerative, environmentally sustainable ways to adopt cultural differences needs to be broadened to understand our relationship with a wider ecological community.

Deep ecology has been a very important tenant in planning for the natural environment. Furthermore, deep ecology and social ecology address the elements that allow each person to achieve realization, while developing a sense of identification and a common responsibility to a larger social whole (Zimmerman et al., 2005, p. 376). The ways in which people are remembered is based on their value system and not necessarily nature, yet their practices inform the use and materiality of nature as they seek to attain good order in death. Furthermore it is these elements that stimulate and exercise the social ecology of value for the attainment of good and link this to the political goal of creating a free, communitarian society that is in harmony with the natural world. In addition to Zimmerman's theoretical framework, Heller notes that we need to ascribe to an ecological politic that allows us to regain the courage to see what is best. Hence, if we create conditions for social, ecological complexity and difference that encourages first and second nature, the socio-erotic and eco-erotic will meet to create and sustain an ecologically desirable world (Heller, 1999, p.147). According to Heller (1999) the sensual desire for nature is the yearning to taste, touch, smell, and hear to see the creative magnificence of the natural world. These are human senses that are mixed with reason to guide us through our social reality, and as Heller calls it social-sensual desire. It is this human sense that guide the spatial arrangements of the cemetery and ones experience in it. Furthermore, as Heller discusses how the cityscape is also an expression of natural evolution, she disrupts the gaze in "otherizing nature". Heller makes it very clear that we should not focus on a romantic

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

idealization of nature as being untouched, highly uneven and a pristine wilderness, but instead on a mutual potential of how nature is a part of social desire. In addition to this, Heller confirms the cityscape is an expression and element of natural evolution challenging traditional ways of thinking about the city and the cemetery. In sum, I have demonstrated that planning for death in the city is a complex and interdisciplinary task which needs to be informed by diversity and equity in the changing class, race and cultural composition of Toronto. Addressing questions of diversity in the cemetery contributions to the ways in which memory informs how equality is experienced in death in the city.

Conclusion: Addressing the Gap in Urban & Regional Planning

What do cities owe to their dead? What does Toronto as a city owe to their dead when urban cemeteries are filling to their capacity? Will there come a day when people will be turned away from a final resting place, separating them from their traditional, cultural values and religious practices?

I have sketched the context of the production of deathscapes in Toronto and shown the critical need for interment spaces in the city, I have demonstrated that there is a widening gap between rich and poor and that the poor are racialized. This is creating a changed environment for interment. I have also discussed the gap in critical urban theory and practice around planning for death in cities. Taken together the various strands of this discussion offer evidence not just of the need to spatially planning for death but also of the fact that planning for the full life cycle of a city is a complex and interdisciplinary task which must always critically assess class and race interests. Currently, planning in the City of Toronto needs to be informed by class; the political economy of death, racial spatialization dynamics and the changing cultural composition of the city. There is a lack of local community involvement on this issue this exacerbates the

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

inequities in the political economy of death. As a result planning practices are not informed by ideas that promote ideals of democracy, agency and the critical consciousness of communities.

Planning, as a discourse and practice does not recognize that inadequate planning for death in cities will only perpetuate the inequalities of death and memorialisation. This does a disservice to planning in the publics' interest as profession. Through critical social awareness and consultative planning recommendations, investigating and magnifying the politics of death, I politicize the need for municipal city planning policy recommendations for cemetery land use in Toronto.

Given the scope of environmental studies as a discipline within the Masters of Environmental Studies program, I find it fitting to start the scholarly dialogue on spatially planning for death in cities.

Chapter 3 - The Afterlife of Diversity, Race and Class in the City of Toronto

If we become a society that no longer recognizes life as being valuable- and one of the ways you recognize life being valuable is what you do with the person after they die. – D. Garvie.

This chapter discusses the findings of my research based on the qualitative research methods of participatory observation and purposive interviews. Using these tools I attempted to understand the spatial distribution of power in cemeteries and to study how people in cities access and use cemetery space as public and private space.

The main findings are that municipal city planners ignore death and difference in death at the same time, as there is a growing need to take account of racial diversity in death. This, I have also found, creates a serious racial and class problem which perpetuates racial and class inequity in the city. I argue that planners do not address spatial planning for death in Toronto for two (2) reasons all of which have complicated effects:

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

1. Planning is dependent on a political system which prioritizes a particular kind of growth. The emphasis is placed on waterfront development, extended transportation infrastructures, affordable housing, community development and targeted priority neighbourhood revitalization to name a few. Cemeteries located within the city's boundaries due to urbanization have yet to be a part of municipal conversations on accommodating the dead in the city. Here, municipal city planning, politics and urban development within Toronto further explored, evaluating why municipalities do not plan for cemeteries to address serious racial and class problems in the politics of death.

2. The diversity of people in Toronto results in changes to the cultural practices surrounding death in the city. It is imperative to link how funerary cultural customs and religious belief systems inform the final means of disposition of cemetery land use. Through observations in understanding the DNA of five cemeteries in Toronto, I was able to vividly see changing cultural practices of death, experience what the cemetery felt like, see how it functions in relation to its existing community in order to resolve how zoning could further address planning for death in the Toronto based on the cemeteries needs. Here, I also analyze how spaces of the dead mirror capitalist modes of production and consumption. Being made aware of the socio-economic spatial organization of the cemetery, I was able to map and remap spatial distributions of power. My research is limiting as each cemetery is governed by by-laws enforcing the regulation and use of the cemetery. For this reason it would not be appropriate for me to enter into ethnically or religiously purposed Muslim, Jewish or Anglican cemetery to conduct my analysis and freely explore the use of space. With this said, generally I have been able to explore five urban cemeteries in order to facilitate the research process. The five (5) cemeteries of study were:

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

1. Park Lawn Cemetery – Bloor West Village Neighbourhood
2. Mount Pleasant Cemetery – Moore Park Neighbourhood
3. Christ Church St. James Memorial Garden & Cemetery - Mimico By the Lake
4. Highland Memory Gardens Cemetery & Mausoleum – Willowdale Neighbourhood
5. Necropolis Cemetery – Cabbagetown Neighbourhood

My findings confirm the need for municipal city planning to plan for cemeteries: where the focus on planning for cemeteries is not just about where cemetery use can be zoned in Toronto, but what kind of cemetery will be needed with an evolving demographic which makes up various communities. Here, my findings report a detailed overview of planning considerations such a comprehensive understanding of diverse memorialization needs given diversity, race, class and space and the changing cultural practices of death, cemetery needs analysis, and public engagement dialogues that have yet to be addressed and adopted by the City of Toronto, which is creating a serious racial and class problem in the politics of death.

It is critical that we pay attention to the question of death and interment if we are to resolve the emerging contradictions around diversity, race, space and changing cultural practices, which are emerging in deathscapes in Toronto. Interment is also about memorialisation. How we remember persons in the cemetery has serious implications for how we imagine equality and equity in death in the present and the future. Following this chapter, recommendations will be made on the topic of how to address spatially planning for death equitably in the City of Toronto.

City planners exclude and reject the socio-economic indicators of difference in death, accelerated diversity, income polarization and changing cultural practices of memorialization.

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

According to planners the lack of attentiveness to death has to do with the fact that the city council and developers prioritize infrastructural needs linked directly to economic growth. An example of this is borne out by the following discussion with City of Toronto, Stakeholder Engagement Planning Lead, Daniel Fusca of the City of Toronto planning department. He states:

The City of Toronto has been focused on the Scarborough Study, Smart Track, Relief Line , Eglinton Connect and the Mid Rise development study along the avenues to name a few initiatives Most of the city planning initiatives taking off the ground in Toronto are on a 25 year to a long terms planning horizon given the review of the Official Plan every five years (D.Fusca, personal communication, May 27, 2015). Regarding the equitable needs of development projects happening in Toronto – city planning does consult with stakeholders, taking in the needs of as much persons and groups as possible which may not be reflective of the greater community needs at large. The City does try to meet the community where they are for various projects, such as the new comes and lower income groups within the Lawrence Heights neighbourhood- the community has ways been a priority as a stakeholder, where we as planning address their immediate community needs in the revitalization process.

In addition to this, the City of Toronto just finished their Youth Engagement Strategy, persons between the ages of 18 – 30, the fastest growing demographic group in the city currently driving economic growth and employment growth are engaged in to develop their own recommendations. The type of planning the City of Toronto does with respect to addressing equitable access to living in Toronto is planning for brownfields and waterfront communities, making sure there are transit and affordable housing options are available for either renters or home owners for a range of incomes. In addition to

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

this, the City of Toronto encourages affordable housing projects to be expedited through the development review process, Section 37 development changers can now be used towards affordable housing in order to improve the public realm and the public trust (D. Fusca, personal communication, May 27, 2015).

Hence, the political constellation of municipal city planning functions as a means to ensure regulation of land use, growth and development of the City of Toronto, whereby city planning does not ensure planning for death in the city. In other words, planning for death is non-existent as a narrative. Part of this problem has to do with the ways in which planning priorities are connected to the politics of urban development.

Planning, Politics & Urban Development:

Planning priorities are directly linked to the politics of urban development based on municipal governance and electoral processes. City Councillors that are elected in the City of Toronto are termed in office for four (4) years there is a limited to the amount of time politicians commit to being appointed to office. This is not consistent with planning for interment as this requires long term planning for perpetuity contrary to the short-term office of politicians. Urban cemeteries are in total conflict with the municipal political electoral process. Politicians and planners are the actors, drivers and decision-makers of urban development for specific municipal wards, which prioritize the agenda of the growth of economic development. Forrester (1897) explains that planners work in conditions of uncertainties given the political structure of city governance and working with various actors. In addition to this, Forrester (1987) states what is imperative to note is that planners positions are not neutral but rather that their opinions “inevitably either perpetuate or challenge existing inequalities of information, expertise, political access and opportunity”.

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

What is of essence for us to recognize is that city planning is heavily weighted towards the interests of developers. According to MacDermid (2009) the development industry is the most influential protagonist in the campaigns of many political candidates who win elections, as in municipal politics property taxation is the principal source. MacDermid (2009) states the financing of mayoral and council candidate can have many beneficial outcomes for developers, because their projects rely on the approval of municipal planning. In addition to this, MacDermid (2009) confirms that municipal planning is of great importance to developers as it is in the planning phase that developers earn most of their profits. It is also where the municipality gains most of its operating budget with the city's growing development patterns. This provides a more compelling argument as to why cemetery land use lacks municipal city planning and municipal governance oversight. With no municipal oversight for the governance of cemetery use, land use conflicts arise as normative within the political economy of death – as the cemetery is subject to expansion and increasing its capacities of its lands. This further illustrates the policy void of spatially planning for death in resolving cemetery land use practices emerging around diversity, race, space and changing cultural practices, in Toronto.

Municipal Challenges In Planning For Cemeteries **Policy Voids in the Official Plan: Amendments in the Provincial Policy Statement**

As a result of what I have discussed above, Toronto has yet to implement planning for diverse interment and cemetery use at the policy level and at the level of its Official Plan and Zoning By Laws. Currently cemeteries are only recognized in the Official Plan as Open Spaces Land Use designations. Cemeteries are not considered to be either a primary or secondary permitted use in the Agricultural Land Use Designation. In order to establish a cemetery, new cemeteries are considered through the zoning and Official Plan – if required) review process. In addition to this, vacant lands in the City are generally not pre-zoned to permit cemeteries. As part of the Provincial Policy Statement review in 2014, the need to plan for cemeteries was

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

addressed in language but not in full practice. Where, part of the new PPS, released last year, the ministry added the word “cemeteries” to policy 1.1.1 b), the list of institutional uses that should be considered by planning authorities, to better recognize all life stages:

“Healthy, liveable and safe communities are sustained by:

b) accommodating an appropriate range and mix of residential (including second units, affordable housing and housing for older persons), employment (including industrial and commercial), institutional (including places of worship, cemeteries and long-term care homes), recreation, park and open space, and other uses to meet long-term needs”

However, with recent amendments to the Provincial Policy Statement (PPS) 2014, the City of Toronto has yet to implement planning for cemetery use in community planning or development applications through its Official Plan and Zoning By Laws - given the diversity of metropolitan Toronto. At the same time, Council at the city does not make recommendations for cemetery land use given the diversity and changing cultural needs of the communities located in Toronto’s 44 wards.

Why Municipalities Don’t Plan For Cemeteries: Cemetery Economics 101

Given the direction of the Provincial Policy Statement review in 2014, where the need to plan for cemeteries became a direction for healthy, liveable and safe communities, the City of Toronto has yet to implement its application in the planning tools such as the Official Plan and Zoning By-Laws as cemetery economics are not prioritized agenda for the city. G. Timney, asserts that most municipalities don’t plan for cemeteries because cemetery economics do not fit the bill for the following reasons (personal communication, Nov 4, 2014):

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

Land Use Rule of Thumb:	Develop 100 acre cemetery:	Annual Land Consumption for Burial:
800 casket burials per acre	Urban land costs= \$1M per acre	Approximately 40,000 GTA deaths per year (assume 7.8 deaths per 1,000 population)
3, 000 mausoleum crypts per acre	Capital Investment = \$100M	65% cremation rate= 14, 000 casket burials
10, 000 cremation burials acre	Add development cost - \$190 K per acre.	17.5 acres of land absorption per year
Capital investment to buy land and development the land – it will take a minimum of 20years to break even	Total up front capital required before revenue stream = \$119M	100 acre cemetery would last less than 6 years
NIMBY “Not In My Backyard Cemetery Planning”.	Put 40% into Care and Maintenance Fund / Account, based on Funeral, Burial and Cremation Services Act, 2002– the land has no value and there is no equity. Profit goes back to cemetery to maintain its perpetual obligation	You will get 800 sellable graves per acre- after you take away roads, put in walking path, sewers

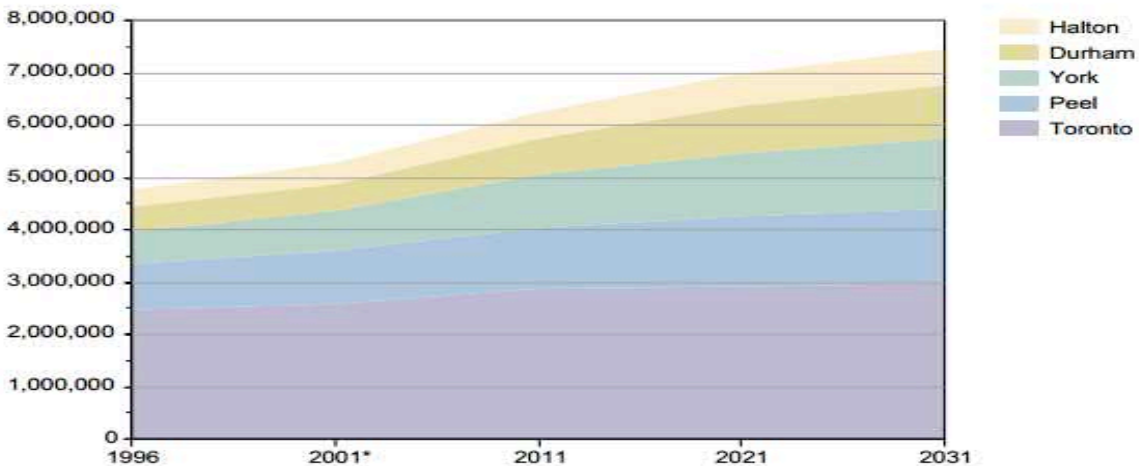
Re-Imagining the Silent City; Mount Pleasant Janes Walk 2014

Given the City of Toronto already operates seventeen (17) inactive cemeteries, the cemeteries in Toronto are already positioned within the municipality governance structure as an obligation of perpetual maintenance, where city planning should be able to implement a framework of scale to accommodate death in the Toronto given cemetery economics. In layering cemetery economics with the population forecast of the Greater Toronto Area (GTA), these findings inform how cemetery land use needs must be undertaken in the Official Plan to resolve serious racial and class problems in the politics of death.

Population Forecast: Greater Toronto Area

Population forecasting of the GTA is required to spatially plan for death in Toronto given its diverse needs and changing cultural practise of memorialization. The population of the GTA is projected to grow over 2.6 million to 4.45 million people by 2031, within 16 years, where the City of Toronto is expected to be added to the GTA between 1996 and 2031. The City itself is forecasted to grow by 537,000 people from 2.463 million to 3 million over this period (City of Toronto Official Plan, 2010).

Figure 13: Forecasted GTA Population



Note: Figures for 1996 are from Statistics Canada. *Figures for 2001 are unofficial. All figures include the Census undercount. Source: Statistics Canada; Toronto City Planning Division, Policy and Research.

Map2. Source: City of Toronto Official Plan, 2010

Given the population projection, mortality rate projections specific to the City of Toronto will be able to ensure forecasting for cemetery space needs based on the sites topography, landscaping and infrastructure. Larkin states the need to forecast mortality rates:

One way to forecast need is to look at the likely mortality rate of the current and projected population. However, this figure alone would not translate into the number of

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

burials that will be needed in the next 10, 20 or 100 years as persons buying cemetery lots are being purchased by persons from not only within the locality but by residents of another locality. What ends up happening is that when planners do their population projects for the next 20 years, they also have to do a mortality projection based on burial practices to find out how much land I am going to need in that planning period. Then planners would need to look beyond the 20 year planning period and look at the 100 + (plus) year planning horizon. It then becomes difficult to have that kind of projection.

As a land use planner who plans cemeteries, our biggest challenge with municipalities is that when they do their land use budgets you never see a line for planning for cemetery space. No one has ever said to us: how much land do you think we need for cemeteries. I can tell you down to the square foot how many acres you need. Approximately 1000 plots per acre of traditional plots. Then you can translate that based on the mortality rate: how much land I am going to need. Its also important to know that cemetery land is taken up in two (2) ways: 1) at need, when someone passes away you have to bury them so you buy a plot to bury them. 2) Pre-need, most of the plots that are taken up are pre-need, by people who want to plan and buy a plot for their family to accommodate so many generations. Those plots are out of circulation in the cemetery and are not available for anybody else. This is hard to predict since it is a non- renewable land use- that's the biggest challenge (Larkin, personal communication, June 11, 2015).

Given the trajectory of how municipalities do not plan for death and the expected population forecasting challenges of equity in the cemeteries are further complicated based on changing cultural needs in death dying and memorialization. This will now be explored.

Changing Cultural Needs In Death, Dying and Memorialization

The funeral home is the place where people come together to remember someone who has lived and to support the community who had a loss. It serves as a secular place to transition from living with a person to living without a person, this is a place that is evolving.- Graeme Hogle



Figure 9 .Hogle Funeral Home in Mimico. Source: Image by Nicole N. Hanson



Figure 10. Ogden Funeral Home in Agincourt Scarborough. Source: by Nicole N. Hanson

The cultural diversity of Toronto informs how funeral homes equitably respond to diversity and changing cultural needs of death and memorialization. Funeral directors are required to learn of different cultures, religions, and customs to the best of our ability to help a family recreate those customs and religious beliefs to put them into practice, to honour the person who has died in a respectful manner. Garvie informs us that:

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

Funeral directors have a social, moral and business responsibility to the changing cultural needs of death because families have an emotional need, as whenever someone loses someone from their sphere of influence that had meaning in their life they are going to grieve. Part of our responsibility is to help families work through their grief. Part of that is through ceremony, bringing the community together; bringing friends together to recognize a life has been lost (D. Garvie, personal communication, June 11, 2015).

People have different levels of grief. You will have grief of the immediate family who has lost someone very close to them. You will have the neighbourhood in grief who wants to support the family in some manner. You will have the cultural community. You could have associations; the person may have been part of the association. The family has different levels of grief they are dealing with and we are allowing them to practice again to give honour and tribute to the family as well and give our support. Our responsibility is to help those different groups to recognize, celebrate, whatever manner is appropriate to the organization, neighbourhood or community (D. Garvie, personal communication, June 11, 2015).

The communities that the funeral homes serve change as do the changing cultural needs of death. Hogle Funeral Home is located in the Mimico-By-the-Lake-Community. It mostly serves community cultures that are European e.g. Anglo, Italian, Greek, Polish and Eastern European. All groups are very different in the ways they choose to do their celebrations:

Anglo type cultures have a lot of parallels, what happens at the funeral is similar to what happens in their religion. They want a religious experience at the funeral service and at

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

the burial. This experience has changed dramatically. More and more their funeral services have become more spiritual, yet not formally connect to church setting (personal communication, May 11, 2015).

Similarly in Scarborough the changes in the race and class of the communities the funeral home serve parallel the changed form of interment needs in death:

Scarborough is unique to the Greater Toronto Area. Primarily one of the major communities around our funeral home is the growth of the Chinese community. A combination of Chinese who could be third or fourth generation – integrated into North American culture attending catholic church or protestant church but. But when Grandma and Grandpa die as Buddhist, there's always a question as to what cultural service the family should do. Should they need a guide, the funeral home provides guidance to honor the family in their grassroots culture, because Mom, Dad and Grandma and grandpa were Buddhist – hence, we would need to assist to provide a Buddhist service. We have to make sure we have someone on staff who is culturally appropriate to help them bring this ceremony together. At times we are also teaching the family

Previously in Scarborough, we were serving the white Anglo-Saxon protestants, the older families from this community as this community is the old Agincourt Scarborough community. We now serve only 18 % of this community. Now we serve the Chinese, Siri Lankans, Pilipino, Caribbean, the 401 use to be a boundary line of persons who would not use our facilities. People before the 401 selected funeral homes south of us. People north of the 401 would come to us. Now those below the 401 are coming up to use our services based on our surveys, we put out the number one reason why people use our

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

funeral home is location (D. Garvie, personal communication, June 11, 2015).

In addition to the aforementioned, traditional funerals are also becoming a celebration of one's life, where there isn't so much of a religious component as there is that celebration. People have typically gone away from focusing on the death of the person to celebrating the life of the individual (G. Hogle, personal communication, May 11, 2015). Technology has also become part of the memorialization practices - families are now being skyped in from all over the world for celebration of life or funeral service. Grand children are now being more involved in the planning process. They are planning video tributes: DVDs about their grandparents documenting their life with photos and music, a role the funeral home use to do. It is good that families are becoming more involved and more engaged, there has just been a change in the way people have transition through this period (G. Hogle, personal communication, May 11, 2015).

With burial, there has been a more secular choice of disposition, a movement away from burial, commitment to cremation. This is because families are also becoming more educated in funerary practices and perceive this means as being more eco-friendly a "don't use up the land" mantra, but at the same time this mantra disregards the use of fossil fuels (G. Hogle, personal communication, May 11, 2015).

The changing cultural needs of death in funeralization in Toronto are driven by cultural value structures and class structures. According to G. Hogle:

People will do what they are familiar with, what they are comfortable with and find a way in some fashion to make it happen – they will do the funeral with adjustments. If it's important they have a gathering, a service, not so sure if they want burial, they may

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

adapt to cremation. With respect to the pricelist they may minimize what we offer, but in their world based on their value, that is the full tradition of what a funeral is to them, that's the value they place on it. Others will want to deal with immediate concern about the death and will figure out the funeral later. This is vice versa, some people who do not have the means will say, this is what has to be done, this is what needs to be done financially. As a director we guide, counsel, advice people through his process in their best interest.

Given the three cities approach- if there is a shrinking middle class, things definitely change when it comes to funeralization and cemeteries. We will see a more centralized notion of the wealth or concentric circle out to less wealthy areas, where the custom base will change, but need to have a service and find a means of disposition doesn't go away based on financial considerations. The financial strain will probably be in the outward city than the inward city. In terms of interment, cremations will be on the rise but if people want burials in the city it will be the most expensive, that is where land is most valuable, and less available. The use of cemetery land will be based on value or religious culture, there are cultural groups in the city that are still choosing burial but are not choosing burial in the city (G. Hogle, personal communication, May 11, 2015).

Similarly, D. Garvie asserts:

In our society today our value system is shifting, hugely due to a range of social factors such as families in states of decay, blended families, and reduction in church attendance. Peoples sphere of influence is diminishing, people do not want to commit to associations, volunteerism fading. As a profession the value of what we teach when someone dies is - is gone. Now there is a profession that is struggling to say how do

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

we teach this generation and the next generation about the value about what we do?

Generations are starting to questions what's the point of a funeral and whats in it for them, what do they get out of the experience? "Why should I bring my friends to look at my father's dead body in a casket? What are they going to get out of it?"

You have a generation right now that is strictly looking for a means of disposing of the dead body. Its cremation, it's quick and simple or if you happen to have a grave- open up the grave and have them buried. At times this is due to economic pressures. Having a good funeral service that honours the person who has died – does not have to be expensive. This goes back to values. The average cost for a wedding is \$31,000. The average cost of a funeral is \$6,000- \$7,000 dollars and people are usually always shocked at the price for a funeral. How come the value is on the value of the wedding and wedding dresses worn only for a few hours. Value systems are changing and its affecting all aspects of our lives (personal communication, June 11, 2015)

It can then be said that racialized sites and identities in the city are reflected in the spaces for death, dying and memorialisation. Such racialized sites and identities construct class relations of perpetuity. With the practice of people not planning for funerals in the GTA based on their socio-economic status, planning for a funeral is an affordability issue. According to Graeme, if people cannot afford funerals and their budget for interment and end of life ceremony is changing, it is important for the funeral home to question how can we change so that affordability is not a critical issue (G. Hogle, personal communication, May 11, 2015). We then have to question, how can we change our ways, processes, conveniences, products that help us to connect to the community in an easier fashion? The one stop shopping visitations on cemetery land is more so a convenience than an affordability- there is a cost for convenience it does really address issue (G. Hogle, personal communication, May 11, 2015).

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

Like the funeral home, cemeteries are addressing equitable place-making, class, race and culture in death practices. While cultural customs and religious belief systems are practised in the funeral industry, it also informs the final means of disposition of human remains in a cemetery or deathcapes alike. The following interviews demonstrate this:

Mount Pleasant Group (MPG) and other non-denominational operators honour the directional needs of other faiths as well, ensuring Muslims are buried on their side facing Mecca; Orthodox Christians facing east, in expectation of the second coming of Jesus Christ; and Jews with their feet toward the east, or cemetery gates, so when the Messiah comes and they are resurrected, they can make their way to Jerusalem (Tetotonio & Ogilvie, 2014, L1).

As in China, the graves are pre-constructed cremation lots, all south facing, with a red or black monument already in place. The number four was avoided because it's considered unlucky in Chinese tradition and Feng Shui masters ensured graves were well-situated, which brings descendants good fortune (Tetotonio & Ogilvie, 2014, L1). It is imperative for a cemetery to understand the needs and demands of each culture. For Feng Shui, south would be the direction of graves as the north was too cold, also Feng Shui masters look at the section to determine good site lines regarding chi, fire and water (Timney, personal communication, November 14, 2013).

Many Buddhists choose cremation and it's required of Hindus and Sikhs. Because Hindus, Sikhs and Buddhists must witness the cremation, MPG is upgrading its four crematoriums, from small industrial-like spaces to areas that comfortably accommodate large groups. (Two witnessing rooms will hold up to 150 people.) Often, the oldest son

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

— or next of kin — begins the cremation process as tradition stipulates (Tetotonio & Ogilvie, 2014, L1).

In 2012, the Toronto Muslim Cemetery opened, helmed by Ahsan, a Shia, and Abdul Huq Ingar, a Sunni. Given the conflict between Islam's two largest sects in parts of the world, a joint Sunni-Shia project was "a very big deal" says Ahsan. Plus, land was purchased through an interest-free loan from a Jewish company in a deal handled by a Christian lawyer: "Only in a place like Toronto," he adds (Tetotonio & Ogilvie, 2014, L1).

It is for all these reasons, the changing cultural needs of death need to be addressed in the City of Toronto's Official Plan and Secondary Plans. The issues I have discussed must inform how planners must meet local community interest of the politics of death, race, space and place-making, where the materiality of such place-making becomes a perpetual generational land use that is to be prioritized.

Participatory Observation:

I now turn to my findings from the participatory observation that I did in cemeteries. Here, I attend to observing changing cultural practices of death, experience what the cemetery felt like, see how it functions in relation to its existing community in order to resolve how zoning could further address planning for death in the Toronto based on the cemeteries needs. Here, I also analyze how spaces of the dead mirror capitalist modes of production and consumption. Being made aware of the socio-economic spatial organization of the cemetery, I was able to map and remap spatial distributions of power.

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

Table 4: Observations: Common Practices

Cemetery:	Cemetery Size:	Visit Dates:	Cemetery Characteristics:	Observations:	Surrounding Urban Area:
Park Lawn Cemetery	Over 73 acres	November 21, 2013 January 11, 20 April 16, 2014	-Rolling park-like landscaping - Diverse ethnic and cultural communities - The light sounds of water - The unraveling of nature; bare trees, dead grass - Highly religious, crosses and angels on most of the markers and monuments - Many Family estate lots - Manicured landscape	- Senior couple visiting a grave, carrying wreath covered in plastic - The interment process (disposition of body into the grave) - Funeral processional; a lot of SUV's and people wearing dark sunglasses - Interments - Digging up the road to accommodate burials	Residential,
Mount Pleasant Cemetery	200 acres	November 4, 2013 February 8, 2014 June 2, 2015	-Pastoral landscape - Manicured Landscapes - Space for Bourgeois and proletariat bodies (bourgeois more pronounced). -Historic , elitist mausoleums -Boulder Gardens - Diverse ethnic and cultural communities, represented by markers and	- Couple walking - Persons jogging - Cemetery grounds maintenance conducts - People visiting grave	Residential

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> monuments - Many family estate lots 		
Christ Church St. James Cemetery	¼ acre	<p>March 12, 2014</p> <p>May 6, 2014</p> <p>June 14, 2015</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Cemetery Parkette - Fronting onto Royal York, - Public Amenities (benches, water fountain, cigarette receptacle/ash tray) - Manicured landscape -Religious cemetery; Christian 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Quite - No visitors - No cemetery grounds maintenance 	<p>Abuts residential, provides buffer from Train Station</p> <p>Mixed - Use</p>
Highland Memory Gardens Cemetery & Mausoleum	40 acres	<p>April 18, 2014</p> <p>October 27, 2014</p> <p>December 19, 2015</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Symmetrical, pastoral landscape - Memorial benches and trees - Artistic adorned mausoleums , columbarium's - Diverse ethnic and cultural communities represented by markers and monuments - Manicured landscape 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -People visiting grave - Cemetery grounds maintenance 	Residential

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

Toronto Necropolis Cemetery	18.25 acres	November 14, 2014 June 2015, 2015	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Diverse ethnic and cultural communities represented by markers and monuments - Manicured landscape - Patriotic to Toronto early settlers - Religious memorialization 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Quite - No visitors - Grounds well maintained - Elaborate Victorian gothic architecture 	Abuts Residential
-----------------------------	-------------	--	---	--	-------------------

Through several visits to the five cemeteries, the findings reveal that race, ethnicity, class, gender – and other markers of difference are situated in the cultural landscape of each cemetery, illustrated the story of how persons lived in the city is the way in which such persons died in the city. Central to the confirmation the physical landscape of the cemeteries indicating they were running out of space to bury the dead.



Figure11. Park Lawn Cemetery. “ New Lots Available Sign” Source: Image by Nicole N. Hanson

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities



Figure 12: Park Lawn Cemetery, in-ground burial interments. Source: Image by Nicole N. Hanson



Figure 13. Mount Pleasant Cemetery. Source: Image by Nicole N. Hanson

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities



Figure 13. Mount Pleasant Cemetery. Source: Image by Nicole N. Hanson



Figure 14. Christ Church St. James Cemetery Parkette. Source: Image by Nicole N. Hanson

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities



Figure 15. Public amenities at Christ Church St. James Cemetery. Source: Image by Nicole N. Hanson



Figure 16. Christ Church St. James Cemetery. Source Image by Nicole N. Hanson



Figure 17. Highland Memory Gardens Cemetery & Mausoleum. Source: Image by Nicole N. Hanson

New Uses for Old spaces: The People’s Park & Passive Recreation

In addition to my previously discussed observation, urban cemeteries in Toronto attract a high value of recreational activities. People use the cemetery other than its traditional purpose – the disposition of human remains. Here, people walk, jog, reflect, stand still, bird watch, as a greens space away from the construction sites and development of Toronto’s famous streets. Below are a list of urban cemeteries that channel and redirect dialogues on multi-purpose use and passive recreation:

Table: Recreational Activities in Urban Cemeteries

Recreational activities in urban cemeteries	Urban Cemeteries as a Mixed-use, Repurposed, Reimagined Space	Urban Cemetery in Greater Toronto Area
Running	Park - Green Open Space	Mount Pleasant Park Lawn
Jogging	Park - Green Open Space	Park Lawn Mount Pleasant
Dog walking	Park - Green Open Space	Mount Pleasant

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

Horticultural Studies	Arboretum	Mount Pleasant Park Lawn
Bird Watching	Bird Sanctuary	Mount Pleasant Park Lawn
Nature Studies	Preservationist Planning	Mount Pleasant Park Lawn
Genealogical Studies	Historical Archive Historical Landmark	Mount Pleasant Park Lawn
Architectural Studies	Cemetery Design Parks Planning Monument Design	Highland Memory Garden Mount Pleasant Park Lawn
Social Gathering Space	Generational Storytelling Spiritual Connection	Mount Pleasant Park Lawn Highland Memory Garden
Cross Country Skiing		Mount Pleasant

The general consensus is that urban cemeteries have a diverse role in hosting a variety of communal leisure and recreational pursuits. This makes clear the fact the urban cemetery is not only a land use necessity to bury a city's dead, but it play a vital community green space – already understood as a multiuse landscape. It is this narrative that links the pristine, reflective pastoral landscapes of the cemetery with peoples need for accessible attractive green space in spaces of death and memorialization. According to Sidaway & Maddrell (2010) the role of the cemetery plays an important role in the conservation and celebration of memory but may equally be of significant in the social, physical and mental health and development of people.

It is important to note that not every cemetery represents itself as a urban greens space open to the public. Nor can every cemetery be considered as the 'people's park' or as a space for passive recreation, such as Muslim, Jewish, Anglican and highly religious cemeteries. In addition to this, the aforementioned cemeteries should not be positioned to be compared to non-

denominational cemeteries which may have an agenda to accommodate public use in a private cemetery. Hence, the need for municipal city planning to plan for cemeteries will now be discussed in relation to the changing needs of death across diverse races and cultures in Toronto.

The Need for Municipal City Planning to Plan for Cemeteries:

There has been longstanding evolution of contention between cemeteries and municipalities regarding the need for municipal city planning to plan for Cemeteries in Toronto.

Larkin claims:

The corollary to that is that because cemeteries don't require a lot of municipal services, from an infrastructure planning perspective, why would the city want to put in a lot of infrastructure around a site that is going to be a cemetery with no return on your capital investment? There's no development charges that would offset the cost of those services even though there would be development charges it would not be the same scale as it would be for a residential or employment development. From a fiscal perspective it doesn't make a lot of sense to use "serviced" or land to be 'serviced' for cemeteries so the result of that is that cemeteries are "non-urban use". They typically end up being just outside municipalities.

Cemeteries don't require municipal services. Municipalities will say cemeteries that are "urban use" where are you going to put it? No where in the municipality in land use planning address where a cemetery should be. Their policy doesn't back up the conversion of land for a cemetery. If a municipality has employment lands you can't convert those for cemetery land because you have to go through municipal land study mandated by the PPS to take employment lands out of employment use, then you're

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

looking at other lands such as residential lands for example that will take land out of their residential land inventory which will cause them issues in trying to meet their population projections (personal communication, June 11, 2015).

My findings confirmed the how the immediate need for planning for cemeteries and the immediate challenge planners face:

The challenge with the cemetery is that it is a permanent use in the North American land use culture. Unlike planning for housing, once you have housing established the housing is reusable, where generations can come and go, the housing stock gets reused and replaced or updated, its typically available for you. As soon as you use a cemetery plot it is not reusable, you have to find another plot for the next person it cannot be migrated from family to family (Larkin, personal communication June 11, 2015).

Secondly the planning horizon, in the PPS is 20 years:

The 20-year horizon is always a moving target. This is also difficult for planners to understand as you always looking 20 years ahead to know what the employment and housing needs will be, and when it comes to cemetery planning its actually 115 - 128 years to plan. This is because in cemetery planning we look for multi-generational. A generation replaces itself statically every 28 years. We look to plan for four (4) generations, because cemeteries server as historical facet of a families history. There will be a constant requirement for cemetery space, even though burial practices will shift from time to time, and cremation grows more popular- planners will still be dealing with the same problem, because once you bury someone or cremated you still cannot use that spot, the scattering of ashes is available for people but that's a small percentage of

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

population, most people follow traditional type burial, as for some religions you cannot cremate.

The findings confirm, the focus to plan for cemeteries is not just about where cemetery use can be zoned in Toronto, but what kind of cemetery will be needed with an evolving demographic which makes up various community:

Certain communities tend to congregate together, but we also seen through history in Toronto how those communities will actually move around within the urban area. What use to be an area that had lot of Italians would be replaced by another group. The Italians have predominately moved to another area of the city. The same thing with the Chinese population and etc (Larkin, personal communication, June 11, 2015).

We were looking at a 100 year time frame for the cemetery we hadn't understood certain religious communities will come into a cemetery and will buy one (1) or two (2) or three (3) gardens for their congregation. Those gardens are purposed for a certain group as you capture people who are still passing away. Then you have another group coming in to buy other gardens, who are now competing for space. As a planner you then get involved with some of the nuisances of cemetery planning such as a certain group will want a garden laid out a certain way because they want to avoid shadows on another grave, which has an impact on as to how you lay a cemetery out, which also has an impact on what your yield might be for the cemetery (M. Larkin, personal communication, June 11, 2015).

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

Access to Memorialization Spaces: Diversity, Equity, Ethnicity, Race & Class:

Cemeteries in Toronto encourage families to prearrange as planning for death becomes expensive:

Affordability for cemetery space can be an issue. We encourage families to prearrange as accommodations do go up in price. It is possible that people are not choosing cremation because they cannot afford burial, because you can have cremation arrangements that cost just as much or more than a burial. What you may find happening, because of the cost of cemetery property in metropolitan Toronto, families are having to choose a burial spot in the 905 or beyond because of cost.

Various cultural groups realize they cannot afford to have their own cemetery. So they will buy up 300 – 1000 lots and plots within an existing cemetery to keep their churches or groups together. Dealing with the Muslim community, we know they want to face Mecca. We would orientate our graves so the head would face that way.

With the Chinese community, Feng Shui is very important, high lands are important to them than lower lands; also facing the waters is a good thing. So if you had a storm water retention pond that was elevated in a grave space the right way - that would be considered very good. They are very concerned about the after life and that their loved ones are going to be happy (G.Carmichael, personal communication, June 12, 2015).

Cemetery operator's address, if Toronto is to equitably plan for death it requires complete communities:

If municipalities are letting communities grow and are putting in subdivisions, then they better have somewhere to bury them. The municipality needs to have somewhere for the dead to go. They can let a private or a religious operator do it or they do it themselves.

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

Interesting the city of Toronto owns a number of inactive cemeteries, but you can't be buried in a city of Toronto cemetery. What a lot of people don't realize is that cemeteries are a very little drain on the tax dollars we plough our own road, pay for our hydro our water we cut the grass, most times we have private garbage collection – no municipal services are needed. We do it at no expense to the tax payer. The key here is, if we weren't not take care of the dead, if the church isn't doing it that means the residents would be paying for it. How many people do you think would want to pay more taxes so the municipality could runs its cemetery?. We will be there when the public needs us. Allow us term burials, allow us to do the things we do well and we wont have this issue down the road (G. Carmichael, personal communication, June 11, 2015).

In efforts of municipal city planning meeting the need to spatially plan for death in Toronto, public engagement and civic dialogues will better assist in fulfilling this function. Through my fieldwork at the City of Toronto was able to directly create an initial dialogue of the need for public engagement.

Public Engagement & Civic Dialogues **City of Toronto Fieldwork – Spatially Planning For Death In Cities**

The way municipalities address space and places of dying, memorialization and remembrance further open up or limit civic dialogues of planning for the full life cycle of cities. In connecting the City of Toronto to the spatial language of cemetery, my goal was that my research should be rooted to the humanity of planning cities, acknowledging diversity of people and difference as strength.

My internship within the Social Development, Finance & Administration Division (SDFA) at the City of Toronto –a social planning policy development initiative: “Spatially Planning For Death In Cities was focused on:

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

- i) SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT POLICY: Start a municipal inter-divisional dialogue on how to spatially plan for death in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA), given the shortage of land urban cemeteries are facing, due to urbanization and socio-cultural needs in death.

- ii) BUILT URBAN FORM POLICY: Foster awareness amongst city builders and stakeholders alike, in order to define opportunities that address the limitations of the Planning Act, with respect to future cemetery and funeral home designation - in order to accommodate growth

Similarly, as a means of public engagement and civic dialogues, I hosted a Jane's Walk as a CAPS Confrence delegate on behalf of the 2014 the Canadian Association of Planning Students -L'Association Canadienne des Étudiants en Aménagement et Urbanisme (CAPS-ACÉAU), to engaged with planning students, planning professionals and funeral and cemetery professionals to facilitate the spatially planning for death in Toronto pilot public engagement dialogue. The goal of the walk was to bringing a spatial lens to death, dying, mourning and remembrance, where city planning could start to address changing needs in Toronto.



Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

Figure 18 & Figure 19 .Mount Pleasant Visitation Centre; Janes Walk. Source: Image by Nicole N. Hanson

Conclusion:

I have argued in this chapter that there are many factors inhibiting the issue of planning for death and difference in cities. My findings show that economic growth is a key issue inhibiting planning for this question. It is also underlies many of the difficulties around planning for all the specificities to do with both interment and ritual space. I have argued that it is critical that we pay attention to the question of death if we are to resolve the emerging contradictions around diversity, race, space and changing cultural practices, which are emerging in deathscapes in Toronto. How we remember persons in the cemetery has serious implications for how we imagine equality and equity in death in the future. Further to this chapter, recommendations will be discussed to resolve spatially planning for death in the City of Toronto. In the last chapter, I provide recommendations to spatially plan for death in the city that is culturally appropriate, equitably accessible and demographically accommodating, with limited social and environmental impacts. I contend in answering the one principal question: *how can we spatially plan for death in the city of Toronto given the changing cultural needs and racial composition of the city in the context of urbanization, where the city expands and cemetery space continues to shrink? This will now be discussed.*

The theoretical frameworks of the political economy of death and the production of space in the cemetery has uncovered the ways in which the cemetery is linked to diverse forms of power relations such as race and class in a greater system of capitalism. More importantly, the analysis of race is a historical and ideological process, whose meaning is changing, meriting ongoing dialogues of power, privilege, race, space and class in the cemetery. These principles must be discussed if we are to understand the deeper systemic questions underlying obstacles to spatial planning for death in the context of growing aging urban population, accelerated

diversity, an accelerated loss of spaces, finite land and the certainty of death. How the City of Toronto can spatially plan for death, does merit further investigation as tensions between the unfolding realities of a race and space analysis and qualitative research methods producing data consistent with multicultural liberal ideals – limit and omit death being an immediate equity issue. In identifying and uncovering societal practices of racial spatialization the cemetery, it forges new paths and new ways of seeing inequalities. However, multicultural approaches to address planning for death in Toronto, which was produced in the data, informed the discussion on achieving greater equality across lines of race, class, ethnicity, religion and working with diverse cultural values in memorialization practices. Taken together, it is important to understand how a multicultural response in the data bound and restrain addressing how death is an equity issue, which urgently needs to be addressed in planning and policy, with respect to equity, diversity and inclusiveness. With this said, I present an analysis of recommendations that are intricately linked to the theoretical frameworks of the political economy of death, the production of space and the socio- economic racialization of the cemetery; to inform planning models and political dialogues on how to provide tangible solutions of equality, diversity and inclusiveness to spatially plan for death in Toronto.

Chapter 4: Recommendations ‘The Right to Death In the City’

These recommendations are sensitive and respectful to ethnic and religious cemeteries whose purpose serves solely as a sacred space – where the below recommendations are not compatible. With this said, given the range of diverse cemetery spaces the following recommendations can be implemented to a broader range of cemeteries to guide the city of Toronto to equitably plan for death in the city:

How Planners Can Contribute:

Working with expert opinion in planning on a provincial level that facilitates cemetery and

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

crematoria establishments, alterations and increase of capacity along with burial site discoveries. The Provincial Policy Statement recognizes cemeteries in community planning and it is for the City of Toronto to implement the functional land use of cemeteries in their official and secondary plans, that are culturally compatible based on the yearly projection of mortality rates. Basmajian and Coutts (2010) state planners can prepare future burial – need scenarios based on the age structure of the community and the projected number of deaths and develop alternatives for addressing them in the land use plan based on existing burial space, regulations governing burial facilities and potential locations for future interments. Planners can work with a range of institutions to secure cemetery use in the city. These should include public and private sectors, range of interests groups: owners, managers, undertaker, religious congregations, planners, politicians, plot owners and the public who have cemetery interests.

The Cemetery Planning Process for Planners:

I propose that the City planning at the City of Toronto needs to work with cemetery operators to form a 'Cemetery Planning Steering Committee' in order to be successful at addressing spatial needs of urban cemeteries in the diverse city of Toronto, respective to the political economy of death, to equity, diversity, race, space, culture and class. According to Basmajian and Coutts (2010):

1. Planners should encourage policies for alternative methods of disposal that would reduce or avoid toxic chemical, concrete, and wood typically used to preserve and entomb a corpse. Policies should be written to address natural burials, resomation and columbaria. Should alternative process become widely accepted, policies should be further modified.
2. Planners with cemeteries should mandate a cemetery master planning process encouraging the design of burials grounds into existing communities, explicitly incorporating multiple uses and accommodating divergent burial practices, making burial facilities into more central

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

community land uses.

3. Planners should develop public outreach strategies that acknowledges diverse interment needs and highlight potential community benefits of integrated multipurpose burial grounds through a public planning process.

In essence community land use plans can put cemeteries on the planning forefront to better ease the process of incorporating cemetery space as a development project of the city. A first place to start would be by maximizing the opportunities within inactive cemeteries the City of Toronto currently operate as cemetery operators and by facilitating an open dialogue session as a method of public consultation can be used as community building tool for civic engagement and good planning as a practice.

Cemetery Needs Analysis

City planning can conduct a cemetery needs analysis to consider growth projections to determine a municipalities cemetery land use needs. The Municipality of York Region is currently undergoing a Cemetery Needs Analysis to address the shortage of cemetery space in accommodating ethnic, cultural changing needs of death in the locality. Attending the stakeholder workshop as the Licensing and Registration Officer of the Cemeteries and Crematoriums Regulation Unit at the Ministry of Government and Consumer Services – this engagement provided the timely confirmation that municipalities need to start planning for space to bury their dead in their locality:

In York Region we've had long discussion about their new official plan which is now old. We have many discussions explaining the challenges of cemeteries and why their important, why no one wants them and why you have to have them. Why its important

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

for the region at the regional level to provide policy direction to the local level to ensure this land use is taken care of. This is a step in the right direction and now we have to see other regions do the same thing (Larkin, personal communication, May 11, 2015).

The study is currently underway by York Region, who will provide provincial and regional land use policy direction, available land supply and economics to secure cemetery space in York Region for 2016. This dialogue is apart of submissions to the province for the Greenbelt Review, soliciting the province to consider removing the requirement that cemeteries be "small scale" on protected lands.

Zoning

Zoning is a vital instrumental planning tool – as planner's regulatory tool, it can be used to designate and regulate the land use for future cemetery space in Toronto. Rezoning areas in the city of Toronto allows for the reshaping of the landscape, targeting where new cemeteries can go, and what type of development would be prohibited. According to Basmajian and Coutts (2010) without challenging the fundamentals structure of a city code, planners could advocate for changes in zoning ordinances to allow for more burials in more districts such as thoughtfully designed small community burial grounds, where they would provide valuable green spaces to suburban-style neighbourhoods and low to medium volume transit nodes. The impact of rezoning for urban cemeteries may not be seen and felt directly, but it will progressively reshape the culture and social interaction of cemetery space within its existing urban environment.

In July 2014, the Ontario Municipal Board (OMB) approved rezoning and site plan applications to establish a cemetery use (columbarium) for 2451 Birchmount Road, Scarborough, with the issuance of a building permit for the establishment of the proposed columbarium (P.Zuliani, personal communication, September 4, 2014). The proposed building

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

would be a four-storey structure located on the east side of Birchmount Road and north of Sheppard Avenue East (former City of Scarborough) and would have sufficient space to accommodate the remains of approximately 12, 600 people including 26 minimum parking spaces and associated landscaping (P.Zuliani, personal communication, September 4, 2014). In addition to this, the proposed rezoning was consistent with the 2005 PPS providing an opportunity that created no adverse environmental, land impacts and societal impacts. Hence, with the vacant parcel of land built up in the form of urban intensification, the cemetery served to accommodate the same number of human remains as an in-ground cemetery on 2.5% of the land area contributing to a mix of uses in accordance with Policies 1.1.1. (b) and 1.1.3.2 with Policy 1.1.3.4. of the Provincial Policy Statement (PPS).

Public Participation & NIMBYism

Cemeteries will become more widely recognized as local amenities, as the city of Toronto becomes denser. While this is true, cemeteries still merit a case of defense, where the onus of their validation in the community fabric will be consistently attested. According to Basmajian and Coutts (2010) while established cemeteries blend seamlessly into the residential landscape and become local amenities, people often object proposals to build new cemeteries or expand existing ones. As new cemeteries become the apart of the municipal planning landscape to meet the city's growing demand for burial space – it will be coupled by resistance from the public and almost certainly an appeal to the Ontario Municipal Board (OMB).

Cemetery parkettes would provide a more passive reflective pastoral enjoyment of urban green space in between existing buildings, responding to the growing need for cemetery space while leaving residents with a communal space to fill local need. With this said, cemetery operation changes can better encourage the public use of the parkette. Simple changes like expanding the hours of operation even the season of the year, gates could be open to

encourage a greater public use of existing cemeteries in the city (Basmanjian & Coutts, 2010, pg.313).

Term Burial

The European practice of term burial 'leasing burial space' is becoming an ongoing conversation among cemetery operators in Toronto. The term burial is also practiced in the United Kingdom and Australia where perpetual spaces of the dead have been exhausted as being land conflict issue in cities. According to Basmajian and Coutts (2010):

Australia cemeteries have begun to establish 50-year licence agreements. After this, the original human remains are buried more deeply and the space close to the surface is reused (Sterba, 2006). Thus, multiple people may be buried on top of one another with a few feet of earth between. However, this practice is not widely popular. In the City of London, UK, where interring large numbers of the dead in a small area has been a problem, for a thousand years (Walter, 2005), grave sharing has still encountered resistance (Lawless, 2009), and it is unlikely to soon to be widely accepted in the United States.

In addition to this, burial in perpetuity and perpetual care are not the norm in much of the rest of the world, in Italy and Germany, people lease a burial space for a finite period – anywhere from five to ninety-nine years (Eggener, 2010, pg. 14). In some cases their families renew the leases, although it is more common for the bones to be removed to a charnel house and the graves reused for new burials (Eggener, 2010, pg.15). This guarantees the cemetery a perpetual source of income meaning they wont become abandoned or a drain on the municipality or tax payers. There's a lot of wins in the equation but people need to be socialized to this option for the future Solves land issues, economic issues for cemeteries. Provides the

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

availability of spaces as the population ages (G. Carmichael, personal communication, June 11, 2015).

This paper has discussed how Toronto can spatially plan for death as a city. As the political economy of death, equity, diversity, race, space, culture and class, raise important questions and recommendations around cemetery land use that is culturally appropriate, equitably accessible and demographically accommodating – this research is limiting. While the spatial organization of the cemetery reproduces and maintains hierarchies of difference in the political economy of death, solutions to this urban crisis can start with municipal city planning assertively addressing how cemetery land use can be equitably socialized in planning as a practice.

This contribution is a tool for urban planning processes in the City of Toronto, where re-imagining the ‘Silent City’ can only serve as a planning function through civic consciousness, public engagement and a planners need to not only recognize humanity’s difference in the living city, but humanities difference in the city of the dead.

Bibliography

- Allahar, A., & Côté, J. E. (1998). *Richer and poorer: The structure of inequality in Canada*. James Lorimer & Company.
- Basmajian, C., & Coutts, C. (2010). Planning for the disposal of the dead. *Journal of the American planning association*, 76(3), 305-317.
- Bennett, G., & Davies, P. J. (2015). Urban cemetery planning and the conflicting role of local and regional interests. *Land Use Policy*, 42, 450-459.
- Blanco, H., Alberti, M., Forsyth, A., Krizek, K. J., Rodriguez, D. A., Talen, E., & Ellis, C. (2009). Hot, congested, crowded and diverse: Emerging research agendas in planning. *Progress in Planning*, 71(4), 153-205.
- Coutts, C., Basmajian, C., & Chapin, T. (2011). Projecting landscapes of death. *Landscape and Urban Planning*, 102(4), 254-261.
- Deathscapes : Spaces for death, dying, mourning and remembrance* (c2010). In Maddrell A., Sidaway J. D. (Eds.), . Farnham, Surrey, England ; Ashgate.
- Degen, M., & Rose, G. (2012). The sensory experiencing of urban design: The role of walking and perceptual memory. *Urban Studies*, 49(15), 3271-3287.
doi:10.1177/0042098012440463
- Egger, K. (2010). *Cemeteries*. WW Norton & Company.
- Fanon, F. (1963). *The wretched of the earth*. New York: Grove.
- Fincher, R., & Jacobs, J. M. (Eds.). (1998). *Cities of difference*. Guilford Press.
- Fincher, R., Iveson, K., Leitner, H., & Preston, V. (2014). Planning in the multicultural city: Celebrating diversity or reinforcing difference?. *Progress in Planning*, 92, 1-55.
- Flynn, J. P., & Laderman, G. (1994). Purgatory and the Powerful Dead: A Case Study of Native American Repatriation. *Religion and American Culture*, 51-75.
- Forester, J. (1987). Planning in the face of conflict: Negotiation and mediation strategies in local land use regulation. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 53(3), 303-314.
- Francis, D. (2003). Cemeteries as cultural landscapes. *Mortality*, 8(2), 222-227.
- Gates Jr, H. L. (1986). Race, writing and difference.

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

- Gottdiener, M. (2010). *The social production of urban space*. University of Texas Press.
- Harvey, D. (1978). The urban process under capitalism. *International Journal of urban and Regional Research*, 2(1-2), 101-131.
- Harvey, D. (1985). *The urbanization of capital* (p. 8). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Harvey, D. (2008). *The right to the city*.
- Heller, C. (1999). On Ecology of Everyday Life from *Ecology of Everyday Life: Rethinking the Desire for Nature*. Black Rose Books, 172-174.
- Hodge, G. (2014). In Gordon D. L. A. (Ed.), *Planning canadian communities : An introduction to the principles, practice, and participants* (6th ed. ed.). Toronto: Nelson Education.
- Hooks, B. (1992). *Representing whiteness in the black imagination*. Routledge
- Hulchanski, J. D. (2010). *The three cities within Toronto: Income polarization among Toronto's neighbourhoods, 1970-2005*. Toronto: Cities Centre, University of Toronto.
- Javeed N. (2015). *Markham residents protest mausoleum 'monstrosity'* .Retrieved from <http://www.thestar.com/news/gta/2015/07/05/markham-residents-protest-mausoleum-monstrosity.html>.
- Kipfer, S. (2002). Urbanization, everyday life and the survival of capitalism: Lefebvre, Gramsci and the problematic of hegemony. *Capitalism Nature Socialism*, 13(2), 117-149.
- Kipfer, S. (2007). Fanon and space: colonization, urbanization, and liberation from the colonial to the global city. *Environment and Planning D*, 25(4), 701.
- Kovel, J. (2007). *Enemy of nature : The end of capitalism or the end of the world?*. London, GBR: Zed Books.
- Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The production of space* (Vol. 142). Blackwell: Oxford.
- Marx, K. (1990). *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*. London: Penguin Group.
- Mazumdar, S., & Mazumdar, S. (2008). Religious placemaking and community building in diaspora. *Environment and Behavior*.

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

- McKittrick, K. (2013). Plantation Futures. *Small Axe*, 17(3 42), 1-15.
- Mount Pleasant Group of Cemeteries (2014). *Handbook of Burial Rights*. Toronto, ON.
- Omi, M., & Winant, H. (2014). *Racial formation in the United States*. Routledge.
- Popenoe, D. (1963). Education for Urban Studies. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 6(6), 14-20.
- Pratt, K. (2012). Rethinking community: Conservation, practice, and emotion. *Emotion, Space and Society*, 5(3), 177-185. doi:10.1016/j.emospa.2011.08.003
- Razack, S. (2002). *Race, space, and the law: Unmapping a white settler society*. Between the Lines.
- Richardson, R. (2000). *Death, dissection and the destitute*. University of Chicago Press.
- Roach, J. (1996). *Cities of the dead: Circum-Atlantic performance*. Columbia University Press.
- Shibley, R. G., Schneekloth, L. H., & Hovey, B. (2003). Constituting the public realm of a region: placemaking in the bi-national Niagaras. *Journal of architectural education*, 57(1), 28-42.
- Short, J. R. (2014). *Urban theory: A critical assessment*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Shum, D. (2015). Precarious jobs on the rise in the greater toronto and hamilton area. Retrieved from <http://globalnews.ca/news/2009670/precarious-jobs-on-the-rise-in-the-greater-toronto-and-hamilton-area/>
- Stallybrass, P. (1998). Marx's coat. *Border fetishisms: Material objects in unstable spaces*, 183-207.
- Teotonio, I & Ogilvie, M. (2014) How diversity has changed the way we handle our dead. Retrieved from <http://goo.gl/KMjP3J>.
- Toronto Diversity Facts (1998-2015). Retrieved from <http://goo.gl/dllae1>.
- Toronto City Planning (2010). Toronto Official Plan. Map 1: Toronto Aging Population.
- Toronto City Planning (2010). Toronto Official Plan. Map 2: Forecasted GTA Population.
- Wacquant, L. (2008). *Urban outcasts: A comparative sociology of advanced marginality*. Polity.

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

Zerbisias, A. (2014) Toronto Star. Retrieved from <http://goo.gl/VYNouo>.

Zimmerman, M. E., Callicott, J. B., & Sessions, G. (2005). Environmental philosophy. *From Animal Rights to Radical Ecology*, 3.

Interviews

Qualitative purposive interviews were conducted with nine (9) informants as a research method, to understand issue of *how the city of Toronto can spatially plan for death when urban cemeteries are faced with a shortage of land to accommodate the dead? How do spatial planning issues intersect with social class, race, religious values, cultural traditions, the aging population and accelerated diversity?* The benefit of the interview was that it provided an evolution of changing cultural practices of death practices in Toronto. Below are a list of nine (9) informants who have shaped and informed this paper to reflect the need for city planning to spatially planning for death in Toronto:

1) The first interview was Graeme Hogle, Managing Funeral of Hogle Funeral Home. Graeme's interview analyzes the meaning and value of funeral establishments in the urban area of Mimico in order to understand changing societal practices in commemorating and memorializing the life of a loved one in the context of space and place. Graeme also speaks to city planning addressing specialized zoning provisions for funeral homes to accommodate changing societal practices of death.

2) The second interview was with Laksh Vig, a school colleague in the MES Program at York University whose ethnicity is Indian and religious culture practice is Hindu. Laksh's interview discussed Hindu cultural funeral and disposition practices.

3) The third interview was with Melissa Kencher, a work colleague whose ethnicity is Italian and whose religious cultural practice is Catholicism. Melissa's interview discussed Italian cultural and funeral disposition practices.

4) The fourth interview was with Seon Tyrell, a friend whose ethnicity is Guyanese and whose religious cultural practice is Christian. Seon's interview challenged the political economy of death in cultural and funeral dispositions practices.

5) The fifth interview was with Glen Timney, Vice –President of Corporate Development at Mount Pleasant Cemetery to discuss cemetery land use needs and the cultural climate of diversity needs of cemeteries in Toronto.

6) The sixth interview was with Gary Carmichael, Vice-President of Arbor Memorial Services to discuss the trends of cemetery land use needs given the diversity and limits of land in Toronto.

7) The seventh interview was with Micheal Larkin, Principal at Larkin + Associates planning consultants, who specializes in cemetery land use planning, addressing the ways in which city planning needs to spatially plan for death in Official and Secondary plans.

8) The ninth interview was with David Garvie, General Manager of Ogden Funeral home, who discussed the evolution of changing cultural practices in death and memorialization, addressing the changing values of the funeral home and how it is to be considered in spatially planning for death urban areas.

9) The tenth interview was with Daniel Fusca, Stakeholder Engagement Lead at the City of Toronto Planning Division discussed planning priorities in the city of Toronto where spatially planning for death was not yet on the city's planning horizon where should be considered in the not too distant future.

Appendix A
Informed Consent Form

Nicole Natalie Hanson
MES III | Urban & Regional Planning
Student # 2100 423 49
May 15, 2015

SPATIALLY PLANNING FOR DEATH IN CITIES
ETHICS LETTER

Dear Mr. D'Mello:

I am writing this letter to ask if you would be available to speak with me. I am conducting research on spatially planning for death in Cities. As cities continue to grow, cemeteries continue to shrink in the context of urbanization. With this said, I would learn of your insights regarding the demands that cemeteries and funeral home are currently facing, with recommendations as to how to move forward. I have been working with Professor Honor Ford-Smith and planning Director Professor Laura Taylor in the Urban and Regional Planning Graduate Program within the Faculty of Environmental Studies at York University. The research has been reviewed and approved by the FES Human Participants Research Committee on behalf of York University. My understanding is your lived experience has allowed you to come into geographical spaces of death, dying and memorialization. For this reason, I would like to meet with you, to gain more insights about the demands of death in cities based on your experiences. I anticipate taking no more than forty-five minutes of your time.

I anticipate our discussion would revolve around the following issues and themes:

1. What has been your cultural experience of the funeral home based on your experience with death?
2. How do you think the funeral home in your community will be able to service you or your family? Why or why not?
3. Tell me how you feel represented or underrepresented in the funeral home?
4. How would your class limit / ensure the funeral service you desire?
5. How would you class limit/ensure the cemetery plot you desire?
7. Do you feel funeral homes based on your experience represent you?
8. What has been your experience of the cemetery based on your experience with death?
9. Is it important to be buried with your family even though urban cemeteries are land-strapped?
10. Tell me if you feel purchasing interment rights are accessible for you based on your race, culture and economic status.
11. Do you feel you have access to purchase any plot located in the cemetery? Why or why not?
12. Tell me if your ethnicity or culture encourages to be buried altogether?
13. Do you visit the cemetery often, if so how do you use the space?

Our meeting would be more like a consultative conversation than a formal interview. In discussing the issues noted above, I will have a list of questions but am also open to letting the discussion unfold as we address the issues mentioned above. Also kindly note, if you agree to meet with me, you are under no obligation to answer any question I might ask.

Normally I take notes, and hope to record this conversation. Recording is only to assist my note

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

taking. My intention is to use the notes from our discussion in connection with my thesis in the Masters Program at York University. Thesis are published, but not widely circulated. As well, I might later wish to publish an academic article that relies upon our discussion in a respectable fashion to educate the broader community.

If I do wish to quote you by name or in any way that could be attributed to you, I undertake to provide you with a copy of the intended quotation. You will have the opportunity to revise any comments associated with your name. You can also stay anonymous as well. The notes (and recording) from our discussion will be kept in my safekeeping for a period of at least two years. I will treat them as confidential to the limit allowed by law. Neither the topics we will discuss, nor any writing I do afterwards, are intended to produce a "report card" on any person or organization.

Needless to say, you are under no obligation to meet with me and you may call the session to a close at any time. If you agree to meet, I look forward to hearing from you. I will be in touch with you within the next ten days to see if a convenient time for this meeting can be arranged. Do not hesitate to be in touch with me if you have any questions or concerns. I can be reached at (647) 969-8179.

York University has a policy on research ethics.

You will find this at <http://www.yorku.ca/research/support/ethics/>. You are also welcome to contact York's Office of Research Ethics if you have any questions or concerns. At the interview I will ask you to initial my copy of this letter to ensure that you have given me your informed consent.

I consent to have this discussion _____

With Attribution _____

Without Attribution _____

Appendix B
Interview Questions:

Nicole N. Hanson

MES III MRP- Purposive Interviews

Funeral Director Questions: -

[Graeme Hogle: Hogle Funeral Home]

1. Tell me about how the funeral home serves the community?
2. What do funerals look like today, how have they changed?
3. Which race, culture or ethnicity do you serve on a consistent basis, what are some trends you are noticing?
4. Do your price list represent the communities you serve, explain why or why not?
5. What are the challenges the funeral home faces based on cultural ideals, religious values and the aging population?
6. How does class interact with peoples values in dealing with death, how do these tensions operate in the home?
7. How do cultural practices of death and memorialization influence the physical character of the funeral home? Explain how these changes imply direct planning considerations.
8. What do you think the role of home will be 20 - 30 years from now, as visitation centres are now being located in cemeteries? How do you aim to secure your place in the community to assist people in commemorating their loved one?

Cemetery Operator Questions:

[Gary Carmichael - Arbor Memorial]

1. How long have your cemeteries been operating in the GTA and where are they located?
2. Who do you serve families in terms of culture, ethnicity and class in the cemetery? How do these elements interact with each other?
3. How many interments do you provide a year and what types of plots are in demand (singles, doubles etc.)? Any patterns or trends?
4. Which disposition of human remains is more in demand, burials or cremations and why?
5. Tell me how the cemeteries you operate are culturally organized? How does this guide its spatial organization?
6. What are some of the challenges the cemeteries you operate currently face?
7. How are land-strapped urban cemeteries, spatially planning for death in cities - given cultural needs and demands of space? This is also a suburban issue?
8. Do you feel cemeteries are represented in urban planning? How so or why not?
9. How do you think Toronto can equitably plan for death given the racial composition of the city? What are the implications of not socially addressing the issue of the spatial limits of the urban cemetery?
10. How have planning policies omit, constraint, limit and police the designation of cemetery land directly and indirectly?

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

11. How does agricultural land limit your ability to acquire land? How does residential and commercial land limit your ability to acquire land?
12. What are the ways in which Toronto can plan for cemeteries, where land acquisition is/will be tied to perpetuity? What are the ways in which you think provincial planning (Planning Act and Provincial Policy Statement) can speak in the language of the cemetery - plan for 100 years? (note new amendments in PPS)
13. How do you think municipalities should designate cemeteries in their official and secondary plans? Do you think there an opportunity for Section 37 Development Charges to secure parkland dedication for cemeteries?

Land Use Planner Questions:

[Michael Larkin – Larkin + Associates]

1. How can the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) spatially plan for death given the racial composition, aging demographics, accelerated diversity, finite cemetery space and the certainty of death?
2. Toronto is a very diverse city, we have great disparities in incomes and wealthy in a wider range of ethno-racial communities, and large variety of religious practices. How do you see this diversity reflected in the cemetery, what are some of the challenges?
3. What are the challenges and impacts of municipalities not preparing for the designation of cemeteries in their official plan given the growth of the GTA in the next 10 – 20 years, given the amendments to the Provincial Policy Statement?
4. Where and how should land use planning and municipal cemetery master planning meet? Why is this urban discourse vital in planning for perpetuity on the horizon of 100 years? How should municipal policy advisors address the issue of planning for cemeteries in their official and secondary plans?
5. What does spatially planning for death look like in terms of the built urban form and social development?

Public Participant Questions:

The goals of the public participant questions are to ask persons reflective of the minority majority in the Greater Toronto Area, questions about their personal experiences regarding the politics of space, place and death.

Three (3) persons from the general public will be interviewed:

1. African- Canadian persons: Seon Tyrell
2. Hindu persons: Lask Vig
3. Italian persons: Melissa Kencher

1. What has been your cultural experience of the funeral home based on your experience with death?
2. How do you think the funeral home in your community will be able to service you or your family? Why or why not?

Spatially Planning For Death In Cities

3. Tell me how you feel represented or underrepresented in the funeral home?
4. How would you class limit / ensure the funeral service you desire?
5. How would you class limit/ensure the cemetery plot you desire?
6. Do you feel funeral homes based on your experience represent you?
7. What has been your experience of the cemetery based on your experience with death?
8. Is it important to be buried with your family even though urban cemeteries are land-strapped?
9. Tell me if you feel purchasing interment rights are accessible for you based on your race, culture and economic status.'
10. Do you visit the cemetery often, if so how do you use the space?
11. What's your experience in accessing the cemetery, do you find it accessible for persons (able-bodied/disabled), walkable, informative (clear signage) and safe? Explain.
12. Do you view the cemetery to be an open public green space, away from the city?
13. Given the limit land urban cemeteries have, do you believe municipal city planning has a role in spatially accommodating their dead, given the growing population, cultural diversity and the limits of land? Explain.