The Development of Modern Urban Planning in Quebec between 1946-1973

or

An inquiry into the role of the Community Planning Association of Canada in the development of Urban Planning in the Province of Quebec

By Vincent Desforges

A Master’s Report submitted to the School of Urban and Regional Planning in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Urban and Regional Planning

School of Urban Planning and Regional Planning
Department of Geography and Planning
Queen’s University
Kingston, Ontario, Canada
September 2019

Copyright © Vincent Desforges. 2019
Abstract

This report will provide a contribution to the history of the Community Planning Association of Canada (CPAC) and, more specifically, its Quebec Division, and its role in the development of the planning profession and planning practices. It will look at the historical context that led to the emergence of the CPAC, its expansion into Quebec, and will focus on three particular areas of influence. This report will argue that the role of the CPAC has been underappreciated in urban planning historiography and that the current major treatment of planning history in Quebec, André Boisvert’s Aménagement et Urbanisme au Québec, provides little coverage of the topic. Using archival material from the CPAC, this report attempts to reconstruct some of the vital contributions the association brought to the development of planning in the province of Quebec.
Executive Summary

This report will attempt to elucidate the role of the Community Planning Association of Canada (CPAC) and its Quebec Division in the development of planning in Quebec. The starting point for this historical research is the work of Quebec urban planning historian André Boisvert. In his *Aménagement et Urbanisme au Québec*, he lays out the early history of the planning profession in the province of Québec. Despite the acknowledged role of the CMHC in the development of the post-war Canadian urban landscape and of the involvement of many of his research subjects’ involvement in the CPAC and its Quebec Division, not as much attention has been given to the influence it had to the development of planning practices and ideas.

In focusing on the development of the planning profession, Boisvert neglected the contribution of the Quebec Division of the CPAC and it will be precisely on this contribution that this report will focus. In focusing on the CPAC Quebec Division this report will also challenge the narrative put forward by Boisvert that, aside from the initial contribution of the CPAC, the development of the planning profession in Quebec as part of the larger revolution in mores brought about by the Quiet Revolution. Instead, this report proposes that we can look at the development of modern planning in Quebec in the wider context of the post-war effort by the Federal government, through the CMHC, to develop housing and community across the country. Instead of organic development we find rather institutional intervention, and the nature of those intervention will be analyzed.

The Tools of Planning and Shaping the Landscape

Three contributions to the development of planning in Quebec by the CPAC are analyzed in this report. The first one is the neighbourhood unit. The neighbourhood unit, a concept
developed by Clarence Perry and famously implemented in Radburn by Clarence Stein and Henry Wright, was one of the founding blocks of modern planning and imported into Quebec via the CPAC. Though forerunners in the form of Garden Cities were already known and applied in Quebec, the more modernist version of the neighbourhood unit, as theorized by Humphrey Carver\(^1\), would have to wait the arrival of Harold Spence-Sales and his McGill planning program (more on him in chapter 4) and his hugely influential book *How to Subdivide*. We can trace back to the CPAC the introduction of the modern suburban subdivision, a model of spatial arrangement whose mark on the landscape of Quebec is hard to miss.

While we can trace back advocacy for the implementation of compulsory and legally enforceable community plans to the early days of the Town Planning Institute of Canada (TPIC), the CPAC would make it a systematic part of its advocacy. From the very first issue of *Urbanité* and throughout the 50s and 60s, the CPAC made the adoption of community plans synonymous with planning. It is also in the page of the Community Planning Review that we can find perhaps the first instance of the technical research done for a community plan in Quebec, a model used to

---

\(^1\) Humphrey Carver (1902 – 1995): Born and educated in England, Humphrey Carver arrived in Canada in 1930 where he struggled to find work as an architect in Toronto in the wake of the Depression. He became involved with the League for Social Reconstruction throughout the 30s, organized the 1939 Housing Conference, and became involved in the development of Canada’s national housing policy, and more particularly, it’s newly created institution, the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, where he chaired its Research Committee (1948-1955) and its advisory group (1955-1947). He also contributed directly to the formation of the Community Planning Association of Canada, being among its founding members and its first formally elected vice-president. He, however, stepped down from the position to accept his position on the Research Committee in 1948. He was a regular contributor to *Layout for Living* and the Community Planning Review and in his role as the chair of the CMHC’s research program, and later its advisory group, provided much needed federal funding to the nascent CPAC. Humphrey Carver was an influential advocate for the need for community planning. Inspired by modernist architects and planners such as Le Corbusier, Frank Lloyd Wright, and Clarence Perry, readily visible in his work on housing for the CMHC and his work on urban design. See his memoir, *Compassionate Landscape* (1975), as well as Gordon’s *Humphrey Carver and the post-war revival of Canadian community planning* (2019)
this day. Similarly, the CPAC was an ardent lobbyist for the adoption of a *loi-cadre sur l’urbanisme*, advocating so from its inception and provided the research, directed by Harold Spence-Sales that would form the basis the later La Haye Commission.

Through these tools we can appreciate the role of the Federal government in the development and promotion of planning in Quebec has been considerable. All of these tools are now mainstays of the profession and have shaped the urban landscape of the province. This stands in stark contrast with pre-war planning efforts, which never achieved the same level of outreach in their message, both among the public and officials. This report is therefore a contribution in illuminating a part of planning history in Quebec that has been relatively untouched so far.
Acknowledgement

I would like to thank my supervisor Dr. David Gordon for his ongoing support and assistance in the completion of this report, despite the distances involved for over half this project. No more 30 minute conversations that turn into hours about the details of planning history.

I would also like to thank my parents for their ongoing support during my long march through university.
Table of Contents

Executive Summary
Acknowledgments
List of Figures
List of Abbreviations
Chapter One: Introduction
Chapter Two: Methodology
Chapter Three: History of the CMHC and the CPAC
  - 3.1 Early Days
  - 3.2 The Birth of the CMHC
  - 3.3 The Birth of the CPAC
  - 3.4 Quebec and the National Association
  - 3.5 The Early Days of the CPAC – Quebec Division
  - 3.6 Summary
Chapter Four: The Neighbourhood Unit
  - 4.1 Anticipations – the Garden-City in Quebec
  - 4.2 How to Subdivide
  - 4.3 The New Cell of the Social Body
  - 4.4 Summary
Chapter Five: The Community Plan
  - 5.1 Living in Planned Communities
  - 5.2 The Modern Community Plan
  - 5.3 Summary
Chapter Six: The Long March Toward a Provincial Planning Law
  - 6.1 Making the Case for a Planning Act
  - 6.2 Resistance to Implementation
  - 6.3 Jean-Claude La Haye and the Bureaucratic Process (1959-1978)
  - 6.4 Summary
Chapter Seven: Conclusion and Looking to the Future
Bibliography
Appendix
  A. Chart of the evolution of the Quebec Division membership
  B. Chronology of Key Events
Abbreviations
ACU: Association Canadienne d’Urbanisme
AUPQ: Association des Urbanistes Professionnels du Québec
CMHC: Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation/Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation
CPAC: Community Planning Association of Canada
CPAC NL: Community Planning Association of Canada Newsletter
CPN: Community Planning News
CPR: Community Planning Review
CUPQ: Corporation des Urbanistes Professionnels du Québec
LL: Layout for Living
NHA: National Housing Act
OUQ: Ordre des urbanistes du Québec
TPIC: Town Planning Institute of Canada

List of Figures
Figure 3-1: The national council of CPAC 1951-1952. Humphrey Carver is sits third from the right, while André Duval of Québec sits second from the left.

Source: CPAC Newsletter, November 1951, pg.2

Figure 3-2: CPAC council members, with Humphrey Carver standing a head over everyone, Jean Cimon standing on the far left, and vice-president Antonio Lalonde.

Source: CPAC Newsletter, 1964, Historical Supplement, pg. 18

Figure 3-3: Charles-Édouard Campeau, 1943

Source: City of Montreal Archives

Figure 3-4: Quebec City Delegates, including Burroughs Pelletier (second from the left) and Dr. Émile Nadeau (third from the left), 1947

Source: CPAC 1964 Vol.14 Historical Supplement, pg.44

Figure 3-5: Aimé Cousineau, 1943

Source: City of Montreal Archives

Figure 3-6: Curriculum of Édouard Fiset’s Quebec City Extension Course

(Source: Layout for Living, 1948, Issue #11, pg.4]

Figure 3-7: The CPAC’s communication arsenal.


Figure 4-1: The 1947 class of the McGill summer school in subdivision planning.

Figure 4-2: The neighbourhood nested in the community.


Figure 4-3: The Master and the Student, Harold Spence-Sales (Left) and Jacques Simard (right) discussing urban planning at the 1952 CPAC Quebec Divisional conference.


Figure 4-4: Exemplars of neighbourhood units from across the world. Notice the presence of the Cité Tricentenaire.

Source: CPAC. 1947. Layout for Living Issue 2. Pg.4-5.

Figure 5-1: The Community Plan designed by the Robitaille Team for Sainte-Marie de Beauce.


Figure 5-2: Sainte-Marie de Beauce today.

Source: Google Maps

Figure 6-1: A bad case of Ribbon Development in Drummondville, QC.

Source: Spence-Sales, 1954, A Brief to the Royal Commission, pg.17
Chapter 1 - Introduction

The starting point for this report is the work of André Boisvert. In his massive *Aménagement et Urbanisme au Québec – D’où venons-nous? Qui sommes-nous? Où allons-nous? Témoignages de pionniers et pionnières de l’aménagement du territoire et de l’urbanisme depuis la Révolution tranquille*, Boisvert outlines the early days of post-war planning in the province of Québec. The book is a collection of interviews with key planners of the era, an extensive biography of Quebec planning pioneers, and an historical treatise on the beginning of the planning profession in Quebec and stands as an exhaustive treatment of the topic. However, in Boisvert’s work, the role of the CPAC, both as a national organization and of its provincial division, is relatively unexplored.

This report will attempt to bridge this gap in historiography by asking the following question: what was the impact of the Community Planning Association and of its Quebec division on the development of planning practices and the profession as we know it today in Quebec? Was Boisvert correct in his assessment that it was not a major player and only enjoyed limited success? Or did he, in focusing on the OUPQ’s history, neglect an integral part of Quebec’s planning history? This is the central question this paper will attempt to at least broach, as it is a very large topic. To keep the topic fairly constrained, this report will be broken into two parts.

The first part of this paper will cover the inception of the CPAC, the events and policies leading up to its inception, and roughly the first 16 years of its existence and activity in Quebec.

---

of its Quebec Division from 1947 to 1963. There are several reasons to have limited this report to this time frame. First: available material. Available to the author were a run of issues of the Community Planning News going from 1946 to 1956 and issues of the Community Planning Review going from 1951 to 1968. Secondly, in 1964 the CPAC printed a historical supplement reviewing the history of the association, providing an excellent framing device and source of information for the period up to that point. Thirdly, 1963 marked the beginning of the La Haye Commission and the first concrete step toward the creation of an urban planning loi-cadre and the then minister of municipal affairs, Pierre Laporte, made 1963 the year of urban planning\(^3\). It also marks the founding of the Ordre des Urbanistes du Québec (OUQ). In other words, 1963 was a turning point for planning in Quebec. This part of the paper will also cover the history of the inception of the Central Housing and Mortgage Corporation, now the Canadian Housing and Mortgage Corporation, a key institution crucial to understanding the mission and objectives of the CPAC in the post-war era.

The second part of the report will be dealing with three tools, or elements, of planning promoted and developed by the CPAC and their impact on planning in Quebec. These elements were also selected on account of their relationship to the CMHC as it is the intention of this report to highlight the continuity between federal institutions and provincial instances. These tools are the neighbourhood unit (Chapter 5), the community plan (Chapter 6), and a provincial planning law (Chapter 7). These ideas antedate the CMHC, having been warhorses of earlier planning advocacy in the 20s and 30s, but this report will show how they were brought back on


\(^{4}\) See also Appendix B.
the agenda by the CPAC and how they evolved under the ideological guidance of the CMHC. This report will attempt to demonstrate how these planning tool, promoted across the country, were received in Quebec, both culturally and politically.
Chapter 2 - Methodology

This research report will be looking at the role and activities of the Quebec Division of the CPAC and its impact on the development of planning in the years before the establishment of a planning profession in Quebec. While the planning profession in Quebec was set up more rapidly than in other provinces, due mostly to a conflict of overlapping competences with the professional bodies of architecture, surveying and engineering, Quebec was also the last province to equip itself with a comprehensive planning act. For a period of over three decades, the CPAC played an important role in Quebec in the dissemination of planning knowledge, training and teaching public officials and members of the public, as well as shape the development of urban planning concepts that would become the building blocks of the profession. A role it fulfilled until its disbandment.

Research Techniques

The project will be structured as a single, holistic, case study with province of Quebec as unit of analysis. A case study is an empirical inquiry which investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident. This case study will try to make more clear the involvement of the CHMC in the development of community planning in Quebec, re-tracing its involvement

______________________________

8 Ibid., p. 13
through the analysis of historical and archival resources. The case study will be constructed by organizing and analyzing archival material and other primary sources (memoires, texts, articles) by individuals of interests for the purpose of the report as well as a secondary literature composed of biographies, theoretical texts, articles, and other literature concerning the time period, principal actors and institutions of interest for this paper.

A chronology of key events has also been established which would take the publishing of the Final Reports of Subcommittees for the Advisory Committee on Reconstruction (or simply the Curtis Report) published in 1944 as major milestone and either the end of the CPAC funding in 1978 or the passing of the *Loi sur l'aménagement et l'urbanisme* in 1979, which would formalize in law many of the concepts developed and applied over the previous three decades. A review and reading of secondary literature would have for objective to establish a historical and sociological framework in which to place the data derived from the primary sources. Secondary resources are necessary to understand the historical period of interest, the principal actors identified, their milieu, and their interactions. The study of secondary resources would also have for purpose to define or establish historical narratives concerning the inception of urban planning in the province of Québec to, in turn, compare and contrast the collected data. It would also serve to establish a rival theory \(^9\) and a wider theoretical framework on which to hang the collected data. The archival data will then be submitted to a historical analysis as well as a sociological analysis. Namely, analysis will both establish historical data and facts and then attempt to derive the sociological ramifications of that information.

\[^9\] Yin, 2003, pg.21
Rival Theory

This report will take the rival theory analytical approach as described by Yin (Yin, 112). The current rival theory to be explored will be one articulated by Boisvert himself in his work, namely that urban planning is a cultural phenomenon and embodies the cultural particularities of a people and their environment. Boisvert readily acknowledges the role of the CMHC in the early history of planning, but ultimately adopts a narrative that a native form of planning developed itself among Quebec professionals and ultimately steered their own course away from control of the CMHC.

While not rejecting or denying that this is the case, this report will try to show that this approach underestimates the influence of the CMHC in shaping and developing the profession of urbanism in the Province of Québec. By focusing on the prominent figures, the many local town planning associations and CPAC chapters that mushroomed in Quebec go largely ignored. Boisvert’s narrative echoes the larger narrative of the period – that of an affirmation of Quebec specificity, poor treatment at the hands of federal and Anglo institutions, and frames the rise of the urban planning profession squarely in the same current as the Quiet revolution. Urban planning as the mastery of the landscape becomes a logical dimension to the concept of maîtres chez nous. While not wrong, this approach ignores, for instance, that the Province of Quebec adopted virtually all the measures pushed by the CMHC and followed a trajectory in urban development similar to the rest of Canada. This report is therefore meant to be complimentary

10Boisvert, 2014, pg.667
research to the large amount of work done on the topic of planning history in the province of Quebec by André Boisvert.

**Primary Resources**

For primary sources, archival research was primarily conducted at Queen’s University, using the collection of CPAC material available at the School of Urban and Regional Planning (see bibliography of materials collected, processed, and analyzed). In addition, Dr. David Gordon made available use copies of archival material and research conducted in Humphrey Carver’s personal notes and other planning history research conducted at the CCA, MIT and Harvard.

Visits to the BAnQ, the *Bibliothèque et Archives Nationales du Québec* and the Canadian Center for Architecture (CCA) were conducted but yielded thin results: most CPAC and OUQ materials consulted were dated from 1979 onwards, right after the provincial division’s decision to break with the national association in the wake of CMHC’s defunding. Further excursions to the National Archives in Ottawa and the McGill archives were considered, but preliminary consulting of available archival material suggested no strong lead to pursue further research.

**Limitations**

The scope of this research paper is limited by the availability of research material. An archival resource containing the issues of the French language journal of the Quebec Division started by Jean Cimon, *Urbanisme*, from the late 50’s to the mid-70s was not located. Research conducted at the BaNQ were disappointing, containing only issues from the 1980’s and onward – after the organization restructured itself into the current, modern AQU (Association Québécoise d’Urbanisme). This research paper has to instead use the English language version (with French
language contributions and translations), which may ultimately limit interpretation of how actions by the CMHC and the CPAC were themselves interpreted by the members of the Quebec division. Another limitation is a lack of material on the history of the CMHC itself as an institution, with no major book or journal article analyzing its history, aside from Oberlander’s article (1992), its motivations, the principal actors who have driven its agenda and so on. While this report will be proving a partial history of CMHC activity, it will be limited to the topic of the report and without the benefit of a wider established historical narrative in which to situate it.
Chapter 3: History of the CMHC and the CPAC

3.1 Early Days

If urban planning existed in Canada long before the CPAC came into existence, it is almost impossible to understand contemporary planning practices and our very urban landscape without understanding the history of the CPAC. At the eve of the 20th century, the rapid industrialization of the dominion and its attendant strains put on cities and their infrastructures by heavy industries, railroads and then cars, combined with a swelling urban population and all its attendant dangers of fire and plague, roused a generation of amateur planners to action. Their backgrounds laid in architecture, and engineering, social work and social activism, brought together by the urban question.

In 1919, an association emerged under the direction of British surveyor, Thomas Adams, under the name of the Civic Improvement League of Canada, a grassroots organization that came to be an umbrella of sort for all manners of public initiatives toward the bettering of the urban condition. From there onwards, rapid inroads were made into developing and spreading planning through Canada. In a similar vein, Adams founded the Town Planning Institute of Canada (TPIC), this time oriented toward professionals in the field of architecture, civil engineering, surveying and law. They were “planners” before the profession existed. However, these early manifestation11 of urban planning were put to a halt by the Great Depression. The TPIC’s membership melted overnight as the demand for planning disappeared with the sudden halt of

11 See Appendix B. The first wave of town planning acts from 1919 to 1925 are the work of Thomas Adams’s lobbying.
city development, leaving only its secretary, John Kitchen, who paid the yearly fee to keep the institute incorporated. Urban Planning had, for all intent and purpose, gone into a hibernation, waiting for better days.

Despite the severe economic downturn and the collapse of the CIL, interest in urban planning did not completely disappear. Architects, engineers, social workers, and social activists remained active though their actions became less coordinated. More architects trained in urban planning kept trickling in from England and the United States, and many local architects and engineers took some of the available extension courses in urban planning. Some went abroad, either in England, the United States, France, The Netherlands or Belgium to finish their education.

Better days did come, after the dark clouds of war began to lift. The Second World War proved to be an impetus for various government actors to look at planning seriously once again. Wartime production had shifted population dynamics: the economically depressed cities once again became active from industrial activities and people poured back into cities, straining the infrastructure and a housing stock that had not been replenished for almost 20 years. To further complicate matters, one million soldiers, and possibly their new wives, would be returning from abroad.

Previously, national housing policy had yielded substandard results and it became clear for the policymakers of the National Housing Administration that public policy would have to be twinned with public awareness to have a truly effective outcome. In 1943, the federal

government formed the Advisory Committee on Reconstruction, which contained a committee on housing chaired by Professor Clifford Curtis of Queen’s University. This committee included many active players in the planning field, notably Leonard Marsh, Ralph Ham, Dr. Samuel Henry Prince of Halifax, Father D’Auteuil Richard, and George Mooney of Montreal.

George Mooney had been a close associate of Humphrey Carver in the 30s and would be one of the more influential figures of the planning movement in Quebec: he was one of the first members of the executive of the CPAC Quebec Division and would go on to become president of the Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities for many years to come. He was also one of the leading voices in the development of the St. Lawrence Seaway and the necessity of planning to accommodate the change that it would bring to the Golden Triangle of the Montreal Region. Father Richard, a Jesuit priest, was involved in social issues and directly involved in the Cité-Jardin du Tricentenaire, a garden-city style social housing project in Montreal. The Subcommittee on Housing and Community Planning produced a report, the Curtis Report, recommending amendments to the National Housing Act. These amendments would make the federal government a major player in the housing business and planning movements.

14 Carver, H. 1975. Compassionate Landscape, Toronto, Ontario. University of Toronto Press. pg.54
15 C. A. Curtis, (1944), “Housing and Community Planning.” Final Reports of the subcommittee on housing and community planning for the Canada Advisory Committee on Reconstruction, pg.4/
3.2 The birth of the CHMC

The revival of the planning movement is profoundly intertwined with that of the creation of the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC), now the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, a crown corporation created by the federal government to manage the new federal responsibilities and financial tools it had created through the 1944 amendments to the National Housing Act. It was a response to an “urgent need for a coordinated federal response within constitutional and institutional constraints to post-war housing shortages”\(^\text{16}\). The tremendous logistical and industrial effort of the world war was to be directed to a new front – the “housing front”\(^\text{17}\), with a goal of building 500,000 new houses in the first five years of the post-war era. In 1950 alone, $48 500 000 was provided in loans in Montreal alone, representing some 8300 units. Approximately 60% of residential construction around Montreal were financed by a CMHC loan\(^\text{18}\).

The origins of the CMHC, however, date almost 30 years in the past and are intertwined with the history of planning in this country. The first seeds of the CMHC were planted in the aftermath of the 1917 explosion in the harbour of Halifax. Faced with the challenge of reconstructing a sizeable swath of the city, the citizens asked both for the intervention of a planner, in the person of Thomas Adams, and succour in shouldering the cost of reconstruction from the federal government. Not much came out of this, but it did set a precedent for further government attempts in investing in and stimulating the housing industry in the wake of the

\(^{16}\) Oberlander, 1992, pg.37

\(^{17}\) Oberlander, 1992, pg.37

Great Depression, leading to a new National Housing Act (NHA) and the creation of Housing Administration and of a Central Mortgage Bank.

These measures were, in part, ineffective, and often undermined by poor quality workmanship or haphazard placement that depreciated the value of the properties, and by extension, the government’s investment. World War II and its great movement of people, both on the home front and oversees, led the government to develop Wartime Housing Ltd. to provide housing across the country. The CMHC, along administering the 1944 NHA, was also created to rationalize, centralize and coordinate all these government programs.

The amendments to the 1944 NHA allowed the extension of federal loans to housing (Section 1), rental housing (Section 2), farm and rural houses (Section 3) and infrastructure (Section 4) – covering all the capital costs required to build what we now know as suburban Canada. It created design quality standards, both for housing and subdivision, and stabilized the previously highly speculative land market through strategic land banking, and eventually, its own urban renewal projects. The NHA gave the CMHC the mandate to construct new houses and to repair and modernize existing ones.

In general, its aim was to improve housing, living conditions and employment in the post-war. The design requirements also became a way for the federal government to safeguard government investment and avoid a “house by the cheese factory” 19 situation. There was no point in the government investing large amounts of money in properties if the houses would only rapidly depreciate in value because of shoddy construction or of a shoddy neighbourhood. It also

required planners to sign off on these loan agreements and project proposals. This new demand for “planners” allowed young urban planners like Benoit Bégin\textsuperscript{20} to finally find work in their chosen field. The demand skyrocketed overnight – but there was, beyond the few veterans and recent graduates, scarcely anyone who was properly equipped to do the job.

### 3.3 The Birth of the CPAC

This leads to the second way in which the federal government assured the development of urban planning throughout the country: under Section V of the amended National Housing Act, the government could provide funds and grants for the purposes of research and the dissemination of community planning. This section included the creation of an association dedicated to researching, discussing, and promoting community planning in Canada. To better promote community planning and to assure its diffusion through society, it was deemed appropriate to create an overarching body of citizens from related backgrounds to proselytize and spread the good word of community planning in civil society.

On June 26\textsuperscript{th}, 1946, a meeting headed by C.D. Howe, Minister of Reconstruction and Supply, brought together the various provincial governments, the Royal Architecture Institute of Canada, the Engineering Institute of Canada, the Canadian Welfare Council, the Department of National Defence, the Department of Mines and Resources, the Department of Veteran’s Affairs, the

\textsuperscript{20} Benoit Bégin was one of the early pioneers of planning in post-war Québec. He sought education in planning outside of Canada, at Cornell university, and practiced in Trois-Rivières, helping the city develop its first community plan. He was involved from the beginning in the CPAC, the development of the OUPQ, and the development of the master’s program in planning at the University of Montreal, where he assumed the role of founder for the program, though the program itself had been developed by Jean Claude La Haye, one of his close friends. For more information, see his biography in Boisvert (2014).

\textsuperscript{21} Boisvert, A. 2014. \textit{Aménagement et Urbanisme au Québec}, Québec, QC. Les Éditions Gid. pg. 42
the Trades and Labour Congress, the Federal District Commission and the Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities, and the CMHC. This meeting culminated in all departments and institutions and provincial governments overwhelmingly voting in favour of the formation of the Community Planning Association of Canada “to foster public understanding of, and participation, community planning in Canada”\(^{22}\). This was completely in line with what was set out in Section 5 of the NHA\(^{23}\)

An initial incumbent board led by R.E.G Davis was however quickly replaced by the first properly elected board, which saw Humphrey Carver become vice-president of the association, a position he would relinquish soon to assume the leadership of the CMHC’s research program. Through the research program, Carver was able to assist the CPAC financially by funding its research and educational grants and scholarships to aspiring planners.\(^{24}\)


\(^{24}\) Gordon, 2019, pg.10
We can also see that the Community Planning Association of Canada, as an organization, differed fundamentally from the previous planning movements in Canada. The Civic Improvement League of Canada was a grassroots organization that brought under its umbrella a host of social causes. The TPIC was a professional association, made up mostly of architects, engineers and surveyors. It was by its very nature a small and closed club. Both of these associations were part of the larger movement that bloomed in the early 20th century in the context of the Progressive era. Its members were united by a common interest, or concern, for urban planning and other civic issues related to hygiene, beautification, engineering and infrastructure projects, or slums and social housing. Its finances were tied to small government grants, the generosity of middle and upper class philanthropists, and the subscription of its members.

Figure 3-1: The national council of CPAC 1951-1952. Humphrey Carver is sits third from the right, while André Duval of Québec sits second from the left.

Source: CPAC Newsletter, November 1951, pg.2
While on the ground it might have appeared to be grassroots, as it relied on citizen mobilization to achieve its objectives, the CPAC was anything but. From its inception it was a federal government project, a complementary initiative to its housing program. The federal government could not force provinces to adopt planning legislation or even its housing program, but it could fund an organization created to educate the public on urban planning. In appearance, the demand for better planning legislation would be coming from the population: mayors, activists, professional organizations, but they would be “educated” and organized by an association funded and directed by the CMHC. In doing so, the federal government and the CMHC bypassed the usual provincial-federal struggle – to an extent. In Quebec, due to the Duplessis government’s struggle with Ottawa over taxation, the CMHC’s programs such as funding for social housing were stalled, and the lobbying of the CPAC, while acknowledged, did not yield the same immediate results as it did in other provinces.

3.4 Quebec and the National Association

Another obstacle was language. While there were no French-speaking members on the first board of directors of the association, this situation did not endure for very long. The CPAC was above all an organ of communication and to reach not just the society of lawyers, lawmakers and chambers of commerce but those of community activity and francophone mayors, The CPAC would have to reach them in their own language and it managed well in this regard. It certainly outdid the CMHC, which would have to wait for Marcel Junius’s lobbying to have internal communications in French in the early 1960s, and even then it was tolerated rather than
encouraged. On October 2nd 1947, a resolution was passed at the association’s very first annual meeting proposing that CPAC publications be both in French and English and provide the association with a French-speaking secretary.

The motion was presented by Alan Deacon of Toronto and seconded by George Mooney of Montreal. The CPAC was in contact with Jean d’Auteuil Richard, who had been on the sub-committee behind the Curtis Report. Richard, a Jesuit priest, had been involved in matters of social justice and in a high profile social housing project in Montreal. He also wrote in and headed multiple newspapers in the province, providing a ready-made pulpit for the Associations’ message. Richard was made head of communication of the National Branch. It was Richard who stressed to Humphrey

---


26 CPAC 1964 Vol.14 Historical Supplement, pg.43

27 C. A. Curtis, (1944), see list of delegates.

Carver the necessity of developing French-language communication to reach the people of Quebec. His involvement was, however, cut short by politics. Richard had denounced the situation of workers in asbestos mining and the dangers of the material. Business interests put pressure on the Jesuit Order to silence him and he soon found himself exiled to Manitoba. It was there that Jean Cimon would meet him less than a year later teaching in Saint-Boniface.  

In 1948, Jean Cimon, a recent sociology graduate from Quebec, would take on the role, also temporarily, of main francophone communicator, working as co-director with Alan Armstrong. Cimon’s contribution was to create a French language version of the CPAC’s Layout for Living called Urbanisme. Cimon would only spend two years in Ottawa before leaving for Europe and then returning to Quebec to involve himself in different capacities in the development of planning in the province. No one replaced Cimon upon his departure and, for a year, the only francophone on the national executive board was André Duval, a businessman from Silléry and one of the founding members of the Quebec Division.

__________________________

29 Cimon, Jean. 2007. Mémoire d’un piéton, Septentrion, Québec, QC. Digital. pg.42

30 Jean Cimon (1923-2016): Born in Quebec City, Jean Cimon completed his studies at the Université Laval in Sociology. His passion for urban planning led him to accept a position for the national division of the CPAC, if only for a short time. He had an important role as a communicator, being bilingual, as the translator for Layout for Living, bridging the communication gap between the National Association and the Quebec Division. He traveled to Sweden and France and was inspired especially by the planning and architecture of Sweden, a country he found shared many similarities with Quebec. He was involved in possibly the first modern planning study and community plan for the St-Marie de Beauce (See chapter 5 of this report). His major planning battles were in Quebec City, where he was a major protagonist in the struggle to conserve the Vieille Ville. He wrote a memoir called Mémoire d’un piéton (2007) and has a biography in Boisvert (2014).

31 Cimon, 2007, pg. 41
This situation, however, changed quickly. In 1952, Charles-
Édouard Campeau, a civil engineer at the city of Montreal’s
planning department, became vice-president of the association
while Jacques Simard, an architect, graduate of McGill’s
planning program, and mayor of his own town of Préville,
became executive director. They would go on to keep these
positions until 1956\textsuperscript{32}. C.-E. Campeau represented not only a
link to French Canada, but also Montreal, still the largest city in
the country at the time. In 1947, Alan Armstrong, in Layout for
Living, declared that Quebec had the largest division with 79
active members. By 1952, the association openly boasted a membership of 450 active members
and 12 local sections. By 1964, those numbers had risen to 1500.\textsuperscript{33}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{figure3-3}
\caption{Charles-Édouard Campeau, 1943}
\end{figure}

\textbf{Source: City of Montreal Archives}

\textsuperscript{32} See Appendix A.

\textsuperscript{33} See Appendix A.
3.5 The early days of the CPAC in Quebec

The Quebec Division of the CPAC came into being in 1947\(^{34}\) quickly organized itself along the same lines as other provincial organizations and began arguing for the benefits of urban planning and the dire need for planning education and legislation. The Quebec Division would make its first grand move in Quebec City by hosting in March of 1948 the *Semaine de l’Urbanisme* in Sillery\(^{35}\).

Over the course of a week, more than 2000 visitors would come to admire the displays, watch movies, and hear public lectures on the topic of urban planning. Twenty-five mayors were present at the closing ceremony and the minister of municipal affairs, Bona Dussault,\(^{36}\) declared that the province ought to establish a ministry of community planning. The CPAC provided its member with a veritable arsenal of promotional and educational material such as graphic aids and displays, movies and slides that could be loaned, and a library of brochures and books that could be bought by the unit or by batch (See Figure 3-7).

\(^{34}\) See Appendix A for the founding members of the division.

\(^{35}\) CPAC, May 1948, Layout for Living Issue 1, pg.4-5.

\(^{36}\) Community Planning Review,1964, pg. 45.
From this first *coup d’Éclat*, the organization would go on to expand rapidly. For the first decades of its existence, the Quebec division had the highest number of members, with only Ontario and British-Columbia even rivalling its number. In 1948, Quebec had the largest division with 79 active members. By 1952, the association openly boasted a membership of 450 active members and 12 local sections across Quebec (See Appendix A). By 1964, those numbers had risen to 1500. The division went from having two sections in 1947, to four in 1950, and then 12 by 1952. These numbers do not account for the visits and tours organized by the Quebec Division members across communities. The Quebec Division also joined forces with the Quebec Chambers of Commerce, sharing their office in Montreal and their endeavors supported and promoted.

Between the 1947 and 1949, the division pushed to develop university courses on urban planning. Aimé Cousineau had already been offering a small extension course in French to engineering students of the Polytechnique. In English, there had been the program of Harold Spence-Sales, who had been invited by John Bland to McGill University in 1946 to teach a

---

37 Layout for living, 1948. Issue 1. Pg.1
38 CPAC Newsletter, 1964 issue. pg.45.
39 CPAC Newsletter, November 1951 Issue, pg.6
40 Boisvert (2014) pg. 676
Community Planning program. In Quebec City, a French-language extension course was offered in 1949 by Édouard Fiset (See Figure 3-5).

Fiset was the assistant and partner to the French architect Jacques Gréber, who was overseeing the National Capital Plan in Ottawa. Before his untimely death, Dr. Nadeau had been an outspoken proponent of the development of an urban planning institute for Laval University. It would have to wait until 1961 before a proper university level program in French would be developed with the inauguration of the Institut d’Urbanisme de l’Université de Montréal (Urban Institute of the University of Montreal) with Benoit Bégin as founder-director. These were the principal elements that permitted a rapid diffusion of planning knowledge and the formation of a trained cadre of both amateurs and eventually professional planners. These in turn became the advocates for the tools that would be used to shape planning and the very landscape in Quebec.

3.6 Summary

The planning profession in Canada collapsed in the wake of the great depression. The multitude of civic associations, brought together by Thomas Adams under the umbrella of the Civic Improvement League, as well as the professional association, the Town Planning Institute of Canada, fell apart. Planning was revived in Canada as part of a federal initiative to develop a solution to the housing question – how to provide for the housing needs of post-war Canada. The answer to that question was provided by the Curtis Report of 1944 of the Sub-committee on Housing and Community Planning guided by many veterans of the planning movements. Its solution was to have the federal government become a major actor in the housing business, via a

_______________________________

41 Boisvert. pg. 677
new tool created for that purpose – the CMHC – and create a modern housing industry based on industrial standards, the revival of the construction industry, and all of this framed and guided by urban planning. To avoid unnecessary conflict with the provinces, the CMHC created the CPAC, an organization that would as goals to disseminate information and educate both the lay public and government officials of the benefits of modern urban planning. Planning would not be imposed from above, but rather demanded by an educated public and executed by a new cadre of professionals trained in the new discipline.

To that end, the CPAC created division in all provinces and from its national headquarter produced literature (Layout for Living, the Community Planning Review, books and booklets), promotional material, movies, and provided funds to its provincial divisions to attend national conferences and distribute educational material. One of the first challenges encountered to the revival of planning in Quebec was the language barrier. Many steps were taken in the first few years of both the National Division and the Quebec Division to work around this issue. Layout for Living, under the initial supervision of Jean Cimon, was translated in French into Urbanisme. The community planning review, the main organ of the association, published French and English language essays and regularly featured translations of key texts into both languages. It organized a highly publicized Semaine de l’urbanisme (Urban Planning Week) in Silléry, Quebec City, attracting the attention of citizens and major government figures alike. A small course in urban planning was offered by Édouard Fiset through Laval University to provide planning education in French, the first of its type in the province, as the McGill program in
Montreal was unilingual English, under the supervision of Harold Spence-Sales. The creation of a French-language master’s degree in urban planning would have to wait much longer⁴².

Thanks to these initial efforts, the CPAC was able to establish itself in Quebec and prosper. This was not a given. Had Humphrey Carver not been prompted by Father D’Auteuil Richard, we could have seen in Quebec a repeat of the interbellum era. Planning would have remained the province of a few dozen individuals, either Anglophone or bilingual, drawn mostly from Montreal’s upper crust, with a church-led social activism doing its own thing based on different, but converging principles.

Instead, Quebec was exposed with minimal time lag to the planning ideas pushed by the CPAC and the CMHC, and found an eager audience, the membership of the division swelling to over a thousand members in just over a decade, and countless more who were exposed to its pamphlets, books, radio talks, roving media presentation, provincial and national conventions, and planning courses. As such, even though the CPAC had to compose with a hostile provincial government, it was able to establish itself firmly in the population, spread its message, and create devotees who would carry its message to every corner of the province, through these first, crucial steps.

⁴² See Appendix B.
Quebec City Section

The first initiative of the Quebec City Section of the CPAC formed last May was to implement a course in urban planning and to invite its members and the general public. Enrollment in these classes, all paid, reached seventy-one persons. Auditor recruit themselves from a variety of backgrounds and we can find architects, surveyors, businessmen, managers of caisses populaires and entrepreneurs among their numbers.

Mr. Edouard Fiset, architect-planner, has accepted to teach by himself the twelve courses, every two weeks, that make up this course. M. Fiset, already an architect, has studied architecture at the École National des Beaux-Arts de Paris and has received a diploma from the French government in 1940. He is currently the assistant of Mr. Jacques Gréber for the preparation of plans with regards to planning for the National Capital. He is also the architect behind the plan for the future Univer-city of Quebec. Here is a list of courses given to auditors of Quebec City:

1. Community Planning: General notions (definitions, nature, goals)
2. Elements of urban geography (The geographical site. The nature and characteristics of urban centers)
3. The Community Plan: (Study of different community planning concepts)
4. The Evolution of Urban Centers

These first four courses try to provide a basis for to discuss present issues and possible practical solutions. The following six courses follow practical studies on the nature of the issues and their solutions.

5. Urban drawing – or the technique of urbanism
6. Circulation
7. Housing
8. Open Spaces
9. Zoning and the problem of industry
10. Urban art

The last two are reserved for monographic studies and existing case studies.
Figure 3-7: The CPAC's communication arsenal.

**Planned Development**
The display illustrated is available at no cost for use by any responsible nonprofit group in
Canada. Packed in a box approximately 24" x 24" x 3", its contents are 30 film strips and 10 folders. Prepared
by the Information Display Division, National Film Board.

The equipment is easily assembled and set up in a room or office and is suitable for seminar, 10
people. Address the Secretary, Community Planning
Association of Canada, 52 Lynn Street, Toronto, Ontario.

Your City and You: Twenty years hence, work for 10 miles
and live for 10 miles. Derive the "neighborhood plan" example, as applied in Chicago, but equally applicable to
any larger community. Composed by professionals in
English or French, apply to Toronto, National College of
Canada, Ottawa. (See also page 18.)

**Neighborhood Planning**
Prepared by the Art Review Group
in Toronto. Apply to the Toronto School of Art.

**Film strips, slides, etc.**
Comprehensive materials for public meetings on
planning may be obtained from the public relations in
local and provincial public libraries and libraries. In addition,
the educational departments of several of the state
art galleries, provincial museums, and of the National
Gallery of Canada may provide material for illustrating
particular plans or groups of buildings that you are planning to
illustrate as an opportunity in your own community.

**City Planning**
a string illustrating planning principles, exemplified
in urban areas and European cities prepared by
the Department of Building Education, Department of
Urban Planning, University of Toronto.

**Clearing the Slate**
Before and after sequence depicting the
removal of a storm drain, illustrating not only the
extent of the changes, but also the effects on
the area. Prepared by the American
Building Education, Department of National Film Society, Ottawa.
Chapter Four: The Neighbourhood unit

Section V of the 1944 National Housing Act had introduced a new concept into legislation: community planning. CMHC’s primary concern was to be not only housing – housing design, building houses, and improving house building technology, but housing in planned communities. The designed houses would have to be grouped into planned neighbourhoods who, in turn, would be grouped into planned communities. This became more pressing in the wake of the first wave of post-war development: rows upon rows of pre-fabricated houses, with little thought given to land use, housing designed or grouping. We can find in the early issues of the Community Planning Review several articles tackling the issues of poor development. They are unanimous in their condemnation of the poor quality of the development and share a set of key thinkers and solutions in response.

First and foremost, we find the works of Clarence Stein and Clarence Perry – Perry for articulating the idea of the neighbourhood unit, and more importantly, a neighbourhood for the machine age (ref.); and Stein for his realization of the neighbourhood unit in Radburn43. While Raymond Unwin and Ebenezer Howard may be invoked here and there, their ideas had, in effect, been superseded of Perry and Stein. The other pole of attraction where the modernists, with Le Corbusier looming wide over the first generation of planner-architect of the post-war era, along with other figures such as Mies van der Rohe, Gropius, and Moholy-Nagy44. While fortunately Montreal was not razed to build a Cité Radieuse, the ideas contained in Urbanisme and La Cité

43 Perry, C. 1939. Housing for the machine age.

44 Logan, Steven. 2014. Humphrey Carver and the Suburban Landscape of Post-war Canada. Pg.4.
de Demain influenced neighbourhood design and the methodology of community planning and the form of community plans in Canada and Quebec.

4.1 Anticipations – the Garden City in Quebec

Interest in neighbourhood planning in Quebec predates the CMHC and the CPAC. Montreal, in particular, had been most affected by the negative impacts of industrialization: overpopulation and pollution led to dire social and physical conditions. One only has to think of the Montreal depicted in Gabrielle Roy’s Bonheur d’occasion or the account of the city found in The City Below the Hill by Sir Hebert Brown Ames. Montreal was home of one of the most dynamic divisions of the Civic Improvement League of Canada and hosted many active TPIC members. Dr. Émile Bilodeau, the city hygienist for Quebec City, had studied Garden cities in England and had himself written on the topic. Dr. Bilodeau was also involved in a first wave of garden cities planned in the wake of the 1919 Loi pourvoyant à la construction de logement ouvrier et des avances aux municipalités. Montreal was also the site of one of the first completed garden-city in North America. The Canadian National Railway sought to build a model town to help fund the tunnel they were to dig beneath Mount Royal. Under the influence of Frederick Todd, Frederick Law Olmsted’s protégé in Montreal, the planned city took the shape of a garden-city.

45 CPAC, February 1952, Community Planning Review Issue #1, pg.4.
Another garden-city that predates and anticipates the many ideas that would become mainstays of the planning movement in post-war Canada is the *Cité-jardin du Tricentennaire*. Spearheaded by Joseph-Auguste Gosselin and Father Jean-d’Auteuil Richard, and to be the first of a number of similar initiatives across Quebec. The *cité-jardin* openly drew from existing garden cities for its design philosophy, with Welwyn, du Plessis-Robinson and Radburn being their main references. The initiative, however, was animated by catholic social thought, corporatism, and French-Canadian nationalism. It rejected communism and socialism and wanted to spread ownership to the working classes through affordable housing. However, in a rerun of what happened at the Welwyn garden-city, the *Tricentennaire* mainly attracted, and could only be afforded by, middle-class homeowners, falling short of the desired affordability\(^4\). Furthermore, the whole project became mired in financial difficulties, in part due to capricious partners, mismanagement, and sedition in the ranks. It was nevertheless a massive undertaking and the search for investors led Gosselin and Richard to proselytize aggressively on the housing situation in Quebec. Richard would become of the members of the Subcommittee on Housing and Community Planning and was involved temporarily at the national branch of the CPAC and pushed for French-language communications.

In other words, Quebec had been a hotbed for social housing initiatives ever since the 20s and we can identify two distinct, though overlapping, streams of activity. The first is one drew its members from the propertied class and bourgeois society of Quebec’s large cities, though mainly Montreal. The Civic Improvement League and the Town Planning Institute of Canada drew its membership from well-off members of both Montreal’s Anglo-Canadian and French-Canadian

\(^4\) Choko, 1988. pg.40
society and operated along similar lines to that we could observe in the United States around the same time. It was focused on hygiene, preoccupied by blight, urban ugliness and a need for greater efficiency in public services. It was also philanthropic in nature, both in terms of time and money contributions.

The other stream was catholic social activism from such milieu as the École Sociale Populaire in Montreal. Clergy-led and drawing from catholic worker syndicates and a growing French-Canadian petite bourgeoisie, it took for target not only social ills but also industrialization as the source of the new evils befalling French-Canadian society. It was also nationalist and combined with its social rhetoric the need to reclaim land, industries and financial levers from the Montreal and Quebec’s, largely Anglophone, bourgeoisie and foreigners. This stream drew from the social doctrine of the church, as articulated in the Rerum Novarum and the Quadragesimo Anno, promoting the development of co-operatives from housing to consumer goods, and encouraged the creation of catholic syndicates to rival their socialist counterparts. Gosselin, Richard, and other figures such as economist Édouard Montpetit and Esdras Minville, the Action Nationale and the Caisses Desjardins belonged to this stream. Another feature that both these streams shared is that they were both overshadowed by the federal-led initiatives that were slowly developed in the early 40s in response to the demands of the war effort and then fully developed for the post-war period.

4.2 How to Subdivide

In 1946, the head of McGill’s school of architecture, John Bland, invited Harold Spence-Sales, a former classmate, to teach planning at the school.\footnote{Gordon. 2019, pg.9}

\footnote{Gordon. 2019, pg.9}
architecture in New Zealand and in planning at the Architectural Association in London, Spence-Sales had been immersed in the same socially-minded program as Humphrey Carver and the two of them shared similar beliefs. What Humphrey Carver accomplished in the halls of Ottawa, Spence-Sales was realizing in the halls of McGill and on the ground. The planning program of McGill yielded many prominent planners, including many who would go on to influence planning in Quebec.

In the summer of 1948 Spence-Sales held a summer school in land subdivision. The content of the course included the opportunity to inspect a number of land subdivisions and housing projects in the Montreal area and visit the city’s town planning department. The students were taught the law of subdivision: public utilities, standards of provision of open spaces, the arrangement of communal facilities in the residential area, comparative analysis vis-à-vis other countries and much more. Grouped in teams, the students then tried their hand at assembling such subdivision schemes of their own, working on large

---

sand-tables devised at 50 feet to the inch do account for the tract’s topography. A complete hands-on experience in how to plan and implement subdivisions.

For those who could not attend professor Spence-Sales class, there was *How to Subdivide*. *How to Subdivide* is a short (40 pages) but wonderfully illustrated booklet that Harold Spence-Sales produced with funding from the CMHC in 1950 and distributed through the CPAC for the modest sum of 1$. How to subdivide was an instruction manual that walked you through the development of a subdivision: from identifying the key geographic and environmental features, to the optimal street layout to maximize profit per lot and minimize infrastructure expenditure.

---

51 Ibid.

The manual could be used by everyone and was widely distributed and eloquently made the case for the neighbourhood unit on all front: economic, aesthetic, social, etc.

How to subdivide also addressed another fundamental problem: in 1949, there were not enough planners to go around. The CMHC had already been in place for five years and its economic policies were having an effect: development in the province of Quebec was growing uncontrollable, its pace of growth only matched by its mediocrity. It was essential that an accessible resource be made available, a template that could be followed by laymen and wannabe planners alike, to act as stopgap in the absence of a technical body capable of guiding development. Perry’s idea and Stein’s Radburn model no longer needed planners as midwife: now anyone could make a subdivision, a template for neighbourhoods the same way Choosing your house was a template for choosing and building a house.
4.3 The New Cell of the Social Body

“Vous tracez les lignes de la cité future, Messieurs, et je vous félicitez de vouloir faire cette cité belle. Vous construisez la maison de l’homme et vous la voulez vaste, accueillante, familiale de même que solide. Et surtout, je tiens à souligner que dans vos immenses développements vous faites large et belle la place de la maison de Dieu. C’est-à-dire qu’au-delà de la réalité matérielle vous comprenez qu’une agglomération d’unités d’habitation a besoin d’éléments spirituels, d’un esprit vraiment social qui pense aux enfants par l’école; aux pauvres et aux vieillards par des maisons propres à les accueillir. Si je puis me permettre un conseil, tendez de plus en plus à faire ressortir le caractère de notre pays dans vos réalisations. Ne pas copier, ne pas emprunter aux voisins mais créer la maison qui est vraiment le foyer canadien tel que nous l’entendons, le désirons et l’aimons.”53 ‘Le foyer Canadien’, Son Éminence le Cardinal Léger, 1955, extrait de La Presse.54

The previous experiments with garden-cities had prepared the ground for the arrival of the neighbourhood unit in Quebec, but there was also a certain at cultural translation involved. In an article for the 4th issue of the Community Planning Review of 1954, Norbert Lacoste, professor and director of the sociology department at the social science faculty of the University of Montreal, submitted an essay entitled Urbanisme et Structure Religieuse, in which he points out that the neighbourhood unit closely overlaps with the paroisse. He identifies the paroisse as the reproduction unit of Christian society, in the image of the family and stresses the need for community spirit55. A good paroisse should not have more than 5000 residents, ideally

53 “Gentlemen, you are tracing the lines of the city of the future and I congratulate you for wanting that city to be beautiful. You are building a house for Man and you want vast, welcoming, familial, as well as solid. Above all, I want to emphasize how in your large developments you have made a large place for the house of God. Beyond its material reality, you have realized that a housing development requires spiritual development, of a genuinely social spirit that thinks of children by building schools; that thinks of the destitute and the elderly by building houses appropriate to accommodate them. If I am allowed to make a recommendation, strive to express the character of our country in your undertakings. Do not copy, do not borrow from our neighbours, but rather build a house that will be a true Canadian hearth, as we intend it, as we desire it, as we love it.”


somewhere between 3000 to 4000 souls.

Such a number, for Lacoste, would allow a population to be tended by 2-3 vicars, allow the priest to know intimately his flock, to be named earlier and at a younger age, and avoid the gigantism afflicting certain modern churches. To geographic unity must be joined sociological unity to allow services, maintain social convention and a participation in common values – railways, highways and high level of car traffic are obstacles, barriers, cuts in the physical fabric that translate into wounds in the social fabric.

In this sense, the neighbourhood unit was seen as a solution to the new social problems that accompanied the uprooting of French Canadians and their relocations in large cities. As Jacques Simard put it in another article in 1955\textsuperscript{56}, the problems that urban planning had to solve were these new obstacles to communal living. A new reality had replaced the “patrimonial family”, a stem that splits its patrimony to its descendent – including house and land, with the “conjugal family”, who possesses a house to resell if the price is right, that follows work wherever it might lead, regardless of the size of the

\textsuperscript{56} Simard, J. 1955, Quelques problèmes d’urbanisation: y-a-t’il une solution?, CPR, Issue 4, Vol.5, Pg.131.
family. This would lead in turn to a disinterest in public matter and housing being demoted to a “temporary shelter”. This brave new citizen in fact simply becomes the prey of speculators.57

What we can observe, however, throughout the pages of the \textit{Community Planning Review}, is a failure to develop a French-Canadian vernacular art of the neighbourhood. The attempt at cultural translation and adaptation never became prevalent and remained the province of teachers and thinkers within the Catholic tradition. Or rather, precisely because it was steeped in Catholic thought that it had no appeal to the French-Canadian planners of the 50s and to French-Canadian society of the 60s and beyond. Most planners of the early period of the profession in Quebec were modernists who had studied abroad and rejected the traditionalist values of the Church and had no interest in perpetuating in the urban fabric values to which they themselves no longer adhered to.

\textbf{4.4 Summary}

The planning movement that emerged from the post-war era had a coherent vision for the modern city. Drawing from the works of architects such as Le Corbusier, Frank Lloyd Wright, Clarence Perry, and many more, it synthesized the insights and ideas of this constellation of thinkers into a social program. Three tools of the planning movements are explored in this paper and the first one is the neighbourhood unit. The idea of the neighbourhood unit emerged from the garden city movement, an attempt at providing an alternative developmental model for the city to replace the slum conditions that emerged in the wake of industrialization. The concept of the neighbourhood unit remained fairly consistent: the idea was to develop a well integrated

\footnote{Ibid.}
community space, where services and amenities were provided within a spacious, clean and healthy living environment.

The neighbourhood unit had two champions in the persons of Humphrey Carver and Harold Spence-Sales. Harold Spence-Sales, who had taught subdivision as part of his summer school program at McGill, prepared for the CMHC and CPAC How to Subdivide, a seminal work of Canadian urban planning – a colourfully illustrated pamphlet explaining in layman’s terms how to subdivide land and create neighbourhood units. In Quebec there was already a familiarity with the concepts of the Garden-city had appealed to catholic social activists, who saw in the idea a solution to the woes of working class French Canadians in Montreal.

This indigenous variant of the neighbourhood unit, which drew from catholic social teaching instead of the more Fabian tendencies of the Anglo-American variant, was ultimately displaced as the concept developed and pushed by the CPAC came to dominate planning practice. This is in no small part thanks to the activities of Harold Spence-Sales at McGill, both in theorizing and proselytizing the neighbourhood unit but also in teaching a first generation of planners in subdivision planning and setting the gold standard for the practice. The urban planning profession that established itself had been educated in the United States or Britain, and was drawn to modernist ideas. It preferred social democracy and government-led social policy over the vision of the Catholic church.
Figure 4-4: Exemplars of neighbourhood units from across the world. Notice the presence of the Cité Tricentennaire.

Source: CPAC. 1947. Layout for Living Issue 2. Pg.4-5.
Chapter 5 : The Community Plan

« Le plan directeur d’urbanisme nous apparaît comme l’aurore d’un avenir plus prospère. »
« The community plan appears to us like the dawn of a more prosperous future. »
City of Trois-Rivières, 1959

5.1 Living in planned communities

The next tool pushed by the CMHC and the CPAC was the community plan. The community plan, like the neighbourhood unit, was not a new idea: it had been introduced in Canada during the 20s and there had been a wave of city plans, often in the City Beautiful style, made across the country. However, few if any of these plans were ever implemented. Most of them were judged to be impracticable, grandiose, and financially unrealizable in the wake of the Great Depression. Furthermore, such plans had no enforcement mechanism – they were to be followed or implemented at the municipality’s discretion and whim. The new way of making plans would be more grounded, more “scientific” – it would follow the lead of Patrick Geddes and Le Corbusier and make the case for city development in its environment, measured with copious amounts of statistics.

The first post-war community plan was created by Claude Langlois, a graduate of Spence-Sales planning course, for the city of Sillery as part of the Semaine de l’Urbanisme. The plan directeur was assembled with the help of planning veteran Sam Gitterman, an architect who had also lent his services to the cité tricentenaire and who now worked at CMHC. He was also

58 CPAC, June 1959, Community Planning Review #2, Vol.10, pg. 50-51
to be one of Humphrey Carver’s close collaborators, being one of the “fingers” of his advisory board, overseeing research into building material. Édouard Fiset and Jacques Gréber worked on plans for the cities of Rimouski and Chicoutimi in the early 50s, Sherbrooke moved to create a community plan in 1954 and Trois-Rivières had Benoit Bégin prepare a plan for them in 1959\(^59\) (CPAC). However, in the absence of a provincial planning law there was no compulsion by law for municipalities to adopt a community plan and by 1964, only 10% of Quebec communities had adopted a community plan\(^60\). The adoption of a community plan was a top priority of any new branch of the Quebec Division. To do urban planning was in fact indistinguishable from adopting a community plan and using it.

The adoption of official plans by municipalities was a slow process and in the absence of a provincial planning act and were the results of local advocacy as opposed to a legal obligation. Many cities resisted the very implementation of such plans, most notably Montreal under the leadership of Jean Drapeau, while other even after adopting a plan did not necessarily follow it. The swelling membership of the CPAC\(^61\) shows that there was great interest among citizens to improve city planning, but how this translated into actual results is much harder to gauge within the confines of this research paper.

And so despite the lack of institutional support, we can observe that the members of the CPAC deployed their efforts to influence local politicians to develop planning legislation within the current boundaries delineated by the available legal framework. Perhaps nowhere else in

---

\(^{59}\) CPAC, June 1959, CPR #2, Vol.10, pg. 50-51

\(^{60}\) CPAC, Spring 1963. CPR Issue #1, Vol. 13. Pg.12.

\(^{61}\) (See Appendix A)
Canada were the efforts at vulgarization, communication, and community participation and the
duty to educate of the CPAC as intense as in Quebec. The CPAC division used radio-shows,
moving theaters, sent delegates in communities to proselytize and encourage the newly
converted. It moved its conferences from city to city every year and often did so strategically to
provide support for local initiative such as in 1954 in Sherbrooke\textsuperscript{62} and in 1956\textsuperscript{63} in Saguenay. In
those first few decades, perhaps more then it will ever be, planning was truly a community affair
as the CPAC sought to mobilize all of society to buy into the promises of planning. This can be
seen clearly from analyzing the Quebec Section of CPAC’s instructions to new branches (see
annex at end of chapter).

\textbf{5.2 The Modern Community Plan}

In 1955 the \textit{Community Planning Review} published a two-part research program showing
how to conduct all the preliminary research behind community plan. The research subject was a
small municipality in Beauce, Saint-Marie de Beauce\textsuperscript{64}. The article’s preface emphasizes that
these studies had been conducted by professional workers: engineers, architects, sociologists and
geographers. The \textit{études d’urbanisme} was headed by André Robitaille, architect-planner, René
Robitaille, engineer, Lois-Edmond Hamelin, director of the Institut de Géographie de Laval, as
well as sociologists Yves Martin and Jean Cimon. They conducted a thorough study of the
community, establishing nothing short of a standard for how community plan studies would be
conducted down to this day with a full survey of sociological, economic, and geographical

\textsuperscript{62} CPAC. 1954. CPAC Newsletter, Issue #2. Pg.5.

\textsuperscript{63} CPAC. 1956. CPAC Newsletter, Issue #1. Pg.3.

factors present in the town. In other words, a full inventory of all relevant physical and social features for the development of a rational and far-sighted community plan that would be appropriate to the community and its inhabitants.
Figure 5-1: The Community Plan designed by the Robitaille Team for Sainte-Marie de Beauce.

Figure 5.2: Sainte-Marie de Beauce today.

Source: Google Maps
Sainte-Marie de Beauce is an example worth lingering on to appreciate the influence of CPAC’s planning methodology on the development of towns and cities in Quebec. In figure 5-1, we have the plan created by Cimon and André Robitaille’s team in 1955 and in figure 5-2 we have the current iteration of the town. The plan was made according to the règle de l’art: we can clearly see labeled the various plan de voisinage – neighbourhood units – but we also see a strict application of the ideas of Clarence Perry and Clarence Stein: the neighbourhood units are closed off, cell-like islands protected from car traffic by forested edges, culs-de-sac looking inward. Each neighbourhood “cell” could hold 60 families and all of them had “easy access to the city center”. The dimensions of the town, according to the writers, were tailored to a child’s walking capacity, and the city was given a core made up of a civic center, a commercial grouping, a church, and a primary school. Greenery was to have a place of honour, with green spaces reserved for recreation and the cemetery and a green belt of agricultural prosperities arranged around the city.

We, however, see a departure from a Radburn-style plan: here, the neighbourhood units are in fact purely residential areas – subdivisions. The civic center, far from being at the center of the town, is tucked away in the right corner Not only that, each residential area is closed off from other residential areas, schools, market, or other amenities. The neighbourhood unit has fused with Le Corbusier’s separation of uses. Industry relocated itself to the top left corner and closer to where the highway project was ultimately implemented. Heavy industry has either been phased out or never manifested itself in the town.

The final product also exhibits a feature of many Canadian towns: it never quite went fully Modern. Instead of dismantling itself into multiple colour-coded zoning cells, it instead kept its older core, which now finds itself competing with the light industrial and commercial
zones by the highway. The modernist/neighbourhood unit/garden-city concern for ample green space is both present in the original plan and visible in the final product, with both large amounts of parks, fields, and other green spaces within the city and around, though it appears that some of the designated agricultural zone have ultimately succumbed to development.

We also see, however, a lack of pedestrian connectivity from neighbourhood units to other amenities and community features. Despite its declared commitment to walking, we nevertheless see a car-oriented layout. Whereas the older garden-city style plans often had a community centre, a church, and commercial features near the centre where everyone could walk to, these are absent from this plan. The influence of the Sainte-Marie de Beauce plan is hard to gauge from the archival resources themselves. The report was a two-parter and had no follow up and no clear filiation within the Community Planning Review issues analyzed for this report. We, can, however, observe here all elements that would come to dominate planning in Quebec for the next decades.

5.3. Summary

The community plan has been one of the pillars of modern planning. In Quebec, it was, along with the subdivision plan, the element that permitted the profession to distinguish itself from their competitors in engineering, architecture, and surveying. It was already a feature of Fiset’s classes in 1948 and it dissemination was at the core of CPAC activism in Quebec. When a local branch would establish itself in a city, its first order of business was to lobby the local city hall to adopt a community plan. Lacking a provincial level legislation to enforce such a plan, however, left the adoptions of these plans and their implementation largely voluntary. The Quebec division attempted to remedy to this by redoubling its grassroots effort and generate a will to adopt and apply community plans among citizens and government officials.
Community plans also had an important impact on the physical landscape. As seen in the case of the St-Marie de Beauce, where a community plan study was conducted by a team of sociologists, surveyors, engineers, and architects, with the blessing of the CPAC, adopted and applied by the village, we can see that it may have been something of a ur-example for modern, organized development in Quebec. We find in the community all features of modernist planning practices as advocated by the CPAC, with only minor differences that probably evolved from changes in local realities such as the arrival of a highway. As it will be explored in the next chapter, Quebec suffered considerably from mal-development in the decades following the war. A combination of rapid economic and industrial development, coupled by a housing boom nurtured by the CMHC’s new loan and mortgage policy, led to mushrooming and poorly organized development. A town like St-Marie de Beauce stands out in this regard by how strictly it adhered to a community plan.

The plan, however, also exhibits a more negative legacy of the planning philosophy of the CPAC. Despite its stated, and laudable, claim of creating walkable communities that has children and family in mind, we find at this point a disappearance of the pedestrian realm in favour of cells insulated from, but dependent, on car traffic. Moving from the ideas explored in the neighbourhood plan, we find here that many of its features – and more importantly, many of its more socially positive features, such as centralized locations for services such as school, church, shops – have been abandoned in favour of zoning that segregates use. The influence of the community plan, as introduced and promoted by the CPAC, lingers on to this day.
Annex to Chapter 5

Programme de la Section de Chicoutimi

(Excerpt from CPAC Newsletter 1956, Issue#2.)

Suggestion de programme pour une section locale

Le programme de l’association d’Urbanisme consiste à mettre en valeur la localité, en tenant compte de son avenir. Il consiste à coordonner les divers éléments du développement physique du milieu de façon à ce que tous les éléments soient ordonnés en vue du confort, de la santé, et du bien-être de la population. Le programme doit tendre à inculquer aux citoyens le sens de l’entité de la communauté, afin de promouvoir un esprit de coopération communautaire.

Éléments généraux du programme

1) Faire l’éducation de la population sur la nécessité de l’urbanisme par tous les moyens publicitaires connus : organisation de forums, conférences, articles de journaux et revues, films, etc.
2) Amener un groupe de citoyens à se réunir régulièrement pour étudier l’urbanisme en général, et les problèmes auxquels la localité a à faire face.
3) Recueillir une documentation complète sur la localité, ses besoins, ses problèmes, et travailler à établir un plan d’ensemble de développement.
4) Collaborer avec les autorités municipales locales, en vues d’une meilleure solution des problèmes d’urbanisme.
5) Obtenir des renseignements de l’assistance technique du département d’urbanisme et du gouvernement provincial.
6) Participer activement au travail de la division provinciale de l’Association canadienne d’urbanisme.
7) Étudier les problèmes suivants :
   a) Zônage, aménagement des rues, parcs, quais, passage des chemins de fers, gares, etc.
   b) La circulation et le transport, la sécurité routière, les terrains de stationnements, hors-rue, aménagement des abords de la ville.
   c) Égouts, aqueducs, etc.
   d) Parcs et terrains de jeux
   e) Localisation des différents genres d’industries et établissements d’affaires.
   f) Localisation des édifices publics.
   g) Santé et hygiène publique, localisation des dépotoirs, terrain de rebuts, etc.

Habitation

1) Localisation de maisons de différents types, l’enlèvement de maisons de différents types.
2) L’enlèvement des obstacles qui empêchent la localité de produire des maisons.
3) L’établissement de règlements rationnels,
4) Encourager l’industrie de la construction à se relever et à construire des maisons pour satisfaire aux besoins de la population.
5) Considérer l’aide fédérale et provinciale et les avantages offerts aux familles incapables de se procurer une maison.
6) Élimination des taudis, logements insalubres, logements surpeuplés.
7) Étude des lois d’urbanisme, plans de la cité, système de taxation locaux, lois concernant les hypothèques. Etc.
8) Préparations d’un relevé, afin de déterminer les besoins de loyers dans la localité.
9) Promouvoir l’établissement de coopératives d’habitations, coopérer avec celles qui existent et étudier les divers systèmes en opération.
Program of the Chicoutimi Section (ENG)

Program suggestion of a local section

The program of the CPAC is to improve the community by taking into account its future. It consists in coordinating the varied elements that make up the development of its physical environment to promote comfort, health, and the well-being of the population. The program is meant to inculcate into citizen a sense of community belonging in order to promote a spirit of community cooperation.

General elements of the program

1) To educate the population on the necessity of community planning by all known means of advertisement: organizing forums, conferences, publishing articles in newspapers and magazines, movies, etc.
2) To bring a group of citizen together on a regular basis to study community planning and the issues facing the community.
3) To collect an extensive documentation on the local community, its needs, its issues, and to work toward a community plan for its development.
4) To collaborate with the municipal authorities in order to develop better solutions for urban problems.
5) To obtain information from the department of community planning and the provincial government.
6) To actively participate in the work of the provincial division of the Community Planning Association of Canada.
7) To study the following issues:
   a) Zoning, street planning, parks, quays, railroad crossings, train stations, etc.
   b) Circulation and transportation, road safety, parking lots, off-road, planning on the margins of the city.
   c) Sewers, aqueducts, etc.
   d) Parks and playgrounds.
   e) Location of the different types of industrial and commercial businesses.
   f) Location of public buildings.
   g) Health and public hygiene, location of garbage dumps, scrapyards, etc.

Housing

1) Location of different types of housing
2) Removal of obstacles that prevent communities from building houses
3) The establishment of rational rules
4) To encourage the construction industry to pick itself up and build enough houses to satisfy the demand of the population.
5) Consider the help of federal and provincial instances and the advantages provided to families unable to own or buy a house.
6) The removal of slums, insalubrious housing, and overcrowded tenements
7) The study of the laws of urban planning, of city plans, local taxation systems, mortgages, and more.
8) The preparation of a report of rent issues in the community.

To promote the establishment of cooperative housing and to cooperate with already existing instances to study their method of doing things in real-time
Chapter Six: The Long March toward a Provincial Planning Act

6.1 Making the Case for a Planning Act

CPAC activism in Quebec was dominated throughout the 50s and 60s by one particular strategic objective: the adoption of a provincial planning law, an objective that would not be accomplished until 1979. The call for a planning act in the province of Quebec, however, predates the CPAC. In a special issue of *La Revue Municipale*, with urban planning as its main theme, Percy Nobbs – architect, city councillor, and member of TPIC – made a case for “A provincial Town Planning and Zoning Enabling Act”. The act would codify existing town planning law, creating a municipal act, enable municipalities to pass and enforce town planning act (or suffer the provincial government pass it for them), enable municipalities to conduct traffic planning, site planning, and zoning; give municipalities control of land uses and locations; create urban authorities to control development on the peripheries of established municipalities; control over housing and population density; land use classification; the ability to conduct community planning and re-planning/re-development; subdivision control; advertising control; and the role of private enterprise in public work.\(^{65}\)

The intellectual and theoretical foundations that served as springboard for the adoption of a provincial planning legislation is another contribution of Harold Spence-Sales and his McGill students. In his capacity as academic and researcher he assembled in 1949 a comparative study of all existing planning legislation in Canada. Harold Spence-Sales’ study, however, would serve as material for the argument that provincial planning legislation was necessary. Quebec had a

rich legal heritage for planning, but it had many blind spots– notably with regards to implementation mechanisms, a fact documented by the Civic Improvement League in 1927\textsuperscript{66} and formalized in Spence-Sales’ 1949 report. Spence-Sales remarks that the powers of municipalities, as granted by the provincial government, are incredibly limited: municipalities, under the Cities and Towns Act, may prepare plans for streets and are allowed to carry out homologation\textsuperscript{67}. Through dedicated planning services in the cities of Montreal and Quebec, some results were achieved but they remained nevertheless hamstrung, especially in comparison to provinces who had adopted comprehensive planning legislation.

Municipalities lacked the tools to enforce the law and regularly found themselves outmaneuvered by promoters operating in the gray area of the law – along highways, in areas outside or with overlapping municipal jurisdiction and so on\textsuperscript{68}. Simard observed that there was a total absence of authority of the department of Municipal affairs, an absence of higher order procedures at the provincial level and a lack of coordination between municipalities. There was an absence of control around the highway land subdivision was unregulated and the province of speculators (hence strip development along highways), and that municipalities did not have the technical support for the completion of studies and plans\textsuperscript{69}.

\footnotesize
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{66} Committee on Town Planning of the City Improvement League, 1927, Special Edition on Urban Planning, \textit{La Revue Municipale}. Pg.17
\item \textsuperscript{67} Spence-Sales, 1954, A Brief to the Royal Commission, pg.9
\item \textsuperscript{68} Simard, J. Les recommandations du mémoire de l’ACU à la commission royale 1954. \textit{CPR}, Vol.4. Pg.45.
\item \textsuperscript{69} Ibid.
\end{itemize}
The Duplessis Government’s Tremblay Commission became an opportunity for the Quebec Division to make a formal plea for their case. Under the supervision of Harold Spence-Sales, and in the name of the Quebec Division, the McGill Planning program produced a Brief to the Royal Commission, outlining the current state of development in the province. Analyzing development in and around cities over the last ten years (1946 to 1956), the report came to the conclusion that the rapid development occurring in Quebec was poor in quality, both in terms of housing and planning, leading to the creation of “ribbon development” along highways and unplanned mass suburban development that created financial hardships for small communities.

Figure 6-1: A bad case of Ribbon Development in Drummondville, QC.

Source: Spence-Sales, 1954, A Brief to the Royal Commission, pg.17
The solution to such development, the brief proposed, was the development of regional level planning and, of course, a new provincial legislative framework for planning.

In other words, the CPAC painted a picture of a growing and on-going crisis of development and presented to the commission a series of recommendations that could mitigate the current issues and provide better guidance for the future. While nothing happened immediately, the recommendations made by the CPAC would be used as basis for the amendments made to the current existing laws in the 1959 through the intervention of Jean-Claude La Haye.

6.2 Resistance to Implementation

Another issue was the attitude taken by the Quebec Division itself. While it pushed for the adoption of a provincial planning law, they readily acknowledged that Quebec was not suffering from planning vacuum. Planning laws already existed and not only that, as Jacques Simard wrote, Quebec had a rich legal heritage: *The Cities and Towns Act*, the *Municipal Code Act*, the *Act Respecting Roads* (*Loi de la Voierie*), and the *Cadastre Act*, the latter two going back to New France. The argument was not so much that Quebec lacked planning legislation but that the legal tools and framework were unknown to the wider public and therefore under-exploited.

These were also the arguments made by Paul Dozois\(^70\), minister to municipal affairs, from 1956 to 1960, on the vocation of the ACU Quebec Division. Writing in the *Community Planning Review*, he echoed opinions voiced in previous issues, but used them to justify

government inaction. He instead extended his full support to the ACU Quebec Division’s educating mission, making public awareness of Quebec’s planning law the way forward for the future of planning in the province. The issue, it was argued, was not that Quebec did not have the right planning tools – it’s that the public and civil servants did not know how to use them. In doing so, Paul Dozois ignored the other part of Jacques Simard’s arguments.

We can also see this attitude on full display at the 10th Annual General Meeting, during which the president of the CPAC himself, Charles-Édouard Campeau, who remarked that “you would be surprised, looking at the Town and Cities Act, and the Rural Code, to learn that Quebec towns and villages have powers in the planning field which Ontario communities do not have”71. Campeau, along with reporter Lucien Fontaine director of L’Écho Abitibien of Val D’Or, reiterated that the main objective of the CPAC in Quebec should be above all education – to make local citizens aware of the power they have under already existing laws and for greater regional cooperation.

Another argument, though not made by Simard72 but reported by him, was that an overarching, provincial act would go against the Gallic character of French-Canadians who, now being ordered by law to plan, would rebel against it. Simard, in response73, remarked that while, yes, the particular temperament of French Canadians made it redundant to have such laws, it was no longer the case. The old esprit de paroisse had disappeared, the link between man and landscape had vanished, and the previous benevolent figures of paternal authority, the priest and


73 Ibid.
the notary, had been replaced by the man winning election through popularity and promises. Culture and tradition were fraying and would no longer be enough to guarantee proper process, and worse, the cultural vacuum left by industrialization now permitted the worst excesses of commercial housebuilding and advertising. The city, which had “slowly matured over the centuries, now found itself submerged by ugliness, vulgar and anonymous, overflowing from a monstrous and inhuman metropolis”\textsuperscript{74}. Simard called upon local administrations to rein in the crude rapacity of commerce and the small-minded egoist interests that would squander centuries of heritage, both cultural and natural, for the sake of a few pennies.

These arguments against planning legislation were flimsy, but revealed an unfortunate reality: there were plenty of people in Quebec who were comfortable with the status-quo. Quebec was awash with CMHC money for the construction of new houses and the assembly of land. Quebec was still industrializing rapidly and the expected expansion of the St. Lawrence Seaway seemed to herald even more economic development. While it was the argument of the CPAC, and one supported by the Chamber of Commerce and the Canadian Federations of Mayors and Municipalities, that urban planning would help economic development, it is not difficult to imagine that many preferred the free-for-all and laisser-faire attitude of the Duplessis Government. It is not the Gallic character that would not endure being told what to do, but rather those who stood to profit from the existing state of affairs.

\textsuperscript{74}Ibid. Pg.109.
6.3 Jean-Claude La Haye and the bureaucratic process (1959-1978)

The message of the ACU Quebec Division was consistent throughout its first decade. Calling upon the support of the Union of Municipalities and the Chamber of Commerce of the Province of Quebec, the ACU Quebec division called for the creation of a “survey of physical characteristics and of the human needs of the population and territory of the province of Quebec and its many and diverse regions”\(^{75}\). It also called for an inventory of existing laws that touched directly or indirectly urban planning in preparation for a provincial planning law. Such a planning law would have to, in turn, take stock and considerate the organization and regional means of control of land use to better conserve natural and human resources. In the same vein, the Quebec Division stressed that it was important that development that incompatible with the characteristics and aspirations of rural regions should be stopped\(^{76}\). This list of demands would become the basis for the 1963 La Haye Commission.

Jean-Claude La Haye was a student of Harold Spence-Sales: Spence-Sales supervised his Master’s Thesis at McGill University. La Haye was a modernist who studied at Harvard’s City Planning program in 1953, refusing a chance to study for free at l’École des Beaux-Arts Montréal, which he judged to be too loyal to its namesake, preferring to study the new ideas of Walter Gropius and Le Corbusier, even if it meant studying in poverty in the U.S. Involved through the 50s with the CPAC, TPIC and the development of the AUPQ (Association professionelle des urbanistes du Québec), he begins working at the Ministry of Municipal

\(^{75}\)CPAC. 1954. CPAC Newsletter Issue #5, Pg.8.

\(^{76}\)CPAC. 1954. CPAC Newsletter Issue #5, Pg.9.
Affairs, positioning himself strategically “to work on the other side”\textsuperscript{77}. The opportunity showed itself with the death of Duplessis in office and through his colleague Jean-Louis Doucet, La Haye obtained the ear of the new minister of Municipal Affairs and several amendments were made to existing planning laws in the province\textsuperscript{78}.

However, it is only with the defeat of the incumbent government by Jean Lesage’s Liberals that things began to move quickly in favour of the CPAC. We are now at the eve of the Quiet Revolution and the new imperative is \textit{rattrapage} – catching up: economically, culturally, politically. In 1963 La Haye is called upon to head the Commission Provinciale d’Urbanisme (The Provincial Commission on Urban Planning), a research commission meant to take stock of the situation and issue recommendations toward the creation of a Provincial legal framework for planning. The Lesage government would, however, be defeated before the Commission’s report is submitted and the Union Nationale returns, for the last time, to the reins of power in 1966. A law is drafted by 1970, but it never reaches the parliament floor: The Union Nationale is defeated by Robert Bourassa and the Liberals. There is an attempt to revive the project by Maurice Tessier, but it fails to gain the necessary traction and the remains stillborn, until finally Robert Bourassa intervenes to have \textit{the Loi sur l’Aménagement et l’urbanisme} as Bill 12. This time it is defeated on the parliamentary floor\textsuperscript{79}. The law is perceived as an attempt at centralization by the government and many representatives are lobbied by their constituents to oppose it.

\textsuperscript{77} Boisvert, pg.72

\textsuperscript{78} Ibid., pg.75

\textsuperscript{79} See Appendix B – Chronology, for the year by year breakdown.
It would have to finally wait until 1979, within a larger reframing of the Bill as part of the government’s drive toward decentralization that it finally passes and Quebec gets its own planning act – more than 30 years later than most provinces in the country. The project faced serious problems in term of political timing, governments oscillating between disinterest and hostility. It was raised by the coming tide of the Quiet Revolution, but was also drowned by it as it became embroiled in the administrative upheavals. La Haye’s reports and recommendations were also threatening to a housing and construction industry that had virtually run unchecked since the 40s and who were more than interested in maintaining the status quo with regards to the powers of the provincial government and the municipalities.

6.4 Summary

As all other provincial division of the CPAC, one of the main objectives of the Quebec Division was to see the provincial government implement a provincial planning act. The idea was already formed during the time of the Civic Improvement League and the country had already seen a first wave of similar acts, encouraged by Thomas Adams, though they were, ultimately, limited in their implementation. The development of a provincial planning law in Quebec would take much longer than other provinces in Canada. Initially, while there was enthusiasm for planning in province in the wake of the semaine de l’urbanisme, it quickly cooled once the then premier at the time, Duplessis, came to see urban planning as socialistic in nature. Entreaties made by the CPAC to the provincial government were ignored and even rebuked.

The Tremblay commission proved to be an opportunity to lay out the rationale for the need of a provincial planning law using the example of recent mal-development in the province as a situation that could be resolved with the implementation of a planning law. The government did not budge. Some, like Paul Dozois, even argued that to have a provincial planning law would
go against the very character of French Canadian people and that the CPAC should focus on its educational mission. Planning was fine, as long as it didn’t ask too much of the government. During the Duplessis years, the CPAC did just that. It redoubled its efforts at developing its grassroots capacities. Its success was, however, continually mitigated by the absence of an overarching legal framework through which municipal actors could legally enforce planning tool such as community plans and have them adopted and respected.

The CPAC, however, experienced a major breakthrough with the death of Duplessis and the arrival of Jean Lesage’s government in power shortly after. Jean-Claude La Haye, a member of CPAC and already involved in the development of the planning profession, had already strategically positioned himself in the governmental bureaucracy. In 1959 he was able to push for amendments to the existing policies and by 1963 he was in charge of his own commission, the La Haye Commission, on the issues of urban planning in the province.

Unfortunately, this sudden turn in fortune for urban planning did not immediately translate into results. During the commission, the Lesage government fell out of power, and as it is often the case of commissions ordered by a previous government, the La Haye Commission was ignored. It would take several years before it would be brought back to the assembly floor. It was the Quebec Division’s recommendation that a major inquiry be put into place to create a complete inventory of physical, natural, and cultural assets and create a planning act appropriate to the Quebec context.

The idea of a provincial planning law was well received in many quarters, but it was also perceived as being a possible encroachment on local powers. Quebec’s planning laws were noted to be loose as early as the 30s, and while this may have been seen as a negative from the perspective of urban planning, many others benefitted from it and resisted the creation of a new
legal framework that would give teeth to community plans. The delay for the adoption of a comprehensive planning law in Quebec, therefore, has more to do with the peculiar political situation in Quebec in the 50s to the 70s than a failure of advocacy on the part of the CPAC or any particular cultural characteristics of French-Canadians and Quebec.
Chapter 7: Conclusion and Looking Forward

The purpose of this report is to cast light on the role of the CPAC, and more specifically, its Quebec Division, in the development of planning in the province of Quebec. The role of the CPAC in the early days of the modern planning profession had to this point received only minimal attention and the most exhaustive historical treatise on the subject, Boisvert’s *Amménagement*, does not linger on it, focusing instead on the history of the profession corporation. The CPAC’s overlaps with the OUPQ, but it is very much like an iceberg – so much of it remained out of sight. For all the known, prominent and active members, there are thousands who remained unnamed, whose work in the proliferation of planning in Quebec are only mentioned in passing in the association’s memos. In focusing on individuals, Boisvert also neglects the considerable theoretical legacy left by the CPAC. In a very real way, the association framed the very way planners and laymen of the time thought about their professions and how they should go about it.

It did so by being on the forefront of the development of planning education – both for an educated, university-trained cadre of specialists and for the general public. It also engaged in an ambitious media campaign, to not call it propaganda, with the National Branch and the Quebec Division deploying a veritable arsenal of means to get their message on the street: it held movie showings, distributed informational material, toured the province to reach out even the furthest communities, aired radio talks and recorded educational programs, and encouraged the active participation of its membership in the planning issues both in their communities but across the country as well.

The CPAC steered the development of planning, and promoted a particular brand of planning. Under the influence of Humphrey Carver and Harold Spence-Sales, though it is unfair
to point to them alone when it is clear that the many architects and planners who gravitated around him also shared in certain common convictions as to how planning should be conducted, we see the development of a strongly influenced by the Modern movement of planning implemented across the countr. Quebec was no exception. Despite the attempts of many actors of the time to account for the local vernacular or to Catholicize the coming city, the planning that came to be dominant in the province of Quebec was modernist, just as it was across the country. We can see this in the introduction of the concept of the neighbourhood unit, both in how it departs from previous ideas of planning and how influential it was on further development in the province.

If the CMHC laid the financial structure for the development of suburban Canada, it is the CPAC and its promotion of the neighbourhood unit that proved decisive in steering urban development in a certain and mitigate the worst excesses, such as ribbon development. Similarly, it promoted the community plan as the planning tool by excellence, to the point that discussion of planning amounted to discussion of how to draw up and follow a community plan. It also promoted intensive, scientific research and its way of dividing space through zoning are also very modernist features that became standard practice for decades to come.

Finally, while since the time of Thomas Adams there had been lobbying for the implementation of a comprehensive planning law at the provincial level, it was not until the 1944 Curtis Report that such a law became a major policy agenda to be pushed by a federally-funded organism. From Day 1 it was the mission of the CPAC to convince the provincial government to adopt a provincial planning act, a *loi-cadre* that would make community plans effective and enforceable, and supplant the weak legal regime in place in Quebec. While it was the work of Jean-Claude la Haye and the La Haye Commission, as well as the many politicians who then
fought to have it pass on the parliament floor, the research and content of that law had already been elaborated by the CPAC throughout the 50s.

When looking at the history of the CPAC, one cannot help but be impressed at the tremendous amount of work that was accomplished in a few years. Compared to the activities of planning associations today, we find an unparalleled desire to engage and inform the public, influence policy outcome and bring about social and material change. It is also a testament of how much can be accomplished when a coherent agenda is pursued at all levels of government – and how it falls apart when communication breaks down and money dries up.

To the CPAC, and its parent, the CMHC, we owe our current modern landscape and our profession as it is practiced today. A better understanding of the history of our profession seems a necessity in understanding how and why things were done the way there were done, a knowledge now all the more relevant in a time where the legacy of that period of planning is being questioned more than ever. The CPAC did not just revive planning – it developed, promoted and entrenched a paradigm of what planning should be like and look like. If we are to challenge that paradigm, and hope to accomplish even a fraction of what the CPAC did accomplish, not just in Quebec, but across the country, a better grasp of its history is necessary. This report, is, ultimately, but a small piece of that picture.
Bibliography

Primary Sources

Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec


Canadian Centre for Architecture

Carver, Henry. “1948-1955: Development of University Graduate Courses in Town Planning”; Compassionate Landscape, 1975. 104; 120. HC File 20/47. CCA. Montreal, Quebec.


Carver, Henry. “Grants made under Part V of the National Housing Act 1955-1964” HC file 20/84. CCA. Montreal, Quebec.

School of Urban and Regional Planning Collection

Layout for Living


**Community Planning Association of Canada Newsletter**


**Community Planning News**


**Community Planning Review**


**Government Documents**

C. A. Curtis, (1944), “Housing and Community Planning.” *Final Reports of the subcommittee on housing and community planning for the Canada Advisory Committee on Reconstruction*, Ottawa: King’s Printer.

**Community Planning Association of Canada**


**La Revue Municipale**


**Urbanité**


**Autobiographies**


**Secondary Sources**


McCann, L.D. Planning and building the corporate suburb of Mount Royal, 1910-1925." *Planning Perspectives* 11, no. 3 (1996): 259-301


**Unpublished Material**


Appendix A - Chart of the evolution of the Quebec Division membership
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>CPAC National Council Members</th>
<th>CPAC Quebec Division Leaders and Board Members</th>
<th>CPAC Quebec Local Sections Leaders</th>
<th>Number of Local Sections</th>
<th># of Members (Province)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1947 | J. Rosborough Smith (Montreal) (Councilor)  
     | George S. Mooney (Chairman)  
     | André Duval, Léon Cantin, Eugène Chailleur | Montreal: George S. Mooney  
     | 2 | Montréal, Québec  
     | 79 | (2 sustaining)  
     | (69 active) |
| 1948 | Georges S. Mooney (V.-P.) (Montréal)  
     | André Duval (Chairman)  
     | Roland Drolet (Secretary)  
     | No data.  
     | No data.  
     | No data. |
| 1949 | Unchanged  
     | Roland Drolet (Chairman)  
     | Antonio Laforge (Vice-Chairman)  
     | No data.  
     | No data.  
     | No data. |
| 1950 | André Duval (Quebec) (Executive)  
     | C.F. Campeau (Chairman)  
     | André Duval, Harold Spence-Sales  
     | No data.  
     | 12 | Montréal, Québec, Rimouski, Chicoutimi  
     | 450 |
| 1951 | Unchanged  
     | Dr. Émile Nadeau (Chairman)  
     | No data.  
     | 5 | Montréal, Québec, Rimouski, Chicoutimi, Nantes  
     | No data. |
| 1952 | Jacques Simard (President)  
     | C.F. Campeau (Chairman)  
     | André Duval, Harold Spence-Sales  
     | Chicoutimi: Jacques Tessier  
     | 12 | Montréal, Québec, Giffard, Rimouski, Chicoutimi, Levis, Shefford, Sainte-Anne, St-Lambert, St-Léonard, St-Jean, Cap-de-la-Madeleine, Rouyn, Amos  
     | No data. |
| 1953 | C.E. Campeau (Montréal) (Vice-President)  
     | C.E. Campeau (Chairman)  
     | Georges-F. Sémin (Secretary)  
     | No data.  
     | No data.  
     | No data. |
| 1954 | Unchanged  
     | Unchanged  
     | No data.  
     | No data.  
     | No data.  
     | No data. |
| 1955 | C.E. Campeau (Vice-President)  
     | Unchanged  
     | No data.  
     | No data.  
     | No data.  
     | No data. |
| 1956 | C.E. Campeau (Montréal) (Vice-President)  
     | Unchanged  
     | No data.  
     | No data.  
     | No data.  
     | No data. |
Appendix B - Chronology

1903
Quebec passes the *Cities and Towns Act*. (Affaires Municipales et Habitation Québec)

1912
New Brunswick passes *An Act Relating to Town Planning*. (Gordon, Fischler, and Wolfe, 2019)
Nova Scotia passes *An Act Respecting Town Planning*.
Ontario passes the *Cities and Suburbs Plan Act*.

1913
Alberta passes *An Act Relating to Town Planning*.

1916
Quebec passes the *Municipal Code of Quebec*.

1917
Manitoba passes the *Town Planning Act*.
Ontario passes the *Planning and Development Act*.
Saskatchewan passes the *Town Planning Act*.

1918
Prince Edward Island passes the *Town Planning Act*.

1919
*L’Union des Municipalités du Québec* is founded in response to the challenges posed by the rural exodus toward cities and industrialization.

1925
B.C. passes the Town Planning Act.

1937
Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities founded.

1941

The National Building Code is passed by the Canadian federal government.

Quebec makes amendments to the Cities and Towns Act.


1944

The Final Reports of Subcommittees of the Advisory Committee on Reconstruction, called the Curtis Report for short, is published.

The Union Nationale, led by Maurice Duplessis, returns to power in the Province of Québec.

The Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation is founded.

1946

Harold Spence-Sales, on the invitation of John Bland, begins teaching at McGill university in the newly formed Physical Planning program.

Ontario passes the Planning and Development Act.


1947

National conference on Community Planning held in Montreal. 300 delegates are welcomed.

Results: provinces are urged to modernize and simplify building codes to make housing cheaper.

Construction of a demonstration neighbourhood. Planning essential to housing. The need for a manual of subdivision planning.

[CPAC, 1947, Layout for Living, Issue #9]

1948

Jean Cimon begins to work for CPAC under Alan Armstrong.

[Cimon, Jean. 2007. Mémoire d’un piéton]

Harold Spence-Sales holds his first summer school on subdivision planning at McGill

[Community Planning Association of Canada. 1948. Layout for Living, Issue 18. Pg.7.]
1949

Harold Spence-Sale’s *How to subdivide* is published.

The Metropolitan commission of Montreal seeks an extension of its charter powers so that it can also operate as a metropolitan transit authority for Montreal Island. The request is not well received by the reigning government. Quebec City approves of the formation of a Metropolitan planning authority.

(Layout for Living, 1949, Issue #24 part b)

1/10th of new housing in Canada has been built on Montreal Island. Proportionally than anticipated. At this point, $10 000 000 000 has been spent on construction, with 300 000 houses housing some 1,000,000 Canadians.

CPAC Meeting in Montreal – the provincial government is asked to prepare a town and country planning legislation.

A Transportation Research Board is set up in Montreal. G.S. Mooney is on the board.

(Layout for Living, 1949, Issue #27)

**Result:** Montreal is at the heart of urban planning developments in the province. An urban planning program is opened at McGill, the Metropolitan government is attempting to bypass some of its weaknesses by creating an island wide transportation authority, and the Montreal region is seeing a boom in home construction

1950

Jacques Simard joins and becomes involved in the CPAC.

*Montreal Bill.* The city of Montreal is allowed to set up a transportation commission.

Dr. Émile Nadeau submits a memorandum to Prime Minister Duplessis on housing needs in the province.

CPAC regional conference held in Montreal. Government of Quebec urged to pass a provincial planning act and set up an agency to administer it. The Quebec City branch is working toward a regional planning agency.

[CPAC Newsletter, December 1950]

**Results:** Rapid developments on the planning scene. The Quebec division is organizing itself, and under the leadership of Emile Nadeau, lobbies the government to pass a provincial planning act as well as the expansion of the division to major cities outside of Montreal. Montreal was successful in creating a transportation commission for the whole island, while Quebec City is
attempting to build a planning authority for the whole region of the capital city. Despite these very early inroads, regional planning authorities for these cities will not become reality until the 70s.

1951

Jean Claude La Haye is hired by the Quebec Ministry of Municipal Affairs after completing one year of urban planning studies at Harvard. Before doing this, however, he completed a Master’s degree in Commerce at McGill university. Harold Spence-Sales was his thesis supervisor and his work concerned urban development and housing projects

[Boisvert, A. 2014. Aménagement et Urbanisme au Québec, pg.49]

1952

Re-organization of the Quebec Division of the CPAC “on a sound basis”. 12 sections are mentioned: Montréal, Québec, Giffard, Chicoutimi, Rimouski, Lévis, Sherbrooke, Beloeil-McMasterville, St-Jean, Cap-de-la-Madeleine, Rouyn, Amos. 10 new sections are planned. The division boasts at this point in 450 members.

Conference held in St-Jean, in Richelieu. 130 members attend. Emphasis on the need for the association to “enlighten the public on the benefit of applied community planning well adapted to the needs of French Canada”.

Multiple resolutions are taken at the conference: push for the adoption by the Province of Quebec of a planning legislation adapted for Quebec; the creation of a dossier of the characteristics and needs of the province, as well as an inventory of laws and by-laws.


[CPAC, 1952, Community Planning Newsletter, Issue #7]

Result: 1952 is a major turning point for the organization. Dr. Emile Nadeau dies suddenly while still head of the division, leading to serious re-organization. The association continues its expansion and elects C-E Campeau, engineer at the city of Montreal’s planning department, and who would be an important member of the association throughout the 50s and 60s, occupying the position of division head and represented Quebec at the national association for several years. (See Appendix A). The conference held in St-Jean would define the agenda of the Quebec Division for the next decade and beyond. Its call for the creation of a dossier of characteristics and needs of the province would be the foundation for the La Haye Commission, which would materialize 11 years later. The work of Harold Spence-Sales for this convention would also be further developed into his Brief to the Royal Commission for the Tremblay Commission, which would provide the foundation for the first round of amendments to the planning laws of Quebec in 1949.
1953

Henry Spence-Sales, John Bland and Jacques Simard collaborate in the development of a master plan for the neighbourhood of Préville.

[Boisvert, 2014, pg.132]

Beginning of the Royal commission on Inquiry on Constitutional Problems, also called the Tremblay Commission to address issues of Tax Sharing between federal and provincial levels of government.

International Municipal congress held in Montreal that has for theme municipal finance and the distribution of taxation revenue.

The Quebec Division begins to prepare briefs for the Tremblay Commission. 12 established sections mentioned, but not named.

[CPAC Newsletter, 1953, Late Fall Issue]

Note: Taxation and municipal finance dominate the discourse of planning in the early 50s in Montreal. Montreal was dealing with the burden of supplying the burgeoning communities on its periphery and this was causing considerable stress to its finances and infrastructure. A major impetus for planning regulation emerged from these conditions, which would be further explored in the CPAC Quebec Division’s brief to the Tremblay Commission. On the federal-provincial level, Duplessis’s spat with Ottawa over taxes slowed down planning considerably, especially in the domain of social housing.

1954

Completion of Brief to the Royal Commission of Inquiry on constitutional problems by a team of McGill professors, presumably headed by Harold Spence-Sales.

Key proposals made by the Brief:

- Empower the minister of municipal affairs to exercise control over urban and rural planning
- Create a provincial planning board
- The bureau of urbanism to assume at the executive agency of the provincial planning board
- Create an advisory committee to the minister of municipal affairs
- Sponsor the training of planning personnel.

At the annual conference of the CPAC Quebec Division held in Sherbrooke. More resolutions are passed calling the Quebec Government to step in and control building lines along major access roads; study the opportunities for expropriation/homologation in order to secure the successful implementation of highways; set minimum building requirements, plan reserve parking along highways; and study the effects of the St. Lawrence Seaway.
[CPAC Newsletter, 1954, Issue #5]

**Note:** All of the key proposals of the Brief would be eventually adopted, piecemeal, by the Quebec Government over the next two decades.

**1955**

Carver becomes head of the CPAC advisory group, a position he would hold until 1967 and describe has his most productive years of his life.

[Carver, Humphrey, 1975. *Compassionate Landscape*, pg. 149]

C.-E. Campeau becomes director of the Montreal City Planning Department.

**Result:** C.-E. Campeau, head of the CPAC’s Quebec Division, becomes head of the planning department of the largest city in the country.

**1956**

Harold Spence-Sales’ *A Guide of Urban Dispersal* is published.

**1957**

Founding of the AUPQ (*Association des Urbanistes Professionels du Québec*). Move from an academic society to a full professional corporation.

**1958**

Jacques Simard’s *Pour une Administration Régionale* is published by the UMQ.

[Boisvert, 2014, pg.142]

**1959**

Adoption of the *Conseil d’orientation économique du Québec*. Amendments made to the *Cities and Towns Act* and *Municipal Code Act*, following recommendations provided by Jean-Claude La Haye.

**1960**

Jean Lesage’s *équipe du tonnerre* is elected, defeating the Union Nationale. Beginning of the liberalization and modernization of the Province of Québec after 15 years of Union Nationale rule.

Jacques Simard becomes president of the CPAC.
Major turning point for the CPAC in Quebec. Jacques Simard becomes president after 10 years of active service in the ranks of the CPAC. With the arrival of Jean Lesage and the defeat of the remnants of the Union Nationale, Quebec actively pursues a policy of modernization and urban planning is seen positively.

1961

Master’s level program in urban planning offered at the University of Montreal. Supported and pushed by Pierre Laporte, minister of municipal affairs, over the years, desirous to provide Quebec with a francophone planning program.

1962

Pierre Laporte becomes Minister of Municipal Affairs under the Jean Lesage government.


1963

The work of La commission provinciale d’urbanisme (Rapport La Haye) begins, headed by Jean Claude La Haye.

Complete revision of the administrative map of the Province of Québec.

The Corporation Professionnel des Urbanistes du Québec is officially recognized.

Note: Another important year for planning in Quebec. The provincial commission on urban planning begins, under the supervision of long time CPAC member and one-time student of Harold Spence-Sales, Jean Claude La Haye as part of a much wider rethinking of spatial organization in the province. This is also the year where the CPUQ, predecessor of the modern OUPQ, is finally recognized as a legal corporation after 6 years of struggle for recognition.

1966

Jacques Simard becomes president of the CPUQ (1966-1969)

1967
Expo 67 is held in the city of Montreal.
Creation of the Quebec Provincial Planning Bureau.

1968
The *La Haye Report* is submitted.

1970
Creation of the Montreal Urban Community, of the Quebec Urban Community and the Outaouais Regional Community.
The *Loi sur l’amménagement et l’urbanisme* is prepared, but does not reach the Assembly floor.

1972
The government of Québec adopts *La loi sur la protection de l’environnement*.
The *Loi sur l’amménagement et l’urbanisme* is revived by minister Maurice Tessier, but again fails to get the necessary clearance to be voted on the assembly floor and remains stillborn.

1974
Establishment of the *Société d’Habitation du Québec* (SHQ) under the authority of the minister of municipal affairs. This society oversees the distribution and development of social housing in the province of Quebec.

[Boisvert, 2014 pg. 149]

1976
The Bourassa government revives the LAU as Bill 12, only to have the law voted down by the assembly.
Le Parti Québécois, under the leadership of René Lévesques, is elected.
Creation of the Secrétariat à l’aménagement et la decentralization. (Secretariat to planning and decentralization)
1978
The government of Quebec adopts *La Loi de la protection du droit agricole*.


1979
The first iteration of the *Loi sur l’amménagement et l’urbanisme*, a legislative framework for all planning done in the province of Quebec, is finally passed by the Provincial Government of Quebec, putting in place many of the recommendation made by the *La Haye Report*.

The Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation is renamed the Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation.

Result: Despite the fact that it took 11 years from the time of the end of the La Haye Commission to the passing of a planning law, plenty of progress was being achieved in the field of provincial planning policy. Laws to protect agricultural land, the environment, and built heritage were all passed in relative quick succession during the 70s.