Deathscapes in Planning:
How Planners Can Create Grief-Friendly Spaces

by

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Ethics Statement

The author, whose name appears on the title page of this work, has obtained, for the research described in this work, either:

a)   Human research ethics approval from the Vancouver Island University Research Ethics Board; or

b)   Advance approval of the animal care protocol from the Vancouver Island University Animal Care Committee; or

c)   Has conducted this research as a co-investigator, collaborator, or research assistant in a research project approved in advance of the author's involvement.

A copy of the application has been filed with the Research Ethics Board at Vancouver Island University and inquiries may be directed to that authority.

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Abstract

Using four research methods (secondary literature scan, public survey, expert interviews, Delphi study) this research explores the relationship between Deathscapes, planning, and how to create grief-friendly spaces in communities. This thesis looks first at the evolution of Deathscapes and their role in activities of bereavement, then reviews local government roles, and then presents research findings. The findings resulted in the development of a new theory of grief-friendly communities, recommendations for planners seeking to engage with them, and a model of how grief is actualized in the physical, public realm.

Keywords: Cemetery Planning; Grief-friendly communities; Deathscapes; Healthy Community Planning; Social Determinants of Health; Social Planning; Local Government

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to all those in grief and mourning, or who have experienced grief and mourning, and who have not yet found a place for it.

I have done this work in memory of Nick, Mia, Liam, Ashley, Amy, Anne and many others who have had a personal impact on me and whose lives and deaths taught me about true love.

I also dedicate this work to those with disenfranchised grief arising from the opioid crisis in British Columbia. May you have places to share your experiences.

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Glossary

Bereavement	The loss or state of having lost someone or something significant.
Cemeterization	The act of making a place a cemetery-like place without official sanction of the space as a cemetery.
Cemetery	An area that is designated for the burial or interment of bodies, whether as bodies (burial) or cremains and not associated with a church.
Cemetery Land Uses	Cemetery Land Uses are designated geographical locations permitting the licensed interment of human remains, or in which preparation for interment and memorialization for the human remains may occur. Designated means recognized by municipal official plan and/or permitted by municipal zoning bylaws. In addition to this, cemetery land uses are place-making practices designating space and place for cultural and religious practices of memorialization where trauma, loss of life and, memory is landmarked. Cemetery land uses are any spaces that purposely inter and memorialize the dead.
Cemetery Urbanism	A planning concept that promotes the creation and restoration of diverse, walkable, compact, vibrant, mixed-use (where culturally appropriate) [cemeteries] that are integrated with a complete community.
Columbarium	A structure with vaults, recesses, niches or other means of storing cinerary urns. Cinerary urns are those which are designed for uses related to containing ashes, especially those of a cremated person.
Commemoration	Something that is done to establish an official remembrance and give respect to a great person or event. Commemoration is carried out by a community or an official entity rather than by a specific person or persons. Commemoration can be considered more public than a memorial. An example would be a commemorative statue or art installation commissioned by a town.
Cremains	The cremated remains of a human body.
Crematorium	An establishment that contains the incinerator and other equipment for cremation.

Deathscapes	An encompassing term for geographic spaces that have emotional, cultural, or physical associations with death, interment, memorialization, commemoration and other activities of interment and bereavement. Examples of Deathscapes include cemeteries, graveyards, roadside memorials, temporary shrines, memorial art, and the spaces that individuals imbue with meaning in association with another person's death.
Graveyard	A cemetery space attached to a church. Generally, strictly for burial.
Grief	Deep sorrow and other feelings associated with a deep, personal loss, especially one that is caused by someone's death. Grief is an internal, personal process and emotion
Grief-Friendly Community	Grief-Friendly Communities are places where people have a range of opportunities for expressing their grief and memorializing the dead which are appropriate for their cultural, religious, spiritual, mental wellness, and social needs. This includes opportunities for memorialization and interment that are varied, affordable, and meaningful, as well as social and service structures that meet the needs of the bereaved. Grief-Friendly Communities view the social and physical structures related to death and dying as an asset for the community and access to them as a human right.
Healthy Community Planning	The actions related to planning both the social and built environments of communities in a manner that focuses on continually creating and improving the physical and social environments that enable people to perform all functions or life, prevent illness, have access to the tools and resources for a healthy life, and fosters vibrant places and active lifestyles.
Interment	The act of burying or otherwise permanently storing a dead body.
Inurnment	The placing of cremains into a container, urn, or other vessel.
Memorialization	The preservation of the memory of an individual or event. Memorialization is carried out by individual(s) by their own means rather than through official or public monies/means.
Mourning	The expression of deep sorrow for someone who has died. Expression can be through customs such as wearing certain coloured clothes, rituals, interment practices, or other cultural or personal behaviours. It is grief expressed externally.

Western cultures	Refers to the regions, nations, and states that have common cultural roots in the Greek-Roman traditions, commonly considered the non-communist European nations, North America, and Australia.

Chapter 1.

Introduction

Planners have been saying that cemeteries are a critical land use issue, and one of concern, since at least the 1950s (American Society of Planning Officials, 1950). Discussion has focused on how to ensure there is enough space for burials (American Society of Planning Officials, 1950; Hanson, 2019; Naomi de Sousa, 2015), on where cemeteries should be located (Kellaher & Worpole, 2010; Kong, 1999), on the increase in cremation as a practice and implications for land use (Davies & Bennett, 2015), and whether cemeteries should be planned as perpetual or temporary interment places (Davies & Bennett, 2015), green spaces (Quinton & Duinker, 2019), or historical assets (Swensen, 2018). Population increases and densification in urban areas are leading to pressure on land in cities, a problem for nearly all urban areas (Allam, 2019; Davies & Bennett, 2015; Hanson, 2019). As Hanson (2019) states, "lack of cemetery space in the city is quintessentially an affordable housing issue for the dead" (para 1).

Both the topics and experiences of death and dying are uncomfortable and difficult for most people to discuss, and are usually dealt with through avoidance and a focus on helping people "move on" or "look on the bright side", which are common responses from psychology and cultural perspectives (Groot-Alberts, 2012; Walter, 2017; Webster, n.d.; Woodthorpe, 2010). Yet, death is an inevitable part of the human experience and it is a topic that our communities need to address. There have been many drastic changes over the last 100 years in how people manage death emotionally, culturally, and physically. Despite this, research from other fields on how grief is spatialized in communities, including a growing trend in interment outside of cemeteries, has not yet made its way into the planning dialogue. Planning theory on death has focused on cemetery and columbarium planning, which excludes the wide range of other memorialization practices

now used. If planners continue to ignore the societal influences on grieving and remain focused on cemetery planning alone, than planners will miss an opportunity to be part of a solution for the economic, social, and gendered aspects of grief, and thus ignore significant populations within our communities. Beyond a land use issue, management of death and grief is a spatialized aspect of social equity. Additionally, a significant body of research identifies negative personal health outcomes of unresolved grief, such as physical illness, reduced immune systems, and stress. Therefore, planning for grief is part of planning for healthy and equitable communities.

In their book *Deathscapes: Spaces for Death, Dying, Mourning and Remembrance* Sidaway & Maddrell (2012) define Deathscapes as the places where people's experiences of bereavement are "intensified", often contained in specific sites such as hospitals, cemeteries, mortuaries, and other spaces of memorialization which are "intensely private and personal places, while often simultaneously being shared, collective, sites of experience and remembrance; each place mediated through the intersections of emotion, body, belief, culture, society and the state" (p. 2). An encompassing term for geographic spaces which have emotional, cultural, or physical associations with death, interment, memorialization, commemoration and other activities of interment and bereavement, Deathscapes contain many layers of meaning and experience of places related to death. Death studies has been a widening field with various perspectives, including sociology, anthropology, psychology, geography, and landscape architects. "Deathscapes" connects these various perspectives by giving language to the interactions and contestation between space, culture, and the multiple meanings of both in spaces which embody grief, mourning, and death itself (Kong, 1999). The term ultimately highlights the connections between emotion and space, and the intersections between personal and public.

Deathscapes theories can be broadly categorized into a "space utilization phenomena" and "cultural phenomena" (Kong, 1999). Space utilization refers to the spatial logic and ordering of physical spaces, while the cultural aspect of Deathscapes refers to the "valuable narrative of social and cultural life" held by spaces for bereavement (Kong, 1999). In addressing planners' concerns about space, location, and land usage regarding interment, it could be useful to apply the concept of Deathscapes as a method

of moving beyond land use for the dead and toward spaces for remembrance and bereavement for the living. For example, very few governments have policies for alternatives to interment in cemeteries, such as spontaneous memorials or park bench dedication, despite their increased use over the past few decades (Kellaher & Worpole, 2010; Petersson, 2010). By using a multi-disciplinary lens that grapples with both personal and cultural views of death and bereavement, Deathscapes can provide a lens to begin finding new policies to attend to the modern experiences and norms of grief and bereavement, as well as contemporary memorialization and interment practices (Kong, 1999; Petersson, 2010).

One of the reasons why this is a critical time for the kind of research presented in this thesis is the projection of a 'death boom' in the next 30 years. This is a direct result of the 'baby boom' 75 years ago and the medical advances that have helped people live longer. With the COVID-19 pandemic bringing widespread social changes, as well as changes to the practices of funerals, memorials and other rituals of bereavement, the topic of this research is even more pressing because of widespread death from this disease. COVID-19 and the anticipated death boom will be triggers for a tipping point in how we manage both the physical and emotional landscapes of death and mourning.

With a focus on the Western world, this research uses a Delphi study to collect, interpret, and amalgamate expert opinions on death and grieving from sociologists, cultural geographers, psychologists, and planners to create a framework for managing interment and memorialization in cities and towns. Using Deathscapes as a theoretical lens for spatializing grief and mourning, this research offers a set of recommendations to planners, a concept of Grief-Friendly Communities, and new insight on the role of planners. Grief-friendly Cities is a term coined by the author and refers to cities in which there is a diverse range of Deathscapes that are reflective of the community needs, as well as accompanying procedures and available information for citizens to access and engage with these Deathscapes (e.g., clear application procedures for memorial benches).

1.1. Objectives

The core research question for this work is "What would a Grief-Friendly Community look like?" This question was explored with qualitative research methods and grounded theory analysis, which allowed for questions to emerge and be answered as data was analyzed.

Two research questions that relate to the core question were addressed through quantitative means (surveys):

1. What motivates people to seek alternatives to burial or internment of ashes in cemeteries, and what alternatives are they choosing or would like to have?
2. How can planners create spaces for memorialization and grieving that are relevant to contemporary practices?

The first question addresses the gap in knowledge about peoples' motivations for choosing interment outside of cemeteries. This is important because it can help planners determine what kinds of alternatives to cemeteries the public may want. The second question was explored with experts to inform a Grief-Friendly planning guide.

1.2. Structure

This thesis starts with a literature review which covers a brief history of interment and memorialization practices in Western cultures, contemporary practices, current research, and the legislative structures that make grief-friendly communities and Deathscapes a planning topic. From this literature review, the research questions for this work are identified. The next chapters describe the methods and findings of the research. The recommendations and overall findings of the research are then discussed in Chapter 7. Chapter 8 links the results to healthy community and friendly city planning theories, as well as summarizing the findings that relate to each research question. The final chapter discusses hopes for the applications of this research.

Chapter 2.   Literature Review

2.1. Historical Deathscapes: Changes in Styles and Function

Death and how we manage it has been a question since "time immemorial" (Allam, 2019). Burial has been a primary way of interning dead bodies since prehistoric humans and generally has been related to cultural and religious rites and protecting villages from animals and contamination (Allam, 2019). In religious terms, burials were commonly thought of as a rite of passage to carry a soul from the land of the living to the land of the dead, the afterlife (Allam, 2019; Cothran & Danylchak, 2018; Walter, 2017). The rise of Christianity solidified this practice in Western cultures, and by the 17th century, burial in a church graveyard was the most common choice for interment in Europe (Allam, 2019; Cothran & Danylchak, 2018; Kellaher & Worpole, 2010). European church graveyards could continue their burial functions for a long time because they commonly practiced grave re-use in their finite, small areas (Quinton & Duinker, 2019). Churches also maintained detailed burial records in most areas, which allowed for genealogy and population tracking. Family graves, in which all members of a family were interred, were also used to manage space and keep ties after death (Cothran & Danylchak, 2018). During the 19th century, attitudes about burial practices and death changed. In their book *Grave Landscapes: the Nineteenth Century Rural Cemetery Movement*, Cothran and Danylchak (2018) discuss the changes in theological and religious perspectives during that era, citing a shift away from gruesome images of hell toward a personified concept of the dead as "sleeping" or "laying to rest", in combination with the increased value placed on green spaces in an urbanizing society as the roots of the rise in popularity of cemeteries. This era also saw the introduction of the concept of burial "in perpetuity", meaning that once a body is buried, it is never to be disturbed, which is a belief still strongly held in Britain and its former/current colonies (Cothran & Danylchak, 2018; Kellaher & Worpole, 2010).

Cemeteries are different from graveyards; they are considered non-denominational aesthetic and contemplative spaces rather than religious sites or those

associated with afterlife (Cothran & Danylchak, 2018). Although non-denominational, they still commonly have areas dedicated to various religious or cultural groups (Cothran & Danylchak, 2018). It was also common for cemeteries to be divided by race, such as having separate Chinese or Japanese cemeteries in Canada and the United States (Longoria, 2014). This division, as well as the increasing expense of burial, has added a layer of social injustice to cemetery planning because many people and cultures have been left out of the process, or have been openly shunned and neglected during cemetery planning and design (Hanson, 2019).

One reason for the rise in cemetery popularity was sanitation because church graveyards, generally located amidst highly populated areas for ease of access, began to cause water sanitation issues as the number of bodies needing interment increased with urbanization (Allam, 2019; Cothran & Danylchak, 2018; Quinton & Duinker, 2019). With graveyards full and new views on death, the garden or rural cemetery was born and rose in popularity in European and Western societies (Cothran & Danylchak, 2018). These new cemeteries were located outside of city limits, often with train lines or roads leading to them for visitor access (Cothran & Danylchak, 2018; Walter, 2017). They were often opulent, with grand monuments and landscapes that resembled English gardens (Quinton & Duinker, 2019). Many cemeteries in modern cities across the Western world are still relics of these cemeteries.

There were two significant changes in cemetery planning and design in the 20th century. The first was the rise of lawn cemeteries (Kellaher & Worpole, 2010; Quinton & Duinker, 2019; Walter, 2017). These were minimalist cemeteries, in part a reaction to the World Wars and an increasing concept of "equality in death" (Longoria, 2014; Quinton & Duinker, 2019). Difficulty with the cost of maintenance of highly decorative and intricate cemeteries, and a decrease in the public interest in opulent gravestones to indicate status of the deceased, led to a quick rise in the popularity of lawn cemeteries (Quinton & Duinker, 2019). This aesthetic of minimalism is still seen frequently in places such as veterans memorials and municipal cemeteries, and is increasingly reflected in public memorial and commemoration design (Rodrigo, 2015).

The second major shift in interment practices in the 20th century was the rise in popularity of cremation. While cremations have been practiced throughout human history, the rise of Christianity and associated practices of burial eliminated cremation in the Western world by 400 AD (Cremation Association of North America, 2020). This did not change until the first display of a modern crematorium chamber, which was designed and presented in Vienna in 1873 which (Cremation Association of North America, 2020). This sparked a slow rise in the popularity of cremation. By 2002, 47% of Canadians, 30% of Americans, and approximately 35% of Britons were cremated (Capels & Senville, 2006; Cremation Association of North America, 2020; Walter, 2017). Kellaher and Worpole (2010) note that more than half of the crematoriums in the UK were built between 1950 and 1970. This was part of the post-war character of Britain, which had a focus on efficiency and rebuilding rather than decoration (Kellaher & Worpole, 2010).

Additionally, a new form of "cemetery", the Gardens of Remembrance, within cemeteries presented people with a landscaped area to spread the deceased's cremains (Kellaher & Worpole, 2010). The rise in popularity of cremation is seen to be attributed to the post-war attitudes of forward-thinking, and the process was clean, took minimal space, and "encouraged a simplified mourning code" appropriate to the era (Kellaher & Worpole, 2010, p. 168). Up until the 1970s, it was the norm to leave ashes at the place of cremation in a Garden of Remembrance (Kellaher & Worpole, 2010). However, since then, it has become increasingly common for families to claim the ashes and bring them home, either to inter there or to spread in a symbolic and personal place (Kellaher & Worpole, 2010). Part of this change was due to zoning and land use plans that categorized crematoria as "industrial" use, which resulted in them frequently being located in industrial areas with no cemetery or memorial garden attached (Kellaher & Worpole, 2010). This shift in interment practices may also be connected to what will be discussed in Section 2.2, the shift toward highly personalized memorialization processes (Walter, 2017).

A more recent change in interment practices is the increase in new alternatives to burial and enclosed interment (urns, coffins, etc.). There has been a recent and rapid growth in the use of woodland burial sites across Western cultures (Kellaher & Worpole, 2010; Pappas, 2011; Quinton & Duinker, 2019; Walter, 2017). These sites offer a "natural

burial", which involves burying the deceased without embalming or enclosing them (Kellaher & Worpole, 2010; Pappas, 2011). This movement has been connected to environmental consciousness and the desire for sustainability because it eliminates concrete, metal, and embalming fluid from the burial site (Eveleth, 2014; Pappas, 2011). It is common for a tree to be planted on the burial site, and the burial may or may not include a small plaque or stone with the deceased's name (Pappas, 2011).

Finally, changes in technology have also contributed to changes in memorialization. It is now common for online memorials to be created using either social media (such as Facebook) or dedicated sites (often run by private enterprises) (Eveleth, 2014). These sites offer a chance for many people, regardless of geographical location, to share photos, memories, stories, and condolences (Eveleth, 2014; Kellaher & Worpole, 2010; Maddrell, 2016). Digital technologies are frequently used by people living far away from relatives or friends, such as immigrants, refugees, or people who have moved across the country (Clark, 2015; Maddrell, 2016). There has also been a rise in the use of real-time video or recording of memorial services in order to share with people who cannot return to their home to attend the service (Maddrell, 2016; Walter, 2017). Other uses of technology include GPS linked "plaques" in woodland burial sites (where visitors can use their phone GPS to identify dedicated trees and sometimes pull up a "profile" of the deceased), and other technological tours of interment areas (Eveleth, 2014; Maddrell, 2016).

The history of interment and cemeteries sheds light on the cultural and political influences that shape interment practices. Shifts in cultural values and reaction to socio-political issues such as war, sanitation, and health, and land use priorities have changed the design, location, and function of cemeteries over time. In turn, this has changed practices of memorialization and bereavement. The increase in options for interment means that people have more choice than ever before for their final resting places. Those left behind, the bereaved, are now responsible for making complex choices about interment, more so than in the past when strong religious systems determined death rituals.

2.2. Contemporary Deathscapes

2.2.1. Sociological Perspectives

The sociology death studies seek to understand the cultural and social influences on the expression and experience of grief and mourning. Tony Walter (2017) brings the conversation of death to the modern era with his book *What Death Means Now*. He posits that the increase in the institutionalization of death over the last century has changed how we experience death, loss, and mourning. First of all, medical advances have been responsible for increasing our life span considerably (Walter, 2017). Post-industrialization countries have experienced a shift in disease trends from diseases of pestilence (diseases caused by bacteria and viruses) to diseases of lifestyle (obesity, diabetes, heart conditions, etc.) (Davidson, 2015; McKeown, 2009; Walter, 2017). Improved water sanitation methods (mostly a planning issue), and advances in medical technologies, such as antibiotics and inoculation, have contributed to our extended life spans (McKeown, 2009; Walter, 2017). It has become increasingly common that we die of a terminal illness that was diagnosed far in advance of our death, which gives us more time to contemplate our own mortality and how we die (McKeown, 2009; Walter, 2017). While in the past, people often died at home within a few days of falling ill, and family and friends generally witnessed the death, people now often live with the knowledge of their death for months or years, leading to a "new craft of death", which is "arguably what palliative care and hospice provide" (Walter, 2017). Most people now die in hospice, care facilities, or the hospital, a phenomenon that sociology terms the medicalization and sequestration of death (Walter, 2017).

Social Influences

Despite its isolation, death is still an inevitable part of the human experience. Grief is a universal emotion. Most people will experience a significant loss in their life: a parent, a friend, a partner (Walter, 2017). Aside from these primary losses expected in the life course, people lose friends and co-workers, and during times of crisis, such as war and pandemic, can lose a sense of safety, security, and normalcy (Maddrell, 2016; Petersson,

2010). These griefs, although pervasive and predictable, are still in many ways taboo in Western cultures, relinquished to graveyards and cemeteries, themselves "unspeakable" spaces (Grant-Smith & Osborne, 2016; Walter, 2017; Woodthorpe, 2010). Walter (2017) links taboo with changes in societal perception of death, specifically its sequestration. While speaking of death, and particularly bodies (Woodthorpe, 2010), is considered taboo, people are also increasingly planning their own funerals and memorials (Walter, 2017). This is changing the funeral industry; people are now directly engaged in making their own individualized pre-arrangements (Beard & Burger, 2017; Walter, 2017).

Personalization is now a key consideration in the memorialization of the deceased. We think of "celebrating a life", and finding a "good place" for people based on who they were in life rather than how or where (culturally and spatially) they died (Walter, 2017). In part, this personalization is driven by the funeral industry, which offers a wide range of products and services for profit, thereby commercializing death and making it a consumer transaction, with a motive to support people in their bereavement (Walter, 2017). The wide range of options creates decisions that contain a financial element as the cost of burial skyrockets as space runs out (American Society of Planning Officials, 1950; Bennett & Davies, 2015; Hanson, 2019; Lovejoy, 2020; Naomi de Sousa, 2015; Walter, 2017). While increased choices provide opportunities for individualization, they also create a complexity for planning post-death rituals, which has personal and financial implications.

Cultural Influences

Adding to the difficulty of grief and bereavement decisions are contradictions in cultural norms of grief. There is a Western cultural trope that stoicism in bereavement is unhealthy, while simultaneously expecting people to behave in a stoic way outside of close relationships (Walter, 2017). Models of grief from the field of psychology have encouraged expression, processing, and eventual "letting" go of grief (Walter, 2017; Webster, n.d.). While this view of grieving (emerging over the last 40 years in psychology) is prominent in peoples' emotional lives, Western society also has a capitalist ethic which emphasizes productivity. Walter (2017) describes this as the "grief conflict in capitalism". On the one hand, values of a loving family and unity, part a romantic ideal and part derived from the

increase in life span that results in people knowing each other for longer, produce a desire to mourn and grieve those we have lost. Walter (2017) associates this with a "consumer ethic", or the rise in individualism. On the other hand, there is an emphasis on letting go and moving on, a value of stoicism associated with the "producer ethic" of capitalism (Walter, 2017).

Sociology perspectives on death, dying, and grief raise the issue of social equity in grief. Sociology also points out cultural shifts and changes in perception over the last century which have changed how people socially and spatially experience grief. Without the strong traditional practices of the past (generally religious), people are left to make complicated decisions about what interment options are best for their loved ones. The capitalist consumer culture of Western countries coupled with increased time to contemplate one's own death, but then placed in a norm of taboo and letting go, makes these choices endless and difficult. They also raise issues of equity in how people access resources to grieve, such as paid leave time from employment, affordability of space, and access to mental health care. Planners have not yet responded to these changes by considering different interment options or creating spaces outside the cemetery for grieving. Although land use practices and planning policies have shaped modern grief and interment, they have not done so with intention or purpose. This results in outdated interment policies and a lack of perspective on the role of grief in healthy city planning.

2.2.2.   Contemporary Deathscapes: Geography Perspectives

What are the space and land use options that planners could consider? This is where the work of geographers comes in. Necrogeography, the "geographical study of burial practices", relates cultural, social, and physical geography to the study of commemoration and death (Nash, 2018). Necrogeography originated in the 1970s, and in more recent years has evolved into the study of Deathscapes, which is focused on the intersection of physical and human geography studies of death (Nash, 2018). Prior to this wedding of fields, human and social geography studied different areas of necrogeography (Nash, 2018).

Spatialization of Grief – Human Geography

Research and theory on the spatialization of grief has analyzed how concepts of the past are constructed socially and expressed materially in landscape, public space, media, art, and architecture (Foote & Azaryahu, 2007). Landscape is a cultural construction which gives meaning to the external world, which in relationship to Deathscapes becomes a conversation between individuals and the state about the conflicting meanings of interment spaces (Kong, 1999). The spaces for public memorialization are determined by the political realities and constructs they are created in (Barker, 2018; Foote & Azaryahu, 2007; Kong, 1999; Rodrigo, 2015). Research in this field can inform planners on the spatial and political elements of grief and give guidance on how to physically design communities to support healthy grieving.

Environment – Physical Geography

Physical geographers have explored the interrelationship between "surface terrestrial spheres as manifest in the form and function of the human sphere" (Nash, 2018, p. 551). Their work has approached death and memorialization through research such as analyzing gravestone origins to identify changes in trade and religious practices over time and space, measuring atmospheric pollution within stones and landscapes of burial, and monitoring environmental hazards (Nash, 2018). More related to forward-looking planning and land use, physical geographers have studied the contributions that cemeteries make to biodiversity and habitat in urban areas (Nash, 2018). More recent attention has focused on the effects of modern burial and cremation practices on environmental pollution (Nash, 2018). For example, studies of cremation have shown that it is a significant contributor of air pollution (Nash, 2018). While cremation was once perceived as a highly sanitary method of burial, it has now been proven that the modern process of cremation has health risks such as the explosion of pacemakers (risk to crematorium workers), and exposure to burned and released metals from orthopedic implants and radiation from bodies that have been treated with nuclear medicine (chemotherapy) (Nash, 2018). Beyond the risk to crematorium workers, it has been demonstrated that the leading source of mercury emissions in the UK, as much as 15%, was from cremation (Nash, 2018). The risk of pollution and contamination is a serious concern for planners.

Spaces for Bodies

Beyond the physical pollution of cremation, social and cultural geographers have shown a social construct of the contaminating or polluting idea of human bodies. In their work on taboos of death, Woodthorpe (2010) uncovers a tendency to talk about grief but not the dead in cemeteries in the UK. Attendants and visitors of cemeteries both avoided using direct language about the bodies or the processes of decomposition, even as they stood nearby graves where this process was known to be happening (Woodthorpe, 2010). There are both top-down and grassroots efforts to reduce the stigma of grief and encourage public discussion, particularly about the personal vulnerability of grief (Walter, 2017). What Woodthorpe (2010) brings to discussion is the spatial element of the taboos. While people in the study resisted talking about the bodies of the dead, they openly discussed their sense of connection with, and ownership of, their loved ones' plots in the cemetery (Woodthorpe, 2010). She concludes in her study that bodies in cemeteries have an "unbounded and uncontrollable nature (which) contrasts with the intense activity that takes place at the surface in contestation over ownership and the importance attached to grave plot boundaries" (Woodthorpe, 2010, p. 70). Her study illuminates the challenge of talking about interment socially because interment is about bodies (which are still considered disgusting and gross), whereas death and grief are about a medicalized process and personal experience.

This distancing of death from the body is highly relevant to the study of Deathscapes. Nash (2018) describes Deathscapes as being not just about the places associated with the dead, but how they are "imbued with meaning and associations", all enmeshed in and influenced by, historical, linguistic, political, cultural, and economic features of the societies in which they exist (Nash, 2018, p. 558). Deathscapes are ultimately places where people locate grief, and thus provide physical spaces for people to focus their mourning and remembrance (Kong, 1999). While most people still use cemeteries as a location for grief, many people are taking bodies home in the form of cremains (Clark, 2015; Davies & Bennett, 2015; Kellaher & Worpole, 2010; Walter, 2017). This new pattern is made visible in community spaces through the increase in the number of spontaneous shrines such as roadside memorials, and the increase in the number of

memorial benches, planted trees, or art installations in public spaces (Kellaher & Worpole, 2010). The motivation behind these trends is currently understudied.

Cenotaphisation, as Kellaher and Worpole (2010) name it, is the separation of memorial space from bodies or remains. Research presents theories on why this is increasing, including the decline in enjoyability of cemeteries. Cemeteries, especially publicly owned ones, are facing a challenge with neglect, raising concerns about personal safety in these spaces (Kellaher & Worpole, 2010). Cemeteries have been managed as different from parks, and so little attention has been paid to lighting, quality of the pathways, or access (Kellaher & Worpole, 2010). Contributing to this is the lack of legislative or financial support from governments; public cemeteries on average run at a loss (Davies & Bennett, 2015; Kellaher & Worpole, 2010). In order to manage the challenge between protecting cemeteries as "sacred" sites and the desire of the public to access and use these spaces means that "burial authorities have found themselves increasingly entangled and asserting prohibitions" to control the public (Kellaher & Worpole, 2010, p. 171). Those prohibitions can be barriers to mourners who wish to spend time in cemeteries, and perhaps is a factor in the decline in their use (Kellaher & Worpole, 2010).

The inability to bury bodies in local cemeteries was common during the two World Wars, when soldiers often died and were buried on battlefields, also contributed to cenotaphisation (Kellaher & Worpole, 2010). When remains were not repatriated, mourners had to find other means of memorialization (Kellaher & Worpole, 2010). In between the wars, cemeteries opened up, and the uniform lawn grave, which is now common, was "viewed as a hallmark of (the) municipality" (Kellaher & Worpole, 2010, p. 173). While at the time, these were symbols of "equality in death" where even those with low income could bury affordably (sometimes the first land a person owned), they are now viewed as bleak, anonymous, and sterile (Kellaher & Worpole, 2010). Kellaher and Worpole (2010) connect this bleak environment of municipal cemeteries with the rise of cremation and taking ashes home, where they could be somewhere more emotionally charged, meaningful, and "safer". Mourners wishing to place their loved ones remains in meaningful places have had to look outside the cemetery and have found little to nothing

there. This has sparked an increase in creative and innovative strategies for memorialization. While perhaps motivated by financial reasons and a desire to find more comforting spaces, it is clear that people still seek to create spaces for meaningful emotional landscapes (Kellaher & Worpole, 2010; Maddrell, 2016; Petersson, 2010; Rodrigo, 2015).

Cenotaphisation practices are increasingly popular, yet there are few formal places in cities for them to occur. Petersson (2010), in a study on roadside memorials and dedicated landscape features (trees, benches, etc.), discusses the lack of policy and even consistent interpretation of policy in local governments in Scandinavia for these types of memorials. When asked whether or not a family could put a permanent marker at a roadside memorial, Petersson (2009, 2010) says responses from city staff included 'What if everyone did that?'' Other requests have been denied on the basis that immortalizing a negative incident, such as a roadway accident or stabbing, is not considered in the interest of the city. In the case of one request, a city planner approved a memorial near the accident site rather than directly next to it to distance the connection between the roadside and death (Petersson, 2010). Cenotaphisation and the creation of memorial spaces are important to the bereaved because they play a role in helping maintain a memory, ensuring a spatial focal point for grief, and creating a space for communal memory (Kellaher & Worpole, 2010; Maddrell, 2016; Petersson, 2009, 2010; Rodrigo, 2015).

Public memorials are briefly mentioned in this review for their role in commemorating loss on a community and nation level. Commemoration of public events and figures is a common practice around the world (Barker, 2018; Foote & Azaryahu, 2007; Rodrigo, 2015). The process of commemoration, though, can be a highly charged political process in which hegemonic relations of power play out (Foote & Azaryahu, 2007; Rodrigo, 2015). Foote and Azaryahu (2007) raise the point of historical memory and amnesia playing out on the physical landscapes of society through memorials. What gets memorialized and by whom is an expression of political and social power. Commemoration activities are part of community identity formation, seen often in national revivals and early stages of state formation through the erection or pulling down of statures, or renaming of places and streets (Foote & Azaryahu, 2007; Rodrigo, 2015).

There is a symbolism of memorial sites that infers status, importance, and permanence on those events and people who are acknowledged, while simultaneously denying or erasing the significance of those who are not or whose memorials are altered to reflect politicized views of the events. This social amnesia and memory is one of the reasons that co-creation of spaces incrementally over time in cemeteries has important social function, discussed further in Section 5.1.2.

Geography's study of Deathscapes has highlighted the spatial elements of grief, mourning, and bereavement in and out of the cemetery. Deathscapes study questions who is left out of formal places and who is included. These studies point out the political nature and contestation of who gets remembered and how in public spaces. I would offer my own thoughts on the importance of Deathscapes if Kong (1999) had not said it so well when they said that the study of Deathscapes gives an "opportunity for policy-makers and planners to be made aware of the multiplicities of landscapes meaning and to take to account of such multiplicities in landscape and urban design and planning" (p. 9).

2.2.3.   Contemporary Deathscapes: Planning Theory Perspectives

Cemeteries as green spaces

Cemeteries have been planned not just as interment places but also as an extension of the green spaces of urban areas. This has been a controversial topic, with some writers pushing for cemeteries as green spaces to extend the health benefits of parks and open space to dense areas that have little space left for these places (Davies & Bennett, 2015; Quinton & Duinker, 2019; Stevens, 2015). In their paper on managing cemeteries as urban green spaces, Quinton and Duinker (2019) point out that managing cemeteries as green spaces may not only increase their use but also create "better access to places that provide residents with opportunities for recreation, restoration, and other beneficial ecosystem services" as well as the associated health benefits of the outdoors (p. 7). There could also be mental health benefits if people see cemeteries in a more positive and integrated way by breaking down the psychological and cultural barriers to speaking and thinking about death. Voicing the opposite view is a 1950 report from the

American Society of Planning Officials which says this about cemeteries as parks: "community use of the cemetery as a park is simply a pathetic confession of the public need for park reservations" (American Society of Planning Officials, 1950, p. 8). There is also concern that cemetery use for anything other than burial and mourning is "disrespectful of the dead who are not allowed to rest in peace" (Allam, 2019). Historical uses of cemeteries have included picnics and activities centred mostly on visiting gravesites and personal contemplation (Clark, 2015; Cothran & Danylchak, 2018). Whether park-like uses remain appropriate, is an ongoing debate in cemetery planning policy and practice. Supporters of the idea say that planning of cemeteries as parks can increase income and financial stability for cemeteries, encourage interaction with historical features, develop a tourism industry (if historical cemeteries are maintained and well managed), and could potentially be places where people come to connect with and consider death (Allam, 2019; Clark, 2015; Davies & Bennett, 2015; Eveleth, 2014; Quinton & Duinker, 2019).

Cemetery Urbanism

Emerging from Canada is the concept of Cemetery Urbanism, which "promotes the creation and restoration of diverse, walkable, compact, vibrant, mixed-use (where culturally appropriate) [cemeteries] that are integrated with a complete community" (Hanson, 2019, para. 7). This is highly influenced by New Urbanism thinking, which advocates for "a variety of planning approaches depending on regional location" and "mixed uses, mixed tenures, mixed building types, and a high standard of urban design" (Hodge & Gordon, 2014, p. 120). Cemetery Urbanism advocate Hanson (2019) stresses that the Cemetery Urbanism movement is driven by the realities of finite land, compounded by an aging population and diversity variants in social class, religion, and culture in urban areas. Cemetery planning, then, has to consider who can afford land and balance the needs of living city residents with those of the dead. Urban land scarcity is a major issue for many cities, and Allam (2019) relates this to an ethical consideration of whether cemeteries ought to occupy large tracts of land when people alive are struggling to find housing and a good quality of life in urban centres. Additionally, Allam (2019) points out that gentrification is not only affecting residential neighbourhoods but is also emerging

in cemeteries as plots become scarce and families are required to pay skyrocketing prices for burial plots.

The emotional bonds and processes that happen at cemeteries are part of their essential function, and a cemetery is not a cemetery without the bodies. These functions and characteristics of cemeteries cannot change. However, layering uses and considering what other functions cemeteries serve can bring diversity and activity to otherwise underutilized spaces (Allam, 2019; Davies & Bennett, 2015; Eveleth, 2014; Swensen, 2018). Allam (2019) raises another important factor in maintaining urban cemeteries: they allow mourners to visit easily, which can be a cultural or religious practice, or simply that spending time at the gravesite of a loved one can play a significant role in the psychological healing process. These sites do not need to remain forever, though. Many European countries practice cemetery renewal; that is, a limited tenure of a gravesite with opportunity to renew after a predetermined period of time (Davies & Bennett, 2015). If a family does not renew the lease, the gravesite is "renewed" by being re-used once the body has decomposed. Use of urban cemeteries is only going to increase, and diversifying the activities, business models, and tenures in cemeteries can make them more of an asset to the living. Cemetery Urbanism advocates for this movement toward diversity to address equitable access and ensure the longevity of urban cemeteries.

Cemetery Urbanism and cemeteries as green spaces theories do not take into account those activities of bereavement and memorialization that happen outside the cemetery. This is a shortfall in interment management. Interment outside of cemeteries is uneven and under-researched, and in reality, planners have little idea what happens to bodies outside the cemetery. This has health implications because cremains (i.e. bodies) are disposed of or interned in public spaces in an unregulated way. Canadian law does allow for the spreading of cremains, and even has some guidelines for the public; however, the guidelines are not widely known and they provide for little control to assure that disposal does not impact waterways or other public assets. In addition, anecdotal evidence suggests that people feel fugitive in their spreading of ashes in public space, which creates a layer of shame and guilt over the already complex emotions of grief. This is an area for further research and understanding which my study attempts to address.

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2.3. Planning Policy: Municipal Planning of Deathscapes

Planners have had a major role in shaping how we grieve and memorialize the dead throughout history. First of all, it is the sanitation, safe water, and transportation routes that have in large part extended our lives in the first place (Davidson, 2015; Hodge & Gordon, 2014; Walter, 2017). Secondly, as we have generated increasing wealth in communities, planners have had a major role in how it is distributed, and in some ways have shaped who dies of what and when (e.g., education and life expectancy are linked; planners have determined which schools go where) (Davidson, 2015; Hodge & Gordon, 2014). Planners also arrange for the spaces where we lay our loved ones (or those forgotten and unknown) to rest. Furthermore, there is an increasing body of literature on urban psychology which shows how the built form influences individuals' actions and mental health (Davidson, 2015; Hodge & Gordon, 2014; Northridge & Freeman, 2011). However, planners have not adequately addressed new models of memorialization outside of the cemetery and have certainly not incorporated the social and emotional aspects of grieving in their considerations of space and community planning.

What has been discussed in planning policy and practice is cemetery planning. It has been discussed and practiced more and more in response to three main facts: (1) many cemeteries are aged and deteriorating, (2) there is a growing awareness about a lack of space in cemeteries, and (3) cemeteries have gained interest as multi-use spaces, such as parks. What makes this planning discussion urgent is that the world is facing an unprecedented increase in demand for interment as a result of the baby boom, which will result in a "death boom" over the next 30 years (Coutts, Basmajian, & Chapin, 2011; Walter, 2017). The discussion of planning policy that follows looks at contemporary theories of cemetery planning, the legal authority for cemetery planning in British Columbia and Canada, municipal policies and practices of creating Deathscapes in cemeteries, and what policies *could* address to facilitate Deathscapes outside of cemeteries.

2.3.1. Legal Authority for Funerals and Interment

Cemeteries fall firmly within the planning field as a land use and regulation power of local governments in British Columbia (Province of British Columbia, 2003). The Community Charter, a Province of British Columbia charter that establishes the legal powers and roles of local governments, has placed "cemeteries, crematoriums, columbarium and mausoleums and the interment or other disposition of the dead" as a fundamental power of local governments (CC 8:3:f). This power is intended to assist local governments in carrying out their purposes, specifically "providing services…for public benefit" (CC 7:b), "providing stewardship of the public assets of its community" (CC 7:c), and "fostering the….well-being of its community" (CC 7:d). Primarily, the role of the local government is to plan the location and size of, and create general rules for, cemeteries and crematoriums within their jurisdiction, whether they are owned privately or by the local government. Overarching the local government powers is the *Cremation, Interment and Funeral Services Act* (Province of British Columbia, 2020). It lays out the operational and functional requirements for cemetery, cremation, and funeral providers. The Act also refers to the *British Columbia Business Services and Consumer Protection Act* (2003) for further information on the legal business requirements. This reference to business and consumers is an indication of the view of politicians that interment is a business and that consumer demands are as important as the functions and social role of cemeteries.

Local governments, in interpreting these Acts collectively, may assume that their role is the oversight of land use related to cemeteries and crematoriums rather than the provision of these services. However, given the evidence of other studies that indicate that interment is happening outside of cemeteries, it is essential that governments and planners consider more than the location of cemeteries. By expanding to consider grieving as spatialized and furthering that to an understanding of the emotional aspects of health, planners could address grief as an aspect of citizen well-being and begin to explore the relationship between interment, space, and the places they create.

2.3.2.   Municipal Planning of Deathscapes inside of Cemeteries

Commentary on cemetery planning policy repeatedly discusses the need for forecasting which involves assessing the coming need for the number of interment spaces (American Society of Planning Officials, 1950; Capels & Senville, 2006; Coutts et al., 2011; Davies & Bennett, 2015). The creation of a cemetery is a lasting land use decision, and a complicated one with many issues (Coutts et al., 2011). There are four factors to consider, according to Couttes et al. (2011): mortality rates, cremation rates, burial migration (taking the body to a community outside of where the person died), and the land area available for interment. Recommendations for forecasting vary but are generally in the 50–100 year range (American Society of Planning Officials, 1950; Coutts et al., 2011; Davies & Bennett, 2015).   Above and beyond Couttes (2011) recommendations for considerations, a land use strategy and business model for the cemetery have to be considered (American Society of Planning Officials, 1950; Capels & Senville, 2006; Davies & Bennett, 2015).

Some common themes of policies that are forward-thinking and representative of contemporary cemetery planning are planning for mixed use (Coutts et al., 2011; Eveleth, 2014; Hanson, 2019; Lovejoy, 2020), planning for grave renewal (American Society of Planning Officials, 1950; Davies & Bennett, 2015), encouraging alternative modes of burial such as natural or green burial (Davies & Bennett, 2015; Eveleth, 2014; Pappas, 2011; Sidaway & Maddrell, 2012), and promoting public engagement for siting or future uses (Bennett & Davies, 2015; Eveleth, 2014; Grant-Smith & Osborne, 2016; Maddrell, 2016; Woodthorpe, 2010). Implementing new policies and practices in cemetery Deathscapes can revitalize and enhance the experience of cemetery goers. Planning ahead for land use constraints and changes in demographics and need will help planners improve and diversify cemeteries to ensure that they continue to serve their vital purpose, as well as accommodate changes in mourning and interment practices in Western cultures. Public engagement can help gain public support for cemeteries in their neighbourhoods and help break through stigmas and taboos.

2.3.3.   Municipal Planning of Deathscapes outside of Cemeteries

Planning for Deathscapes outside of cemeteries is currently a policy and procedure gap in many communities. There are examples of such policies that can be used as a starting point. The policies of the Streets and Parks Department in Malmo, Sweden, for memorials outside of cemeteries are one such example. Their policies cover three main themes: (1) requests for permanent memorials to be placed at the sites of sudden death (such as a car accident or violent death), (2) requests for memorials to be placed on the spot of a certain incident or occasion of significance to the bereaved, and (3) requests for memorials to be created in memory of a person and their significance in life, typically to be placed in a location associated with or significant to that person (Petersson, 2010). Planners in Europe are beginning to assess the types of requests which are currently made in their own communities and creating guidelines for planning department responses to those requests. In doing so, they legitimize a cultural shift and validate the desires and experiences of mourners.

2.3.4.   Reflection

Mark Holland, a professor at Vancouver Island University Masters of Community Planning Program, describes the role of planners as knowing "a little bit about everything" and then orchestrating policy responses based on multiple perspectives. If this is our role, then we would be remiss to ignore the bodies of knowledge about Deathscapes, which can improve our policies and plans. While planning is often still perceived to be, foremost about land use, many planners and a recent surge in planning theories have encompassed the human side of communities. Movements such as the healthy city movements, attend to a broader spectrum of human spatial needs, such as the need for access to resources, the equitable distribution of resources and amenities, having a sense of place and belonging, and having sustainable designs.

In considering Deathscapes, there is a struggle, or conflict, between thinking about them as places for bodies or places for people. Cemeteries, by focusing on burial and ash spreading, cater to the dead by formalizing their place in perpetuity without regard to

the next generation. They are also increasingly closed off spaces which focus on sombre remembrance rather than celebration, memory, and processing of grief. On the other hand, the rise in cremation rates and the number of people taking ashes home shows that the need to visit a body is diminishing. Desire for a place for remembrance, however, does not show any decline, as demonstrated through the desire for memorial benches, the spreading of ashes in special spaces, the holding onto ashes, and the creation of spontaneous memorials. It may simply be the case that a combination of factors, not least of all cost, is rendering the cemetery outdated. To continue to focus on cemeteries and memory gardens rather than incorporating the range of contemporary grieving and memorializing practices means that planners are managing more for the dead than for the living.

Changes in the aesthetics, price, landscape, and management structures of burial and internment places throughout history have contributed to changes in human internment practices. How we plan and maintain Deathscapes has a direct effect on the cultural practices of spatially processing death and loss. It has been shown historically that while planners often take the lead on changes in internment practices as a response to changes in land use or health concerns, their choices also shape how people spatialize grief. Cemetery and memorialization planning are both a response to, and creator of, changes in bereavement practices and ritual. Memorialization and internment in contemporary times has changed, and planners must respond with new policy and planning practices that takes into account the variety of ways grief is spatialized and experienced.

Research Questions

Cemetery design, access, and planning shapes how people memorialize and grieve their loved ones. Considering Deathscapes, psychogeography, healthy planning practices, and shifts in cultural practices related to death, mourning, and interment, how can planners continue to help local governments meet their obligations to plan for the disposal and interment of bodies in a relevant way? Can we make better spaces for grief and mourning, and can those spaces be integrated into our everyday spaces? These are

the core questions which lead to the research question of this thesis: What would grief-friendly communities look like?

Chapter 3.   Methodology

Two different methods were used to answer the research questions. The first was a survey to fill a knowledge gap in understanding the motivation of individuals to choose one type of interment over another in Canada. The second method was a Delphi study, which was divided into two parts: interviews and a Delphi formatted survey.   The methodology and reasons for each described in the sections below.

3.1.   Rationale for Research Methods
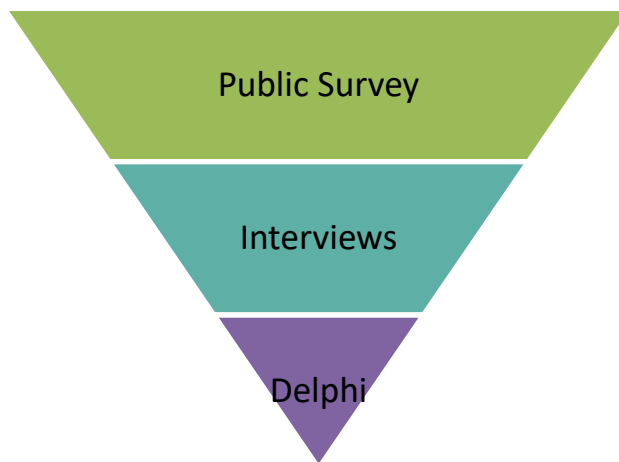
Figure 1 - Levels of Data Specificity

The research methods were chosen to concurrently collect broad-stroke ideas about interment and memorialization preferences from the public, while also exploring the concept of grief-friendly communities with experts. Using interviews and surveys, information was gathered on what the public values of interment in Canada are, as well as how experts perceive ongoing changes in practices and the challenges/opportunities of planning for interment and memorialization in communities. These data were analyzed and used to inform a framework for what a Grief-Friendly Community could look like, which was then tested using a Delphi survey method to verify the framework and recommendations. The methods were selected to move through broad to specific data, as shown in Figure 1.

Surveys are a good tool for collecting data from many participants that can easily be analyzed. Using a survey allowed for a large number of public participants to share their thoughts on practices and values about interment and memorialization. Conducting

this survey was a key component of testing whether the theories from European literature and studies about shifting interment and memorial practices are applicable to Canada, particularly in regard to ideas on the role of the cemetery for both personal and community grieving and memorialization, and the practices of interring ashes. Surveys are limited in their depth of answers, however, and are limited in their ability to collect nuanced data and place them in a broader context than the pool of participants.

The survey was followed by a Delphi study which consisted of both interviews and a survey. The Delphi method is a curated series of interviews and/or surveys that are usually conducted by questionnaires that gather information and opinions from a panel of experts on complex problems or novel ideas (Bobeva & Day, 2005; Eggers & Jones, 1998; Tapio, Paloniemi, Varho, & Vinnari, 2011). The methodology is best known for its use in health research and transportation, and to generate predictions, to test frameworks or ideas, and to conduct forecasting (Tapio et al., 2011). This emphasis on gathering experts' ideas on the future and the potential of policies or models brings together a range of perspectives in a structured manner.

The Delphi method has gone through many iterations, reviews, tests, and adaptations to different purposes, and is essentially an iterative process of rounds of data collection and analysis (Bobeva & Day, 2005; Eggers & Jones, 1998; Tapio et al., 2011). Although originally a quantitative method, the model has been expanded to both qualitative and mixed-method data collection and analysis (Bobeva & Day, 2005). As a qualitative method, it can be applied to generating a new theory or model through grounded model of thematic analysis. This makes it very useful for this research because the intention is to create a useful framework for planners to create grief-friendly spaces, a concept that has not yet been explored.

3.2. Survey

The first part of the study involved the use of a 28-question public survey. It was distributed through Facebook, Instagram, and a sharable link sent to email contacts (personal contacts). A copy of the survey questions is in Appendix A.

The purpose of this survey was to:

a) assess the general perceived knowledge about internment options.
b) learn what alternatives to cemetery or memorial park internment and bereavement rituals people are engaging in.

3.3. Delphi Study

Delphi Study Design

A three-round framework exploration Delphi study was conducted to answer the questions "What would a grief-friendly community look like?" and "How can planners create grief-friendly spaces?" A heterogenous sample of experts was recruited through email invitations and snowball sampling. The following four qualifications, described by Eggers & Jones (1998) were used to determine who was considered an expert for this study:

i) knowledge and experience with the issues under investigation

ii) capacity and willingness to participate

iii) sufficient time to participate in the Delphi

iv) effective communication skills.

There were two key components of the Delphi study: interviews and a series of surveys.

Interviews

Ten interviews were conducted with a mix of experts who had a high level of knowledge in this field. Participants included sociologists, planners, cemetery planners, death studies experts, and geographers. Each interview was an average of 50 minutes long. See Appendix B for the semi-formal interview guide. Grounded theory thematic analysis was used to review the data generated through the interviews. Additionally, reality maps were used to conceptualize the data and make connections between themes.

The process of analysis was as follows:

1) Transcribe the interviews and read the interviews several times to identify themes.

2) Identify key themes and code the interviews, highlighting statements which reflect each theme.

3) Note any additional literature or references made by the participants and read them to expand understanding of the participants' answers.

4) Identify questions additional emerging from the data.

5) Repeat steps 2–6 to answer emergent questions.

6) Reduce themes to seven core themes which relate to the initial research questions.

Delphi Rounds

The Delphi study surveys were created based on findings from the public survey and interviews. The survey explored levels of agreement and disagreement with the components of the draft framework. The successive questionnaire's content emerged from the previous rounds as areas of agreement and disagreement, or places for more discussion, were identified from previous responses (initially the interview data). See Appendices C and D for Delphi Questionnaires.

3.4. Evaluation of Methods

Assessing the validity or implantability of a new theory requires complex, iterative, and collaborative investigation. The research methods were designed to provide insight into the research topic that was expansive rather than deductive. This generated rich data that covered both public and expert perspectives through an iterative and collaborative process. Using the approach allowed for analysis and refinement of a new theory that is tested against expert knowledge and public input. A strength of this research was the high participation rate: 205 public survey participants, 10 expert interviewees, and 14 participants in the Delphi study.

The high rates of participation ensured that many voices were contributed to the data. This offered varied perspectives and added views which would have otherwise not been included. Using multiple methods meant that there were several ways for people to participate, meaning that anyone with interest in the topic had at least one opportunity to provide information. In some cases, participants chose to engage in all three data collection methods. Hearing from participants more than once created good communication and ongoing co-creation and development of ideas throughout the study. By participating throughout, the participants were brought along the journey of data collection and able to develop and evolve their own ideas as data was analyzed and reviewed.

There were potential methodological errors in this research. It was observed by participants that the public survey disallowed the selection of more than one choice on many of the questions. Participants indicated that having more than one selection would have been preferred and allowed for more thorough self-reporting of what is considered acceptable. By only allowing one selection, the survey was able to identify what participants considered the *most* acceptable options. The Delphi study, too, had some minor methodological errors in its formatting. This research would have been improved by more accurate or careful application of software.

Interviews and grounded theory has the potential to introduce researcher bias into the conclusions. As the data is qualitative and can be interpreted in multiple ways, the researcher can create categories and themes which reflect their own conscious or subconscious biases, a challenge with thematic analysis. The Delphi study provided an opportunity to check the findings with experts. By checking with experts after grounded analysis, I was able to limit bias. Interviewees were invited to participate in the Delphi study which ensured that there was an opportunity for clarification in the case of misinterpretation. This reduced the potential for inaccurate results.

Chapter 4.   Public Survey Findings

This section reviews general findings of the survey. For the complete results, see Appendix E for the Survey Monkey summary report.

In total, 205 people participated. Survey Monkey's analysis tools were used to review data, including at times comparing two sets of data from different questions to obtain richer interpretations. Comparisons were made when questions emerged from the data sets during analysis. Statistically significant differences were difficult to identify given the small sample size and the many choices presented in the answers. This report of findings, therefore, summarizes trends rather than statistically significant data.

The survey was broadly divided into four categories of questions:

- knowledge of interment and memorialization options;

- experience with making interment decisions;

- personal values regarding ceremony and commemoration practices; and

- appropriate places and practices for interment.

4.1. Knowledge of Interment and Memorialization Options

Participants reported low to moderate levels of knowledge about interment options. Those who reported more experience with planning interment and memorialization were more likely to report themselves as familiar with interment options, but their experience was still applicable to the "moderate" category: 52.92% of respondents answered that they are "somewhat familiar" with interment processes. The strongest data trends were that people 44 years and older and people who had lost a family member reported more experience and knowledge than younger people and those who had not lost a loved one. People reported having slightly more broad knowledge of interment options in general over having specific knowledge of local options. When asked about their knowledge level

of their friends and families interment wishes, participants reported having higher knowledge of their families interment wishes (22.81% said they knew "a lot", and 12.87% said they knew "a great deal" about their families wishes), than the wishes of their friends (4.11% indicated that they knew a "great deal" or "a lot", and 71.8% said they new "a little" or "none at all").

4.2. Experience with Making Interment Decisions

Although 93.00% of people who responded to the survey reported having lost someone who was close to them, only 57.30% reported having been involved in arranging a funeral or memorial service. Only 35.34% of respondents reported having had a great deal or a lot of involvement in making a decision about the final interment of a person. Level of involvement was inverse to age: 86.00% of the 18–29 age category had little or no involvement vs 65.00% of people over age 60 who had a great deal or a lot of involvement. People who had lost family members were more likely to report higher levels of involvement than people who had lost friends. People who had lost friends *and* family members reported having more involvement than those who had not lost someone or than people who had lost only friends. People who reported not being familiar with interment options (not familiar at all or not so familiar) had little or no involvement with making decisions about final interment. Involvement increased with age category.

The most important factor in choosing an interment location was that the deceased had told the person their wishes prior to their death (61.76% of respondents). The next three top responses were "final location was important" (36.03%), "environmental" (19.12%), and "cost" (18.38%). There was also an option for comment on this question. Nine of the 18 comments noted that family wishes and/or dynamics were the key factor in the decision of final interment location. A person who had lost a friend noted that the families' choices were taken over the person's expressed wishes, indicating that the friend had more knowledge, but the family had more power: the choice of the deceased individual's legal family took precedence over the friend's input, even if it was against the

deceased person's spoken will. This was also noted by a person who had lost friends and family: "It was the wishes of other family members that were prioritized; I wasn't consulted".

4.2.1. Pre-planning and final interment decision-making

Questions 15 and 16 (shown as comparative graph in Figure 3) asked about how much planning for interment of ashes had been done before a person's death, and how long it took their loved ones to make a decision about their final interment. Only 21.90% said a great deal or a lot of planning had been done beforehand, 27.01% said a moderate amount, and 50.10% said a little or none had been done. Fifty-nine percent of people reported planning interment before the death of the person. Comparing the answers of the two questions, a clear data trend emerges: those who took longer to decide on final interment had done less pre-planning.
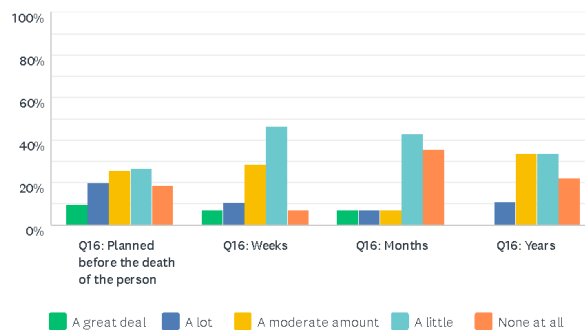
Figure 3 – Comparison of answers to Question 15, how much planning was done before taking the ashes home (shown as coloured bars) and Question 16, how long did it take to make a decision about final interment location (shown as percentages on y axis).

Location of final interment

Question 14 allowed people to select multiple options to indicate the types of interment locations that were commonly selected for their friends and family (Figure 3). Scattering ashes in a significant place to the deceased was by far the most common answer (69.66%). In the comments, one respondent mentioned the body was donated to science, and two respondents mentioned keeping the deceased's ashes in jewelry.

Q14 What alternatives to interment in a cemetery have been chosen for people you have lost?

Answered: 145   Skipped: 60

ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Scattering ashes in a special place	69.66%	101
Scattering ashes at the home of the deceased	6.90%	10
Scattering ashes at a public place such as a beach or park	41.38%	60
Placing ashes in an urn or container and kept	42.07%	61
Keeping ashes with the intention of spreading them together with another person's ashes such as a spouse	22.76%	33
Taking the ashes to the country or area of their birth	9.66%	14
Total Respondents: 145		

Figure 4 – What alternatives to interment in a cemetery have you chosen for people you have lost? (Public Survey Question 14)

Ceremony and Commemoration Practices

Questions 17–19 asked about ceremonies that were conducted at the time of interment. Most (66.67%) of respondents had completed a ceremony at the time of spreading cremains. Answers on the types of ceremonies they had participated in were varied but indicated that many people had participated in a few of the options listed in the question, and that different ceremonies were held for different people to reflect the dynamics of the bereaved and the person's wishes. The purpose of holding a ceremony

was most frequently to "celebrate the life of the person" (48.24%), followed by the "opportunity for communal grieving" (31.76%).

4.3. Places and Practices of Interment

4.3.1. Cemeteries

Questions 21–23 asked the participants about their perceived importance of cemeteries. Cemeteries as places of interment were not indicated as important for most participants. A higher than expected number (39.41%) answered that they "neither agree nor disagree" that interment in cemeteries is important, and 43.00% neither agreed nor disagreed that interment in a cemetery is important for the mourners of the deceased. There was strong disagreement that cemeteries are the only appropriate place for interment (78.00% disagreed). Only 3.50% of respondents selected that cemeteries are the only appropriate places for interment. Comparing the answers to these questions to the ages of respondents, only people in the ages 30+ categories felt that cemeteries are the only places to inter remains. Respondents who indicated that they are very or extremely familiar with interment practices were also the only ones who answered that they agree or strongly agree that cemeteries are the only places to inter bodies or cremains.

Because space in cemeteries is an issue in land use planning, Question 28 asked whether or not grave re-use would be accepted in a person's local cemetery.   There was a wide spread of answers—most in the "middle" (probably would: 35.37%; probably not: 35.98%)—which indicates a mixed opinion.

4.3.2. Importance of Permanent Places

Questions 24–26 asked respondents about the importance of permanent places for internment: 49.41% said they "neither agree nor disagree" that interment in a permanent place is important. This was remarkably higher than hypothesized. That most people

indicated in previous questions that they spread ashes outside of cemeteries (special places, parks, at home) is likely related to placing a low importance on permanence. People who believed that interment in a cemetery is important unanimously chose "strongly agree" or "agree", thereby implying that people who believe in permanent interment also believe that cemeteries are the appropriate place for it. There was strong disagreement over all that interment and the placement of a marker must be in the same place (47.88% disagreed, 14.55% strongly disagreed, and 24.85% neither agreed nor disagreed, only 12.60% agreed or strongly agreed).

4.3.3.   Scattering Cremains

Cremation rates have continued to rise steadily since over the last century, and are close to 80% in British Columbia (reported by an interview participant). Studies on where people inter ashes in British Columbia have been limited, however. The next set of questions was designed to enquire about where people do or would like to spread cremains in their communities.

When asked whether scattering ashes in public places (outside of cemeteries) was appropriate as an interment option, 57.65% of respondents said "agree" or "strongly agree". Ages 30–44 had statistically significant higher levels of strong agreement than people aged 60+. People somewhat familiar with or familiar with interment options strongly agreed (47.25% and 57.14%, respectively) with spreading ashes in public places. When asked if a dedicated public place to spread ashes outside of a cemetery would be used, 37.65% answered "strongly agree" or "agree"; 41.76% neither agreed nor disagreed. Many participants said that personal significance of the location of internment was a higher priority than a dedicated space or a cemetery: 45.88% strongly agreed and 44.71% agreed with the statement "I would prefer to spread ashes (my own or others) in a place of personal significance". People who strongly agreed that cemeteries were the only place for interment also disagreed or strongly disagreed with this question's statement.

4.3.4.   Spaces for Memorialization

This research, as land use planning research, ultimately focuses on determining how space can be created, used, and planned for to promote healthy grieving practices in communities. Spaces are only as useful as they are considered relevant for people. To seek input on what kinds of spaces would be considered relevant, the last four questions of the survey asked about the kinds of spaces and types of markers respondents would like as options in their community. The most common answer to Question 29 (see Figure 5) was parks (55%). There were 26 comments made on this question, with 17 of those comments indicating they would have selected more than one option given the choice. Four comments expressed disagreement with temporary memorials altogether: "Temporary?? Memorials are intended to be permanent"; "I have no objections…but personally would only consider a permanent marker"; "I don't think we should be putting physical markers all willy nilly around town"; and "Why is a public space needed?"

Q29 What kinds of public places you would like to place temporary memorials in?

Answered: 111   Skipped: 94
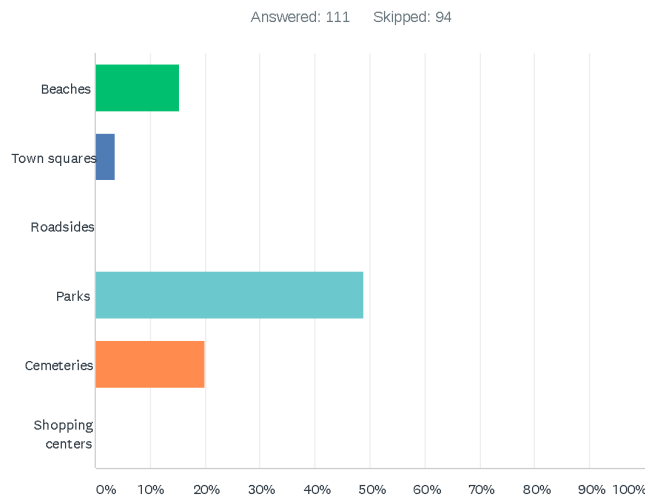
Figure 5 – Kinds of public places participants of the public survey would like to have places for temporary memorials.

Types of physical markers people would like to see in cemeteries was answered with a lot of variety, but the top two answers were memorial trees (28%) and places to put flowers (21%). The most popular types of physical markers people would like to see

outside of cemeteries was memorial trees (42%) and living memorials, such as places to hang notes (21%). One participant commented that ""Unimposing markers, as I don't think someone should be out for a walk and only surrounded by memorial markers" would be preferable. Participants were also asked where they would like to be able to place permanent markers. The most common answers were parks (59%) and cemeteries (28%).

4.4. Discussion

The survey generated results which in some cases fill gaps, in some cases confirmed prior research, and in some cases were very different than expected results. The fact that 93.68% of respondents reported they had lost someone close to them likely indicates that people who had experienced loss and associated bereavement and grieving were more likely to be interested in participating in this survey. The high level of response by people who had lost someone also represents a gap in data because very few people who had not reported a loss of someone significant to them participated. Therefore, their opinions and thoughts are missing in the findings. This could be due to a lack of interest, or that people who have not lost someone did not feel they could provide valuable input to the survey.

4.4.1. Knowledge

The set of questions about knowledge of interment options provided data that indicate that interment options and processes are not common knowledge. This was later supported by interviews (see Chapter 5). People who reported having lost family members (either friends and family or just family members) reported that they had more knowledge about interment options than those who did not. It is also noteworthy that there is more broad awareness of interment options than specific knowledge of local options. These data support a recommendation that public knowledge about interment options should be increased, and more information about local options should be shared in easily accessible public formats.

Older people who have lost family members are more likely to have had a role in planning and arranging funerals and interment. Involvement also seems linked to more knowledge about interment options (likely because those who have been involved in planning have experience exploring the choices). However, few of the people who done planning also say they know a lot, which indicates that even going through the process of making decisions is not providing people with a comprehensive education. This could be for a variety of reasons. The following are examples that emerged from the literature review and interviews: funeral homes focused on business rather than education; death is a taboo topic to discuss, so it is avoided until necessary; and experiencing grief makes decision-making more difficult, which may limit people's capacity to learn while also making choices.

Research cited in the literature review indicates that pre-planning and talking about death can resolve fears and make the process of death, interment, and choosing a memorial easier for bereaved people. Although the respondents of this survey had mostly lost someone close to them, there were still low levels of knowledge about friends' and families' interment wishes. People who had lost friends had more knowledge of their friends' interment wishes. This indicates that losing a friend prompts conversation with other friends about their wishes for after death. Families, especially participants over 44 years of age, were more likely to have discussed each other's wishes or talked about death in general. There is a strong indication that this conversation (of preferred interment options) is held more often among family than friends. Possible reasons for this are that respondents knew more aging family members who had expressed their wishes, or may have talked to their spouse, or may have had cultural/religious/or family traditions that dictate practices.

4.4.2. Cemeteries

A high number (39.41%) of participants "neither agree nor disagree" that interment in a cemetery is important. However, the question about a permanent place for internment showed a relatively even spread between the "agree" options and the "disagree" options. It is noteworthy that "agree" answers were only from age categories 30+, and higher

numbers were recorded in the 60+ category. Perhaps this indicates a shift in culture or that people who have more experience with cemeteries are more inclined to see their importance. The only "agree" answers also correlated with higher knowledge about interment options ("somewhat familiar" to "extremely familiar").

Overall, there was strong disagreement that cemeteries are the only places appropriate for interment. As noted above, this could be reflective of a change in culture. Since the survey did not ask about bodies and cremains separately, it is difficult to tell how people feel about burying bodies outside of registered cemeteries (such as on private property), but given increases in cremation rates and the indication that many people are spreading cremains outside of cemeteries, I would hazard the guess that this answer is related to people feeling strongly that it is acceptable to spread cremains in public/personally significant spaces rather than in a formal cemetery.

The group of people who stated that cemeteries are important also strongly disagreed with spreading cremains in public spaces. The data show a division whereby a small group of respondents felt strongly that cemeteries are the only appropriate place for interment, but the majority expressed interest in using other types of public spaces. Some already had used public spaces to spread cremains, which indicates that whether sanctioned or not, this activity is occurring. This is already known; however, the why has been a question in research to date. The questions about what people are looking for in a place for interment show a few trends that shed light on the why.

The answers to questions about how important permanence and markers at the site of interment are indicate that people are open to interment being less permanent and markers being placed in other areas. The frequency of scattering ashes in public or significant places (which could be both at the same time) shows that people are choosing to scatter ashes in places that are either emotionally or aesthetically appealing.   Putting together the information from Q29, 30, 31, and 32 indicates there is a strong preference for "pastoral" or "natural" areas as places for memorialization. This is supported by the work of Tony Walter, who writes about Northern Europe's tendency toward use of pastoral cemeteries as part of Protestant culture, and a connection with nature as part of spirituality

(unpublished presentation, personal correspondence). Given the strong cultural influence of England on Canada, this fits as a carryover from the history of garden cemeteries there. It also, in general, may indicate that people prefer park spaces as mourning spaces for a range of reasons, such as connection to nature. It could also be related to the increasing interest in "green burial".

4.4.3. Public Places

Overall, 37.65% of respondents said they "strongly agree" or "agree" that public places are appropriate areas for interment. Not only do people support the use of public spaces for scattering cremains, but they would also be inclined to use them. That the data showed a general preference for personally meaningful places indicates that people who are not interested in using a dedicated public space may chose not to because it is not personally significant.

Respondents indicated that they want places that are personally significant, aesthetically pleasing, and more representative of the person they are remembering. If cemeteries are not offering options, or people are not aware of the available options, which reflect the diversity of individuals and the range of cultural and personal values, then it is natural that cemeteries seem less important as places for interment.

Chapter 5. Interview Findings

Ten interviews with experts of a variety of backgrounds were conducted for this research. Experts and their backgrounds are shown in Table 1. Where they are quoted in this paper they are identified by initial.

Table 1 - Expert Participants in Survey

Name	Area of Expertise	Initials used in citation
Erik Lees	Cemetery Planning	EL
Nicole Hansen	Cemetery Urbanism, Planning	NH
Sam Jones	Community Planning	SJ
Harry Harker	Community Planning	HH
Jeffery Johnson	Cemetery and Funeral Industry Consultant	JJ
Lavleen Sahota	Healthy Community Planning	LS
Kate Woodthorpe	Member of Center of Death and Society Studies, Sociology and Policy Sciences	KW
Katie McClymont	Urban Planning, Studies in Cemetery and Crematoria as public spaces	KM
Tony Walter	Member of Center of Death and Society Studies, Sociology	TW
Glen Hodges	Cemetery Management	GH

The research questions were related to:

1. How can planners help local governments fulfill their role under the Community Charter Section 8.3.f to plan for "cemeteries, crematoriums, columbariums, and mausoleums, and the disposal and interment of the dead" in a relevant way?

2. Can we make better spaces for grief and mourning, and can those spaces be integrated into our everyday public spaces?

3. What would grief-friendly spaces look like?

Analysis of the interviews followed the inductive approach to qualitative data analysis described by (Thomas, 2003).More than 50 themes of information were initially identified. After reviewing the data and reducing overlap between themes, six core themes were sorted into two categories: 1) why address   in communities, and 2) what can planners do? Overarching all these themes is the fact that Deathscapes are changing, meaning there are new considerations in addressing them. Figure 5 provides a diagram of the themes and their relationships.

Themes related to "why address Deathscapes" were space, grief, and co-creation. Space refers to the need for space and the types of space available in communities for activities of bereavement—in particular, interment and memorialization. Grief relates to the individual experiences of grief and the relationship to mental health and well-being. Co-creation is the ongoing production of history and legacy that memorialization captures. Under "what planners can do" are the three themes of space, social planning, and literacy and knowledge. Space in this theme refers to activities of land use planning and policy. Social planning refers to the activities of social planners related to programming public spaces, and the coordination and support of community amenities and services. The theme of literacy and knowledge covers research, community dialogue and engagement, and data collection.

Figure 6 – Organization chart of interview core themes
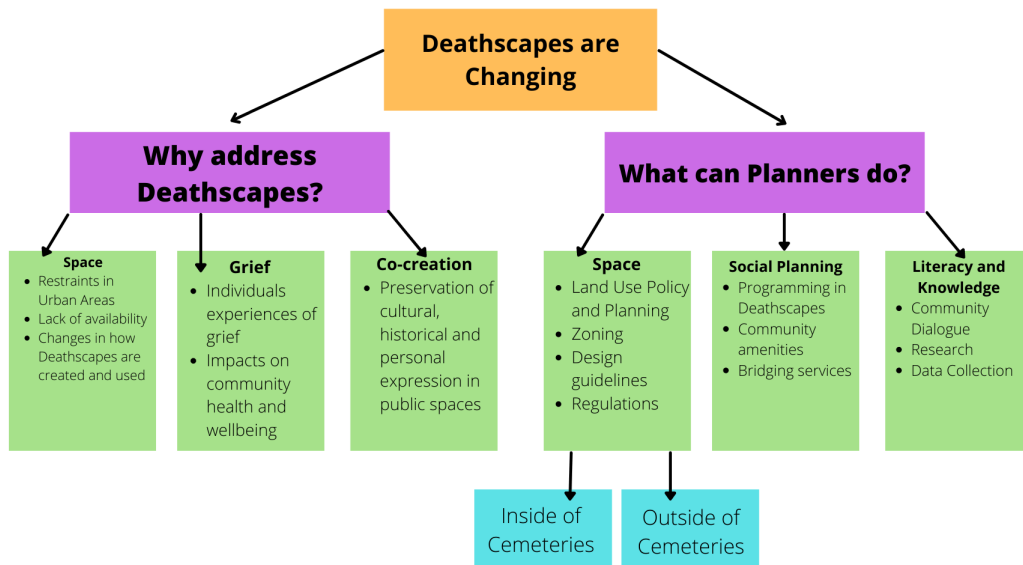
This chapter reports the findings of the interviews by theme. Section 5.1 discusses themes related to "why" planning for Deathscapes is important. Next, section 5.2 discusses the changes in Deathscapes from interviewees perspectives. Section 5.3 discusses findings on "how" planners can more deliberately plan for meaningful Deathscapes. The following chapters on creating a framework and results of the Delphi study provide more detailed information on specific actions planners can take. This chapter ends with a discussion of the interview findings.

5.1. Why Care About Planning for Deathscapes?

"First of all, every single person we're going to plan for is going to die. We can't change that or ignore that or make it less true." (HH)

Planning for Deathscapes and places to experience grief is about more than simply planning a landscape with a utilitarian function—it is part of planning for the entire life cycle

of human beings. Planners and governments do significant work to ensure that a range of resources and assets are available to people from birth to death, including hospitals, childcare, transportation, housing, recreation, etc. Cemeteries and places for interment, however, rarely make the forum of public discussion. This was seen as a significant shortcoming of community planning by those interviewed.

> "We are doing this whole city plan, talking about everything from children and daycare and all that stuff, through retirement and all that, and hospitals, and then all of a sudden when you die, 'oh, well, that's the end of our planning." (GH)

Ignoring planning for grief is leading to suffering.

> "Death is the end for that body, but it's not the end for the people that are left because there's all sorts of, the process of grief and all of that has needs too. And if community is not providing for that in some way, those people in that community are suffering." (GH)

Beyond the responsibility of planning for the entire life cycle, an urgency in addressing issues of spaces for interment and memorialization was expressed.

> "The baby boomers are going to die, there is going to be 76 million Americans alone, you know, close to 10 million Canadians, die in the next 20 years. Like it or not, we'd better get used to grief and doing it a lot better." (EL)

In addition to an aging population and health crises, the increasing cost of land and the limitations on expansion of existing cemeteries are increasing the cost of interment. This is particularly true in larger city areas. For example, for cemeteries operated by one group in Toronto, "the average funeral for a suburban area is about $8000. The average funeral in a cemetery within the city of Toronto is $18,000, and that's…direct cremation with no interment, you just get the ashes back in a bag." One respondent called this issue the "housing crisis of the dead" (NH). People are not able to afford being buried or interred in their home communities.

One participant spoke of their personal concerns with being buried away from their home community, a comment echoed by several participants as part of their concerns about whether or not people have access to meaningful space.

"I would end up being in a place I don't care about at all. .I mean, it kind of cheapens it for me if I do get buried out there, like we're going to imbue this place with some sort of artificial meaning just because it's the only place we have access to. That feels unfair. That feels like a denial of my freedom of expression, honestly, based on income" (SJ).

The high cost is also resulting in illegal activity as people try to ensure that their family members cremains get a spot in a local cemetery. "People they want their family in a cemetery, so if there's no gates, they'll come in the nighttime and they'll dump ashes around the tree just so they're there" (JJ). This is illegal in cemetery bylaws. There are also many more cases of people scattering cremains in areas that they believe it is illegal to, which means they feel like criminals whether or not they are. The legal guidelines are vague and uncommon knowledge.

Environmental issues were considered important as well. Cemeteries are contributors to pollution due to the chemicals of embalming, and the glues used in caskets. This is where the green burial movement has entered as an alternative to the "traditional" burial process as a less polluting option (EL). Another issue identified was the impact of cremains on natural ecosystems. "they were dumping ashes and ashes will just turn to sludge. So, you're just adding pollution to the river" (JJ). Cremation also releases heavy metals and other toxins into the atmosphere.

Another reason for planning for Deathscapes was a recognition that times are changing and so are memorialization practices. Temporary, ad hoc, and informal memorials are appearing outside of cemeteries, such as roadside memorials, memorial graffiti and murals, and notes left in public places. Cemeteries are still important and primary Deathscapes, but communities and individuals are creating Deathscapes in public spaces outside of cemeteries as well. This begs the question of where the appropriate spaces for grief are and are not, and how to manage them in community settings, and whether or not currently available spaces are still relevant.

Overall, interviews with experts revealed that grief experiences in communities are complex as grief is an emotion it is highly individual. However, there is evidence that make it clear that the current practices in Western culture are not serving people to process grief

and offer remembrance to the dead. This was initially found in the literature review, and is supported by the interviews. Participants cited evidence, from their own experiences and knowledge, as:

- Increases in the number of cremains not being picked up from the crematorium.

- Increases in public/ temporary/ guerilla memorials outside of cemeteries (such as road-side).

- Increase in public desire to memorialize outside of cemeteries through bench dedications, planted trees, memorial art, and other means.

- Increased desires for highly individualized memorial practices such as unique interment or funeral practices.

- The current policy framework in which cemeteries, funeral homes, and crematorium exist is also limiting to those specializing in helping people make interment decisions.

Significant contributing issues identified were:

- Perpetual care makes land for interment expensive, maintenance expensive, and over time generates inactive spaces in communities. This is contributing to increasing costs of interment, an issue for people who want to be interred and not leave their community to do so, particularly in urban areas.

- Restrictions on or lack of zoning frameworks for cemeteries, crematorium and funeral homes which either create a barrier to collaboration between these businesses or create barriers to creating new facilities.

- There is a stigma about discussing death and a general lack of public understanding of the industry which creates challenges to informing the public and having dialogue about solutions.

- Land restrictions are causing significant increases in the cost of traditional burial.

5.1.1.   Grief and Space

"We're talking abut the whole emotional side that goes with the interment process so places of grief and contemplation, and memory, or narrative, community narrative" - EL

One of the primary reasons for doing this research is to explore the relationship between grief, space, and overall community mental health and well-being. Grief has an impact on individual well-being through mental distress and related physical ailments such as high blood pressure, fatigue, and body aches. Grief is a very individual emotion, and all participants mentioned that this individual experience means there is no one-size-fits-all solution. What participants did suggest, though, is that by creating endless consumer choices at the funeral homes, while simultaneously not offering variety of choices outside of cemeteries, and not offering structure (guidance, education, and policy), society is not giving people a good education about how important the choices individuals make about interment and memorialization affect the process of grieving (GH, JJ).

Interviewees remarked on the challenge of ensuring that there are a range of spaces for the multitude of ways that people grieve (LL, GH, JJ, NH, SJ). The emphasis was on providing opportunities to find personal meaning in the memorialization and interment process, while at the same time balancing the need of mourners to be provided with structures, education, and supports to help them make choices.

Individualization of Practices

Cultures of mourning are shifting as people move more towards personalization and convention loosens. "I'd say that it (convention) is losing its importance and it's probably a generational thing" (KW). Among these changes is a cultural shift toward individualism, which occurred in the second half of the past century. The second half of the 20th century was overall an era in which norms were questioned and people were on a quest for personal expression.

On the one hand, tradition can offer a road map through grief and loss. On the other, being free to mourn as one sees fit can be liberating. "Not knowing what do to, and that compounding grief, that can happen, but at the same time, people may find liberation in that they can do what they want" (TW). "But it's that sort of double thing of choice, is that you're no longer stuck having to do the formal wording of the Church of England, or wherever else, which might be really good in lots of ways for lots of people" (KM). Now, mourners are "entirely responsible" for learning about the array of options and making choices (KM). While the unlimited options can be liberating, they also cause the bereaved additional stress during the post-death planning phase.

> "Everywhere you turned, now you've got all these options. So it becomes, I think, for folks a lot more potentially overwhelming and that's not good to be dealing with at the time" (GH).

This can, in some cases, compound grief, "as in life generally, having no guidelines, not being required to do certain things, can lead to what sociologists call ennui, a sense of normlessness and drifting" (TW).

The increases in choice and de-emphasis of convention is making the choosing interment and memorialization practices one of endless personal options at a time when people are already feeling strong emotions and may have difficulty with processing information and making decisions. This contributes to extra stress, decision fatigue, and confusion for the individual at a time when they need the most support. The overwhelming number of choices a person has to make regarding interment is compounding grief, and it was reported several times that people who have to make a lot of choices are more stressed out. There is also the chance to make a 'wrong' choice; for example, choosing a temporary marker and later realizing that a permanent marker would have made the person feel better (GH). Not understanding all the options, and pressure to make memorialization intimately personal were cited as factors in the difficulties people have in finding spaces for interment and memorialization that meet their emotional needs (KM, TW, GH, JJ, EL). While the opportunities for creativity and expression were discussed as important and part of finding meaning, interview participants were also concerned that lack of education about what is important to mourners is adding stress at an already

challenging time (EL, JJ, GH). This is only worsened by lack of clear communication about what local cemeteries offer, what policies exist for memorialization outside of cemeteries, and social systems to help people navigate these options.

Cultural Influences on Grieving Spaces and Activities

In the past, strong cultural norms and practices have guided people's mourning activities and given guidance in how to process a loss. Religious and cultural beliefs have provided concepts for viewing death, what happens to a person afterward, and how mourners ought to react; for example, "the Catholic rites, which for centuries have articulated and channelled people's grief" (TW). These religious beliefs are prescriptive and have direct influence on the types of rituals performed and even the design of cemeteries. They create a "culture of expectation" (TW). In the case of Roman Catholicism, it is "about grieving, it's about mutual exchange from the living to the dead" (TW). Even where strict rituals were absent, for example in northern Europe which was dominated by Protestantism for a time, people "found an alternative in nature" (TW).

> "By going to a rural place where the naturality of the school of life [sic], and decay of death, and ultimately renewal of springtime and so forth was kind of a way in which they could project their emotions of grief and loss and hope" (TW).

Current cemetery design is heavily influenced by pastoral styles. Results of the public survey indicate that there is a widespread preference for natural, park-like settings for interment and memorialization. This Canadian cultural affinity for pastoral and garden style cemeteries is rooted in the northern European Protestant cemetery design. The aesthetics that people resonate with are rooted in cultural histories and social norms. Culture influences both the design and the activities of spaces for mourning.

Importance of Memorialization

Participants commented on the importance of memorialization in processing grief, something which was seen as being lost in our culture. Evidence of this need for memorialization was seen in people's desire to place objects near where a person was

interred, even when they had agreed not to, or in their regret about not purchasing a memorial marker.

> "In many natural burial grounds (green burial designated cemeteries), there is no memorialization at all because the idea is, it's just supposed to be that you are subsumed into nature. And so there's no markers there, certainly no plastic markers and teddy bears there. And then of course, later, people want their plastic markers and teddy bears" (TW).

One participant spoke about the frequency of people coming to the cemetery to purchase a marker long after they had already purchased a memorial tree or a bench because the tree or bench was no longer able to be maintained (GH). Those people were looking for more permanence than they originally thought they needed. A cemetery director spoke about the many conversations he has had with people looking for such markers. He reports that many people say, "If I thought about it, I should have just come to the cemetery to start with and then I could have at least had a good big monument, and now I've had 10 years of a bench and nothing to show for it" (GH).

There seems to be an innate desire for many people to have a place marked for remembrance, and the ability to bring gifts, flowers, or other offerings to that site. This location, for many centuries in Western culture, has been the cemetery. Over the last century, there has been a trend of increasing memorialization outside of cemeteries. Whether in or out of cemeteries, memorialization is one of the practices of bereavement that people routinely engage in. The participants in the interviews described this as being important to individuals and their process, as well as to culture and history-keeping.

Anyone who had worked with mourners in the funeral industry spoke about the importance of interment to processing grief. There is concern that people are not informed of the importance of interment and memorialization, especially since cremation has given rise to a new mobility of remains. "This is the biggest thing with cremation that is being missed, the lack of education to the consumer… to educate families how important it is to do something with the remains...it is very important to the grieving process" (JJ). "Some people grieve forever because they don't have a place to go and memorialize" (JJ).

5.1.2.   Co-creation of Histories

"We're losing our history, one person at a time." - HH

There is both individual and community significance to how we memorialize and inter. For individuals, it is part of the healing process. For communities, it is part of our ongoing cultural record-keeping. Interview participants repeatedly stressed that memorialization is part of cultural memory and a chance for people to leave a mark on the world. Cemeteries and places of interment and memorialization are not just 'utilitarian' areas for body management; they play a role in 'telling stories' of both individual and collective pasts (HH,KM). "Cemeteries are an intersection of spaces or co-created spaces where multiple cultures, political views, religions, generations, and families all interact within a shared space" (NH). As people build monuments and determine what is to be on the memorial stones, they leave records of what was considered important and who was present at various points in time (KM).

What is occurring, broadly speaking, is that people are both reinforcing their personal and cultural identities as distinct, while also contributing to a sort of patchwork yet integrated mirror of the community. There is an ongoing "mixing and matching of different identities" (TW), such as having addresses or flags of two nationalities on the same marker, or a borrowing of traditions from one culture to another present in the same cemetery (KM, TW). This ongoing co-creation of history is a way in which complex shared histories are spatialized and recognized as valid. Cemeteries provide a physical record of who has been a part of a community and what their impact was.

The practices of grave marking create a record of migration, cultural histories, and identities, and help us trace the past in a concrete way. This record has, in some cases, supported broader understanding of personal history and helped address prejudice and racism. For example, one researcher talked about the impact that tracing family histories and noticing Arabic names on graves in England (dates). "I think people are often quite surprised to find out how old some of the graves that are of non-white British in the

cemeteries are, and that's a very important story" (KM). These spaces, then, become not just areas for personal memory but for public memory. If we are no longer using cemeteries or other means to memorialize, than we lose records which tell important stories to future generations.

5.2. Changes in Deathscapes

5.2.1.   Cemeteries

The public survey results indicated that people no longer see cemeteries as primary memorialization locations. Interview participants also noted that cemetery use is declining, something which many raised as a concern. Some think it may be directly related to the limitations on personal expression. For some, the cemetery is not just a place of mourning but a "place of community" (GH). For others, it is an area where strict regulations and notions of appropriate behaviour exist. "There may be rules… things like you're not allowed to put up fairy lights, or wind chimes, or other such things, and whether things are cleared off or not" (KM). "Lots of cemeteries say you can't have that, it's just a gravestone thank you. Because you've got to pay someone to mow these things and it's much easier to mow up and down" (KM).

Figure 7 - Examples of lawn cemeteries. Credit: Canva Stock Images

Changes in cemetery planning, such as the widespread use of lawn cemeteries in the Americas, have possibly contributed to a decline in the use of cemeteries. "I suspect the romantic sort of imagery of the cemetery space declined because it was all about cutting back to make sure the cemetery was as manageable as possible and cost-efficient to maintain" (KW). If cemeteries are becoming "sanitized" through the "tyranny of maintenance", then their role as places of co-creation halts (EL). We not only lose meaningful places of grief, but also the histories that cemeteries have come to tell. One reason people may not be using cemeteries is the perceived simplicity. "Going away from the cemetery was 'oh good, we don't have to deal with the…you know we can just have a simple service, do a cremation, no memorial, and that's what everyone wants" (GH).

Cultural norms and behaviour expectations in cemeteries may also be restricting their use. They often have behaviour guidelines that are implied if not specifically stated.

"A lot of them (cemetery users) didn't like what they saw as disrespectful behaviours, which was people having a laugh, basically. They felt that the tone and atmosphere should be very somber, solemn, contemplative, very still and tranquil. If anyone came in to do birdwatching or enjoy the space, they were very

challenged by that. And the cemetery managed it by saying, you know, no bike riding, no skateboarding, no sunbathing, no picnics. So it cut down on all of the things that would have made it a really lovely space to be" (KW).

"I think some of the tensions are really...they're very revealing about all these assumptions that people carry about what it is to be grieving and what it is that people who are bereaved need" (KW). The highly individual process of grief means that no two people grieve in the same way. For some, enjoying the spaces in which loved ones are interred with games and picnics may feel natural. Others may want more somber contemplative spaces. Those who visit cemeteries to use them as green spaces also have a distinct desire to use the space for purposes other than mourning. The conflicts over what is appropriate at cemeteries are partially cultural. How can all people feel they have meaningful places in cemeteries? If cemeteries are not seen as regularly used and meaningful spaces, then why would people consider burying there?

5.2.2. Influence of Cremation

The biggest factor in the decline of cemetery use over the last century is the increase in the rates of cremation. Cremation has become the "single highest interment option that people are choosing" and "has changed the death industry dramatically" (JJ). Cremation is affecting cemetery use and design. It is also giving people the freedom to pursue new practices and rituals that were not possible when burying bodies. Fewer and fewer remains are being placed in cemeteries; "70–90% of them don't show up anywhere, like in a cemetery" (JJ). This is seen as a loss by many participants. "Narrative is being lost with so many people being cremated and not having memorialization" (EL).

It was thought by many, particularly funeral directors, that cremation rates are on the rise because of the increasing cost of cemetery facilities, but recent research by one participant showed this to be untrue. "People didn't choose cremation because it was a financial issue, they chose it because of their beliefs or values, or the beliefs and values of the deceased person" (KW). "It's not because of cost (that people don't use cemeteries), whereas people thought it was, now people are, cemeteries are getting as much money

for, as much cremation revenue as burials" (JJ). Cremains can be placed in a growing array of cemetery options such as columbarium, scattering gardens, and graves.

Figure 8 - Examples of Columbaria Designs. Credit: Canva Stock Images

It is increasingly common for people to spread cremains in a place of personal significance rather than a cemetery, as indicated by the survey results. The legality of spreading cremains outside of cemeteries is not clear, and people may feel guilt or fear about spreading remains in places of personal significance. "This (whether or not it is legal to spread ashes in public) is a very confusing issue, and I believe that it is illegal. Now that could be by province, by state" (JJ). Almost none of the participants could articulate what the legal parameters for spreading cremains outside of cemeteries are. This led to speculation about how people's grieving is being affected by feeling that their practices of laying people to rest might be illegal. It was articulated that the fear of being caught made spreading cremains uncomfortable. One participant spoke about how nice it would be if there was "somewhere that's even just welcoming for people to spread those ashes so it's not something you have to do in the middle of the night so no one can see us" (LS).

More relevant to grief, though, is the array of concerns participants raised about people taking cremains out of the crematoria and then not knowing what to do with them. Participants mentioned that cremains have been stored in Tupperware containers in storage lockers, in the trunk of the car, in a cardboard box on a shelf, or other temporary-become-permanent places that were not planned. "You've got other people who will take the urn, and they'll just take it home. Or leave it in the trunk of their car, or I've heard stories where one was found at the dump" (JJ). "Once the body has been cremated… everyone considers it's done, it's over. They are not educated or told that it's important to put (cremains) some place" (JJ).

One cemetery manager expressed concern about people who are left not knowing what to do and how that affects their ability to grieve.

"Dad's in the car, what should I do, I don't know. People say that to you. I don't know what I'm supposed to do. And they feel guilt because no one's helped them through that process and alleviated that pressure and helped them. It's the start of the grieving process" (GH).

Creative new means of memorializing are also being used, such as lockets, blown glass, and other art forms. These creations are often beautiful and very personal. However, they raised concerns from participants. "You know what happens, lockets get lost, the ashes are gone, and then several years later they went, you know what, we wish we had never done that because now we don't have any place to go and memorialize" (JJ).

What was clear from the interviews is that cremation has dramatically changed how people inter and memorialize the deceased. There have been changes to cemetery design and use, the movement of bodies into the community as cremains, and changes in how people memorialize. The issues to address are that community narrative is being lost, individuals may have additional stress while making interment decisions, and the importance of memorialization and interment for the grieving process is not being communicated to mourners.

5.2.3.   Memorials Outside of Cemeteries

More and more people are creating memorial and commemoration spaces outside of cemeteries and increasingly memorializing separately from places of interment.

> "Commemoration and memorial spaces are not fixed spaces within cemetery land uses. It is evident that memorialization is occurring outside of cemetery land uses. Grief operates throughout the city. Grief spills silently into the streets, and look like roadside shrines, murals, commemoration benches in parks with peoples names on them etc. Commemoration and memorial spaces communicate grief throughout the City. There's is a performance of urban memory at work beyond the spaces of fixed cemetery land uses" (NH).

Memorials in public spaces, such as paving stones, roadside shrines, murals, etc., is the "cemetery coming out of its boundaries. It's spilling into the streetscape. And memories are happening there, and there's a performance of that memorialization there" (NH). While some of these memorial practices are seen as innovative and offering needed spaces, other participants were concerned about these informal and often temporary memorials. "It seems like we, as a society, there is clearly something we're not providing if they feel compelled to do that. So what is it?" (GH).

The following is one answer.

> "Over the last 30 or 40 years, cemeteries have been sanitized, and the tyranny of maintenance has meant that there's little room for amenity, little room for canopy, little room for garden. And so thorough that sanitization process it's no wonder that people gravitate to a park bench where they've, that for them, that's their meaningful place of remembrance. So, no wonder they want to put a plaque on it and it's no wonder they haven't been going to cemeteries because they're basically uninteresting places" (EL).

Temporary Memorials

Roadside memorials were a contested issue with the participants. While some interview participants recognized the "spilling out of bounds" as a new form of co-creation, some questioned the appropriateness of temporary memorials, especially at the sites of traffic accidents (NH). "It seems that I sort of understand, but at the same time it seems odd to me to commemorate a spot where something really horrible happened" (GH).

"I think roadside memorials, and even trees but in particular roadside memorials and those things, that is a collision of the dead in the land of the living. And I suppose that's why cemeteries have a purpose in that it took them away, it took the dead away, and demarcated a space for the dead and a space for the living" (KW).

Temporary memorials also raised concerns about maintenance and upkeep of those spaces. "A spontaneous memorial that is not cared for anymore, and you see them all over the place, some of them are delightful *and* [interviewee's emphasis] they're a real pain for land managers because they're oftentimes dangerous to leave them up or maintain them" (EL). Memorials for lives lost in traffic accidents are naturally at dangerous places on a road, and if they further obstruct sightlines or serve as a distraction, they can increase the risks for other drivers. They may also be in a dangerous place for city staff to clean them up.

Can, or should, we let these spaces be created if we cannot maintain them, and how do we determine when a space is not being actively used anymore? "I don't know at what point it is okay to take that down, or change it or modify it, and how do you reach out to those people and provide something meaningful because they're clearly needing something" (GH).

"The longer it sits there, the less temporary and the more it's perceived as permanent, and then when you go and do something to it, then you're really, it becomes, the longer it's there, the more difficult it is to deal with it. And you never know when the right time is, like how long does the teddy bear sit there rotting on the ground, or tied to a telephone pole before someone says I don't really know if this is commemorating anymore" (GH).

The core of this theme was that it was better to have a plan for managing temporary memorials in public spaces before having to have an awkward and potentially hurtful conversation with the bereaved. Creating policy and practice at the local government level can circumvent many of the more challenging aspects of managing public realm memorialization. Raising awareness of public memorialization and how it fits with civic life "leads to a wider conversation about public space, public memorials, statues, etc." (KM). The ultimate question is "should death be there, should death be present" and if so, where (KM)?

Figure 9 - Images of temporary, ad hoc memorialization. Credit Canva Stock Images.

Use of Public Space

While the concerns over temporary memorials were considerable, there was also discussion of good ways to do memorialization in communities outside of cemeteries. "Those kinds of spontaneous things, hanging ribbons on a tree, after awhile they dry up or fly away or whatever, and you know I think that's fine myself" (EL). Other examples were public benches, paving stones, memorial walls, spaces to light candles or fairy lights, and murals which are dedicated spaces and partially structured.

By formalizing memorialization outside of cemeteries, though, cities are then endorsing what some participants called the "cemeterization of parks" (EL). This was described as the overwhelming of recreational areas with activities better done in a cemetery. It is "the cemetarization of our parks system where all these people and setting aside the privatization of public spaces for the purpose of private memorialization…we don't want people's experience along the seawall or in the parks….to be a walk from one headstone to another" (EL).

(If) "it's not being done from a broader planning perspective of do we, are we okay with turning our public parks and stuff into commemorative areas? What's the impact when you walk through Stanley Park and every bench has someone's name commemorated on it? Is that a cemetery? Is it taking away (from the park)? Do people care? Does it make a difference?" (GH).

The other concern is the ongoing maintenance of memorial trees and benches. If someone pays for the privilege of putting up a plaque, who is then responsible for the maintenance? Unlike a cemetery, parks are not perpetually preserved places; therefore, the obligation for perpetual maintenance and restoration is not there. Part of this is an ironic twist of parks coming out of cemeteries, and then cemeteries being put back into parks.

"I mean the park movement, as it were, almost evolved out of the cemetery movement, and people said, well actually we'd rather recreate ourselves in the park because that's where our kids can run around. You know, we can push a pram or what have you, not just respectfully stroll and admire the trees, and the architecture of the tombs like we're in a museum" (TW).

So, while temporary memorials need policies to determine their impermanence, commemoration outside of cemeteries that people pay for and have installed need policies and practices to register their permanence. Otherwise, that space that was important to someone is lost, or those spaces take over the public realm. Temporary spaces drift into permanent spaces, or people are angry or frustrated when they are taken down. The key point from participants was that what is needed is careful planning. The trick to success is that endorsing memorialization outside of cemeteries is "done with specific intent and (the space created are) designed to do that" (GH).

5.3. Meaningful Deathscapes: Planners' Role

As we move the conversation to how, we essentially ask, "Okay, now what?" The "how" of Deathscapes planning discovered in the interviews will now be presented.

5.3.1.   Social Planning

"The answer has to be, and this will appeal to you as a community planner, is that there's got to be dialogue between the cemetery management and the local community" (TW).

Social planning is about coordinating community services, places, and members to achieve a healthier life. The BC government defines it as follows:

"Social planning is a process that involves local governments and community members working together to address social issues and build healthy communities. Integrated with other types of planning, social planning focuses on the people themselves in a community planning context."

Deathscapes are created by and for people. Healthy communities and social networks can support the bereaved and facilitate healthy grieving. The connection of Deathscapes to the cultural and socio-economic statuses of mourners makes them a social justice issue. By every aspect of the BC government definition, Deathscapes are under the purview of social planning.

Commenting on our societal lack of social planning for death, one participant pointed out that "We've talked about social planning…but so often we write off … those particular parts of society and community life and say, well we're not going to worry about that. Well, why wouldn't you deal with that? I think it's kind of important; why don't we ensure that that gets dealt with rather than gets ignored" (HH).

Several examples of social planning initiatives to create grief-friendly spaces were provided by participants:

"Muslim burial councils where people would pay a small amount, in a sort of co-op-friendly societies-savings account way, so that whenever somebody died, whatever point that was, they got the burial fees, and the organization, somebody would ring up the local authority and find the right undertaker and try and get that happening as quickly as possible so they're not actually alone. But there was sort of that social support. The social support around death and options from somebody

that you trust rather than someone who's doing it for, making their living from it" (KM).

Ensuring appropriate infrastructure is available and services are deliverable to isolated community members. For example, "We have populations that don't have access to the internet, so they're cut off from ways of feeling, and ways of engaging with the world in the really important psychological process of mourning" (SJ).

> "We don't have mental health care included in our universal health care. That cuts a lot of people off from others; they need to figure out how other people can access that, have free resources" (SJ).

> "Social networks, and social supports, so you know who to ring and you know someone who will ring, so it isn't just a close friend who would be able to give you the emotional support, who's also got that sort of, that organizational support about forms, paperwork, options, what do you actually have to do. What is more, what are you actually allowed to do and what do you want to do within that" (KM).

> Programming at cemeteries to integrate them with communal life, such as concerts, readings, walks, etc. Reducing stigma and encouraging cemetery use "by having it (cemeteries) as a regular park space where you've got your places to rest, and your benches, and the birds, and other ways of enjoying the green space, and it just so happens to be a cemetery (memorialization and interment) as well" (LS).

5.3.2.   Literacy and Knowledge

"Because healthy communities' work can't happen without that political commitment, obviously you have to engage communities to find out what works for them, the multi-sectoral collaboration piece, healthy public policy, empowering communities. But without the political will, you're never going to get anywhere" (LS).

Political will starts with conversations. In order to have healthy communities, there needs to be a willingness to engage in conversation and action to make it happen. Interviewees viewed the lack of public engagement around Deathscapes as problematic.

"Cultural illiteracy about that (death), really intense fear about talking about death. That's one of the reasons that these (grief-friendly) spaces don't exist in the way they should…almost everyone is too afraid to talk about it" (SJ). "I think we're afraid we're going to step on toes in the process of being open and tackling it. Well, we quite probably will offend somebody. You know what? …you can be offended without anybody doing anything simply because no one's thought of a solution" (HH). Politicians and community leaders were considered un-willing to engage by interviewees because it may risk offense. However, by not talking about Deathscapes as communities, we leave their creation to primarily private industry who are then also left with the responsibility to educate and inform, something which may not be the priority of their business model.

Political will comes from more than just conversation, though. There needs to be a mechanism to push for action, a common interest in pursuing a goal or action.

> "Education can only go so far because at the end of the day …the results don't necessarily happen overnight, so you're not going to see a return on your investment right away. So I think for anything, it's about what drives politicians to make the decisions they're making. A lot of times in a capitalist system it's money. So how can we frame it so that they're seeing that bottom line that this is going to work?" (LS).

But grief may be a different kind of conversation by nature of its universality. "There's a common language out there at least because everyone has the experience of grieving. So, using that as a starting point to engage and educate people and get them to think about it" (LS).

Public Events

There are many ways that planners can help initiate public conversations about Deathscapes. "These conversations, I think people would be interested in them, I still just think there's such a fear of initiating them...it's like everyone seems to be afraid on someone else's behalf" (KM). Once over the initial fear of starting the conversation, though, people seem keen to talk about cemeteries, funerals, and death planning. One cemetery planner suggests that when opening a new section of a cemetery, whether it's a private, for-profit, or civic cemetery, or even just periodically, run focus groups to invite

people in for "education or information to see what we're doing" (JJ). A participant mentioned that a cemetery he had worked at hosted open houses for a new crematorium. People came, they were relieved that they didn't have to worry about sales pressure. In an open house or focus group, there is an opportunity to provide education and ask questions about preferences "and then based on that information, then you'll get with a planner or landscape architect or someone who's in the cemetery business, and they'll plan around what the community themselves wants" (JJ).

Cemetery planners, managers, and funeral directors shared the perspective that once a person is invited to talk, they generally express a deep interest. The key for both city planners and those in the death industry is to reach out to the community instead of expecting them to come to you. Holding events in the cemetery is one way to do this, whether it's nights of lighting candles, celebrating Día de los Muertos, having artists' nights, or even providing live music (GH). Holding events, open houses, and other activities that bring people out to be a part of the cemetery promotes conversation and dialogue while simultaneously educating people about services (JJ). If cities are managing cemeteries, they can use the marketing and events strategies that for-profit cemeteries use to bring people in.

Research

Academia is another realm that can support broader education and understanding about the interment, and memorialization needs of communities. "You won't find much academic, that's the problem. There's been so little done on it; there's a fair bit done on grief and on the handling and care of the body up to the point of cremation, but as far as the mourning landscape itself, there's not much out there" (EL). Keeping records on who is buried or has been interred in a community, the number of interment spaces in a community, and other spatial data, or the average prices for interment and memorialization is rare for a city. This makes determining affordability and identifying areas that would benefit from planned cemeteries difficult. "We don't collect enough data to answer that question very well…That's the first step. We have to figure out a better way to get this

information to the people who are studying it and also for people who are trying to use the service" (SJ).

Educating Planners and City Staff

Lastly, educating planners and elected officials on local governments' role in cemetery and Deathscapes planning is important.

> "The first barrier is that there's very few people like you that are even trained or have an interest in matters related to cemeteries, so ask a planner the last time they created zoning for a cemetery or even included a needs assessment in Official Community Planning and they look at you cross-eyed…..Cemetery is the forgotten landscape because planners aren't taught to think about it or they just don't want to talk about it, and so planning (cemeteries) as a land use is just not even in the vocabulary level, let alone properly integrated" (EL).

This lack of vocabulary and integration of cemetery land uses in planning education contributes to it being a finite field and restricts learning opportunities amongst those who are interested.

> "The whole notion of the cemetery planners is a pretty finite field…they're doing their best (learning from each other), but there isn't a real tight network of sharing among them. They're all sort of left to their own and through some, the use of shared consultants, you get some knowledge" (GH).

Cemetery planning has been forgotten, but it can be reimagined. We need to bring it into the realm of planning knowledge and skill again. We can train new planners to consider cemetery planning as part of their job in a city, educate the public and consult them on decisions, and learn from each other and other places. We can also ensure that the responsibility of local governments to do this work is made clear in how we train local governments and frame their roles. We need to advocate for change publicly and politically.

5.3.3.   Designing and Managing Deathscapes

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*"I definitely do not see the cemeteries as a combination of
public services and business. I don't think that's how we should do our
planning at all, but that is definitely how it is happening now." - SJ*

Participants expressed concern that civic cemeteries are not being optimized and used to their full potential as community amenities. Civic cemeteries deserve special attention as areas for creating quality Deathscapes and active spaces: their design and bylaws is part of making them meaningful, important, and valuable community spaces. Careful consideration is needed to balance the various needs of users and stakeholders. Balances such as maintenance versus creative license, active use of the space versus having areas for quite and contemplation, and how spaces are accessed need to be made. While each community is unique, there are good design principals and lessons to be learned from past experiences.

> "We need to look at cemeteries in a whole different way so that they are meaningful places, that they meet multiple objectives, so that people find meaning there, and they're dealt with as a working landscape at the same time" (EL).

Making cemeteries community rather than pseudo private spaces can be achieved through design elements such as fencing (or lack of) pathways and built features. A cemetery manager talked about how when re-designing an old cemetery, they "very intentionally left those (two water features) as public community spaces so that everybody would feel welcome there, so you could go and spend time around the fountain or the pond and not be bombarded with commemoration" (GH). This was seen as creating value for the community because it added to green spaces, provided space for contemplation, and added intentional spaces for the public in a space otherwise dominated by privately leased plots. "The role, certainly of the public or community cemetery is not to maximize our (profitable) space but to optimize it" (GH). There is a balance to be maintained, however, since "You're managing people's private wishes which are often public wishes

because you don't have your own grave plot that you go to and nobody sees, it's part of a broader landscape" (KM).

5.3.4.   Cemetery Bylaws

Cemeteries in British Columbia are operated under the Cemetery and Funeral Services Act ([RSBC 1996] Chapter 4). Municipalities then create their own bylaws regarding operation etc. of civic cemeteries.

> "There is usually a suite of rules and regulations that have to be in there (public cemetery bylaws) about opening and closing, amount of notice that the cemetery needs from the funeral home so they've got plenty of time to dig the hole; there's a section on pricing and so all the mechanics of how the cemetery is run need to be articulated. And this isn't just a municipal thing, it comes right down from the BC (Business Practices and) Consumer Protection Act and their requirements for cemetery operators to have a licensed facility. Everything has to be articulated" (EL).

These required bylaws are one way that cemeteries can address how they operate, including density of graves and elements of aesthetics.

> "Cemetery by-laws are the rules and regulations that govern the cemetery. These by-laws set out the rules and regulations for the density of graves in various locations of the cemetery, types of monuments, and memorial elements that are permitted and prohibited. The by-laws also govern what activities are permitted/prohibited. These by-laws can be revised by the cemetery Board to improve efficiency in use of space (by-law revisions are required to be approved by the provincial regulatory body governing cemeteries). Once by-laws have been approved, cemeteries address density issues by creating more rules that allow for double depth, triple depth graves, where vaults in the cemetery are permitted (usually environmentally sensitive floodplain areas). How cemetery Board's change their by-laws to address density issues is similar to that of how municipalities change their official plan policies and zoning by-laws to accommodate housing needs in the city" (NH).

Ensuring a range of options, including environmentally friendly ones like green burial, is also a component of best practice in bylaw writing. "Green burial needs to be incorporated into that bylaw (cemetery bylaws) so that interment option can be offered" (EL).

Cemetery regulation needs to be more readily understandable by city staff, planners, cemetery managers, and the public alike.

> "What we're trying to do, whenever we rewrite a bylaw is...simplify it. We relegate a bunch of regulations to a schedule so that they can be (a) changed, and (b) be open to more interpretation by the cemetery manager. And we only put stuff in the bylaw that really needs to be codified, and consequently, the bylaws are half as long as they used to be" (EL).

Due to managing costs and efficiency, many civic cemeteries have strict regulations and uninteresting designs. "The demands on policymakers are about efficiency, aren't they? They're about balancing the books, best use of resources, best use in valuables in terms of land and staff" (KW). But "does a municipality really care whether a cemetery (marker) is 3 feet high or 6 feet high? As long as it's properly engineered and not going to fall over on some kid, what does it matter?" (EL). Planners could encourage cities to be much more creative and flexible in their design and policies, "trying to re-establish it (the cemetery) as a bit more active part of the community and a place for the living, as they say" (GH).

5.3.5.   Beyond Cemeteries

Considering the preceding discussion about cemetery spaces, public spaces, co-creation, and the rising popularity of informal interment, it makes sense for planners to start thinking in more concrete terms about their role in Deathscapes outside of cemeteries as well. One participant spoke to the need for policies when discussing public art installations "the process for doing it is not well established, and so when we come up with these things, we tend to struggle with it (the process) every time" (GH).

Acknowledging that these practices occur is important so that policies can be created pro-actively. There is no need to have all the details planned out far in advance, rather it is important to have strategies for handling requests for memorialization in public areas from the public before they ask. Temporary memorialization can have guidelines as well. If these are articulated and clarified, it reduces the risk of surprising someone later when items are removed.

When planning public spaces, city planners can also look at how to welcome Deathscapes into other areas so as to reduce stigma and create inviting atmospheres.

> "You could just do bubbles off of existing trail networks, create the seating spaces and the landscaping, and you could do some really interesting stuff, and it's all around a beautiful wetland, yeah, that would be an incredible place for that and it would literally, probably give you 100 years of opportunity for memorialization" (HH).

There needs to be regulations and policies that prepare cities for managing Deathscapes outside of cemeteries, unique to each community, but with common elements such as:

- Where is it (in)appropriate for Deathscapes outside of cemeteries to be located?
- What can be left at temporary memorial locations?
- How long can they stay erected?
- What is the processes for obtaining a dedicated plaque, bench, or planting in public spaces?

5.3.6.   Land Use Planning and Regulation

One of the strongest tools in a city planner's tool belt is zoning. What exists and does not exist, and where things are located in a community is determined by zoning of lands. Many cities do not currently have any cemetery zoning designations. "A lot of municipalities are still failing to plan for death and cemeteries. I mean certainly here in Vancouver…doesn't even have cemetery as a type of zoning" (GH). Additionally, "governments don't want to give any land to cemeteries anymore, they don't get taxes from it. So, no we're not going to build another cemetery, we're going to do a development there, because it's a better tax base" (JJ).

One of the issues with failing to zone for cemeteries and related uses is that by not doing so, we create areas of incompatible uses encroaching on existing cemeteries. A participant gave the example of a "rural cemetery that is now being boxed in by a Tim

Hortons, and they're hoping a high-end plaza to the south" (HH). There is a challenge not only to find spaces for new cemeteries but to protect those that already exist.

> "I don't think, I haven't seen any modern solutions (for encroachment or proximity of contradictory uses and affordability of land) except for what we're doing in the funeral business where we're moving them further and further and further out of town" (HH).

So cemeteries that were once rural are now becoming urban. But what about new lands? There is still a need to increase cemetery land uses as existing ones get full, expensive, or crowded out. One suggestion was looking at city-owned land, especially lands taken as part of Development Cost Charges, for more cemetery uses. "I'm thinking why not program these spaces (lands taken for community amenity charges) for community, for a variety of community uses, including an opportunity to either inter people or memorialize people who have lived in this community or continue to live in this community" (HH).

Mixed Use Cemetery Lands

> *"How do we have conversations about cemeteries in dense urban areas and nodes? And growing cities and nodes, and how do we connect that with transit, active transportation, and housing, and waterfront development?" (NH).*

Development encroaching on a cemetery is a pressing issue for developers. However, more and more planners are welcoming the idea of cemeteries within mixed-use development appropriately. There is real interest in shaking up how cemeteries function as joint private -public spaces. "I'm a big fan of mixed-use cemeteries. Bury people in our parks. Or build a playground in a cemetery… I think the way we wall off the cemetery from every other land use is really too bad" (SJ). There are many ways in which cemetery lands can be diversified in their use, rather than repeating traditional models of pastoral landscapes in landscape architecture practices.

"We need to reconsider how cemeteries exist as a space and how they can co-exist within other compatible land uses and spaces. As land costs go up and the lack of cemetery spaces continues to increase - municipalities, cemetery operators and the public will have to address "what should cemetery land uses in our community look like? Our cities are becoming more dense, planners have an opportunity to address the needs of cemetery through principles of cemetery urbanism as guiding policies that can be used to capture smaller spaces for memorialization and memorialization within mixed-use developments. Cemetery urbanism repositions cemetery land uses in modern cities as a normative space that we continue to engage within private and public life" (NH)".

Cemetery Land Uses

Cemetery Urbanism presents planners with the opportunity of implementing policy driven recommendations to integrate cemetery land use into civic life. It turns the question from 'Where do we put cemeteries?' to 'How can we create Cemetery Land Uses?'

"What are other memorial and interment options we could prescribe into the public realm? What does it look like? Can it be public art installations, memorial walls? How do municipal parks departments already capture memorialization with their trees and bench programs? What can we learn from them?" (NH).

Another possibility of Cemetery Land Uses is thinking of cemeteries, funeral homes, crematoria and other death services as integrated rather than separate entities. Some funeral and death industry players have already started to look at this. "They all got together and went up to change the legislations because they can't have what is called a combination" (JJ). By not being allowed to work on the same sites or be run as the same business, unneeded tensions were being fostered between funeral directors and cemetery managers. Their businesses, though intertwined, were independent of each other. This disconnect was creating a situation in which customers were not being given a complete understanding of all their options. Most specifically, funeral homes were not referring people to cemeteries for the lasting memorialization. A solution was the allowance of combinations where "you're allowed to have a cemetery and funeral homes on the same property, and in some cases, the crematorium" (JJ).

"So if you're a family and you're grieving and you've just lost somebody, you can go to the funeral home…you go in a funeral home and they will then take you to a cemetery, and you can buy whatever product you want…it's one stop shopping.

That takes all the pressure off the families, and so you can get that, you can get faster into the celebration of life and the grieving process instead of having to…go to many different places" (JJ).

This zoning for multiple death-related services on one property is an example of the kind of ways that planners can use zoning powers to ease the burden on the bereaved.

Regardless of what zoning policies are in place, the importance is to have them at all. It is important to "envision the type of land use specifically in relation to communities and their needs in death." Being willing to explore the community needs and address them is the first step, and then "there could be a lot more room for creativity" (EL).

As it stands, there is:

"a lack of understanding of the importance of cemetery land in Official Community Plans, in neighbourhood planning, and in area planning. So they just need to be a part of the mix, just like schools and parks and industrial and housing. That's the solution. And then we need to look at cemeteries in a whole different way so that they are meaningful places, that they meet multiple objectives, that people find meaning there, and they're dealt with as a working landscape at the same time" (EL).

5.4. Discussion

Both a literature review and interviews with experts revealed that grief experiences in communities are complex, and because grief is an emotion, it is highly individualistic. However, there is a body of evidence from studies and observations of social changes that makes it clear that the current practices in Western culture are not serving people to process grief and offer remembrance to the dead. This was described during interviews in a few main ways:

- Increases in the number of cremated cremains not being picked up from the crematorium.
- Increases in public/temporary/guerilla memorials outside of cemeteries.
- Increased public desire to memorialize outside of cemeteries through bench dedications, planted trees, memorial art, and other means.

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- Increased desire for highly individualized memorial practices, such as unique interment or funeral practices.

The current policy framework in which cemeteries, funeral homes, and crematoria exist is also limiting to those who specialize in helping people make interment decisions. Core issues identified in interviews were as follows:

- Perpetual care makes land for interment expensive, maintenance expensive, and over time generates inactive spaces in communities. This is contributing to increasing costs of interment, an issue for people who want to be interred and not leave their community to do so, particularly in urban areas.

- Restrictions on or lack of zoning frameworks for cemeteries, crematoria and funeral homes create a barrier to collaboration between these businesses or to creating new facilities.

- There is a stigma about discussing death, and a general lack of public understanding of the industry, which creates challenges to informing the public and having dialogue about solutions.

Overall, the interviews revealed tensions between in and out of cemetery interment practices, as well as ongoing individualization and the need for cemetery managers and designers to create spaces for everyone. There are tensions between expected use of cemeteries, whether or not they are part of a park system or can be, and what features of both memorial spaces and cemeteries are functional and beneficial. There were many examples of both good and poor design, with most elements of good design having originated in consultation with the public or by being informed by local preferences.

Another key theme was the emergence of a discussion on the importance of cemeteries as places for marked interment. Several participants expressed concern that moving ashes outside of cemeteries and placing them in unmarked spots is a major loss to the community and future generations. The trails of family history and information that helps studies of genealogy are ending. Not only does this indicate that cemeteries are not serving their purpose of being reflective places and an area to inter bodies for those presently mourning, it also creates a gap in our ability to trace history, takes away from people having a special or shared spot for grief, increases feelings of isolation and disconnect, and can create guilt in survivors for not knowing what to do with ashes, etc.

Another theme of co-creation emerged. While not always called such, the notion of mourners and their expressions of grief and memorialization being participants in creating the public sphere was raised in almost all interviews. People who create memorialization are part of determining who and what is physically recognized in public spaces, and thereby create and re-create the history, expression, culture, and politics of space. How people are able or not able to express themselves is reflective of overall power dynamics and cultural expectations within communities. The importance of providing an outlet for people to express their grief and to memorialize the dead was explained as having an important role in creating an ongoing record of history, who exists in communities, and helps future generations make connections with ancestry across time and space.

There are several ways in which planners can have direct impact on Deathscapes. Planners working with local governments, whether as staff or consultants, can support council in making decisions about management of Deathscapes in communities. Bringing awareness to the concerns and possible solutions can generate dialogue and potentially lead to action. Local government planners can also support council in fulfilling their duties for managing interment, a core function of local government under the Community Charter in British Columbia. Social planners can use their skills in dialogue, engagement, and systems coordination to ensure that community members are involved and empowered to act in their communities. Education and data collection can also make an impact. Planners can seek out education on Deathscapes and educate each other. They can also recommend strategies for data collection and context studies for communities to inform plans, policies, and bylaws.

The results of the survey and interviews led to the creation of a set of recommendations for how planners can address issues of grief in their community. The Delphi study further explored these ideas and asked for expert input on the recommendations.

Chapter 6.   Delphi Study

Information from the public survey and expert interviews was used to inform a set of recommendations for planners, and to develop a model of how planners influence grief in community spaces. The recommendations were then tested through two rounds of Delphi questionnaires (an iterative process of checking recommendations with a group of experts). A third round was considered unnecessary because consensus was determined in two rounds.

Any recommended actions expressed in the interviews were first isolated and written as a set of recommendations for planners, and then turned into a set of statements that were categorized according to cemetery and out-of-cemetery planning, social planning, land use, and education/research recommendations. More recommendations which responded to challenges and opportunities identified in the interviews and survey were also created. The recommendations that experts made in the interviews were also reviewed through the lens of the survey results. For example, some interview participants were concerned about the "cemeterization" of parks. Survey results, however, indicated that parks were seen as appropriate places for both interment (spreading cremains) and memorialization, and so strategies for creating memorialization outside of cemeteries were included in the recommendations.

6.1. Findings

6.1.1.   Analyzing Results

As the purpose of the Delphi was to gain consensus amongst experts on the recommendations, criteria for consensus was defined. See Table 2 for the consensus criteria the questionnaires answers were assessed with. The general results are presented in this chapter, with more detailed reporting of results in Appendix F. The final recommendations are discussed in Chapter 7.

Table 2 – Criteria for Determining Consensus in the Delphi Study

Question Type	Consensus	No Consensus
Questions with answer options on a Likert scale with ranges from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree"	No participants answered "disagree" or "strongly agree". OR Minimum of 90% said "agree" or "strongly agree".	More than one participant answered "disagree" or "strongly disagree". OR No participant answered "agree" or "strongly agree".
Questions that asked participants to select one or more options	Answers were selected by a minimum of 80% of participants.	Answer was not selected by a minimum of 80% of participants.
Questions that asked participants to rank options	Answers that ranked as top four.	

6.1.2.   Round 1

Round 1 of the Delphi study was sent out to assess participants' level of agreement with the first draft of a grief-friendly community framework. Fourteen people participated in the first round, which ran for four weeks in September and October 2020. A copy of the survey is provided in Appendix C. Participants were recruited by emails sent to people who had been interviewed for this research, as well as other planners who had expressed interest in the topic but had not been interviewed due to time constraints.

Areas of Agreement

Most of the recommendations presented in the first round received full agreement, indicating that the framework draft was close to the mark for participants. Full results are displayed in Appendix E. The questions that received consensus were then taken as accepted recommendations for the framework and were moved into the final framework draft. Areas of disagreement or areas where more specific information was needed were identified and incorporated into the Delphi round 2 survey. Fifteen out of 27 of the original

recommendations received full consensus in round one. Twelve answers were considered in need of further exploration because the responses had one either one or more participant select an answer other than "agree" or "strongly agree", and/or comments supported the decision to provide more information by either requesting it or expressing that the wording or explanation was problematic.

Areas for further exploration

Six areas (themes) for further exploration were identified from the questions that did not receive consensus. The themes emerged from the comments that indicated which statements were unclear, which needed further information to answer, and which needed more discussion. The six themes and the comments that relate to them are presented in Appendix F.

The areas of disagreement and comments highlighted six key areas for further exploration:

1) Whether or not interment or memorialization is appropriate outside of cemeteries, and if so, where;

2) The challenges for city staff of maintaining memorials outside of cemeteries;

3) The challenges of ensuring that public spaces do not become overwhelmingly places of memorializing and maintain their use as places for the living to enjoy;

4) The need for interment spaces as well as the need to prevent sprawl and reduce environmental impacts of cities and towns;

5) Whether these suggestions can be carried out by planners, and how many are the role of governments and/or a matter of public opinion. The political aspects of this discussion must be considered;

6) How strict regulations should be.

6.1.3. Round 2

Using the information from Round 1, a second iteration of the framework/theory was created. The Delphi Round 2 questionnaire (Appendix C) was used to gather data on the changes. The survey was sent out in December 2020 and remained active for four weeks. Nine of the participants from Round 1 participated in the second round. The second round had four sections: review of the findings of Round 1; give the participants an opportunity to confirm their answers; dive into some of the questions to look for more specific answers; and review the questions from Round 1 that did not receive consensus. This review was an opportunity to change answers, given additional information or new wording.

Review and Confirmation

The first section of the Delphi Round 2 questionnaire was a report of which questions had received consensus on the first Delphi round. The participants were then asked whether or not they would like to change any of their answers or if they were still comfortable with their statements. All participants said yes to being comfortable with the statements, with one participant commenting that they would like to "clarify that interment in public parks and public spaces incudes only the spreading of ashes."

Deeper Dive

Given the high level of consensus on the first Delphi round, the second round was used as an opportunity to ask more specific questions to further explore the topics. These questions followed the format of some of the public survey questions to determine if there was a difference between public and expert opinion on appropriate areas for interment. This set of questions also asked about priorities for elements of policies. Participants had the option to select "all that apply" or rank their answers. For the purposes of determining consensus, options had to have 80% of select it on a "select all that apply" question, or receive an overall rank in the top four on questions that asked participants to rank their answers. The answers which received consensus are summarized in Table 3. The options

which did not received consensus can be seen in the survey questions shown in Appendix D.

Table 3 – Delphi Participant Answers to Deeper-dive Questions

Question	Answers that received consensus
Policies or procedures to allow for memorialization outside of cemeteries should include restrictions relating to:	• Where they (memorialization) can go (including an assessment of visual distraction to drivers or blocking of vehicles) • What can be left at a memorial site • Who is responsible for removing the memorial when the time is up or it falls into disrepair
What should be prioritized in policies that restrict temporary or ad hoc memorials (rank your selections):	• Environmental protection • Providing spaces for ad hoc memorials which balance the broader needs of the public • Ease of maintenance in public spaces
Are there other things that should be prioritized when determining restrictions on ad hoc or temporary memorials? (Answer in comment format)	• Maintenance responsibility and liability • How long they can remain • Restrictions on hate speech, discrimination being incorporated into memorials • Ease of understanding the regulations
Where do you think are appropriate places for memorials to be placed outside of cemeteries? (permanent or temporary)	• Beaches • Parks • Crown land
What types of physical markers for memorialization outside of cemeteries do you think are appropriate to sanction?	• Memorial walls • Spaces to write notes • A communal wall for notes • Memorial trees in parks • Pathways where the bricks have names on them
What are some other current land uses that you think are compatible with the interment of cremains (either spreading or burial) if cities were to consider mixed use?	• Transportation corridors • Industrial • Recreational

6.1.4. Methodology Error

In reporting these findings, it needs to be clarified that the determination of consensus using the criteria for two questions was not possible due to a methodological error in the survey formatting. The questions "Do you think that lands currently used as

parks and green space are appropriate places to establish areas for the interment of cremains (i.e., make a mixed-use area where green space is preserved and cremains can be interred)?" and "Should cities designate areas for people to spread cremains, for free, outside of cemeteries?" both incorrectly disallowed participants from making a "yes"/"no" selection as well as leaving comment. Thus, to determine consensus the comments were used to determine whether or not participants agreed with the statements. For the first question above, 33% of respondents selected yes. The other 66% chose to comment. The comments indicated support, with the caveat that careful consideration must be made to ensure proper regulation, and that not all parks may be suitable. The latter question received 50% "yes" answers, again with the caveat from commenters that spreading cremains outside of cemeteries requires thought and clarification of the legality. One participant pointed out that "If a municipality does this, it does not mean that people can't spread ashes in other public places." It was determined that the questions received consensus, with the important distinction that in creating these spaces they cannot be a "free for all" and require careful planning. Presumably this planning would follow the recommendations found in the deeper dive, and in consultation with the public.

6.2. End of Delphi

Based on the findings of Round 2, it was determined that participants had given consensus on the recommendations. Given that consensus was obtained, the decision was made to stop the Delphi study and move forward with finalizing the recommendations and reporting the findings.

6.3. Discussion

One of the disadvantages of a Delphi study is that answers can be watered down. Reaching consensus often requires that concessions are made to accommodate various viewpoints. This particular study resulted in consensus easily, however this may indicate that the tested recommendations were themselves broad and potentially vague. Few of

them would be easily quantifiable for evaluation purposes if acted on. The challenge going forward with them for planners and local governments will be in tailoring them for their communities and determining evaluation methods. This is a great area for potential further research.

The areas of disagreement that were identified in round one are telling of what issues may be raised in communities which are trying to implement grief-friendly policies. The first debate which is likely to arise in communities is whether or not interment or memorialization is appropriate outside of cemeteries at all. While survey results as well as interviews indicated that there are several types of memorialization happening outside of cemeteries already, such as roadside memorials, memorial walls, ad hoc shrines, planted memorial trees, and memorial benches, there is a concern about "cemeterization" of public spaces and ensuring that there is a distinction between spaces for the living and spaces for the dead. All three data collection methods produced the same finding that while on the one hand people ought to be encouraged to mourn in a way that seems appropriate to them, including in public spaces, on the other there needs to be intentional thought put into determining what is appropriate where. This is not something that planners or city staff can answer, the discussion must be had on a community level to ensure that there are spaces for everybody. The role that planners have is to initiate this conversation where it is needed and raise awareness of the various concerns and potential solutions.

Shrines and memorials in public spaces, especially temporary ones such as roadside shrines, also raise concerns about their location and maintenance. It presents a risk to city maintenance and parks staff if objects are left in dangerous locations. Litter and lack of consideration for environmental sensitivity of the areas chosen for memorialization mean that not creating policies may result in pollution. It is of benefit for communities to identify areas for memorialization and interment (particularly the spreading of cremains) that are not environmentally sensitive to prevent damage. The conversation about environmental impacts of interment needs to include evaluating the impacts of all types of memorialization including spreading cremains, items left at memorials, and cemeteries.

In all of these conversations, there is a balance between over and under regulation. Planners can play a key role in determining community priorities and best policy and practices through their skills in looking at issues with many lenses and public engagement. The political element of creating grief-friendly spaces cannot be ignored. Participants in the Delphi study initially disagreed on both whether or not interment and memorialization should be allowed outside of cemeteries, and how much of a role planners should take on in creating policies. Ultimately, elected governments are the ones who approve policies and bylaws and set priorities for staff. Without political will planners have no incentive for considering grief-friendly spaces. The participants in the public survey selected many areas outside of cemeteries as appropriate locations for activities of bereavement, showing that there is public interest in creating these types of spaces. Interviewees spoke about the lack of "death literacy" in our communities as a root of political disinclination to these discussions. Once people are more comfortable talking about death, are more aware of the wide range of interment options they could make than not only will political will be increased, but also people may begin to find solace and comfort through the process of making decisions as their options are more clear and they better understand how interment and memorialization fits with their experiences of grief.

As a start to a new model of grief-friendly communities, however, these recommendations do highlight considerations for planners to work with. While they may not outline detailed actions applicable to all places, the recommendations provide an overview of what policies need to be written and the general contents of such policies. The results also highlight changes to interment practices and the practices that are not currently being managed by policy makers. What has come out of this study is a definition of cemetery land uses which can be used in zoning bylaws, a suggestion of data planners can collect to better assess the Deathscapes and their uses in their communities, and an outline of the content for future grief-friendly policies and practices. The full set of final recommendations and the grief-friendly framework is presented in the next chapter.

Chapter 7.   Results

The results of the survey and interviews led to the creation of a set of recommendations for how planners can address issues of grief in community. The Delphi study further explored these ideas and asked for expert input on the recommendations. This research produced the following results:

- a definition of cemetery land uses

- a definition of Grief-Friendly Communities

- a model for conceptualizing how grief is related to planning and healthy-communities

- a set of recommendations for planners to support and create grief-friendly communities.

7.1. Definitions

7.1.1.   Grief-Friendly Communities

Grief-Friendly Communities are places where people have a range of opportunities for expressing their grief and managing the dead which are appropriate for their cultural, religious, spiritual, mental wellness, and social needs. This includes opportunities for memorialization and interment that are varied, affordable, and meaningful, as well as social and service structures that meet the needs of the bereaved. Grief-Friendly Communities view the social and physical structures related to death and dying as an asset for the community and access to them as a human right.

A Grief-Friendly Community fosters the integration of the natural process of death and the emotions related to it into daily life, thereby desegregating the dead from the living and breaking down stigma toward people experiencing all kinds of grief.

Features of a Grief-Friendly Community include the following:

- range of interment options which are relevant to the local demographics and culture currently and as they change over time;

- local municipal policy that includes a variety of ways to memorialize;

- provision of locally operated civic cemeteries;

- active creation and maintenance of civic cemetery space as a community asset;

- well-promoted options for interment, and information that is easy to find and understand;

- zoning and land uses adopted in municipal documents for Cemetery Land Uses and other death- and grief-related services; and

- promotion of mental health services.

7.1.2.   Cemetery Land Uses

Cemetery Land Uses are designated geographical locations that permit the licensed interment of human remains, or in which preparation for interment and memorialization of human remains may occur. "Designated" means recognized by municipal official plans and/or permitted by municipal zoning bylaws. Additionally, Cemetery Land Uses are place-making practices that designate space and place for cultural and religious practices of memorialization where trauma, loss of life, and memory are marked. Whether formalized through bylaw or informally created by a community, cemetery land uses are spaces that purposely inter and memorialize the dead.

7.2. Grief and the Community Model

Figure 9 depicts a model of the relationship between environments, experiences, and expression that factor into how individuals experiences of grief are both shaped by and co-create Deathscapes. Each term and its relationship to the other terms are explained further in the section 7.2.1.
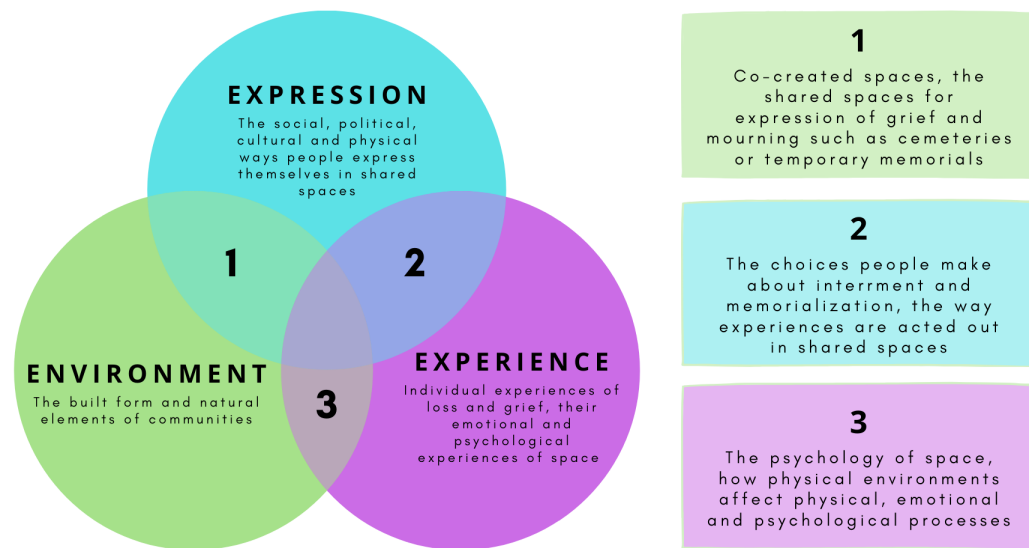
Figure 10 – Model of the relationship among environments, expression, and individual experiences of grief.

7.2.1.   Discussion of the Model

Environment

Environment is defined as "the circumstances, objects, or conditions that a person is surrounded by", including the "aggregate of social and cultural conditions that influence the life of an individual or community" (Merriam-Webster, 1998, p. 609). In Planning, the term environment incorporates the totality of built and natural features in a community. In reference to Deathscapes, the focus is on the places where people inter, memorialize, and carry out activities related to death and dying.

The environments of grief are important and yet often overlooked in community planning. They are unique spaces to be planned for given that they are highly personal places happening in the public realm. Cemeteries and memorials are planned as permanent elements, more so than any other features of the built environment. Deathscapes leave lasting legacies of cultural and social heritage, created incrementally over time.

For grief-friendly communities, environments are the totality of social, cultural, and physical elements that impact a person's grieving process. The environment and natural world are also considered stakeholders in grief-friendly communities in order to enshrine sustainable development goals and practice within them. Issues of pollution of natural environments are part of the conversation about ethical Deathscape design. As discussed in the literature review and raised by interview participants, ensuring that Deathscapes do not contribute to pollution is important for, and part of, broader planning goals of protecting the natural environment, addressing climate change, and ensuring the health of our planet.

Experience

Experience is "the process of doing and seeing things and of having things happen to you" as well as the "skill or knowledge that you get by doing something" (Merriam-Webster, 1998, p. 643). More broadly, experiences are "the conscious events that make up a person" and the "events that make up the conscious past of a community" (Merriam-Webster, 1998, p. 643). In relation to Deathscapes, experiences are the practices carried out during bereavement and the practices, landscapes, and cultural and social expressions witnessed.

In this framework, there are two key factors related to experience. One is that there are constant outside stimuli that we see, hear, feel, and respond to. Our responses can be external (expressed) or internal (experienced). However diverse our experiences are, there are factors that can be generalized about how people physiologically and emotionally react to different physical environments. The built environment triggers physiological and psychological reactions, such as lowered stress indicators in natural environments, increased arousal in interesting environments like public squares with activity, and higher stress responses in areas with little interest, wayfinding, or imposing buildings (Ellard, 2018).

The other factor is the effects our cumulative external experiences have on our internal worlds. Stimuli create reactions in our mental and physiological states. This can be a stress response to a perceived danger, or an arousal response to experiences that we perceive as positive. Because an individual has different experiences, their brain learns

to respond to some stimuli positively and others negatively. Psychology and neuroscience have discovered that mental health is a combination of experiences and internal responses to experiences. Our neurological pathways reinforce certain reactions to different stimuli, meaning that our cumulative experiences teach our nervous system how to react to the world. Many of the experiences that leave a lasting impact are how other people around us behave and respond to our behaviour (Ellard, 2018; Grant-Smith & Osborne, 2016).

The importance of recognizing how experiences shape mental health cannot be understated. Worldview, resiliency, conflict management, stress management, and emotional responses are largely learned behaviour combined with the neuro-chemical assets that our bodies have. We can learn how to manage emotions such as grief through how we experience (see, hear, do) grief in our external worlds.

Deathscapes contribute to our experiences of grief and mourning. They are the landscapes in which we witness the activities of grief and mourning. Those who see only Roman Catholic burial rites will think of that as the only way to mourn. Others who see no practice that reflects their culture may feel and think that their practices and beliefs do not fit with the society they are in. The types of Deathscapes we create are part of how people experience grief. The lack of options (or knowledge about options due to lack of exposure) that people feel they have for memorialization comes from a sense that their feelings do not have a place within the shared experiences of environments. It is the experiences that people have that determine how they feel and react, which generates behaviour, also known as expression.

Expression

Expression is "the process of making known one's thoughts or feelings", or "an act, process, or instance of representing in a medium" something that "manifests, embodies, or symbolizes something else" (Merriam-Webster, 1998, p. 645). Expressions of grief are varied and include both permanent and temporary memorial activities, ongoing maintenance of grave sites or memorial places, and the design and designation of Deathscapes. Expression in the Grief-Friendly Communities context means the

cumulative acts of co-creation of Deathscapes occurring in communities, as well as the aggregate of media representations of grieving and death, the policies and procedures of Deathscapes creation, and the social and cultural spaces to discuss and process grief. Expression is both how individuals express themselves and the cultural and social expressions that frame experiences. Expressions are both the existing expressions that shape experiences, as well as the ways in which people express their individual experiences. Expression is also how people share their emotional state with others. Our internal states are shared outwardly both through behaviour and creation of physical spaces. Grief-friendly communities seek out ways to support expression of the emotions of grief in supportive and non-stigmatizing environments.

Overlaps and Interrelations

A person's experience of the environment will shape how they interact with it, how they feel, and what they express. Conversely, environments are also created by people's expression of their experiences. How people publicly behave also generates a social environment that shapes other people's experiences. Therefore, all three areas of this model are intricately overlapping and interrelated. These overlaps are played out in co-creation of histories and public spaces, how spaces affect psychology, and ultimately, the choices that people make about interment.

By addressing social and cultural needs, breaking down stigma, and ensuring that Deathscapes are an integrated part of communities, planners can shape how people experience grief. Integration of Deathscapes into active life promotes awareness of death, dying, and grief before individuals ever have to experience it themselves. The community facilitates experiences that prepare people for loss of loved ones.

7.3. Final Recommendations to Planners

The following set of recommendations is an amalgamated list of the recommendations that received consensus in the Delphi study. The recommendations are divided into six major themes: Create Grief-Friendly Communities, Social Planning,

Eduction and Data, Land Use Planning, Policy, and design. Each theme has specific goals and recommendations.

The themes are closely related to five Areas of Influence that the interviews and public survey identified as areas that planners can act on. Table 4 shows the five areas, which represent the broad areas over which planners can have influence on Deathscapes, and the kinds of actions they can take. While the themes of the recommendations do not fully follow the Areas of Influence, they are closely aligned. The first two Areas of Influence (cemeteries and memorialization outside of cemeteries) are not recommendation themes; however, the actions related to them are covered by the themes of Design and Policy.

Table 4 – Summary of Recommendation Categories

Area of Influence	Core Actions
Cemeteries	Affordability – Ensure a range of options are available for various prices. Design – Create design regulations and bylaws for civic cemeteries. Location – Determine the location of cemeteries.
Memorialization outside of Cemeteries	Options – Determine the types of options available. Creativity – Create and facilitate creative options. Space Designation - Identify appropriate places for legally spreading cremains.
Education	Research – Conduct ongoing evaluation of local changes in interment practices, memorial practices, and demographics. Data collection – Collect data on available interment spaces and on interment practices (e.g., how many cremains are not being interred in cemeteries).
Land Use Planning	Cemetery Land Uses – Create cemetery land use designations. Zoning – Ensure zoning for death services, interment, and memorialization.
Social Planning	Service Provision - Co-ordinating services. Engagement - Arranging public engagement and events.

The final recommendations are things that planners can actively pursue and carry out, whether in their capacity as staff with local government or within other practice areas, to promote or create grief-friendly communities in their geographical area or within the planning practice. Because grief-friendly spaces must reflect the culture and needs of people using them, and there are broader conversations required to balance the (sometimes) competing priorities of mourners, the general public, and planners, the recommendations are meant to help guide public engagement on community-level

decisions about what is appropriate for any given location. There are no definitive answers, for example, about how much activities of bereavement should be integrated into a public park. The level of tolerance for reminders of death will vary from one community to another. Policies must reflect the local context.

7.3.1.   Creating Grief-Friendly Communities

GOAL 1 - To create grief-friendly communities in which there are welcoming environments for people to experience and express their grief in a manner that feels appropriate for them.

- RECOMMENDATION 1 – Be deliberate about planning for memorialization spaces to ensure that plans fit with the cultural, social, and economic needs of the community.
- RECOMMENDATION 2 – Include community engagement on the topic of death and interment in long-range planning programs.
- RECOMMENDATION 3 – Create a range of interment options in communities that provide for different price ranges, aesthetics, and cultural needs.
- RECOMMENDATION 4 – Take into consideration Deathscapes as assets in their communities and as an aspect of healthy community planning.

7.3.2.   Social Planning

GOAL 2 – To create an integrated and active network of programs and services for people experiencing grief are provided in the community.

GOAL 3 – Public awareness of grief and after-death services are available locally.

- RECOMMENDATION 5 – Organize, promote, and encourage activity in cemeteries and other active Deathscapes, such as public events, cemetery walks, live music, or other activities to break down social norms of appropriate behaviour in a cemetery.

- RECOMMENDATION 6 – Coordinate services in the local community (including engineering, public works, social planning, land use planning, and parks) by supporting a networking of bereavement and after-death services and organizations, thus helping inform the public and supporting local organizations to integrate services.

- RECOMMENDATION 7 – View grief-friendly community aspects as part of healthy community planning.

7.3.3. Education and Data

GOAL 4 – To generate and use relevant data about local interment practices and needs to inform cemetery land use planning, memorialization, and interment policies and bylaws, and to predict future need of interment spaces.

GOAL 5 – To provide information and education to the public that will support decision-making about managing the death of a loved one and increase knowledge of local options, rules and regulations, and supports.

- RECOMMENDATION 8 – Gather and provide easily accessible information on what local interment options are available, their cost, and how to pursue burial or cremation, and post this on civic websites. This information should include at minimum a description of what different options are available in the community. Preferably, a business directory of local funeral, cemetery, memorialization and other death services would also be included, not to endorse any particular one, but to ensure that people are aware of all the options. Local government staff should have knowledge of the average prices, locations, and availability of options, whether published or not, for tracking and research purposes. Local government may require death services to openly state their prices as part of local business requirements.

- RECOMMENDATION 9 – Create centralized and thorough data collection on local interment decisions people make: how many full body burials, how many interments of cremains, how many cremains are unclaimed at crematoria, how many interment spaces are available, how many remains are cremated and not registered as interred. Set up GIS or other geo data collection methods to trace where interment is happening, preferably in an open-source format for people to self-report or access and find where cremains of loved ones are located.

- RECOMMENDATION 10 – Establish partnerships with universities for ongoing research to fill the need for more academic research on how individuals make interment choices, and how these are affected by existing cemetery land uses. Further research areas are also listed at the end of this thesis in Section 9.1.

- RECOMMENDATION 11 – Use historical population data and civic and provincial population projections to make predictions about how much land will be needed for interment in the next 50–100 years based on demographic trends and analysis of trends in burial of bodies versus interment of cremains.

- RECOMMENDATION 12 – Municipal staff should collect data on pricing of internment and memorialization options (e.g., cemetery plots) and maintain databases for comparison to ensure that civic options are competitive. This information is not necessarily for the public.

- RECOMMENDATION 13 – Pursue partnerships with local cemeteries (both for profit and not for profit) to gather and share data and keep community members informed about activities and events in cemeteries.

7.3.4. Land Use Planning

GOAL 6 – To ensure there is sufficient land and a variety of land uses available for interment and memorialization, and provide clear guidelines and policies for these activities in public areas and on city lands.

- RECOMMENDATION 14 – Advocate for and write zoning bylaws that contain Cemetery Land Uses.

- RECOMMENDATION 15 – Ensure that cemetery land uses are one of the land use types discussed during Official Community Planning.

- RECOMMENDATION 16 – Complete a municipal land asset study and identify future cemetery sites to ensure that there are enough burial and interment of cremains spaces for the current and predicted future size of the community.

- RECOMMENDATION 17 – As part of Cemetery Land Uses, designate areas for people to spread cremains, for free, inside or outside of cemeteries. The purpose of doing so is to respond to the increase in the

occurrence of this happening and to ensure that it happens in places where the cremains would not affect sensitive ecosystems.

- RECOMMENDATION 18 – As part of overseeing civic cemeteries, require that cemeteries managed by the local government create a Cemetery Master Plan.

- RECOMMENDATION 19 – Look for opportunities to create mixed-use land uses with Deathscapes and other compatible land uses. Potential areas of compatibility could be transportation corridors, industrial sites, and recreational areas. Identify which parks, clubs, public spaces, etc., may be appropriate for interment and memorialization. Engage the public in determining which parks, beaches, or other green spaces they may like to have interment and memorialization opportunities provided.

- RECOMMENDATION 20 – Provide cemetery land use districts within all municipal zoning bylaws, and ensure there are spaces for active cemetery land uses within all regions (rural and urban).

7.3.5. Policies

GOAL 8 – To clarify and/or formalize guidelines for interment in community spaces.

- RECOMMENDATION 21 – Clearly define and make policies regarding temporary shrines, the legality of spreading cremains, where it is and is not appropriate to spread cremains locally, and the processes for maintenance and enforcement. As an example, the City of Duncan has a policy that allows temporary memorial shrines to be created on City-owned lands, and states that they will be removed after one calendar year of their creation. There is also opportunity for renewal based on council approval. Similar policies should be written for every local government and municipality.

- RECOMMENDATION 22 – If not already in place, create policies or procedures that allow for memorials outside of cemeteries, and which indicate how they will be regulated. Ensure the policies are clearly written and easy to understand. Included in these policies are procedures for obtaining such memorials on public lands.

- RECOMMENDATION 23 – Provide for a wide range of options for memorialization outside of cemeteries. Include these options in policies or plans for "public realm" memorials such as roadside shrines, murals, trees, benches, paving stones, etc.

7.3.6.　Design

GOAL 9 – To apply principals of good design to Deathscapes provided by local government.

GOAL10 – To integrate Deathscapes into the community, where appropriate, in a creative way.

- RECOMMENDATION 24 – Provide spaces in public areas that encourage creative expression. Examples are flexibility in civic cemetery plot use guidelines (i.e., allowing mementos to be left) or public areas that allow ongoing memorialization (such as memorial walls).

- RECOMMENDATION 25 – Use urban design practices to make Cemetery Land Use spaces welcoming and comforting places, including Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design principals for safety.

- RECOMMENDATION 26 – Incorporate active spaces for memorialization (memorial trails, public memorial walls, places to sit and contemplate, etc.) in public spaces that encourage interactions between mourners and their environments.

Chapter 8.   Discussion

A discussion of how the results of this research contribute to theories of healthy communities starts off this chapter. The findings of this research are then discussed in three sections, each section answering one research question. The research questions, for review, were:

1) What would a Grief-Friendly Community be?

2) What motivates people to seek alternatives to burial or internment of ashes in cemeteries, and what alternatives are they choosing or would like to have available?

3) How can planners create spaces for memorialization and grieving that are relevant to contemporary practices?

Finally, the chapter concludes with a summary of key findings, their significance, and potential applications.

8.1. Contributions to Theory and Practice

8.1.1.   Space and Mental Wellness

The spaces we do or do not incorporate into our communities for grieving impact people's experiences of grief. Research has also identified the importance of spaces dedicated to memorialization. As a universal experience, grief represents one aspect of daily mental health that communities can and should prepare for. While there are many unknowns, grief can compound when people do not have support or modelling of how to manage and overcome grief, have to make too many decisions or decide between too many options, or do not have access to spaces that feel relevant to them. By generating a model of how the environmental and expressive elements of a community affect individual experiences of grief, this research helps planners connect their work to the wellness and behaviours of mourners. Making planners aware of their role in creating Deathscapes helps us understand the intricate ways in which built environment and social

policy impacts mental well-being, the "emotional third space" (Sidaway & Maddrell, 2012, p. 4)

8.1.2.   Social Determinants of Health

The Grief-Friendly Community framework relates and contributes to theories on the social determinants of health (Figure 10), which are the socio-economic, environment, and other conditions that affect health outcomes (Davidson, 2015). While no work to date has been done on the social determinants of grief itself, several studies have evaluated the relationship between Social Determinants of Health and mental health. A study in Finland found that drastic changes to family life, the death of a parent, family income, and family education levels were strong predictors for a mental health diagnosis in youth (Paananen, Ristikari, Merikukka, & Gissler, 2013). That the loss of a parent is a significant predictor of a later mental health disorder is particularly relevant to this research because it shows the impact that grief can have on the long-term well-being of a person. The Lancet Commission on global mental health and sustainable development has connected social, cultural, and economic factors to mental health (Patel et al., 2018). The Commission's work advocates for wider attention to be paid to the burden of mental ill-health on health care, economies, and individual lives. The World Health Organization's Sustainable Development Goals include mental health, and stress its importance in multiple studies; the report *Social Determinants of Mental Health* states that "actions that prevent mental disorders and promote mental health are an essential part of efforts to improve the health of the world's population and to reduce health inequities" (World Health Organization and Calouste Gulenkian Foundation, 2014, p. 9). The research findings of this thesis provide a set of goals, actions, and considerations for policy that planners and local governments can pursue to create grief-friendly communities and thus act on one area of mental wellness.

Figure 11 – Social Determinants of Health. (Credit UPMC Enterprises, n.d.).

8.1.3.   Healthy Community Planning

The built environment is a key element of healthy community planning. How people move through their areas, the resources available to them within walking and easy transit distance, and what features the built environment contains are all part of how individuals experience their world (Davidson, 2015; Northridge & Freeman, 2011; Smith, Bondi, & Davidson, 2001). Ellard's book *Places of the Heart: Psychogeographies of Everyday Places* makes connections between the design aspects of physical environemnts and people's psychological and even physiological states (Ellard, 2018). His work demonstrates that people have predictable reactions to their built environment. The buildings, street organization, natural features, and desgin elements of cities can cause inspiration, frustration, sadness, reverence, and a host of other powerful emotions.

If the way cities are built can elicit powerful emotions, then it makes sense that Deathscapes, too, produce emotions that are altered by the design and layout of those

places. The same elements of good design, such as wayfinding, intrigue, vibrancy, and beauty, are applicable to Deathscapes both in and out of cemeteries. The idea that Deathscapes' design is connected to people's experience and the setting's sense of meaning was supported by both the survey and interviews used in this research. Survey results indicated that people preferred to inter loved ones in places such as beaches, parks, and areas of "personal significance", thereby connecting the environment to meaning and relevance. These preferences indicate that aesthetic and physical settings are important to people. Also indicated by survey participants was a desire to be creative and personalize memorialization. The survey results showed that people want places that are interactive, which is very similar to vibrancy and interest concepts of urban design. Interviewees mentioned the importance of good design in accommodating the range of needs people have in mourning and making Deathscapes welcoming, accessible, equitable, and mearningful. Some people want contemplative and quiet space, while others want more active spaces surrounding their mourning. Design can manage these differences in need.

A range of research has indicated that the physical environments we exist in and the visibility of our own culture and experiences in those places have direct impact on our sense of inclusion and feeling of being an active participant and agent in our lives, and they foster a sense of belonging (Ellard, 2018). This thesis supplies another view of how a mental and emotional state (grief) is influenced by community, social, and environmental factors. This can help us decode other more broadly applicable relationships between physical and cultural environments and mental health when planning healthy communities.

8.1.4.   Friendly Communities

Friendly Communities

Friendly-cities of all kinds operate on the principles that communities that are designed to meet the needs of the most vulnerable serve the needs of all. They incorporate the range of services and environments that make up cities and towns and focus on how

those services can improve well-being for groups with specific needs. Friendly-cities often incorporate the Social determinants of health (Figure 10) into their theory to encompass the wider social, economic, cultural, political, and policy structures of communities. Addressing barriers on many fronts improves outcomes by viewing all actions as part of a broader realm of well-being (World Health Organization, 2007). Action in one area improves another. The following are two examples of friendly community definitions:

> "In an age-friendly community, policies, services and structures related to the physical and social environment are designed to support and enable older people to 'age actively' – that is, to live in security, enjoy good health and continue to participate fully in society" (Government of Canada, 2011, para. 3).

> "A child-friendly city (CFC) is a city, town, community or any system of local governance committed to improving the lives of children within their jurisdiction by realizing their rights as articulated in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child" (UNICEF, 2020).

The core features of Friendly-cities are that they identify a group of people to whom officials attune themselves and outline what kinds of particular outcomes the officials are working to create for those groups. For children, it is to have their special rights protected. For older adults, it is a physical and social environment that facilitates activity, regardless of physical and cognitive ability.

Grief-Friendly Comunities

A Grief-Friendly Community has to encompass the social, policy, procedural, land use, and service needs of people experiencing grief. Thus, the following definition is offered:

> Grief-Friendly Communities are places where people have a range of opportunities for expressing their grief and managing the dead, which are appropriate for their cultural, religious, spiritual, mental wellness, and social needs. Within these communities, opportunities for memorialization and interment are varied, affordable, and meaningful, and social and service systems meet the needs of the bereaved. Grief-Friendly Communities view the social and physical structures related to death and dying as an asset for the community and access to them as a human right.

Having a definition of grief-friendly communities adds to the theories of fully encompassing, healthy, and diverse communities that meet the needs of their citizens. Friendly communities theories are useful as measures of whether or not environments are built for the people they serve and protect the vulnerable. People experiencing grief are vulnerable to depression, feelings of isolation and exclusion, and physical ill-health related to stress and depression. By ensuring that communities are friendly for grief, we can break down stigmas that isolate people and welcome a part of the human experience into the public realm.

8.2. Significance

8.2.1. Grief-Friendly Theory

The primary purpose of this research was to create a framework for grief-friendly communities that defines what they are and describes their features. Through the iterative and collaborative approach of the Delphi study methods, a definition was found. Two new terms, grief-friendly and cemetery land uses, have been defined and added to the lexicon of healthy community planning. Additionally, a model of the connection between planning activities in social and physical environments and grief has been created. This model may also have other applications such as determining how built environments affect mental health more broadly than just grief. This model can be a starting point for conversation about, and evaluation of, mental health outcomes from planning activities. This connects other research on the social determinants of mental health directly to land use planning.

8.2.2. Alternatives to Cemeteries

The questions this research set out to answer through the public survey were "What motivates people to seek alternatives to burial or internment of ashes in cemeteries, and what alternatives are they choosing or would like to have available?" The survey successfully identified several alternatives to cemeteries that people want to have in their communities. Survey and interview data supports the conclusion that people want these

alternatives because they are motivated by a desire to practice bereavement in places that hold personal significance. More research needs to be conducted to understand why cemeteries have lost their meaning, although the interviews did point to some possible reasons, such as cemetery design being uninteresting, a social shift away from adherence to religious practices, and a cultural emphasis on individualism in all aspects of life.

Data collected through the public survey and interviews showed that participants had several concerns about contemporary, out-of-cemetery interment and memorialization practices. Environmental concerns about the impacts of litter and cremains in ecologically sensitive areas were raised. There was a demonstrated need for policies that protect sensitive areas based on the interviews, as well as the literature review, which found reports on the environmental impacts of crematoria and cemeteries. Another concern focuses on balancing the desire of people to memorialize with ensuring there are not too many reminders of death, or changing the function of parks from recreation to memorialization. This is an area that requires further research to determine what the tolerance level of communities is for these types of reminders of death. While some people may feel strongly that cemeteries are the only appropriate places for interment, this research demonstrated that many people see places such as parks, beaches, transportation corridors, and many other types of public space as wholly appropriate for memorialization practices. The spreading of cremains is also seen as acceptable in public areas. The tolerance for these activities will vary from one community to another, but this research demonstrates that interment outside of cemeteries is desired and considered appropriate. This means that planners and local governments must consider these practices as part of modern culture and ensure that they do not negatively impact sensitive ecosystems.

The rise of individualistic culture and multi-culturalism have changed how we operate as a society in many aspects, and bereavement and interment are no exception. Research findings discussed in this thesis support other research that has found that practices are changing and new forms of memorialization, such as dedicated benches and trees in parks, roadside memorials, and temporary shrines, are increasing in popularity. What this research adds to the literature is that these practices are both seen as normal

and are desired by the public, and are contested and present a challenge to cities. It can be concluded from the public survey that there is a desire for spaces outside of cemeteries for memorialization. Interviews with experts revealed several tensions that these spaces create, such as maintenance and regulation. The Delphi study identified possible methods of planning for such spaces and highlighted that experts believe that regulation and guidelines are important.

8.2.3.   Identifying Actions for Planners

The final goal of this research was to provide planners and policymakers with concrete recommendations on how to create Grief-Friendly Communities. Having successfully created recommendations, this research succeeded in meeting its research goals. The recommendations are going to be useful strategies for bringing Deathscapes into planning practice. If planners can take initiative to begin acting on the recommendations, progress can be made in improving the social, environmental, equity, and political impacts of Deathscapes in our communities.

Chapter 9.   Conclusion

Research on Deathscapes and planning was minimal before this thesis was written. My research has provided an overview of how Deathscapes have changed, how planners influence them, and why planners should consider them a community amenity, and it identifies strategies for creating Deathscapes in a manner that aligns with healthy community planning and friendly city theories. The recommendations provided are starting points for action on diversifying the kinds of spaces we create and maintain in our communities for people to celebrate and grieve those whom they have lost. The recommendations also support creative expression to allow people of various cultures and socio-economic status to have a visible presence in their communities. This work is intended to launch a new strategy for planning that recognizes and values the role that death has in our psychological well-being.

9.1. Limitations and Areas for Further Research

There is so much more to explore than what could be covered in this research. The time limits of thesis research restricted the number of interviews and required the scope of this work to focus on land use and social planning. The methods selected for this research were chosen because of their ability to be conducted and the results analyzed within the available time.

Using a qualitative public survey restricted the ability to explore "why" people are finding alternatives to cemeteries. The answers are useful but the study also left out important questions that would capture more nuanced data, questions better explored with qualitative means. The public survey did not successfully answer why people inter outside of cemeteries, but rather the where and what of interring cremains outside of cemeteries. The notion of "laying to rest" may be falling out of fashion. Are we instead "keeping them close"? Studies on the impacts of contemporary memorialization and mental health are needed to assess whether it is true that permanent spaces are important for processing grief, and what kinds of spaces are best suited to this purpose.

More research is needed to understand why people have moved away from cemeteries. My research has given rise to some suggestions and inferences, but there is more to be learned. Building on research by Birrell et al. (2020), the different values of people who chose cremation and interment outside of cemeteries need to be examined. There is also a need for more research on how people gain knowledge about interment options and how the availability of knowledge affects decision-making. The lack of death literacy was briefly discussed in this thesis, but much more exploration is needed to determine how to reduce stigma about death, facilitate community dialogue, and share information in communities.

Even in reporting the findings of the data collected for this research, there was much left out that deserves further attention. Restricting the scope of this thesis to planning practices made it necessary to limit conversation about the moral aspects of interment, the stigmas about talking about death and the biases people have about it, the cultural and social justice elements of Deathscapes, and an array of other themes that emerged and were ultimately left out of this thesis. Greenspaces and sustainable interment practices require more attention. Research should include the healthy communities, individual health and well-being, environmental equity and justice, and sustainable development aspects of interment. While reconsidering how Deathscapes are currently used, planners are going to have to address the issue of having enough space. Development of data collection and analysis tools for tracking interment and memorialization activities in and out of cemeteries is another area for more detailed study.

Defining good cemetery design has not yet done. Creating an updated cemetery design guide would be useful work for landscape architects or urban designers.

As new theory, the framework and recommendations all require testing to be validated. When embarking on creating grief-friendly communities, planners will need to clarify the local goals, desired outcomes, and how to measure and assess how actions affected those outcomes. These measurements may be hard to quantify, so clear targets and methods are best identified at the onset. As planners implement the recommendations, it will be necessary to share the findings and outcomes with each other

to improve upon them. Evaluation of the process and outcomes from working toward grief-friendly communities will be needed to determine success in both implantation and achieving goals.

9.2. Hopes for This Research

It is my sincere hope that this research will inspire planners to be interested in helping develop and create grief-friendly communities. Having identified their role in people's experiences of grief and the importance of Deathscapes as public amenities, we can now start to act on our role and promote vibrant, diverse, welcoming, and creative places for grief to be embraced. In doing so, I hope that people experiencing grief see themselves reflected in death services in the community and have places to go where they feel safe and encouraged to grieve in a manner that is appropriate to them without fear that their memorials will be taken down without notice, or that their actions are illegal and they must hide them. I hope that experiencing grief is understood, talked about, and normalized through visible environmental cues.

May this research be the starting point for community dialoge and action on diversifying Deathscapes and ensuring that our generation and future generations have meaningful places to celebrate the lives of those who came before us.

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Appendix A

Research Tool – Public Survey

The following pages contain a copy of the public survey.

Welcome to My Survey

Thank you for your interest in participating.

This is an anonymous survey being done as part of my research for my Masters of Community Planning program. The purpose of my study is to find ways that Planners can make Grief-Friendly spaces for everyone in their communities.
I am asking the public for their thoughts on funeral, ceremony, burial and ash spreading practices so that I can better understand what people know and how they feel about these things.

The next page has more information on consent.

This survey takes between 5 and 10 minutes and no personal information is collected, not even your IP address.

Please press Next to continue.

Consent and Privacy Information

My name is Isha Matous-Gibbs and I am a student in the Masters of Community Planning program at Vancouver Island University (VIU). I would like to invite you to take part in my study, entitled "Deathscapes in Planning: How Planners can create Grief-Friendly Spaces," which aims to identify how external environments (parks, buildings, public spaces etc.) can support healthy grieving and bereavement. My hope is that my research will create a framework to help Planners understand the various ways people chose to inter and memorialize* their loved ones as well as how to make spaces for these diverse practices to happen. I also hope to make the process of interment and memorialization decisions easier.

You are being asked to voluntarily complete this on-line survey. The survey includes questions about burials, cremation, funerals, celebrations of life, and memorials. The questions are designed to help the researcher understand what motivates people to chose one interment option versus another one. The survey takes and average of about 5-10 minutes to complete.

No compensation is being offered for completing this survey.

There is a risk that some of the survey questions may make you uncomfortable. To mitigate this risk, you are free to decline to answer any question you do not wish to answer, or you may withdraw from participation at any time by closing your browser. If you close your browser prior to clicking the 'submit' button at the end of the survey, the information you have provided will not be saved or used in the study. There are also several resources for phone or online mental health support at the end of the

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survey. If you feel distressed or discomfort, as can sometimes happen when questioned about grief, loss, and death, please access any of these free services.

The survey is anonymous – that is, no personally identifiable information will be collected. Please do not include your name or personal information that might directly or indirectly identify you. If you agree to be quoted in the products of the research (see checkbox below) quotes will be attributed to a pseudonym or code (e.g., 'participant #3' or 'one participant said').

Survey Monkey is being used to collect your survey responses. Survey data will be stored on Survey Monkey servers located in United States and thus is subject to Survey Monkey data privacy policies. For information on Survey Monkey's privacy policy, see their Privacy Policy https://www.surveymonkey.com/mp/legal/privacy-policy/.
Please note that because Survey Monkey stores data on servers located outside of Canada, data you provide would not be protected by Canadian privacy legislation and may be accessed by the government of the United States in accordance with its laws.

I will delete all survey data from Survey Monkey once my research is complete in March 2021, or before. I am the only one who will have access to the data.

The results of this study will be presented in a final report required for completion of my degree, and may also be used for conference publications, presentations, and published in academic journals. Products of the research will include only aggregate data unless you explicitly consent to be quoted (see checkbox below).

Because your personal identity will not be collected, withdrawal from the study would not be possible once you click on the 'submit' button at the end of the survey.
If you have any concerns about your treatment as a research participant in this study, please contact the Vancouver Island University Research Ethics Board at reb@viu.ca

* 1. I have read and understand the information provided above, and hereby consent to participate in this research in accordance with the conditions described above.

☐ Yes

☐ No

Deathscapes in Planning

Consent

* 2. I am over the age of majority in my province of residence.
(Age of Majority is the age at which you are considered an adult in your province. If you are not sure, check here: https://www.thoughtco.com/age-of-majority-in-canada-510008)

◯ Yes

◯ No

* 3. I agree to have quotes from my short answers used in any reports or publications on this research.

◯ Yes

◯ No

Deathscapes in Planning

Definitions

Interment: Interment is the ritual or act of placing a body in its final resting place. This can be burial in a cemetery or graveyard, scattering of ashes, placing ashes in a special place, or other means such as sky burials or mummification.

Memorialization: Memorialization, or memorializing, is any action which preserves the memory of a person or event. For those who have died, this could mean a gravestone, an art installation, patches or jewelry for loved ones, a plaque or tree planted for the person, a roadside display of flowers and notes, or many, many more.

Deathscapes in Planning

You are not required to answer any questions you are not comfortable with. If you would like to skip a question, simply go to the next one.

4. What is your age?

◯ Under 18

◯ 18 - 29

◯ 30 - 44

◯ 45 - 59

◯ 60+

5. Have you lost someone close to you?

- ○ Yes, Family member(s)
- ○ Yes, friend(s)
- ○ Yes, friend(s) and family member(s)
- ○ No
- ○ Prefer not to answer

Deathscapes in Planning

Thank you for your interest.

This survey requires that participants give consent and are over the age of majority in their province. Answering 'no' to either of these questions disqualifies you from participation. Please consider sharing the survey to others who may be interested and meet the requirements. Thank you and have a good day.

Deathscapes in Planning

Knowledge of Interment and Memorialization

You are not required to answer any questions you are not comfortable with. If you would like to skip a question, simply go to the next one.

6. What is your knowledge of interment practices (such as the types of options, the process to do each etc)

- ○ Extremely familiar
- ○ Very familiar
- ○ Somewhat familiar
- ○ Not so familiar
- ○ Not at all familiar

7. What is your knowledge level of interment options in your city or town?

- ○ Extremely familiar
- ○ Very familiar
- ○ Somewhat familiar
- ○ Not so familiar
- ○ Not at all familiar

8. What is your knowledge level of your friends Interment wishes?

- ○ A great deal
- ○ A lot
- ○ A moderate amount
- ○ A little
- ○ None at all

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9. What is your knowledge level of your family members interment wishes?

○ A great deal   ○ A little

○ A lot   ○ None at all

○ A moderate amount

10. Have you been involved in arranging a funeral or memorial service?

○ Yes

○ No

11. What was the level of your involvement?

○ A great deal   ○ A little

○ A lot   ○ None at all

○ A moderate amount

12. What has been your involvement in making a decision regarding the final interment place of a person (burial location, place of spreading ashes etc.)

○ A great deal   ○ A little

○ A lot   ○ None at all

○ A moderate amount

13. What were the key factors in your decision about where to inter a person?

☐ Cost   ☐ Lasting memorialization

☐ The deceased told me their wishes   ☐ Public vs private location

☐ Displaying the status of the person   ☐ Environmental

☐ Cultural practices   ☐ The final location was important

☐ Religious practices   ☐ The options available in the local community

☐ Other (please specify)

[   ]

14. What alternatives to interment in a cemetery have been chosen for people you have lost?

☐ Scattering ashes in a special place   ☐ Placing ashes in an urn or container and kept

☐ Scattering ashes at the home of the deceased   ☐ Keeping ashes with the intention of spreading them together with another person's ashes such as a spouse

☐ Scattering ashes at a public place such as a beach or park

                                                           ☐ Taking the ashes to the country or area of their birth

Other (please specify)

[   ]

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15. How much planning for the interment of ashes has been done before taking them home from the crematorium?

○ A great deal   ○ A little

○ A lot   ○ None at all

○ A moderate amount

16. How long did it take you to make a decision about interment?

○ Planned before the death of the person

○ Weeks

○ Months

○ Years

17. Was there a personalized ceremony (readings, activities etc.) when the ashes were spread?

○ Yes

○ No

18. If you had a ceremony, what kind of ceremony was done?

○ All   ○ Alone

○ As part of a community (open house) memorial services   ○ No ceremony

○ In a small group of significant people   ○ Religious ceremony

Other (please specify)

[   ]

Deathscapes in Planning

Personal Values of Interment

You are not required to answer any questions you are not comfortable with. If you would like to skip a question, simply go to the next one.

19. What do you see as the main purpose of a memorial ceremony or funeral?

○ Demonstrate status   ○ An opportunity for communal grieving

○ Complete tradition   ○ Creating a sense of finality/ closure

○ Sending a person to the afterlife ○ Following the wishes of the deceased

○ Celebrate the life of the person

Other (please specify)

[   ]

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20. Interment in a permanent place is important.

- ○ Strongly agree
- ○ Agree
- ○ Neither agree nor disagree
- ○ Disagree
- ○ Strongly disagree

21. Interment in a cemetery is important.

- ○ Strongly agree
- ○ Agree
- ○ Neither agree nor disagree
- ○ Disagree
- ○ Strongly disagree

22. Interment in a cemetery is important for the mourning of people close to the deceased.

- ○ Strongly agree
- ○ Agree
- ○ Neither agree nor disagree
- ○ Disagree
- ○ Strongly disagree

23. Cemeteries are the only appropriate place for bodies and/or ashes.

- ○ Strongly agree
- ○ Agree
- ○ Neither agree nor disagree
- ○ Disagree
- ○ Strongly disagree

24. Scattering of ashes in public spaces is an appropriate place for interment.

- ○ Strongly agree
- ○ Agree
- ○ Neither agree nor disagree
- ○ Disagree
- ○ Strongly disagree

25. If there were public places (anywhere that is not private property) outside of cemeteries dedicated to spreading ashes I would use them either personally or to spread ashes of loved ones.

- ○ Strongly agree
- ○ Agree
- ○ Neither agree nor disagree
- ○ Disagree
- ○ Strongly disagree

26. I would prefer to spread ashes (my own or others) in a place of personal significance.

- ○ Strongly agree
- ○ Agree
- ○ Neither agree nor disagree
- ○ Disagree
- ○ Strongly disagree

27. Interment and the placement of a marker (gravestone, plaque, photograph or any other type of memorialization marker) must be in the same place.

○ Strongly agree

○ Agree

○ Neither agree nor disagree

○ Disagree

○ Strongly disagree

28. Grave reuse, common in many other countries, is the practice of leasing rather than selling a grave plot. The site is leased for a pre-determined period of time and when that time is up the family can choose to renew the lease. If the lease is not renewed, the remains are removed to a shared grave and a new person can lease the gravesite.
Would you be comfortable with this being an option in a local cemetery?

○ Definitely would

○ Probably would

○ Probably would not

○ Definitely would not

Deathscapes in Planning

Thoughts on how to commemorate a person after death.

This page asks questions about the types of options you would like to have available for physical markers to recognize a person after their death.

29. What kinds of public places you would like to place temporary memorials in?

○ Beaches

○ Town squares

○ Roadsides

○ Parks

○ Cemeteries

○ Shopping centers

Other (please specify)

[   ]

30. What types of physical markers would you like to have as memorialization options in cemeteries:

○ Plaques

○ Tombstones/ gravestones

○ Places to put flowers/ momentous such as a communal wall or garden

○ Spaces to write notes to loved ones, such as a tree to leave notes in the branches

○ A communal wall for notes

○ Memorial trees

○ Pathway bricks with notes on them

○ Plaques on trees

○ A space to light a candle

Other (please specify)

[   ]

31. What types of physical markers would you like to have as memorialization options outside of cemeteries:

○ Memorial trees

○ Memorial benches

○ Places to put flowers/ momentous such as a communal wall or garden

○ statues or other public art installation

○ 'Living memorials' such as trees to leave notes in branches or a shared notes/photo wall

○ Roadside markers/ memorials (places to leave flowers, notes and momentous near the site of death)

○ Paving stones or pathway stones with carved names and notes

Other (please specify)

[   ]

32. What kinds of public places you would like to place permanent memorials in?

○ Beaches

○ Town squares

○ Roadsides

○ Parks

○ Cemeteries

○ Shopping centers

Other (please specify)

[   ]

Comments and Other Thoughts

33. Are there any other comments or thoughts you would like to share?

Thank you

Thank you for completing the survey. When you select the submit button, your answers will be anonymously stored.

Appendix B

Research Tool – Semi-formal Interview Guide

1) Cover confidentiality and consent.

2) Ask about experience with cemetery and memorial planning.

3) What kinds of memorialization are you aware of in your community? (i.e. burial, headstones, scattering of ashes, informal memorials like roadsides, memorial benches, etc.)

4) Are there processes or policies for all of these types of memorials?

5) Where would you tell a person to go, or who to talk to, immediately after a person passed for resources, information and support? Six months after? A year after?

6) What do you think a grief-friendly community would look like?

7) How would that be implemented through policies or plans?

8) Any other policies that are barriers/ facilitators?

Appendix C

Research Tool – Delphi Round 1

The following pages contain a copy of the Delphi Round 1 survey.

Introduction to Delphi

I am a student in the Masters of Community Planning program at Vancouver Island University (VIU). I would like to invite you to take part in my study, entitled "Deathscapes in Planning: How Planners can create Grief-Friendly Spaces," which aims to identify what elements of the physical and built environments can support healthy grieving and bereavement. My hope is that my research will create a framework to help Planners understand the various ways people chose to inter and memorialize their loved ones as well as how to make spaces for these diverse practices to happen. I also hope to make the process of making interment and memorialization planning easier for the public.

This research project will explore the research from sociologists, cultural geographers, and planners on spatial aspects of mourning and bereavement and how these theories relate to theories and practices of land use, cemetery planning, urbanism, and placemaking in the modern world.

Using Deathscapes as a framework for spatializing grief and mourning, as well as the activities of bereavement, this study is seeking to create a policy framework for planners to bring contemporary understandings of death into their planning practice. Using a Delphi Model for iterative and collaborative knowledge generation, a guidebook for Grief-Friendly Community Planning will be created. This guide will be written to assist cities to create a diverse range of Deathscapes reflective of the community needs, as well as accompanying procedures and information available for citizens to access and engage with these Deathscapes (ex. clear application procedures for memorial benches).

Who can participate?

This is a Delphi style study which uses expert input and feedback to create a framework for Grief-Friendly communities. The researcher is seeking experts on grief, planning, cemetery planning, and Deathscapes from the following fields: planning, geography, sociology, death studies, and psychology.

For the purposes of this study an expert is defined as someone who has:

i)   knowledge and experience with the issues under investigation

ii)   capacity and willingness to participate

iii)   enough time to participate in the Delphi

iv)   effective communication skills.

What is involved in participating?

Participants will complete an online survey with 20-30 questions about the framework and concepts of Greif-Friendly spaces. There will be three rounds, with editing and revision done by the researcher after each round to reflect feedback from participants.
This process will be run three times between October and December, 2020.

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Contact information:

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Research Ethics Board
This research has been approved by the research ethics board of Vancouver Island University. If you have questions or concerns, please email reb@viu.ca

Deathscapes in Planning Delphi Study

Consent

Participation and Study Details

You will be asked to read a draft of a "Grief-Friendly Cities" framework and fill out a questionnaire about the framework.

The information you give will be collected by the researcher and analysed for themes in feedback from participants. In particular, they will be looking for areas of agreement and disagreement amongst participants. Once this is done, a second questionnaire will be sent to you similar to the first, with an edited draft and the second set of questions. This second questionnaire will be analyzed in the same way as the first.

After these two rounds, a final draft will be written and sent to all participants. This is an opportunity to review the final draft and give final comments.

You are being asked to voluntarily complete this on-line survey. No compensation is being offered for completing this survey.

Data Collection
Survey Monkey is being used to collect your survey responses. Survey data will be stored on Survey Monkey servers located in United States and thus is subject to Survey Monkey data privacy policies.
For information on Survey Monkey's privacy policy, see their Privacy Policy https://www.surveymonkey.com/mp/legal/privacy-policy/.
Please note that because Survey Monkey stores data on servers located outside of Canada, data you provide would not be protected by Canadian privacy legislation and may be accessed by the government of the United States in accordance with its laws.

I will delete all survey data from Survey Monkey once my research is complete in March 2021, or before. I am the only one who will have access to the information.

Anonymity
All participants will remain anonymous throughout the duration of the study period (July to December 2020). If you wish to remain anonymous, your data will still be included in the reports unless you chose to withdraw. You will be given an opportunity to review any comments the researcher wishes to quote in any published documents. If the researcher wishes to quote you they will contact you via email and provide the quote and its context for review.

The results of this study will be presented in a final report required for completion of my degree, and may also be used for conference publications, presentations, and published in academic journals. Products of the research will include only aggregate data unless you explicitly consent to be quoted (see checkbox below).

Consent
You have the right to withdraw your information and data from the study anytime up until two weeks after the researcher has sent you the final draft. To withdraw, email or phone the researcher with your request and the data will be destroyed.

* 1. I have read and understand the information provided above and hereby consent to participate in this research in accordance with the conditions above (eligibility for participation)

◯ No

◯ Yes

* 2. I consent to being quoted in products of this research

◯ No

◯ Yes

* 3. I consent to being named in any reports of publications written from this study (select no to have quotes used anonymously)

◯ No

◯ Yes

* 4. What is your name?

[   ]

* 5. At what email address would you like to be contacted?

[   ]

Deathscapes in Planning Delphi Study

Overview

There are three main parts to involvement.

1) **Review the summary of data collected through surveys and interviews.**

2) **Review the theoretical framework used**

3) **Answer questions**

This Delphi study will ask 27 questions to ascertain level of agreement with the theory created from the survey and interviews data previously collected. The survey is in the form of 27 statements which relate to the key elements of the theory: defining grief-friendly communities; planners role in creating them; and the needs for and importance of information and education to inform both planners and the public.

This is a first draft of the framework. Once answers are collected, they will be compared with previous data and analysed again. The revised framework will then be sent back to participants for another round of confirmation.

There is space for comment after each question. You are welcome to make any comments you like. I am especially interested in hearing your thoughts if you disagree or are neutral about a statement as it will help me shape future drafts.

Deathscapes in Planning Delphi Study

Summary of Survey and Interview data

Survey Participation
205 participants – Promoted through social media, networking and shared emails.

Interview Participation
10 semi-formal interviews conducted with experts including sociologists with expertise in death studies, cemetery planners, cemetery managers, academics who had written theses on Deathscapes, Cemetery Urbanists, and City Planners.

Summary of Findings
The summary did not reveal anything contrary to already written papers and explorations on the subject. However, it did confirm aspects of what the interviewed experts shared. For one, even people who have made interment decisions do not feel they know or understand options available to them in general or locally. The overall trend is away from traditional cemetery burial of bodies. People want more diverse places to spread ashes, including in the public realm. There was expressed interest in community spaces for grief and memorialization, both formal and informal, in both public spaces and cemeteries. A wide variety of locations were considered appropriate, with the exception of shopping malls, including parks, natural areas and designated memorial sites.

Both the literature review and interviews with experts revealed that grief experiences in communities are complex as grief is an emotion it is highly individual. However, there is a body of evidence through studies and observations of social changes that make it clear that the current practices in Western culture are not serving people to process grief and offer remembrance to the dead. The primary ways of describing it were:

1) Increases in the number of cremated bodies not being picked up from the crematorium.
2) Increases in public/ temporary/ guerilla memorials outside of cemeteries (such as road side).

3) Increase in public desire to memorialize outside of cemeteries through bench dedications, planted trees, memorial art and other means.

4) Increased desires for highly individualized memorial practices such as unique interment or funeral practices.

The current policy framework in which cemeteries, funeral homes, and crematorium exist is also limiting to those specializing in helping people make interment decisions. Core identified issues are in interviews were:

1) Perpetual care makes land for interment expensive, maintenance expensive, and over time generates inactive spaces in communities. This is contributing to increasing costs of interment, an issue for people who want to be interred and not leave their community to do so, particularly in urban areas.

2) Restrictions on or lack of zoning frameworks for cemeteries, crematorium and funeral homes which either create a barrier to collaboration between these businesses or create barriers to creating new facilities.

3) There is a stigma about discussing death and a general lack of public understanding of the industry

which creates challenges to informing the public and having dialogue about solutions.

4) Land restrictions are causing significant increases in the cost of traditional burial.

Overall, the interviews revealed tensions between in and out of cemetery interment practices, as well as the ongoing individualization and the need for Cemetery managers and designers to create spaces for everyone. There are tensions between expected use of cemeteries, whether or not they are part of a park system or can be, and what features of both memorial spaces and cemeteries are functional and beneficial. There were many examples of both good and poor design, with most elements of good design having originated in consultation with the public or informed by local preferences.

Another key theme was the emergence of a discussion of the importance of cemeteries as places for marked interment. There was concern expressed by several participants that moving ashes outside of the cemeteries and placing them in unmarked spots is a major loss to the community and future generations. Not only does this indicate that cemeteries are not serving their purpose of being reflective places and an area to inter bodies for those presently mourning, but it also creates a gap in our ability to trace history, takes away from people having a special or shared spot for grief, increases feelings of isolation and disconnect, and can create guilt in survivors for not knowing what to do with ashes etc.

Additionally, the overwhelming amount of choices a person has to make surrounding interment is compounding grief and it was reported several times that people who have to make a lot of choices at this very emotional time, are more stressed out and may make a decision that they later regret. For example, grief may increase the chance to make a 'wrong' choice, such as choosing a temporary marker and later realizing that a permanent marker would have made them feel better. Not understanding all of the options and a pressure to make memorialization intimately personal were cited as factors in this issue.

Lastly, a theme of co-creation emerged. While not always called such, the notion of mourners and their expressions of grief and memorialization being participants in creating the public sphere was raised in almost all interviews. People creating memorialization are part of determining who and what is physically recognized in public spaces, creating and re-creating the history, expression, culture and politics of space. How people are able or not able to express themselves is reflective of overall power dynamics and cultural expectations within communities. The importance of providing an outlet for people to express their grief and to memorialize the dead was explained as having an important role in creating an ongoing record of history, which exists in communities, and helps future generations make connections with ancestry across time and space.

Deathscapes in Planning Delphi Study

Theoretical Framework

In order to understand and conceptualize how the ranges of experiences and perspectives are interrelated, as well as to determine where Planners roles and ability to make an impact is, the data was considered through a systems theory lens. Reflecting on a systems approach which sees individuals as nested inside family, institutional, societal and cultural layers which interplay with each other, a systems approach is useful for understanding the influence of planners on grief.

However, systems theory looks at such a wide array of factors that it became limiting to actually identify the roles of planners. Systems theory also fails to provide an explicit space to discuss experiences which result from the relationship between individuals and their environments. Broader strokes, as well as a way to make explicit how individual experiences and the broader environments (both built and political) relate to expression is needed to make clear the connections between individual psychology and beliefs, the surrounding environments, and how the overlap forms the expressions of individuals in public spaces in tangible ways.

Therefore, a simplified venn diagram was used to conceptualize this relationship and sort data in order to understand what data can be translated to actions, policies, designs and other aspects of the built environment and how it is created. Using the diagram assisted with which directly link with the more ethereal and illusive elements of a grief friendly community such as individuals emotions and planning theories. At the center is the area of overlap – the individual experiences, the social and built environments, and how people and communities express themselves in the built environment – is an area where influence in one area can impact all of the others. As planners affect environments, their actions and work to change the environments in which grief is expressed and experienced can have impact on individuals experiences. Thus, this influence can have a positive impact by changing how people experience, where they experience, and how they are able to express their grief.

Framework Diagram

ENVIRONMENT
The built form of human environments.

How people feel in the built environments, psychology of spaces

The environments available for expression...cemeteries, a designated river to spread ashes etc.

EXPERIENCE
The individual experience (internal) of grief.

EXPRESSION
The social, political, cultural and physical spaces one exists in/ cultures of death and mourning.

How people make choices of how they want to inter and memorialize – a combination of their experience and their expression.

6. Do you have any comments or questions about this framework?

Deathscapes in Planning Delphi Study

Questions: Defining a Grief Friendly Framework

Please answer the following statements to indicate your level of agreement that the following features are important to creating grief-friendly communities.

7. A range of interment options that covers different price ranges, aesthetics, and cultural needs.

◯ Strongly agree

◯ Agree

◯ Neither agree nor disagree

◯ Disagree

◯ Strongly disagree

Comments

[   ]

8. Policies or procedures to allow for memorialization outside of cemeteries.

◯ Strongly agree

◯ Agree

◯ Neither agree nor disagree

◯ Disagree

◯ Strongly disagree

Comment

[   ]

9. Clarity on the regulation of interment (zoning, legality of spreading ashes, etc).

◯ Strongly agree

◯ Agree

◯ Neither agree nor disagree

◯ Disagree

◯ Strongly disagree

Comment

[   ]

10. Easily accessible information on what local interment options are available, their cost, and how to pursue.

○ Strongly agree

○ Agree

○ Neither agree nor disagree

○ Disagree

○ Strongly disagree

Comment

[   ]

11. Visible spaces of memorialization both in and out of cemeteries.

○ Strongly agree

○ Agree

○ Neither agree nor disagree

○ Disagree

○ Strongly disagree

Comment

[   ]

12. Active spaces for memorialization which encourage interaction (events, trails, places to sit and contemplate etc).

○ Strongly agree

○ Agree

○ Neither agree nor disagree

○ Disagree

○ Strongly disagree

Comment

[   ]

13. Provision of dedicated spaces for people to grieve (for example benches in Cemeteries, along memorial trails, public memorials walls).

◯ Strongly agree

◯ Agree

◯ Neither agree nor disagree

◯ Disagree

◯ Strongly disagree

Comment

[   ]

Deathscapes in Planning Delphi Study

Questions: Planners Role

The following 14 statements are a mix of conclusions made from the previous data collected and suggestions of what Planners can do to create grief friendly communities through land-use planning, social planning, and community visioning.

A term used here is Cemetery Land Uses. This term was generated based on the range of interment, memorialization, and remembrance spaces that are created within communities. There was no definition which encompassed all of these uses, and so I have written one.
Cemetery Land Uses are designated geographical locations permitting the licensed interment of human remains, or in which preparation for interment and memorialization for the human remains may occur. Designated means recognized by municipal official plan and/ or permitted by municipal zoning by-laws. In addition to this, cemetery land uses are place-making practices designating space and place for cultural and religious practices of memorialization where trauma, loss of life and, memory is landmarked. Whether formalized or informal, cemetery land uses are spaces that purposedly inter and memorialize the dead.

Please answer to indicate your level of agreement with the following statments.

14. Planners have a responsibility to ensure there is sufficient land available for burial and interment of ashes.

◯ Strongly agree

◯ Agree

◯ Neither agree nor disagree

◯ Disagree

◯ Strongly disagree

Comment

[   ]

15. Planners have a responsibility to create Cemetery Land Uses in zoning as explicit uses.

◯ Strongly agree

◯ Agree

◯ Neither agree nor disagree

◯ Disagree

◯ Strongly disagree

Comment

_____

16. Planners can make a positive impact on people's experience of grief by ensuring that there are several types of Cemetery Land Uses.

◯ Strongly agree

◯ Agree

◯ Neither agree nor disagree

◯ Disagree

◯ Strongly disagree

Comment

_____

17. When creating Cemetery Land Uses, consider not just cemeteries but what parks, private lands, clubs, public spaces etc. may be appropriate for interment and memorialization.

◯ Strongly agree

◯ Agree

◯ Neither agree nor disagree

◯ Disagree

◯ Strongly disagree

Comment

_____

18. Acquire land or reserve lands for Cemetery Uses. This could be an allocation of parks land gained from DCCs, or through acquisition, or considering where it can be found in existing lands.

◯ Strongly agree

◯ Agree

◯ Neither agree nor disagree

◯ Disagree

◯ Strongly disagree

◯ Comment

19. Include public engagement around Cemetery Land Uses, new cemeteries, old cemeteries etc. during community visioning exercises such as Official Community Planning.

◯ Strongly agree

◯ Agree

◯ Neither agree nor disagree

◯ Disagree

◯ Strongly disagree

Comment

20. Create Cemetery Master Plans to ensure that there is enough Cemetery Land available for current and future generations at reasonable cost.

◯ Strongly agree

◯ Agree

◯ Neither agree nor disagree

◯ Disagree

◯ Strongly disagree

Comment

21. Do demographic research and make predictions of population to ensure there is enough burial and ash spreading space for the size of the community as part of planning.

○ Strongly agree

○ Agree

○ Neither agree nor disagree

○ Disagree

○ Strongly disagree

Comment

[   ]

22. Be deliberate about planning for memorialization spaces. Ensure that plans fit with cultural, social, and economic needs of the community.

○ Strongly agree

○ Agree

○ Neither agree nor disagree

○ Disagree

○ Strongly disagree

Comment

[   ]

23. Use design elements and features to make Cemetery Land Use spaces welcoming and comforting, including CPTED principals for safety.

○ Strongly agree

○ Agree

○ Neither agree nor disagree

○ Disagree

○ Strongly disagree

Comment

[   ]

24. Incorporate other activities, such as public events, cemetery walks, live music etc, which promote understanding of death and grief with Cemetery Land Uses as part of the Social Planning aspects of space programming.

◯ Strongly agree

◯ Agree

◯ Neither agree nor disagree

◯ Disagree

◯ Strongly disagree

Comment

_____

25. Ensure communities have policies or plans for more 'public realm' memorials such as roadside shrines, murals, trees, benches, paving stones etc. written and easy to understand.

◯ Strongly agree

◯ Agree

◯ Neither agree nor disagree

◯ Disagree

◯ Strongly disagree

Comment

_____

26. Make public spaces that encourage creativity to allow mourners to express their grief and memorialize loved ones, such as flexibility in cemetery plot use (i.e. allowing mementos to be left) or public areas that allow ongoing memorialization (such as memorial walls).

◯ Strongly agree

◯ Agree

◯ Neither agree nor disagree

◯ Disagree

◯ Strongly disagree

Comment

_____

27. Planners can clarify guidelines but leave room for organic and co-created memorial spaces in communities.

◯ Strongly agree

◯ Agree

◯ Neither agree nor disagree

◯ Disagree

◯ Strongly disagree

Comment

[   ]

Deathscapes in Planning Delphi Study

Educational Needs

There are three areas of education needs identified in the research: public knowledge, academic study, and availability of data for both researchers and planners. The following suggestions are ways that educational needs related to making plans, including public consultation, could be addressed.

Please indicate your level of agreement as to whether or not you think the following data would be useful to planners and/or the public.

28. Centralized and thorough data collection on interment choices: how many full body burials, how many ash interments, how many ashes unclaimed at crematoriums, how many interment spaces are available.

◯ Strongly agree

◯ Agree

◯ Neither agree nor disagree

◯ Disagree

◯ Strongly disagree

Comment

[   ]

29. Collect data on pricing of internment and memorialization options (ex. cemetery plots) and maintain data bases for comparison.

○ Strongly agree

○ Agree

○ Neither agree nor disagree

○ Disagree

○ Strongly disagree

Comment

┌───┐
│   │
└───┘

30. Mapping or other means of locating ashes if interred outside of cemeteries (i.e. an easy method of self reporting for the public)

○ Strongly agree

○ Agree

○ Neither agree nor disagree

○ Disagree

○ Strongly disagree

Comment

┌───┐
│   │
└───┘

31. Publicly available and easy to follow information on interment options in a given area (for example a list of service providers and definitions of what services mean (columbarium vs memorial garden for example).

○ Strongly agree

○ Agree

○ Neither agree nor disagree

○ Disagree

○ Strongly disagree

Comment

┌───┐
│   │
└───┘

32. Presenting the information above information in different formats: online, a brochure at local government offices, etc.

◯ Strongly agree

◯ Agree

◯ Neither agree nor disagree

◯ Disagree

◯ Strongly disagree

Comment

[   ]

33. Partnerships with Universities for ongoing research could improve knowledge and understanding of interment and memorialization needs.

◯ Strongly agree

◯ Agree

◯ Neither agree nor disagree

◯ Disagree

◯ Strongly disagree

Comment

[   ]

Deathscapes in Planning Delphi Study

Comments

34. Do you have any other comments or questions?

[   ]

Deathscapes in Planning Delphi Study

Thank you and Next Steps

Thank you kindly for taking the time to complete this Delphi Study Survey!

The time you have spent is greatly appreciated and your answers will be used to improve our communities.

Next Steps:
The researcher will review all responses and use them to reform the framework as needed. The next Delphi Survey will be sent out in November to the email address you provided at the beginning of the survey. Email will also be used to contact you with any questions regarding your answers.

If you have more comments or questions, or would like to get in touch with the researcher, please email:
isha.matous.gibbs@gmail.com

Supervisor is Patricia Malloney, and can be reached at:
pmaloney@dillon.ca

Appendix D

Research Tool – Delphi Round 2

The following pages contain a copy of the Delphi Round 2 survey.

Round 2: Deathscapes in Planning Delphi Study

Introduction to Delphi

Thank you for participating in my Study: "Deathscapes in Planning; how planners can create Grief-Friendly Spaces". This is the second round of a Delphi study designed to use an interactive process of expert validation to refine a draft framework for Grief-Friendly spaces.

My hope is that my research will create a framework to help Planners understand the various ways people chose to inter and memorialize their loved ones as well as how to make spaces for these diverse practices to happen. I also hope to make the process of making interment and memorialization planning easier for the public.

This second round presents the findings from the first round and asks questions to take a deeper dive into areas of disagreement amongst Round 1 participants.
The purpose of the Delphi Round 2 is to flush out the areas of disagreement and find out what participants consider possible solutions for concerns raised in the first round.

Who can participate?

Participants from Round 1 have been invited to participate in Round 2.

What is involved in participating?

Participants will complete an online survey with 20-30 questions about the framework and concepts of Greif-Friendly spaces.

Contact information:

Principal Investigator
Isha Matous-Gibbs, Student
Masters of Community Planning
Vancouver Island Universiy
Isha.matous.gibbs@viu.ca

Faculty Supervisor
Patricia Maloney, RPP, BAA (Upln), FCIP
Practitioner in Residence
Vancouver Island University
PMaloney@dillon.ca

Research Ethics Board
This research has been approved by the research ethics board of Vancouver Island University. If you have questions or concerns, please email reb@viu.ca

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Consent

Participation and Study Details

You are being asked to voluntarily complete this on-line survey. No compensation is being offered for completing this survey.

Data Collection
Survey Monkey is being used to collect your survey responses. Survey data will be stored on Survey Monkey servers located in United States and thus is subject to Survey Monkey data privacy policies.
For information on Survey Monkey's privacy policy, see their Privacy Policy https://www.surveymonkey.com/mp/legal/privacy-policy/.
Please note that because Survey Monkey stores data on servers located outside of Canada, data you provide would not be protected by Canadian privacy legislation and may be accessed by the government of the United States in accordance with its laws.

I will delete all survey data from Survey Monkey once my research is complete in March 2021, or before. I am the only one who will have access to the information.

Anonymity
All participants will remain anonymous throughout the duration of the study period (July to December 2020). If you wish to remain anonymous, your data will still be included in the reports unless you chose to withdraw. You will be given an opportunity to review any comments the researcher wishes to quote in any published documents. If the researcher wishes to quote you they will contact you via email and provide the quote and its context for review.

The results of this study will be presented in a final report required for completion of my degree, and may also be used for conference publications, presentations, and published in academic journals. Products of the research will include only aggregate data unless you explicitly consent to be quoted (see checkbox below).

Consent
You have the right to withdraw your information and data from the study anytime up until two weeks after the researcher has sent you the final draft. To withdraw, email or phone the researcher with your request and the data will be destroyed.

* 1. I have read and understand the information provided above and hereby consent to participate in this research in accordance with the conditions above (eligibility for participation)

◯ No

◯ Yes

* 2. I consent to being quoted in products of this research

◯ No

◯ Yes

The researcher has determined that reporting will be anonymous for all participants. This helps in ensuring that all confidentiality is protected. The information you provide below (name and email) will be only be used by the researcher for any follow-up questions they may have.

* 3. What is your name?

[   ]

* 4. At what email address would you like to be contacted?

Round 2: Deathscapes in Planning Delphi Study

Overview

There are three main parts to involvement.

1)   Review the summary of data collected to date.

2)   Review the modified theoretical framework.

3)   Answer questions.

The following framework and questions are refined versions of the first Delphi study round. Feedback from the first round has been incorporated into the framework and questions have been updated to reflect these changes.

Once the results of round 2 are received, they will be reviewed and a final version of the framework will be drafted. The revised framework will then be sent back to participants for a final round of confirmation in January 2021.

There is space for comment after each question. You are welcome to make any comments you like. I am especially interested in hearing your thoughts if you disagree or are neutral about a statement as it will help me shape future drafts.

Summary of Data Collected To Date

Survey Participation
205 participants – Promoted through social media, networking and shared emails.

Interview Participation
10 semi-formal interviews conducted with experts including sociologists with expertise in death studies, cemetery planners, cemetery managers, academics who had written theses on Deathscapes, Cemetery Urbanists, and City Planners.

Delphi Participation:
15 participants recruited through invitation emails.

Summary of Findings
The summary did not reveal anything contrary to already written papers and explorations on the subject. However, it did confirm aspects of what the interviewed experts shared. For one, even people who have made internment decisions do not feel they know or understand options available to them in general or locally. The overall trend is away from traditional cemetery burial of bodies. People want more diverse places to spread ashes, including in the public realm. There was expressed interest in community spaces for grief and memorialization, both formal and informal, in both public spaces and cemeteries. A wide variety of locations were considered appropriate, including parks, natural areas, and designated memorial sites.

Both the literature review and interviews with experts revealed that grief experiences in communities are complex as grief is an emotion that is highly individual. However, there is a body of evidence through studies and observations of social changes that make it clear that the current practices in Western culture are not serving people to process grief and offer remembrance to the dead. The primary ways of describing it were:

1) Increases in the number of cremated bodies not being picked up from the crematorium.

2) Increases in public/ temporary/ guerilla memorials outside of cemeteries (such as roadside memorials).

3) Increase in public desire to memorialize outside of cemeteries through bench dedications, planted trees, memorial art, and other means.

4) Increased desires for highly individualized memorial practices such as unique interment or funeral practices.

The current policy framework in which cemeteries, funeral homes, and crematorium exist is also limiting to those specializing in helping people make interment decisions. Core identified issues are in interviews were:

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1) Perpetual care makes land for interment expensive, maintenance expensive, and over time generates inactive spaces in communities. This is contributing to increasing costs of interment, an issue for people who want to be interred and not leave their community to do so, particularly in urban areas.

2) Restrictions on or lack of zoning frameworks for cemeteries, crematorium and funeral homes which either create a barrier to collaboration between these businesses or create barriers to creating new facilities.

3) There is a stigma about discussing death and a general lack of public understanding of the industry which creates challenges for informing the public and having a dialogue about solutions.

4) Land restrictions are causing significant increases in the cost of a traditional burial.

Overall, the interviews revealed tensions between in and out of cemetery interment practices, as well as the ongoing individualization and the need for Cemetery managers and designers to create spaces for everyone. There are tensions between expected use of cemeteries, whether or not they are part of a park system or can be, and what features of both memorial spaces and cemeteries are functional and beneficial. There were many examples of both good and poor design, with most elements of good design having originated in consultation with the public or informed by local preferences.

Another key theme was the emergence of a discussion of the importance of cemeteries as places for marked interment. There was concern expressed by several participants that moving ashes outside of the cemeteries and placing them in unmarked spots is a major loss to the community and future generations. Not only does this indicate that cemeteries are not serving their purpose of being reflective places and an area to inter bodies for those presently mourning, but it also creates a gap in our ability to trace history, takes away from people having a special or shared spot for grief, increases feelings of isolation and disconnect, and can create guilt in survivors for not knowing what to do with ashes etc.

Additionally, the overwhelming amount of choices a person has to make surrounding interment is compounding grief and it was reported several times that people who have to make a lot of choices at this very emotional time, are more stressed out and may make a decision that they later regret. For example, grief may increase the chance to make a 'wrong' choice, such as choosing a temporary marker and later realizing that a permanent marker would have made them feel better. Not understanding all of the options and a pressure to make memorialization intimately personal were cited as factors in this issue.

Lastly, a theme of co-creation emerged. While not always called such, the notion of mourners and their expressions of grief and memorialization being participants in creating the public sphere was raised in almost all interviews. People creating memorialization are part of determining who and what is physically recognized in public spaces, creating and re-creating the history, expression, culture and politics of space. How people are able or not able to express themselves is reflective of overall power dynamics and cultural expectations within communities. The importance of providing an outlet for people to express their grief and to memorialize the dead was explained as having an important role in creating an ongoing record of history, which exists in communities, and helps future generations make connections with ancestry across time and space.

6

Delphi Round One Summary of Findings: Areas of Agreement

There were many questions that received full agreement.
The following questions received answers of 100% agree or strongly agree:

1. Do you agree that we need a range of interment options that cover different price ranges, aesthetics, and cultural needs?
2. Do you agree we need policies or procedures to allow for memorials outside of cemeteries?
3. Do you agree that we need clarity on the regulation of interment (zoning, the legality of spreading ashes, etc.)?
4. Do you agree that we need easily accessible information on what local interment options are available, their cost, and how to pursue them?
5. Visible spaces of memorialization both inside and outside of cemeteries? (one neither disagree nor agree).
6. Do you agree with providing active spaces for memorialization that encourage interactions (events, trails, places to sit and contemplate, etc)?
7. Do you agree with providing dedicated spaces for people to grieve (for example benches in cemeteries, along memorial trails, public memorial walls)? One answer of neither agrees nor disagree.
8. Do you agree that when creating Cemetery Land Uses planners should consider not just cemeteries, but what parks, private lands, clubs, public spaces, etc. may be appropriate for interment and memorialization?
9. Do you agree that public input around Cemetery Land Uses should be included in community visioning exercises such as an Official Community Plan?
10. Do you agree that city planners/ cities should create Cemetery Master Plans to ensure that there is enough cemetery land for current and future generations at a reasonable cost?
11. Do you agree that planners should be deliberate about planning for memorialization spaces to ensure that plans fit with the cultural, social, and economic needs of the community?
12. Do you agree with using design elements and features to make Cemetery Land Use spaces welcoming and comforting places, including CPTED principals for safety? (One neither agrees nor disagrees answer.)
13. Do you agree that other activities should be incorporated in cemeteries, such as public events, cemetery walks, live music, etc, which promote understanding of death and grief with Cemetery Land Uses as part of the Social Planning aspects of programming cemetery spaces? (2 neither agree nor disagree.)
14. Do you agree that planners should ensure that communities have policies or plans for more 'public realm' memorials such as roadside shrines, murals, trees, benches, paving stones, etc. written and easy to understand? (one neither agree nor disagree).
15. Do you agree that planners should clarify guidelines but leave room for organic and co-created memorial spaces in communities? (One neither agree nor disagree)
16. Do you agree with a centralized and thorough data collection on interment choices: how many full-body burials, how many interments of cremated remains, how many cremated remains are unclaimed at crematoriums, how many interment spaces are available?
17. Merging two question's answers: do you agree that there should be publicly available and easy to follow the information on interment options, presented in a variety of formats to the public?
18. Do you agree that partnership with universities for ongoing research could improve knowledge and understanding of interment and memorialization needs?

The above questions (19 out of 27 questions asked) had a high level of agreement. This is good! We are on the right track.

5. Reviewing the questions above, are there any that you would change your answer to disagree now?

⭕ Yes

⭕ No

⭕ If yes, which ones would you change to disagree?

[   ]

Delphi Round One Findings: Areas for further exploration

The areas of disagreement and comments highlighted 6 key areas for further exploration:

1) Whether interment or memorialization is appropriate anywhere outside of cemeteries, and if so where.

2) The challenges of maintaining memorials outside of cemeteries for city staff.

3) The challenges of ensuring that public spaces do not become overwhelmingly places of memorializing and maintain their use as places for the living to enjoy.

4) The need for interment spaces as well as the need to prevent sprawl and reduce environmental impacts of cities and towns.

5) How much of these suggestions can be carried out by planners, and how much is the role of governments and/or a matter of public opinion. The political aspects of this discussion must be considered.

6) How strict regulations should be. There is a tension between creating spaces for spontaneous and unstructured memorials and regulating their location, their maintenance, and ensuring they do not conflict with other uses. This tension shows up in how restrictive a zoning bylaw for Cemetery Land Uses should be, whether or not roadside memorials are appropriate, and how well planners can (or should) regulate creative expressions as specific examples.

8

Theoretical Framework

Planners act on environments through the design of spaces and the creation of policies and procedures which outline parameters for how spaces can be designed.

Spaces then shape how people move through cities, interact with each other, express themselves, and experience place. Some of these impacts are direct such as controlling the flow of traffic and types of traffic permitted in areas or zoning which determines settlement patterns. Some of these impacts are more subtle, such as policies on design guidelines for buildings which determine the aesthetic characteristics of a place which changes the feel and experience for individuals. There is a psychological and emotional impact of design. Buildings can inspire awe or frustrate us, or sometimes both. It is known that how cities are designed has impact on our social, physical, and economic experiences.

A venn diagram below is used to conceptualize the relationship between the physical and emotional landscapes that people experience in their lives.

This diagram has been changed since the first Round. While there was plenty of positive feedback on the first diagram, this one is even more simplified and perhaps can be used to support more focus on interventions and policies.
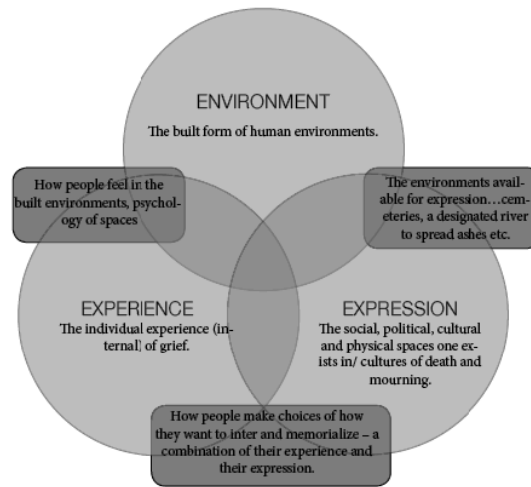
Using the diagram assisted with which directly link with the more ethereal and illusive elements of a grief friendly community such as individuals emotions and planning theories.

This diagram focuses more on the built and natural environments and individual experiences, with expression being the overlap in the center. This represents the two way flow of 'expression' as beginning in both policy frameworks, existing built environments and natural environments, as well as individual and community expression of their experiences.

Planners influence the policy environments that facilitate or restrict expression through design guidelines, zoning and land use planning, building permits, and protection of natural resources. These policies shape how people experience space, where they experience various aspects of their life (for example recreation happens for the most part where recreation facilities exist), and how they are able to express themselves (for example how they design their homes, where they can and cannot create their own structures etc.).

The two models are shown below for comparison.

9

Framework Diagram 1:

ENVIRONMENT
The built form of human environments.

How people feel in the built environments, psychology of spaces

The environments available for expression…cemeteries, a designated river to spread ashes etc.

EXPERIENCE
The individual experience (internal) of grief.

EXPRESSION
The social, political, cultural and physical spaces one exists in/ cultures of death and mourning.

How people make choices of how they want to inter and memorialize – a combination of their experience and their expression.

Framework Diagram 2:

Experience:
The personal
realm of grief

Environment:
The public
realm of grief

Expression:
Structures,
installments,
actions
conducted in
public or semi-
private spaces.

6. Do you have any comments about this framework?

7. Do you have a preference between the two models?

8. Do you think having a model is useful for planners to connect their policies to the experiences of individuals?

9. Do you think having a model is useful to include in the final framework?

Areas of further exploration

The following questions are in response the comments in Delphi round 1, as well as the public survey. They ask about policies and practices is a more specific way

10. Participants in the public survey were asked whether or not they agree or disagree that interment in a cemetery is important. The results showed ambivalence or disagreement that interment in cemeteries are important (40% neither agree nor disagree, 50% disagree or strongly disagree). This is interpreted to show that the public does not see cemeteries as primary places for interment.
A second question asked whether or not cemeteries are the only appropriate places for interment and 77% of people responded that they disagree or strongly disagree.

I interpret this to mean that the public is interested in creating spaces outside of cemeteries to inter cremated remains. They were not asked about interring bodies outside of cemeteries as the logistics of this are complicated, to say the least.

Do you agree with this interpretation?

◯ Yes

◯ No

11. Policies or procedures to allow for memorialization outside of cemeteries should include restrictions relating to:

☐ Where they can go (including an assessment of visual distraction to drivers or blocking of vehicles)

☐ What can be left at a memorial site

☐ The form and space of the proposed memorial

☐ What happens to items that are removed

☐ Who can Place a memorial

☐ An approval process for placing a memorial

☐ How long a memorial can stay in a place

☐ Who is responsible for removing the memorial when the time is up or it falls into disrepair

Other:

13

158

12. What should be prioritized in policies that restrict temporary or ad-hoc memorials (rank your selections):

☰
[↕]

Environmental protection from contaminating or polluting items (for example plastic being left in a natural area).

☰
[↕]

Limiting the number of visible reminders of death in public spaces.

☰
[↕]

Providing spaces for ad-hoc memorials which balance broader needs of public space

☰
[↕]

Ease of maintenance of public spaces

☰
[↕]

Ensuring no memorials are erected outside of designated areas.

☰
[↕]

Aesthetic guidelines such as a policy that flowers will be removed once dead.

☰
[↕]

Safety, for example ensuring they are a certain distance from the road or an intersection to prevent injury of mourners who are going there

13. Are there other things that should be prioritized when determining restrictions on ad-hoc or temporary memorials? Please specify.

┌─────────────────────────────────┐
│   │
│   │
│   │
│   │
└─────────────────────────────────┘

14. Should cities designate areas for people to spread cremated remains, for free, outside of cemeteries? The purpose of doing so would be to respond to the increase in the occurrence of this that happening already and to ensure that if it is going to happen, it happens in places where the cremated remains would not affect sensitive ecosystems.

*As a side note, I understand that designating the area for spreading cremated remains makes the space, essentially, a cemetery. I am talking about more diverse and spread out public areas that are sanctioned for spreading cremated remains. This fits within the Cemetery Land Use definition, rather than the more traditional Cemetery regulation.

◯ Yes

◯ No

◯ Comments?

[   ]

15. Where do you think are appropriate places for memorials to be placed outside of cemeteries? (permanent or temporary)

☐ Beaches

☐ Town centers

☐ Roadsides

☐ Parks

☐ Nowhere

☐ Other? Please specify:

[   ]

☐ None of the above

15

16. What types of physical markers for memorialisation outside of cemeteries do you think are appropriate to sanction?

- [ ] Plaques on beaches
- [ ] Memorial walls
- [ ] Tombstones/ gravestones
- [ ] places to put flowers or momentoes
- [ ] Spaces to write notes to a loved one, such as a tree to leave notes in the branches
- [ ] A communal wall for notes, paintings, photos
- [ ] Memorial trees in parks, greenspaces, or boulevards
- [ ] Pathways where the bricks have notes or names on them
- [ ] Plaques on trees
- [ ] Spaces to light a candle
- [ ] Art installments
- [ ] Graffiti walls
- [ ] Other? Please specify

[   ]

- [ ] None of the above

16

Land Use Planning

An article written by an American planner in 1950 outlined a method of doing population projections to estimate needed cemetery space. The method considers current and future projections of demographics, and analyses trends. To do this accurately, the information such as number of burials vs. cremations, how many cremated remains are interred in formal spaces vs. informal spaces, and where remains are interred relative to their place of death is needed. While it is not an exact science, Cemetery Master Plans and land use planning which considers spaces for interment can help to plan for the financial well being of cemeteries, ensure that there are spaces without building too much too fast (allowing for more ability to adapt to consumer demand), and outline the priorities for land use(s) in cemeteries.

An example of a Cemetery Master Plan can be seen here: Cold Lake Cemetery Master Plan

Given more detail about a Cemetery Master Plan and how determining the needed space for interment can be done, please answer the following questions.

17. Do you think that planners/ cities should engage in data collection to make predictions on how much land will be needed in the next 50-100 years for interment?

◯ Strongly agree

◯ Agree

◯ Neither agree nor disagree

◯ Disagree

◯ Strongly disagree

If no, why not?

[   ]

18. Do you think that planners should make predictions on how much land will be needed in the next 50-100 years using demographic trends and analysis of trends in burial of bodies vs interment of cremated remains.

◯ Strongly agree

◯ Agree

◯ Neither agree nor disagree

◯ Disagree

◯ Strongly disagree

If no, why?

[   ]

17

19. Do you think that Cemetery Master Planning should be done for municipal cemeteries?

○ Strongly agree

○ Agree

○ Neither agree nor disagree

○ Disagree

○ Strongly disagree

If no, why?

[   ]

20. Do you think that land uses dedicated to interment should be found in existing urban boundaries? By Urban boundaries, I mean land that is currently within city or regional district areas that are populated and have infrastructure such as roads installed.

○ Strongly agree

○ Agree

○ Neither agree nor disagree

○ Disagree

○ Strongly disagree

○ Comment:

[   ]

21. Do you think that lands currently used as parks and greenspace are appropriate places to establish areas for the interment of cremated remains (i.e. make a mixed-use area where green space is preserved and cremated remains can be interred)?

○ Yes

○ No

○ Comment:

[   ]

18

22. What are some other current land uses that you think are compatible with the interment of cremated remains (either spreading or burial) if cities were to consider mixed-use?

- [ ] Residential
- [ ] Transportation Corridors
- [ ] Agricultural
- [ ] Commercial
- [ ] Institutional
- [ ] Industrial
- [ ] Recreational
- [ ] Other (please specify)

[   ]

- [ ] None of the above

Round 2: Deathscapes in Planning Delphi Study

The politics of Cemetery Land Uses

It was mentioned several times in Round 1 comments that there is a tension between different users of public space, and the stigma around death being a potential barrier to public acceptance of interment and memorialization outside of cemeteries.

This is a very difficult subject to create questions on. In Round 1, there was agreement that OCP amendment processes, public engagement when new Cemetery features are built, and public input on any Zoning changes or new places for interment are appropriate ways to bring these conversations into the community.

It was also noted that each community is going to be unique, and a combination of education, public input, and visioning exercises could help reduce stigma and promote difficult conversations locally.

23. Do you have any other suggestions for managing the public awareness, engagement, and/or politics of creating Cemetery Land Uses in communities?

20

Round 2: Deathscapes in Planning Delphi Study

Questions to review from Round 1

The Delphi method of writing questionnaires includes re-asking questions where there was disagreement in subsequent surveys to see if answers have changed and to work towards a consensus.

The following questions are questions where there was disagreement in the first round.

Some of these questions have been modified for clarity as per comments in Round 1.

24. Planners can include public spaces that encourage creativity to allow mourners to express their grief and memorialize loved ones, such as flexibility in cemetery plot use (i.e. allowing mementos to be left) or public areas that allow ongoing memorialization (such as memorial walls), in land use planning.

- ◯ Strongly agree
- ◯ Agree
- ◯ Neither agree nor disagree
- ◯ Disagree
- ◯ Strongly disagree

Comment

[   ]

25. Collect data on pricing of interment and memorialization options (ex. cemetery plots) and maintain data bases for comparison. The suggested use for this data is for Planners to monitor the availability, pricing, and consumer trends of these spaces, not necessarily to share publically.

- ◯ Strongly agree
- ◯ Agree
- ◯ Neither agree nor disagree
- ◯ Disagree
- ◯ Strongly disagree

Comment

[   ]

26. Planners have a responsibility to ensure there is sufficient land available for burials and interment of cremated remains.

- ◯ Strongly agree
- ◯ Agree
- ◯ Neither agree nor disagree
- ◯ Disagree
- ◯ Strongly disagree
- ◯ Comments

27. Planners have a responsibility to create Cemetery Land Uses in zoning as explicit uses.

- ◯ Strongly agree
- ◯ Agree
- ◯ Neither agree nor disagree
- ◯ Disagree
- ◯ Strongly disagree
- ◯ Comment

28. Planners can make a positive impact on people's experience of grief by ensuring that there are several types of Cemetery Land Uses (in order to ensure there are several ways to inter and memorialize).

- ◯ Strongly agree
- ◯ Agree
- ◯ Neither agree nor disagree
- ◯ Disagree
- ◯ Strongly disagree
- ◯ Comments:

22

167

29. The Grief-Friendly Framework should recommend that planners do demographic research and make predictions of populations to ensure there is enough burial and interment of cremated remains spaces for the current and predicted future size of the community.

○ Strongly agree

○ Agree

○ Neither agree nor disagree

○ Disagree

○ Strongly disagree

○ Comment:

23

Comments

30. Do you have any other comments or questions?

Round 2: Deathscapes in Planning Delphi Study

Thank you and Next Steps

Thank you kindly for taking the time to complete this Delphi Study Survey!

The time you have spent is greatly appreciated and your answers will be used to improve our communities.

Next Steps:
The researcher will review all responses and use them to reform the framework as needed. The next Delphi Survey will be sent out in January to the email address you provided at the beginning of the survey.

If you have more comments or questions, or would like to get in touch with the researcher, please email:
isha.matous.gibbs@gmail.com

Supervisor is Patricia Malloney, and can be reached at:
pmaloney@dillon.ca

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Appendix E

Results – Public Survey

The following pages contain the Survey Monkey data analysis print-out. No identifying information is provided.

Q1 I have read and understand the information provided above, and hereby consent to participate in this research in accordance with the conditions described above.
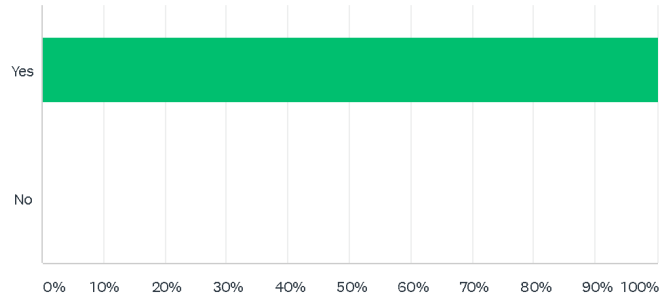
Answered: 205   Skipped: 0
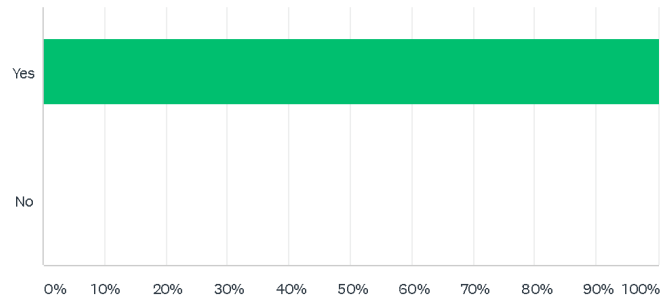
ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Yes	100.00%	205
No	0.00%	0
Total Respondents: 205		

Q2 I am over the age of majority in my province of residence. (Age of Majority is the age at which you are considered an adult in your province. If you are not sure, check here: https://www.thoughtco.com/age-of-majority-in-canada-510008)
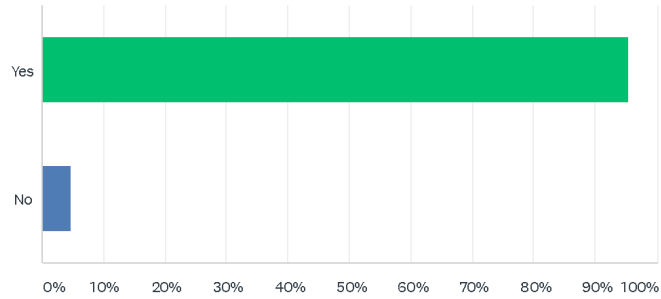
Answered: 192   Skipped: 13

ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Yes	100.00%	192
No	0.00%	0
TOTAL		192

Q3 I agree to have quotes from my short answers used in any reports or publications on this research.

Answered: 192   Skipped: 13

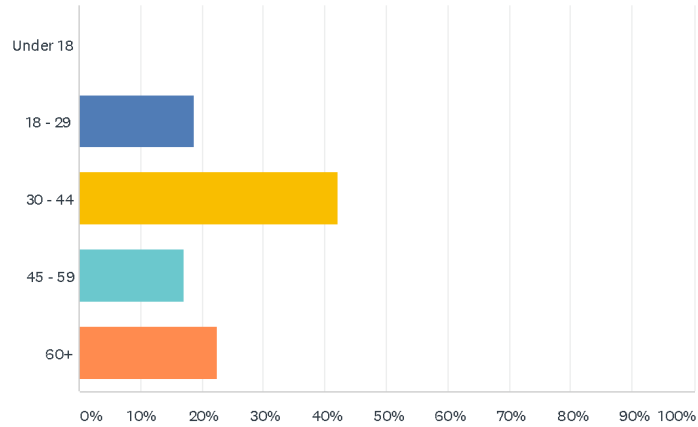| ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Yes	95.31%	183
No	4.69%	9
TOTAL		192

Q4 What is your age?

Answered: 188   Skipped: 17

ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Under 18	0.00%	0
18 - 29	18.62%	35
30 - 44	42.02%	79
45 - 59	17.02%	32
60+	22.34%	42
TOTAL		188

Q5 Have you lost someone close to you?

Answered: 190   Skipped: 15
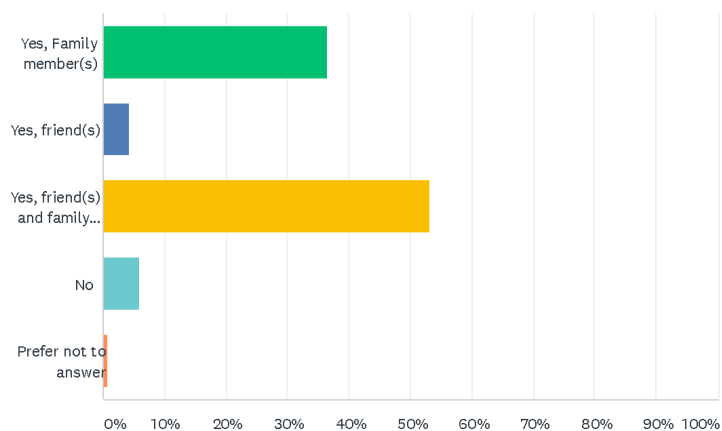
ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Yes, Family member(s)	36.32%	69
Yes, friend(s)	4.21%	8
Yes, friend(s) and family member(s)	53.16%	101
No	5.79%	11
Prefer not to answer	0.53%	1
TOTAL		190

Q6 What is your knowledge of interment practices (such as the types of options, the process to do each etc)
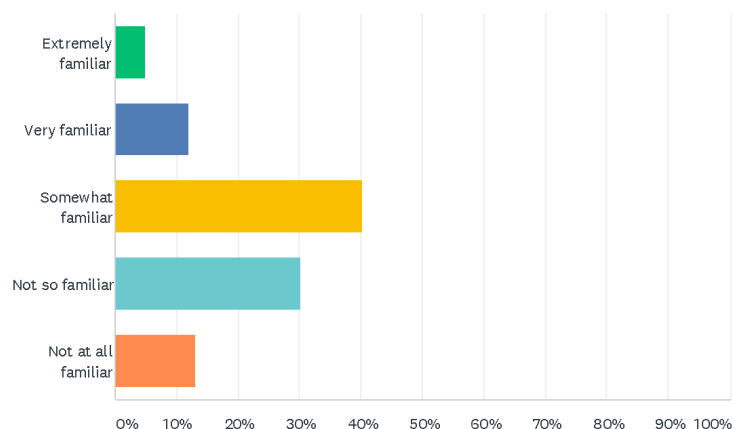
Answered: 172   Skipped: 33
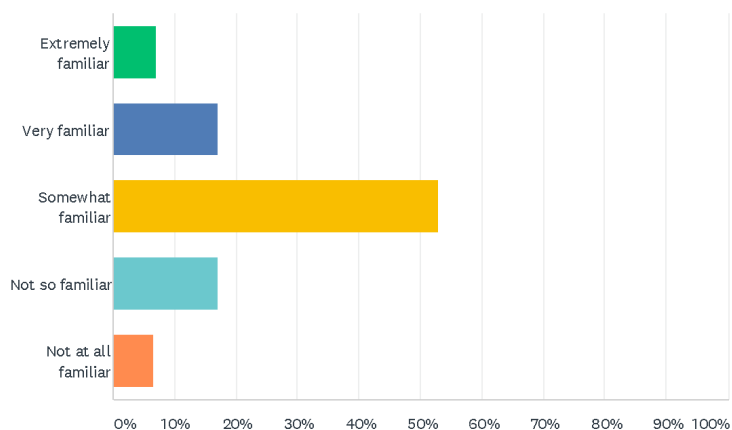
ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Extremely familiar	6.98%	12
Very familiar	16.86%	29
Somewhat familiar	52.91%	91
Not so familiar	16.86%	29
Not at all familiar	6.40%	11
TOTAL		172

Q7 What is your knowledge level of interment options in your city or town?
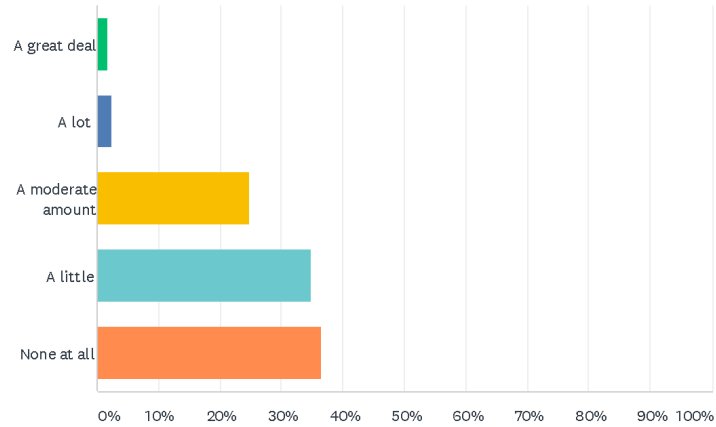
Answered: 169   Skipped: 36

ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Extremely familiar	4.73%	8
Very familiar	11.83%	20
Somewhat familiar	40.24%	68
Not so familiar	30.18%	51
Not at all familiar	13.02%	22
TOTAL		169

Q8 What is your knowledge level of your friends Interment wishes?
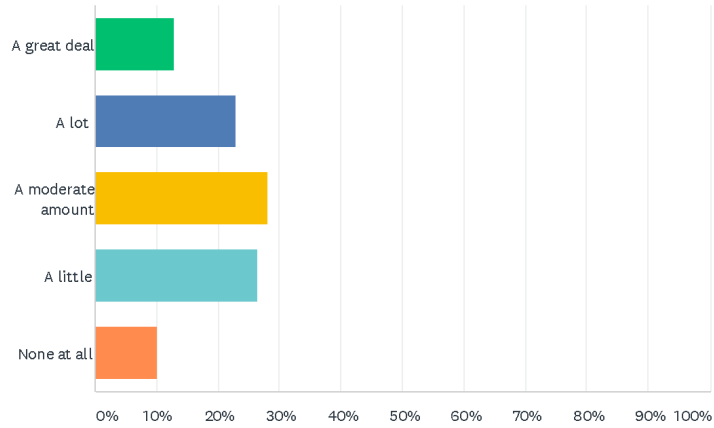
Answered: 170   Skipped: 35

ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
A great deal	1.76%	3
A lot	2.35%	4
A moderate amount	24.71%	42
A little	34.71%	59
None at all	36.47%	62
TOTAL		170

Q9 What is your knowledge level of your family members interment wishes?

Answered: 171   Skipped: 34

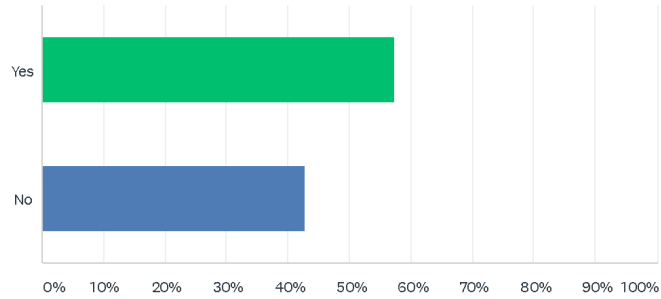

ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
A great deal	12.87%	22
A lot	22.81%	39
A moderate amount	28.07%	48
A little	26.32%	45
None at all	9.94%	17
TOTAL		171

Q10 Have you been involved in arranging a funeral or memorial service?

Answered: 171   Skipped: 34

ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Yes	57.31%	98
No	42.69%	73
TOTAL		171

Q11 What was the level of your involvement?

Answered: 162   Skipped: 43
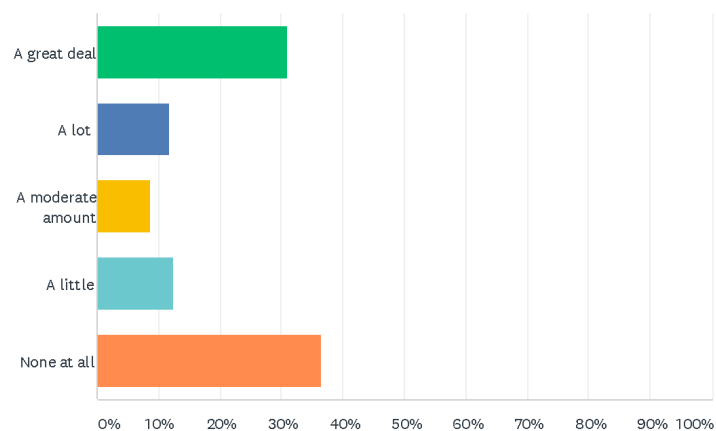
ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
A great deal	30.86%	50
A lot	11.73%	19
A moderate amount	8.64%	14
A little	12.35%	20
None at all	36.42%	59
TOTAL		162

Q12 What has been your involvement in making a decision regarding the final interment place of a person (burial location, place of spreading ashes etc.)

Answered: 167   Skipped: 38
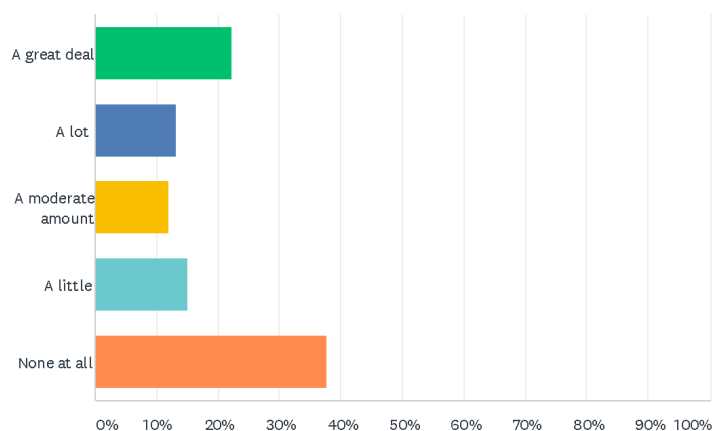
ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
A great deal	22.16%	37
A lot	13.17%	22
A moderate amount	11.98%	20
A little	14.97%	25
None at all	37.72%	63
TOTAL		167

Q13 What were the key factors in your decision about where to inter a person?

Answered: 136   Skipped: 69
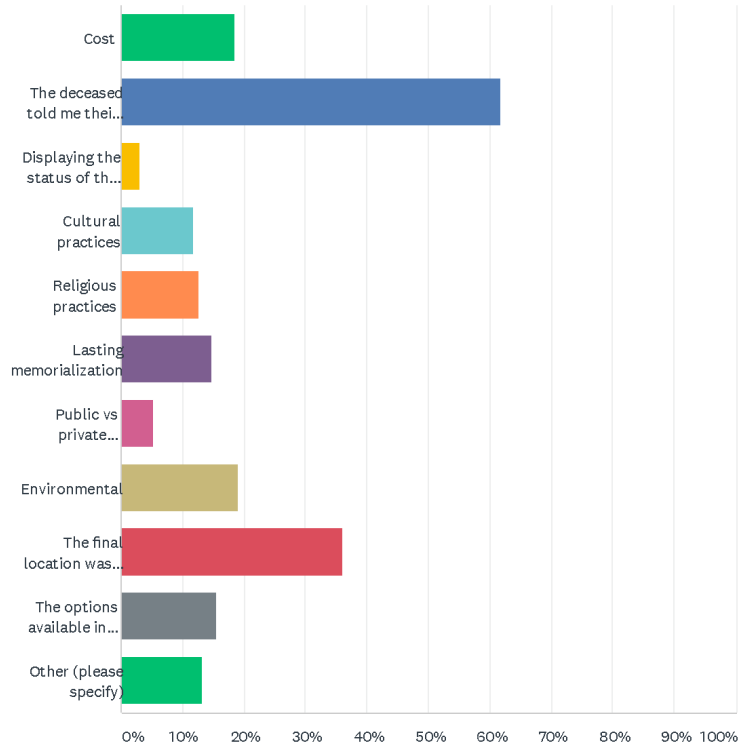
ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Cost	18.38%	25
The deceased told me their wishes	61.76%	84
Displaying the status of the person	2.94%	4
Cultural practices	11.76%	16
Religious practices	12.50%	17
Lasting memorialization	14.71%	20
Public vs private location	5.15%	7
Environmental	19.12%	26
The final location was important	36.03%	49
The options available in the local community	15.44%	21
Other (please specify)	13.24%	18
Total Respondents: 136		

#	OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY)	DATE
1	I Was not invovled	6/10/2020 3:31 PM
2	Family emotional dynamics	6/2/2020 11:45 PM
3	Suitable to the persons background and personality	6/2/2020 11:05 AM
4	The wishes of family	5/31/2020 6:02 AM
5	With other family members	5/30/2020 10:01 PM
6	N/A	5/28/2020 3:13 PM
7	Choosing a place he'd like his ashes to be spread (he didn't tell me before he died)	5/28/2020 12:42 PM
8	Outlined in a will.	5/27/2020 3:58 PM
9	It was the wishes of other family members that were prioritized; I wasn't consulted, in some cases	5/27/2020 3:38 PM
10	N/A	5/27/2020 12:35 PM
11	what place had been of value/meaning to the deceased	5/26/2020 9:58 PM
12	Family decisions & history	5/26/2020 7:37 PM
13	Family plot in place of birth.	5/26/2020 12:00 PM
14	Haven't had to make that decision.	5/26/2020 11:38 AM
15	Family Cemetery	5/26/2020 10:59 AM
16	a location that was important to me, but also significant to the deceased	5/25/2020 5:12 PM
17	The choice of their legal family, even if against the persons' spoken will	5/25/2020 3:36 PM
18	Wishes of the family	5/25/2020 3:26 PM

185

Q14 What alternatives to interment in a cemetery have been chosen for people you have lost?

Answered: 145   Skipped: 60

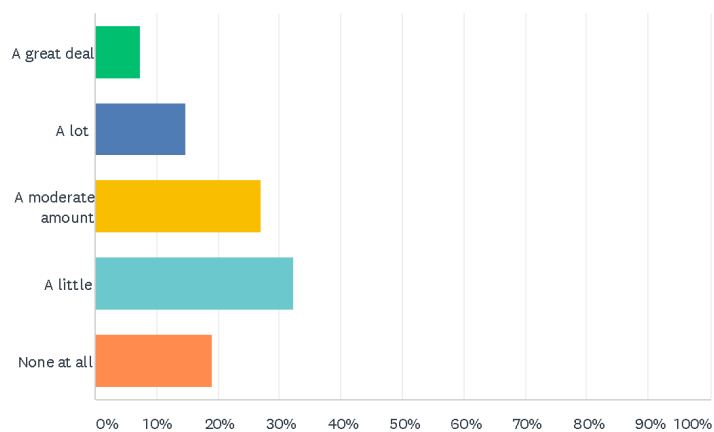| ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Scattering ashes in a special place	69.66%	101
Scattering ashes at the home of the deceased	6.90%	10
Scattering ashes at a public place such as a beach or park	41.38%	60
Placing ashes in an urn or container and kept	42.07%	61
Keeping ashes with the intention of spreading them together with another person's ashes such as a spouse	22.76%	33
Taking the ashes to the country or area of their birth	9.66%	14
Total Respondents: 145		

Deathscapes in Planning

#	OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY)	DATE
1	Ashes in a mosoleum	6/10/2020 3:31 PM
2	Keeping them in a memorial drawer at the cemetary	6/2/2020 2:20 PM
3	Burying ashes at home and in the country of their birth	5/31/2020 12:42 PM
4	Have no experience .	5/29/2020 1:00 AM
5	Everyone I know has been interred in a cemetary	5/28/2020 8:37 PM
6	Scattering ashes in my home garden	5/28/2020 12:42 PM
7	No alternatives were chosen for the family members I lost	5/28/2020 5:21 AM
8	Their ashes were kept at the funeral home.	5/27/2020 8:01 PM
9	Taking ashes and spreading them in a country where they had fond memories/always wanted to return to	5/27/2020 7:56 PM
10	Burial of the ashes	5/27/2020 4:27 PM
11	Sharing the ashes with family and friends as the deceased had told everyone different places for his ashes to be spread.	5/27/2020 12:46 PM
12	Having ashes mixed into glass and made into a memorial artistic piece	5/27/2020 12:35 PM
13	Have only had to follow deceased directives.	5/26/2020 11:46 AM
14	Ashes buried with another loved one	5/26/2020 11:43 AM
15	Haven't had to make that decision.	5/26/2020 11:38 AM
16	Placing ashes in an object other than urn or container (i.e., necklace, lapel pin)	5/26/2020 10:47 AM
17	Ashes interned in a gravesite awaiting burial of spouse	5/25/2020 6:59 PM
18	Scattering ashes in the ocean.	5/25/2020 6:30 PM
19	burying the ashes in a place they loved	5/25/2020 6:24 PM
20	urn placed in columbarium	5/25/2020 4:15 PM
21	The choice to donate their body for science	5/25/2020 3:25 PM

Q15 How much planning for the interment of ashes has been done before taking them home from the crematorium?

Answered: 137   Skipped: 68

ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
A great deal	7.30%	10
A lot	14.60%	20
A moderate amount	27.01%	37
A little	32.12%	44
None at all	18.98%	26
TOTAL		137

Q16 How long did it take you to make a decision about interment?

Answered: 132   Skipped: 73
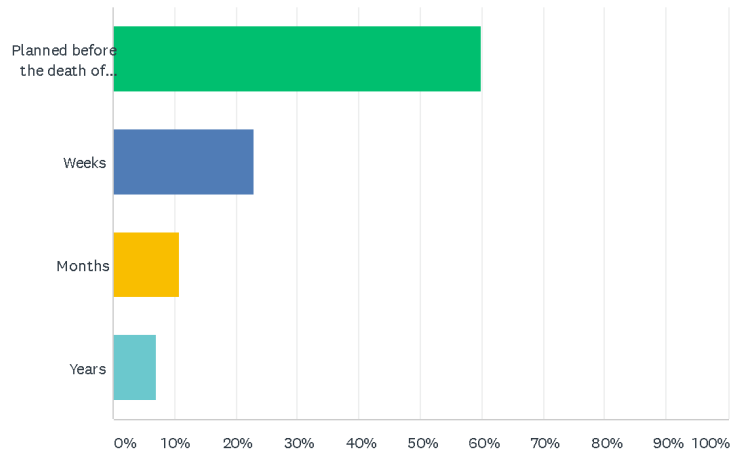
ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Planned before the death of the person	59.85%	79
Weeks	22.73%	30
Months	10.61%	14
Years	6.82%	9
TOTAL		132

Q17 Was there a personalized ceremony (readings, activities etc.) when the ashes were spread?

Answered: 135   Skipped: 70
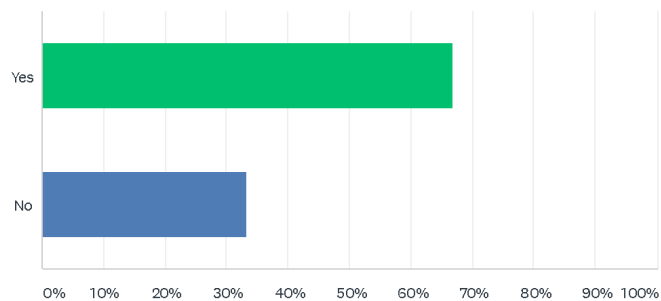
ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Yes	66.67%	90
No	33.33%	45
TOTAL		135

Q18 If you had a ceremony, what kind of ceremony was done?

Answered: 146   Skipped: 59
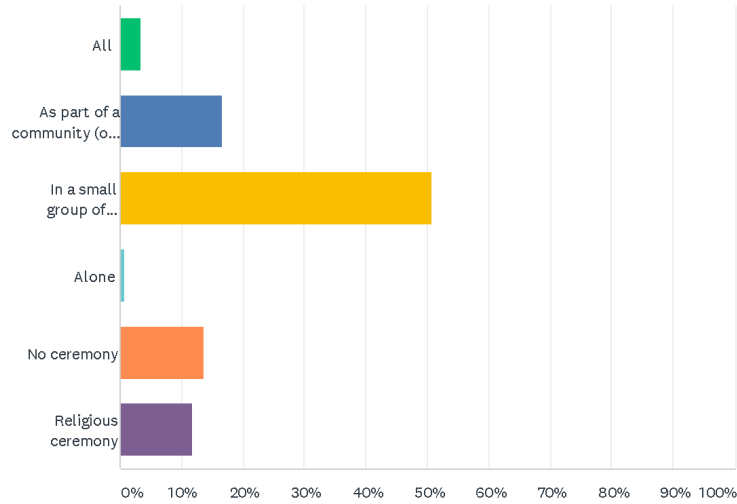
ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
All	3.42%	5
As part of a community (open house) memorial services	16.44%	24
In a small group of significant people	50.68%	74
Alone	0.68%	1
No ceremony	13.70%	20
Religious ceremony	11.64%	17
TOTAL		146

#	OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY)	DATE
1	and Religious ceremony (won't let me choose 2 options)	6/9/2020 7:37 AM
2	Smaller ceremony and a larger public one. For different people we have had different combinations of rites.	5/31/2020 12:42 PM
3	No experience with this	5/29/2020 1:00 AM
4	Not done yet, but plan to do a small ceremony with immediate family	5/28/2020 12:42 PM
5	All except alone.	5/28/2020 6:33 AM
6	Religious ceremony but open to whoever	5/28/2020 5:21 AM
7	Both community and small significant group ceremonies for different people; ceremony being loosely defined	5/27/2020 12:35 PM
8	Ashes were scattered in one significant place (a beach) with extended family and buried at another significant place (a cottage) with close friends	5/27/2020 12:21 PM
9	Less a ceremony than a party to celebrate life several months after death.	5/26/2020 11:43 AM
10	Not applicable	5/26/2020 11:38 AM
11	Not really a ceremony. For both my sister and my mum's ashes, my sibling and dad and I thought about them, talked about them, remembered them.	5/25/2020 6:30 PM
12	Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, my family has been unable to get together to spread my mother's ashes in California, where she is from.	5/25/2020 4:02 PM

Q19 What do you see as the main purpose of a memorial ceremony or funeral?

Answered: 170   Skipped: 35
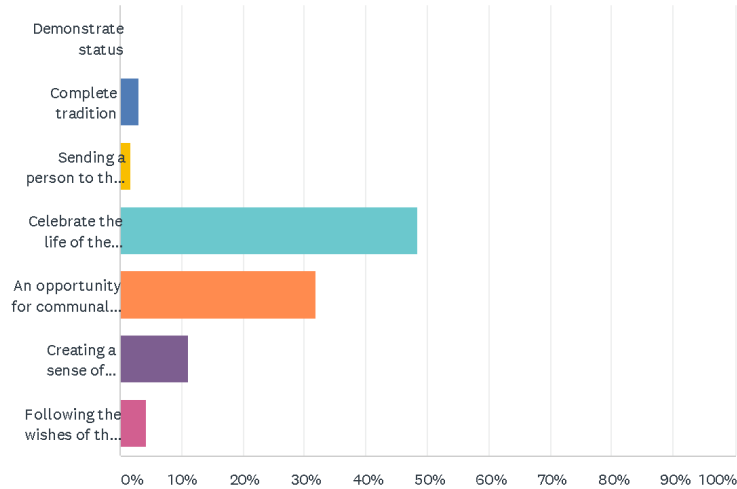
ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Demonstrate status	0.00%	0
Complete tradition	2.94%	5
Sending a person to the afterlife	1.76%	3
Celebrate the life of the person	48.24%	82
An opportunity for communal grieving	31.76%	54
Creating a sense of finality/ closure	11.18%	19
Following the wishes of the deceased	4.12%	7
TOTAL		170

#	OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY)	DATE
1	All of the above except "demonstrate status"	6/9/2020 7:39 AM
2	I would like to choose both celebrate and have a sense of closure	6/2/2020 2:23 PM
3	Combination of the above, mainly celebrating life and communal grieving	5/31/2020 12:45 PM
4	more than one of these apply- and equally so.	5/27/2020 4:00 PM
5	all of the above	5/26/2020 11:11 AM

22 / 45

193

Q20 Interment in a permanent place is important.

Answered: 170   Skipped: 35
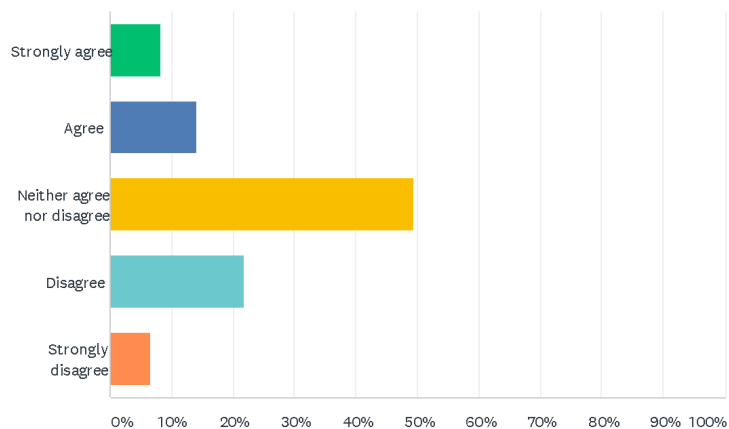
ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Strongly agree	8.24%	14
Agree	14.12%	24
Neither agree nor disagree	49.41%	84
Disagree	21.76%	37
Strongly disagree	6.47%	11
TOTAL		170

Q21 Interment in a cemetery is important.

Answered: 170   Skipped: 35
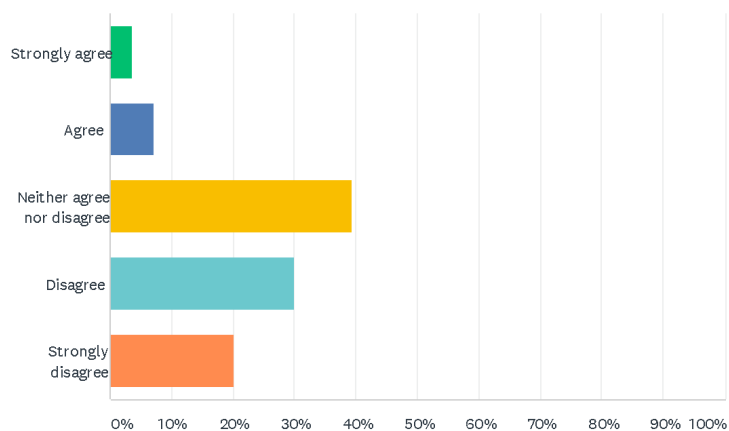
ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Strongly agree	3.53%	6
Agree	7.06%	12
Neither agree nor disagree	39.41%	67
Disagree	30.00%	51
Strongly disagree	20.00%	34
TOTAL		170

24 / 45

195

Q22 Interment in a cemetery is important for the mourning of people close to the deceased.

Answered: 168   Skipped: 37
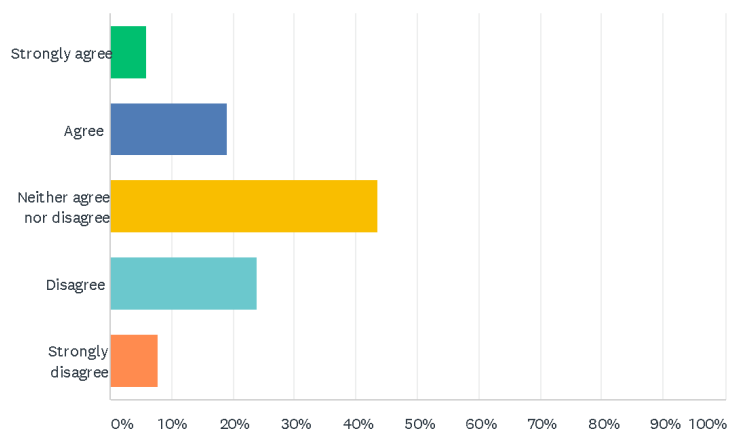
ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Strongly agree	5.95%	10
Agree	19.05%	32
Neither agree nor disagree	43.45%	73
Disagree	23.81%	40
Strongly disagree	7.74%	13
TOTAL		168

Q23 Cemeteries are the only appropriate place for bodies and/or ashes.

Answered: 169   Skipped: 36
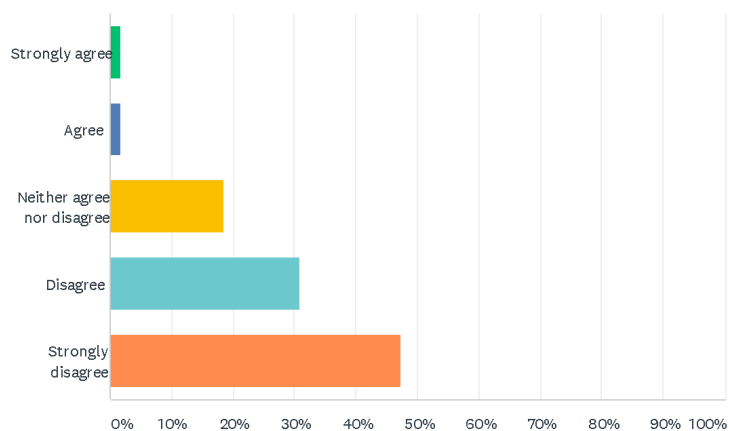
ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Strongly agree	1.78%	3
Agree	1.78%	3
Neither agree nor disagree	18.34%	31
Disagree	30.77%	52
Strongly disagree	47.34%	80
TOTAL		169

197

Q24 Scattering of ashes in public spaces is an appropriate place for interment.

Answered: 170   Skipped: 35
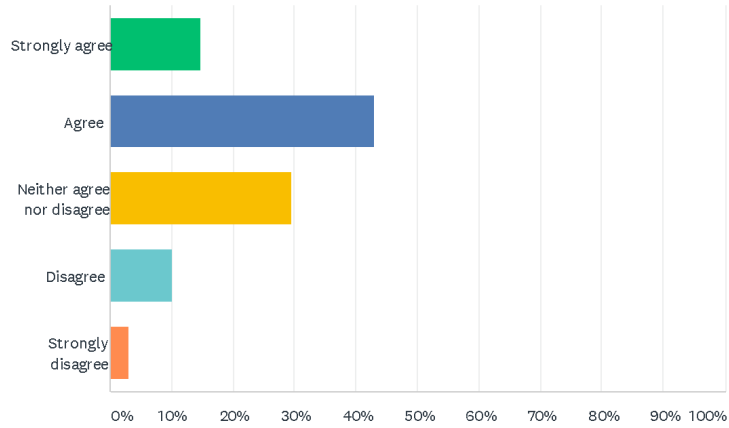
ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Strongly agree	14.71%	25
Agree	42.94%	73
Neither agree nor disagree	29.41%	50
Disagree	10.00%	17
Strongly disagree	2.94%	5
TOTAL		170

Q25 If there were public places (anywhere that is not private property) outside of cemeteries dedicated to spreading ashes I would use them either personally or to spread ashes of loved ones.

Answered: 170   Skipped: 35
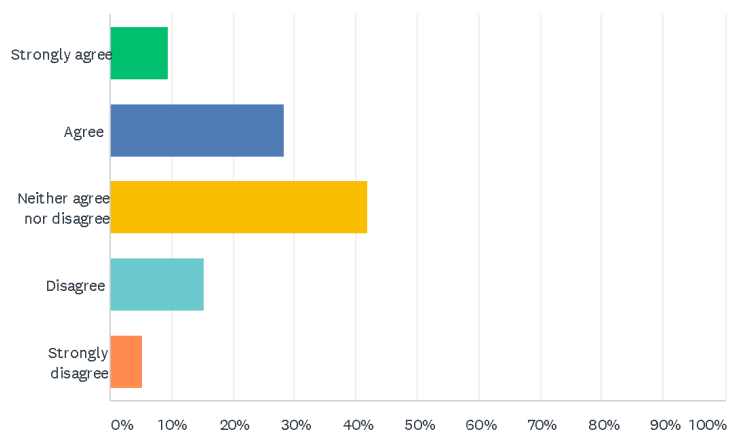
ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Strongly agree	9.41%	16
Agree	28.24%	48
Neither agree nor disagree	41.76%	71
Disagree	15.29%	26
Strongly disagree	5.29%	9
TOTAL		170

28 / 45

199

Q26 I would prefer to spread ashes (my own or others) in a place of personal significance.

Answered: 170   Skipped: 35
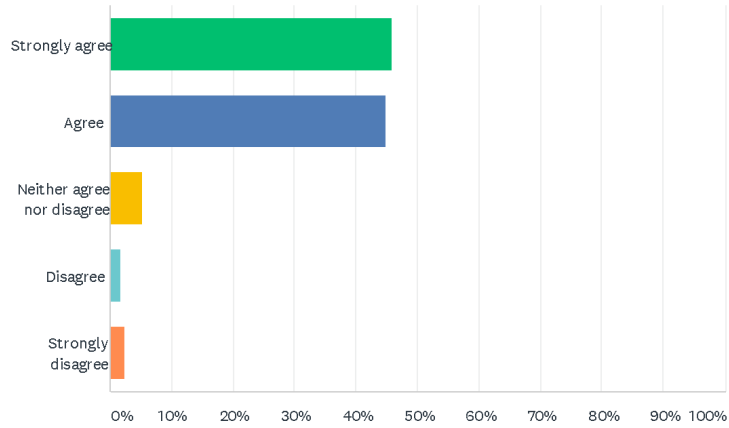
ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Strongly agree	45.88%	78
Agree	44.71%	76
Neither agree nor disagree	5.29%	9
Disagree	1.76%	3
Strongly disagree	2.35%	4
TOTAL		170

Q27 Interment and the placement of a marker (gravestone, plaque, photograph or any other type of memorialization marker) must be in the same place.

Answered: 165   Skipped: 40
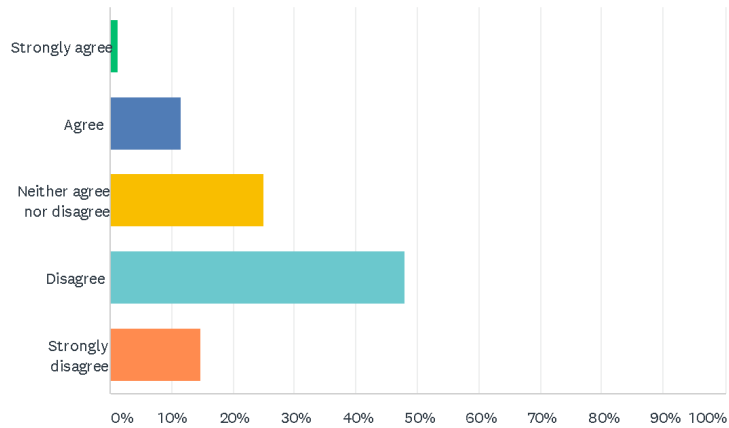
ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Strongly agree	1.21%	2
Agree	11.52%	19
Neither agree nor disagree	24.85%	41
Disagree	47.88%	79
Strongly disagree	14.55%	24
TOTAL		165

Q28 Grave reuse, common in many other countries, is the practice of leasing rather than selling a grave plot. The site is leased for a pre-determined period of time and when that time is up the family can choose to renew the lease. If the lease is not renewed, the remains are removed to a shared grave and a new person can lease the gravesite. Would you be comfortable with this being an option in a local cemetery?

Answered: 164   Skipped: 41
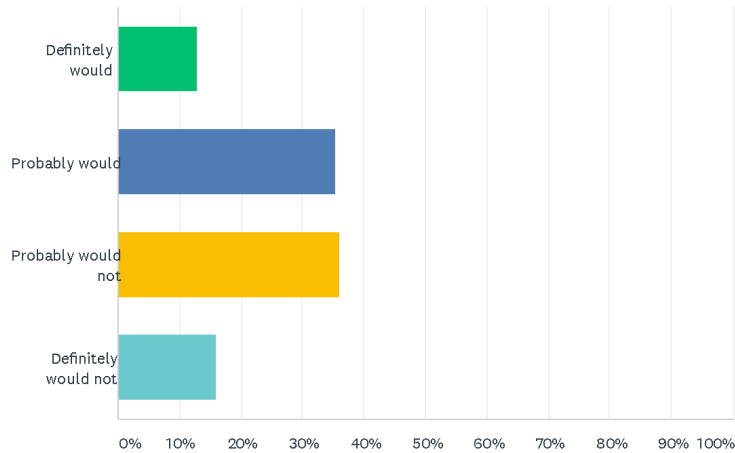
ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Definitely would	12.80%	21
Probably would	35.37%	58
Probably would not	35.98%	59
Definitely would not	15.85%	26
TOTAL		164

Q29 What kinds of public places you would like to place temporary memorials in?

Answered: 111   Skipped: 94
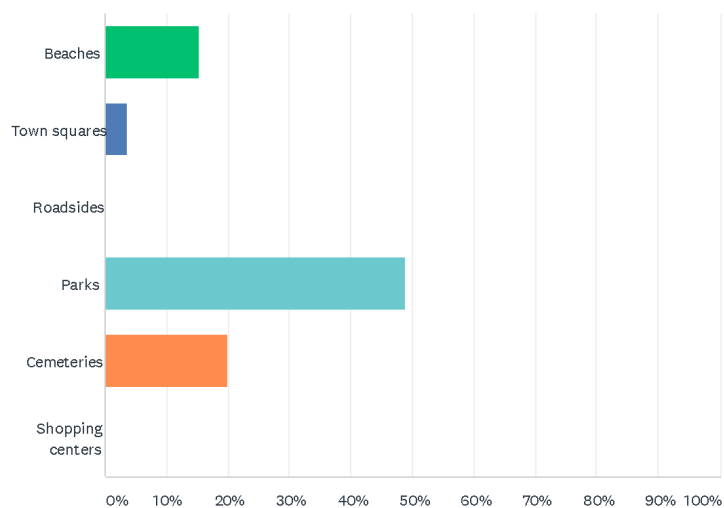
ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Beaches	15.32%	17
Town squares	3.60%	4
Roadsides	0.00%	0
Parks	48.65%	54
Cemeteries	19.82%	22
Shopping centers	0.00%	0
TOTAL		111

#	OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY)	DATE
1	all of the above	6/22/2020 1:55 PM
2	Any/all of these!	6/9/2020 7:52 AM
3	This question should allow for more than one response	6/7/2020 10:41 AM
4	Temporary?? Memorials are intended to be permanent	6/3/2020 9:23 AM
5	Depending on the type of memorial, any public place.	6/2/2020 2:57 PM
6	Maybe all of the above	6/1/2020 10:14 PM
7	Various temporary places, parks, beaches, cemeteries, places of significance- like the roadside for someone killed there also ok.	5/31/2020 12:52 PM
8	Nature settings	5/29/2020 10:09 PM
9	Anything that's meaningful to the person	5/29/2020 5:04 PM
10	I would like to plant a tree	5/29/2020 12:33 AM
11	Wild places not frequented by a lot of people	5/28/2020 6:45 PM
12	several of these options are appealing to me	5/28/2020 6:00 PM
13	places that meant something special to the deceased	5/28/2020 10:36 AM
14	Depends on they way the person wanted to be remembered , where and how	5/28/2020 8:17 AM
15	I would choose places in nature including parks and beaches.	5/28/2020 6:39 AM
16	Beaches, town squares, and roadsides	5/28/2020 5:27 AM
17	I have no objections to temporary markers in any of these places, but personally would only consider a permanent marker.	5/27/2020 7:30 PM
18	All above options except shopping centres	5/27/2020 7:01 PM
19	I don't think we should be putting physical markers all willy nilly about town.	5/27/2020 4:02 PM
20	all of the above?	5/27/2020 3:43 PM
21	Why is a public space needed?	5/27/2020 1:30 PM
22	It is hard to say as I think it should be question for the deceased and not for me to choose.	5/27/2020 12:54 PM
23	Parks and beaches	5/27/2020 12:40 PM
24	Anywhere, really. (more than one choice should be possible here)	5/27/2020 11:41 AM
25	all of the above	5/26/2020 10:19 PM
26	And parks	5/26/2020 7:41 PM

Q30 What types of physical markers would you like to have as memorialization options in cemeteries:

Answered: 114   Skipped: 91
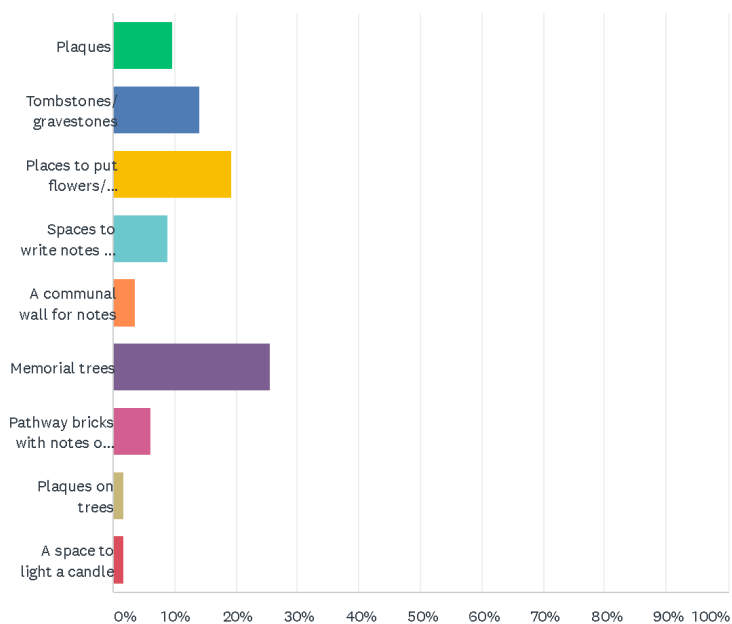
ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Plaques	9.65%	11
Tombstones/ gravestones	14.04%	16
Places to put flowers/ momentous such as a communal wall or garden	19.30%	22
Spaces to write notes to loved ones, such as a tree to leave notes in the branches	8.77%	10
A communal wall for notes	3.51%	4
Memorial trees	25.44%	29
Pathway bricks with notes on them	6.14%	7
Plaques on trees	1.75%	2
A space to light a candle	1.75%	2
TOTAL		114

#	OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY)	DATE
1	all the above	6/22/2020 1:55 PM
2	Any/all of these!	6/9/2020 7:52 AM
3	Same here	6/7/2020 10:41 AM
4	Why is only one choice permitted for this question?	6/2/2020 2:57 PM
5	All of the above	6/2/2020 2:24 PM
6	This gives us just one option, but I would have selected more than 1...	6/1/2020 10:14 PM
7	Why only one option!! All of the above. At times when I've grieved more than one person at the same time,	5/31/2020 12:52 PM
8	all sound good	5/31/2020 6:06 AM
9	I can only choose one option which is limiting as many of the options are suitable.	5/30/2020 10:05 PM
10	Any of the above	5/29/2020 10:09 PM
11	I don't really care	5/29/2020 5:04 PM
12	All of the above	5/29/2020 8:03 AM
13	All of the above	5/28/2020 7:19 PM
14	so many of the above options sound appealing to me	5/28/2020 6:00 PM
15	Depends on they way the person wanted to be remembered , where and how	5/28/2020 8:17 AM
16	All of the above	5/28/2020 5:27 AM
17	All of the above are appropriate.	5/27/2020 7:30 PM
18	All of the above	5/27/2020 7:01 PM
19	All of the above	5/27/2020 4:33 PM
20	Not a big fan of memorial markers. I like the odd bench donated for a public space- but beyond that..not really a fan of markers all about.	5/27/2020 4:02 PM
21	again, all options	5/27/2020 3:43 PM
22	Why does it have to be a public space?	5/27/2020 1:30 PM
23	All options please	5/27/2020 12:54 PM
24	All of the above.	5/27/2020 12:41 PM
25	All of these other than plaques on trees, unless you mean a plaque next to a memorial tree, that could be good	5/27/2020 12:40 PM
26	I like many of theses choices but it only lets me choose one	5/27/2020 12:01 PM
27	Whatever. (more than one choice should be possible here)	5/27/2020 11:41 AM
28	all of the above, except plaques on trees. And, I think you mean 'mementos', not 'momentous'	5/26/2020 10:19 PM
29	This was single choice option but the other options I would have selected include all the options after the one I picked	5/26/2020 1:02 PM

Q31 What types of physical markers would you like to have as memorialization options outside of cemeteries:

Answered: 115   Skipped: 90
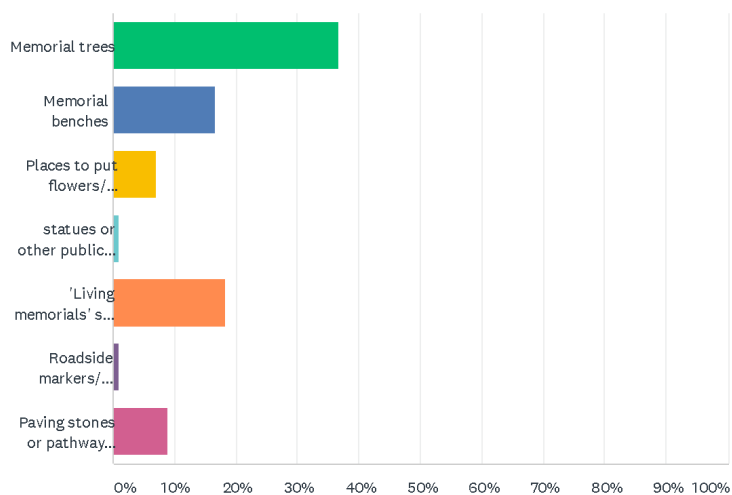
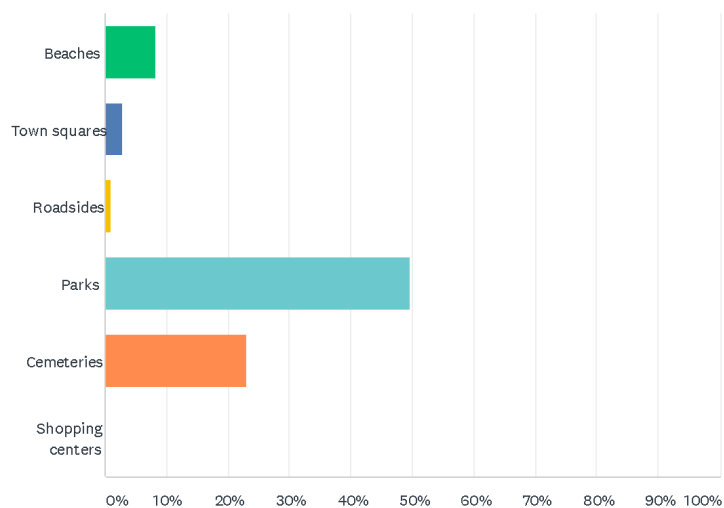| ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Memorial trees	36.52%	42
Memorial benches	16.52%	19
Places to put flowers/ momentous such as a communal wall or garden	6.96%	8
statues or other public art installation	0.87%	1
'Living memorials' such as trees to leave notes in branches or a shared notes/photo wall	18.26%	21
Roadside markers/ memorials (places to leave flowers, notes and momentous near the site of death)	0.87%	1
Paving stones or pathway stones with carved names and notes	8.70%	10
TOTAL		115

#	OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY)	DATE
1	all the above	6/22/2020 1:55 PM
2	Any/all of these!	6/9/2020 7:52 AM
3	all options	6/9/2020 7:41 AM
4	Same here	6/7/2020 10:41 AM
5	Why is only one choice permitted for this question?	6/2/2020 2:57 PM
6	All of the above. It's good to have different places and ways to commemorate different people who are grieved at the same time.	5/31/2020 12:52 PM
7	all bur roadside markers	5/31/2020 6:06 AM
8	I could choose only one option which invalidates this question. The questions asks which markers -- plural with an s. However, only one choice is allowed.	5/30/2020 10:05 PM
9	Any of the above	5/29/2020 10:09 PM
10	1,2&5	5/29/2020 6:03 PM
11	Any of these	5/29/2020 5:04 PM
12	All of the above, except art/statues and roadside markers	5/29/2020 8:03 AM
13	Any/all	5/28/2020 7:19 PM
14	many of these options are appealing	5/28/2020 6:00 PM
15	All of the above	5/28/2020 5:27 AM
16	All of the above	5/27/2020 7:01 PM
17	Trees and benches	5/27/2020 4:33 PM
18	see above	5/27/2020 4:02 PM
19	all of the above	5/27/2020 3:43 PM
20	Unimposing markers, as I don't think someone should be out for a walk and only surrounded by memorial markers.	5/27/2020 12:54 PM
21	All of the above	5/27/2020 12:41 PM
22	Not fond of statues, but all the rest including public art installations would be nice options	5/27/2020 12:40 PM
23	Whatever. (more than one choice should be possible here)	5/27/2020 11:41 AM
24	all of the above	5/26/2020 10:19 PM
25	More than one option would be nice	5/26/2020 7:41 PM
26	This was single choice option but the other options I would have selected include #3, 4, 5, and 6	5/26/2020 1:02 PM

Q32 What kinds of public places you would like to place permanent memorials in?

Answered: 109   Skipped: 96

ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Beaches	8.26%	9
Town squares	2.75%	3
Roadsides	0.92%	1
Parks	49.54%	54
Cemeteries	22.94%	25
Shopping centers	0.00%	0
TOTAL		109

#	OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY)	DATE
1	all the above	6/22/2020 1:55 PM
2	Any/all of these!	6/9/2020 7:52 AM
3	Cemeteries and parks	6/9/2020 7:41 AM
4	None	6/2/2020 2:57 PM
5	Depends for who. I find this one very hard to answer...	6/1/2020 10:14 PM
6	Depends on the memorial.	6/1/2020 6:38 PM
7	Places of significance, if appropriate	5/31/2020 12:52 PM
8	all but roadsides and shopping centers	5/31/2020 6:06 AM
9	Nature areas	5/29/2020 10:09 PM
10	Parks and cemetery's	5/29/2020 6:03 PM
11	Any of these	5/29/2020 5:04 PM
12	Anywhere that a tree would be appropriate	5/29/2020 12:33 AM
13	Where the family feels is important to place a permanent memorial.	5/28/2020 10:40 PM
14	None	5/28/2020 8:44 PM
15	Quiet less public areas	5/28/2020 7:19 PM
16	Places that were special to the deceased, whether public or private	5/28/2020 10:36 AM
17	Depends on they way the person wanted to be remembered , where and how	5/28/2020 8:17 AM
18	Parks and cemeteries	5/28/2020 5:27 AM
19	none	5/27/2020 8:28 PM
20	All of the above excluding shopping centres	5/27/2020 7:01 PM
21	see above.	5/27/2020 4:02 PM
22	any of these	5/27/2020 3:43 PM
23	Could not having permanent memorials be an option?	5/27/2020 1:30 PM
24	Parks and cemeteries	5/27/2020 12:40 PM
25	More than one option would be nice	5/26/2020 7:41 PM
26	It is not realistic to do this for every person I think	5/26/2020 1:02 PM

Q33 Are there any other comments or thoughts you would like to share?

Answered: 78   Skipped: 127

Deathscapes in Planning

#	RESPONSES	DATE
1	this is relevant and timely research. Keep up the good work!	6/22/2020 1:55 PM
2	I wish there were more "natural" cemeteries available. The idea of being encased in a cement box is uncomfortable.	6/16/2020 1:22 PM
3	I think trees planted at the time of the death with a plaque honouring the person would be a good alternative to cemeteries.	6/16/2020 10:36 AM
4	Perhaps you could edit the survey so that people can select more than one answer. In many cases, more than 1 answer applied to me, and the question asked what "options".	6/9/2020 7:43 AM
5	I am a cemetery planner and designer. It's great that you have chosen this topic, but I think you need to fix some of your questions to get more valuable input. I have provided comments on that.	6/7/2020 10:43 AM
6	Good luck with your interesting research.	6/6/2020 2:45 PM
7	I support commemorative markers in public spaces such as beaches or parks as those tend to be the spots that hold personal significance. However the draw of these places (in my opinion) is their natural beauty. Modest plaques or bench memorials are lovely but i would be disappointed to come across a monolith in a public space.	6/4/2020 9:12 PM
8	Being able to track the lives of our ancestors is an important to our understanding of our family's history and the evolution of our communities. It provides an important tie to our cultural history,	6/3/2020 9:27 AM
9	Why does the survey ask only about disposition of ashes? Other treatments for remains (such as composting) are becoming available now, finally, that are much more environmentally responsible.	6/2/2020 2:59 PM
10	no	6/2/2020 2:08 PM
11	Important to plan ahead and have arrangements the way you want instead of patched together by someone else at last minite	6/2/2020 11:17 AM
12	Death in western society, the only society I have known, is often shied away from, hidden, avoided as an unpleasant thing. The higher civilization towers the harder we seem to try to forget the impermanent nature of our existence. We create societies and systems as if they will live forever, as if we will. Those societies fail to let go, fail to grow, become sick and fail to give new life. Death must be embraced, in all things. I believe that a deeper, more open understanding and closer relationship with the internment practices of our societies may help us develop a more healthy relationship with death. With that in mind, I appreciate what you are doing and wish you well.	6/1/2020 11:11 PM
13	I think there needs to be a balance. I strongly agree with people being able to scatter ashes in public spaces, but would not want to have public spaces overrun with personal displays and temporary or permanent memorials.	6/1/2020 6:40 PM
14	No	6/1/2020 3:44 PM
15	Yeah, I feel like there is benefit to having several different places where temporary and permanent memorials can happen. Families often have different customs amongst them and so on. My understanding is that it's not legal to scatter or bury ashes outside of a cemetery or certain areas at sea, but a lot of people don't observe that. It can also be triggering to stumble upon a memorial unexpectedly, so so planning should accommodate 'grief-free' areas. I feel strongly that shopping centres or public service locations should not be used to memorialize for that reason. More secluded areas in parks or other locations where we can meet and visit and live, so they can become significant, would be ideal memorial areas for temporary displays, I feel. Those areas could then be avoided if at some stages of grief, we need to not be triggered.	5/31/2020 1:02 PM
16	Death trees and natural death meadows are options i am interested in for myself.	5/31/2020 6:08 AM
17	Unfortunately, the survey was not set up correctly which is too bad. Some questions needed more than one option to be chosen but the option was not available. Therefore, some of the questions should be disallowed for the research to be valid.	5/30/2020 10:06 PM
18	Cemeteries are important for genealogical studies. Ontario has gathered valuable online information in this regard.	5/30/2020 12:28 PM

19	I feel it is very important to know the wishes of the dying person, and carry out those wishes.	5/29/2020 6:31 PM
20	No	5/29/2020 6:03 PM
21	No	5/29/2020 5:05 PM
22	Great research project! Having a planning background death and bereavement is rarely something that is considered in planning practice. From my personal experience it entirely depends on the background and religious leaning of the deceased but also I don't think there's any "right" way of doing it. However it would be interesting to have memorials/ some type of memorial that also had an artistic component. There is a very interesting 99% Invisible podcast on how Singapore has had to build over burial sites due to constrained space https://99percentinvisible.org/episode/singapore/	5/29/2020 1:45 PM
23	Have grown up in a family where a traditional funeral was my experience; however as an adult now I prefer a more casual "celebration of life " instead.	5/29/2020 1:06 AM
24	I dislike memorial plaques or plates of a permanent nature very much.	5/29/2020 12:35 AM
25	I had never thought of places to leave notes before. I like the idea but worry about polluting areas with paper. Too much litter already in public areas.	5/28/2020 7:29 PM
26	Some of your questions would have been nice to be able to choose more than one option.	5/28/2020 7:20 PM
27	Places of internment are as varied as there are people. Friends and family whose deaths that I have experienced have all had different plans. Each plan very much suited the deceased and the significant people in their lives. I would also say the same for memorials.	5/28/2020 6:50 PM
28	Be able to choose more than one option . Each person may have differing choices, or were you only referring to myself? Not clear....you ask for, ex. Kinds, plural , but only 1 choice accepted by computer.	5/28/2020 6:28 PM
29	a good friend of mine choose a green burial in a forest at a cemetery when she died of cancer. I really like this idea and will likely choose it for myself, I like the idea of becoming food for fungi, trees and plants. I would prefer this over cremation, as I think it is more eco conscious. I would have no issue in being interred outside of a burial park if this was allowed. Land reclamation would be a good possibility. Good luck with your studies. This is a very interesting topic.	5/28/2020 6:05 PM
30	Notice a declining interest for memorial services. Increase interest of cremation and spreading of ashes in public places in our rural area	5/28/2020 4:19 PM
31	I am not at all religious. However, you could argue I'm spiritual and believe that we are all a part of Earth's cycles and we should be left to become a part of that process. I personally do not want to be buried but rather want to be cremated and even then, I do not want to be kept in an urn. My preference is to be scattered in places important to me and my family. I believe that memories are enough to memorialize an individual and that the burial of a body is not very organic. I also don't want to be mourned, but rather have my life celebrated; the life lead is more important than the death.	5/28/2020 3:24 PM
32	Thank you. This is an important planning topic that is not top of mind for most of us.	5/28/2020 9:37 AM
33	I don't think there is a right or wrong way it is the wishes of the doing combined with what fits the family/ friends abilities to meet the request	5/28/2020 8:19 AM
34	I would honour the wishes of the departed if feasible as a priority. Otherwise i would arrange for a place that is both meaningful and accessible for those wishing to visit afterwards.	5/28/2020 6:41 AM
35	Quebec leases its plots for a period of 99 years at which time the lease has to be renewed if you wish to keep your cemetery family plot.	5/28/2020 3:08 AM
36	I think this is a very important topic. Our culture tends to brush death under the carpet and it needs to be brought out and the lives of those lost need to be celebrated and memorialized.	5/27/2020 9:35 PM
37	I would love to have my ashes spread and have a tree planted....perhaps on crown land.	5/27/2020 8:31 PM
38	no	5/27/2020 8:29 PM
39	No	5/27/2020 8:03 PM
40	Thanks for this opportunity. I would be interested in reading your paper, Isha.	5/27/2020 7:31 PM

41	There were several questions near the end that I would have liked to select multiple answers, but only one was allowed. I think memorial plaques, trees, benches, etc are beautiful and non-intrusive ways to remember a loved one that also contribute to the public spaces for everyone.	5/27/2020 4:52 PM
42	The survey seems to presume that there is a general desire for people to place markers or plaques within the pubic realm. I personally, do not have such a desire and tend to like the benches that sometimes have a donation plaque associated with them. Beyond that, I'm happy with cemeteries being the cultural norm for permanent memorial markers with the public realm left to only memorialize public figures, like the statue of Dylan Thomas in Swansea.	5/27/2020 4:07 PM
43	I would like more information available readily about green burials or other similar options. I find it a bit different to navigate, and it often isn't an option for some communities.	5/27/2020 3:02 PM
44	Cemeteries are discrete units that can be protected. Once we start using public spaces, then changes in such spaces over time become an issues. If I plant a memorial tree that grows to disturb a nearby road or sidewalk or power line, who is responsible for pruning or the resulting repairs? Closure is for the living, not the dead. Memories will live on (or not) regardless of a physical object, but future generations will bear the growing burden memorial statues, plaques, benches, shrines, etc etc etc of people they don't know. The living people that place these objects usually lose interest over time as they heal, they lose the physical ability to visit/maintain them, or they pass on themselves. This leaves garbage nailed to trees, piled on the side of the highway, tied to hydro poles, hidden at campsites that gets scattered by wildlife and eventually must be cleaned up by someone else. The nicest memorialization I've read about thus far is a process that involves freeze-drying the body and hashing it up into compost and using that to feed a memorial tree, which are kept in memorial gardens (which is ~ a cemetery). The gardens would be protected as a cemetery, but instead of lawns and plastic flowers and tombstones, it's a forest. Ecologically friendly, financially viable, peaceful retreat for future generations, aesthetically pleasing. Thanks for addressing this issue, I wish people were able to talk about death more easily.	5/27/2020 1:46 PM
45	Green burials would be my preferred option. For example planting a tree with person in the bottom in a burial park. Where we could come to remember and walk through the park paths	5/27/2020 1:13 PM
46	I definitely feel that it was a challenge in some questions to only answer one option. Also, I don't think there is one option for where a person is memorialized, I think there are many factors including what captures the essence of the deceased.	5/27/2020 12:57 PM
47	- Many of these questions were ambiguously worded, and/or would have been better to allow multiple selections. - It would be nice to have more green burial and/or more environmentally friendly options available in Canada. A lot of people choose cremation because they think it's more environmentally friendly than burial, but it's not really.	5/27/2020 12:46 PM
48	Burial conventions used in Europe are useful to consider here because they have already long ago had to confront the issue of lack of burial space.	5/27/2020 11:44 AM
49	My closest family member died at the age of 14. He was a black labrador retriever. Since you didn't specify human, this survey was completed with him in mind.	5/27/2020 1:21 AM
50	I found it difficult to answer the last question about permanent markers. I wonder if having permanent memorials outside of cemeteries would come to be a problem. There are a lot of people in this world - even here in Canada - and, over time, there could be a lot of memorials. I think it's a good idea to consider the question... I'm just not sure for myself what the answer ought to be	5/26/2020 10:23 PM
51	That a variety of options be made available - taking into consideration the density of a population.	5/26/2020 9:03 PM
52	I really don't care what happens to my remains, they could be used For medical students it does not matter to me. I would hope that I could follow my wife's wishes as to what she would want done when she dies	5/26/2020 2:42 PM
53	I realize my viewpoints here are grounded in my experience of not having personally lost someone very close to me yet and the fact that I am not religious. I am a second-generation Canadian, the only one in my family born in this country, and with only 3 family members in this country. While I have lost family, they have been in another country. I imagine there are many like me in this respect, and perhaps an increasing number that are also not religious. I see that as an important part of my viewpoints as I fell that as a result, I have no bias toward "traditional" burials in cemeteries. As an environmentally conscious and practical person, I think as a	5/26/2020 1:32 PM

society we would be challenged if everyone wanted traditional burials in cemeteries while balancing other land use needs in urban/developed areas. I think it is time for a shift in perspectives on this front, with efforts put into information sharing on alternatives like cremation and some of the options posed in this survey.

| 54	People have gotten away from traditional funerals and burials choosing to have celebrations in a comfortable location which is a good thing. However it is also more common now to scatter ashes and have no gravesite or marker. I prefer the idea of keeping family members together in a cemetery after death in order to preserve historical records and lineage.	5/26/2020 12:07 PM
55	Cool and important research. It seems to call into question the individualism in colonial grieving practices...	5/26/2020 11:47 AM
56	This is an interesting topic and I can think of only a handful of practising Canadian planners who specialize in cemeteries etc. (e.g. Michael Larkin). Although unsolicited, I would offer the advice that you should take care to focus your research on the implications that your findings may have for land use planning as opposed to detailed considerations of the function and layout of cemetery lands (which is more a question of urban design or landscape architecture). Questions I assume you are already asking may include the following: Do we need more or less land put aside for cemeteries? Do we need to think about land use permissions which allow for storage of remains etc. outside of formal cemeteries? How should cities plan for cemeteries etc? Should plans be produced which only deal with where cemeteries will be, or should that be a component of a high-level statutory plan, such as an OCP? How does this all connect to the principles of "good planning"? Good luck!	5/26/2020 11:27 AM
57	Traditional cemeteries may prove to be unsustainable uses of limited, scarce lands in the future, particularly in urban areas with significant competing pressures on land use.	5/26/2020 11:18 AM
58	Our family cemetery has a great historical background. It hold the remains of ancestors of a United Empire Loyalist family. I already have a plot there as do some of my other family members. My husband's family has no clear thoughts on where they will be buried, my father-in-law is currently in a box in my mother-in-laws dining room and will remain there until we can plan on spreading both of there ashes somewhere.	5/26/2020 11:11 AM
59	Yea. A lot of those questions were leading. Also, from a reader's point, changes could be made to relate to the querior at a more human, personal level. virgril@gmx.ca	5/26/2020 12:44 AM
60	Are graveyards always kept as graveyards? Written records are important.	5/25/2020 10:05 PM
61	Death as is life should be treated with the beliefs and wants of the soul who has passed.	5/25/2020 9:49 PM
62	Different cultures have different interment traditions, but not all of them can be realized in Canada now.	5/25/2020 9:36 PM
63	I realize I haven't been had a lot of experience with death of someone close enough to me that I was a part of the memorial ceremony or internment choices so a lot of the questions didn't apply to me, but this survey made me realize that these are good conversations to have with loved ones about their wishes. I think traditional cemeteries are a bad use of space but I know a lot of people that they are very important To. Many that go several times a month to Visit. We touched briefly over the phone about memorial benches and plaques being a financial hurdle that not everyone can afford, i wonder about combining some form of art or even building city structures with memorial bricks or something. I'm picturing something like a quay with names engraved into the wood or metal railings. Just brainstorming. Love y'a xox Am	5/25/2020 9:06 PM
64	I realize that many people rely on the closure and ceremony though I think more for their own well being than the wishes of the deceased. I prefer the personal memories to celebrate the life of someone gone. Thank you	5/25/2020 7:03 PM
65	Doing what is most comfortable for friends and family is likely the best approach for dealing with a death. Guidelines and not ultimatums by the deceased (and family) is the most comfortable way of dealing with death.	5/25/2020 6:52 PM
66	On question 29, i don't really care because I wouldn't be buried, and neither would anyone in my family. I have interned a sibling and a parent and while each expressed their wishes for internment, the actual memorial service/celebration was completely up to us. I agree with this because I think that the service is more for the people still living to process and grieve together. Spreading of ashes happened months to years after the services.	5/25/2020 6:34 PM
67	I would like to have more environmental options being readily available.	5/25/2020 5:22 PM

68	This is something I have thought a great deal about. Although I respect everyone's rights to their own beliefs, I personally do not understand the concept of a body taking up space once someone is gone.	5/25/2020 4:52 PM
69	This is a very interesting topic. I am interested in greener interment/burial methods and I think local governments can have play a huge role in not just allowing these to happen but to increase their accessibility and the degree to which it is seen (broadly speaking) as appropriate. Good luck with the research!	5/25/2020 4:40 PM
70	I think that death is a hard thing for most people. For it is returning to the circle.	5/25/2020 4:35 PM
71	Due to COVID-19, regular practices such as gatherings and ceremonies and celebrations of life have mostly been suspended so anyone such as myself who has lost a loved one this year will be providing data that may be a little skewed due to this.	5/25/2020 4:09 PM
72	Based on religious beliefs a lot of questions were answered so no decision actually to be taken	5/25/2020 4:00 PM
73	I think that death will always be a taboo thing. Until people learn how to properly grieve, and move past idolization, anything but very classic religious based ceremonies will not be mainstream. And I mean, that's fine, but there should be more choices, and it should not be about making money.	5/25/2020 3:39 PM
74	I think there are a couple good examples of public grieving spaces here in Victoria. Royal Oak Burial Park has a range of internment options, beautiful spaces and also organizes community events which is an interesting way to gather and remember people.	5/25/2020 3:29 PM
75	Hard to determine if questions were specific to one experience or general to several experiences. I understand it is important for some to have a permanent place to mourn, but it's not the choice I would have for myself.	5/25/2020 3:29 PM
76	the celebration of the life is often a separate "event" from the interment, small family/friend group for the spreading of the ashes and a larger "event" for the celebration of life, which has included the dedication of a tree at a memorial park	5/3/2020 3:46 PM
77	I love you.	4/29/2020 10:29 AM
78	Most people in my life consider cemeteries an expensive and impersonal place to be interned. There are very few clear guidelines or places, outside of cemeteries, where it is acceptable or allowed to spread ashes. This often leads to small discreet possibly illegal spreading of ashes which can add stress and not allow ceremony. Allowing less sterile spaces such as cemeteries and other traditional spaces, which are generally outside of cities and in secluded harder to reach places, it makes communal grief and remembrance much more accessible and integrated.	4/28/2020 7:47 PM

## Q15 How much planning for the interment of ashes has been done before taking them home from the crematorium?

Answered: 126   Skipped: 6
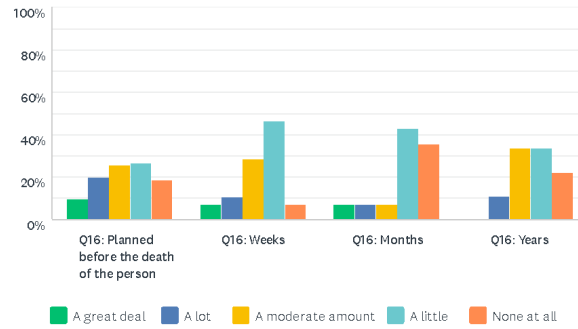
	A GREAT DEAL	A LOT	A MODERATE AMOUNT	A LITTLE	NONE AT ALL	TOTAL
Q16: Planned before the death of the person (A)	9.33% 7	20.00% 15	25.33% 19	26.67% 20	18.67% 14	59.52% 75
Q16: Weeks (B)	7.14% 2	10.71% 3	28.57% 8	46.43% 13	7.14% 2	22.22% 28
Q16: Months (C)	7.14% 1	7.14% 1	7.14% 1	42.86% 6	35.71% 5	11.11% 14
Q16: Years (D)	0.00% 0	11.11% 1	33.33% 3	33.33% 3	22.22% 2	7.14% 9
Total Respondents	10	20	31	42	23	126

1 / 1

217

Q27 Interment and the placement of a marker (gravestone, plaque, photograph or any other type of memorialization marker) must be in the same place.

Answered: 165   Skipped: 7
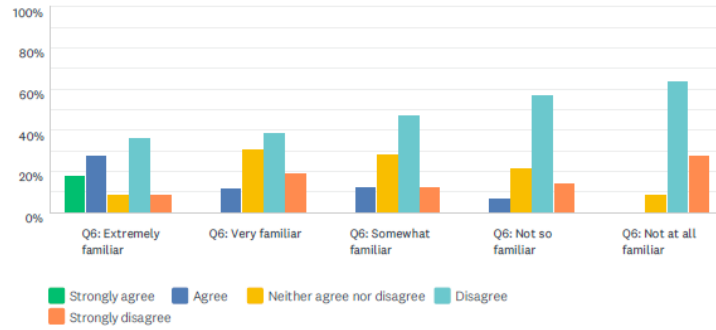
	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	TOTAL
Q6: Extremely familiar (A)	18.18% 2	27.27% 3	9.09% 1	36.36% 4	9.09% 1	6.67% 11
Q6: Very familiar (B)	0.00% 0	11.54% 3	30.77% 8	38.46% 10	19.23% 5	15.76% 26
Q6: Somewhat familiar (C)	0.00% 0	12.36% 11	28.09% 25	47.19% 42	12.36% 11	53.94% 89
Q6: Not so familiar (D)	0.00% 0	7.14% 2	21.43% 6	57.14% 16	14.29% 4	16.97% 28
Q6: Not at all familiar (E)	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	9.09% 1	63.64% 7	27.27% 3	6.67% 11
Total Respondents	2	19	41	79	24	165

Appendix F

Results – Delphi Study

Table F1,– Answers to survey questions by percentages. Green answers were those considered to have consensus. Light green were considered to have partial consensus and were provided with more information and context in the second Delphi survey. The orange highlighted answers are areas of disagreement for which a deeper dive was done.

Question	Strongly Agree/ Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree/ Strongly Disagree
Do you agree that we need a range of interment options that cover different price ranges, aesthetics, and cultural needs?	100%		
Do you agree that we need policies or procedures to allow for memorials outside of cemeteries?	93%		7%
Do you agree that we need clarity on the regulation of interment (zoning, legality of spreading ashes, etc.)?	100%		
Do you agree that we need easily accessible information on what local interment options are available, their cost, and how to pursue them?	100%		
Should planners aim to create visible spaces of memorialization both inside and outside of cemeteries?	86%	7%	7%
Do you agree with providing active spaces for memorialization that encourage interactions (events, trails, places to sit and contemplate, etc.)?	100%		
Do you agree with providing dedicated spaces for people to grieve (e.g., benches in cemeteries, along memorial trails, public memorial walls)?	93%	7%	
Do you agree that when creating Cemetery Land Uses, planners should consider not just cemeteries but what parks, private lands, clubs, public spaces, etc., may be appropriate for interment and memorialization?	64%	22%	14%
Do you agree that planners have a responsibility to ensure there is sufficient land available for burial and interment of cremains?	64%	22%	14%
Do you agree that public input on Cemetery Land Uses should be included in community visioning exercises such as an Official Community Plan?	100%		
Do you agree that planners can make a positive impact on people's experience of grief by ensuring that there are several types of Cemetery Land Uses?	79%	14%	7%

Do you agree that planners have a responsibility to create Cemetery Land Uses as explicit uses in zoning?	72%	14%	14%
Do you agree that cities should acquire or reserve lands for cemetery uses?	50%	29%	7%
Do you agree that city planners/cities should create Cemetery Master Plans to ensure that there is enough cemetery land at reasonable cost for current and future generations?	77%	23%	
Do you agree that as part of planning, planners should do demographic research and make population predictions to ensure there is enough burial and ash-spreading space for the size of the community?	93%		7%
Do you agree that planners should be deliberate about planning for memorialization spaces to ensure that plans fit with the cultural, social, and economic needs of the community?	100%		
Do you agree with using design elements and features to make Cemetery Land Use spaces welcoming and comforting places, including CPTED principals for safety?	93%	7%	
Do you agree that other activities should be incorporated into cemeteries, such as public events, cemetery walks, live music, etc., which promote understanding of death and grief?	86%	14%	
Do you agree that planners should encourage the making of public spaces that encourage creativity to allow mourners to express their grief and memorialize loved ones, such as flexibility in cemetery plot use or public areas that allow ongoing memorialization.	77%	16%	7%
Do you agree that planners should ensure that communities have policies or plans for organic and co-created memorial spaces in communities?	93%	7%	
Do you agree that planners should clarify guidelines for public memorials but leave room for organic and co-created memorial spaces in communities?	93%	7%	
Do you agree with centralized and thorough data collection on interment choices: how many full body burials, how many interments of cremains, how many cremains are unclaimed at crematoriums, how many interment spaces are available?	100%		
Do you agree that there should be publicly available and easy-to-follow information on interment options?	93%	7%	
Do you agree with creating mapping or other means of locating ashes if they are interred outside of cemeteries (i.e., an easy method of self-reporting for the public)?	62%	31%	7%
Do you agree with collecting data on pricing of interment and memorialization options (e.g., cemetery plots) and maintaining databases for comparison purposes.	62%	31%	7%

Do you agree that information on interment options should be presented in a variety of formats to the public?	93%	7%	
Do you agree that partnership with universities for conducting ongoing research could improve knowledge and understanding of interment and memorialization needs?	93%	7%	

Table F2 – Comments by Area for Further Exploration

Whether interment or memorialization is appropriate outside of cemeteries, and if so, where.	"This is potentially politically charged (i.e., who/what should be memorialized in public space) and is there a balance between private grief and public memorialization." "I imagine some people would find it morbid, but I think that culturally that would change over time." **"This would have to be done carefully, and in a way which did not alienate/ other some people's needs/wishes."** **"The public realm is not to be appropriated by individuals, particularly with ad-hoc shrines."** "Difficult, because who is allowed what space." "Provided policy is flexible enough to respond to unforeseen events and doesn't create barriers to informal spaces while ensuring spaces don't conflict with other priorities such as pedestrian and vehicle access." "With limits – for example the white crosses along highways can be triggering for some people." "With limits – need size/area limits to ensure things do not get out of hand."
The challenges of maintaining memorials outside of cemeteries for city staff.	**"Cities are reluctant to take on maintenance and ownership of these spaces, perhaps a policy allowing loved ones can maintain their own memorials is a possible solution."** "One of the challenges with things like people paying for benches is the maintenance required, you can ask Parks about that."
The challenges of ensuring that public spaces do not become overwhelmingly places of memorializing and maintain their use as places for the living to enjoy.	"Given the stigma around talking about death, and especially the documented reputation cemeteries and anything associated with them have as locally undesirable land uses – we definitely don't want to wind up in a situation where we are not providing enough/appropriate cemetery land uses because of local NIMBY-ism." **"Parks planners should work with cemetery managers."**

	"May provide more accessible space for memorials for those unable to afford a more formal space."
	In regards to memorialization outside of cemeteries: "**only if there are no remains such as ashes."**
	"I expect that having options assists with people's ability to more positively process their grief, but I'm not sure."
	"**Even if there is just one definition of cemetery use, the most important in my mind is that a range of things are permitted."**
	"**Consider the unintended consequences of formalizing informal grieving spaces."**
	"**Spaces for burial are for a special interest group (the dead).** While it's important to help provide the necessary space for mourning, burial, etc., I think a stronger approach is to open up appropriate means for burials/ spreading/memorial spaces across zones, uses, etc., rather than focusing on public resources on acquiring lands for a special interest group."
	"As long as this (acquiring cemetery spaces through DCCs) does to lead to a loss of overall green spaces."
The need for interment spaces as well as the need to prevent sprawl and reduce environmental impacts of cities and towns.	"One issue that has not been mentioned is the need to consider environmental impacts, particularly with ash scattering. **Favored sites for this are often local beauty spots and by their nature, those spots often contain sensitive ecosystems."**
	"I struggled to feel in agreement that planners should be explicitly planning for interment areas, as I am not sure I believe that the process of using valuable land resources to bury our relatives is a practice that should continue in the future. It is land intensive, costly, and I understand in some ways can be damaging to the environment."
	"I wonder about the environmental aspects of death and people wanting to do sustainable burial practices and how that impacts their grief process."

Whether these suggestions can be carried out by planners, and how many are the role of governments and/or a matter of public opinion. The political aspects of this discussion must be considered	"I think this issue (providing sufficient space for cemeteries) goes beyond planners, and should be considered by a number of proponents, including governance, developers, planners, landscape architects, etc."
	"I think there is a complex interplay between what is made available and what people choose."
	"On the creation of Cemetery Land Uses, this is 'more a political decision'. Use should be accommodated, either in explicit zoning or within mixed-use zoning."
	"Need more than planners but the planners need to understand how they can contribute to the process."
How strict should regulations be.	"This is an existential issue; creativity must be accommodated and encouraged. Death should not be bureaucratized."
	"This is difficult. One person's idea of creativity could be in bad tase or interfere with others' ideas of adjoining spaces, and areas can quickly become garish, unsightly, and undignified. A careful balancing between individual freedom and collective impact is needed when considering how much flexibility to allow."
	"Planners can work with other city staff to create policy to ensure informal memorial spaces don't conflict with other city priorities and provide clarity to grieved friends and family planning memorial spaces or events."
	"Planners should avoid over-regulating to prevent unforeseen consequences and creating unnecessary barriers."
	"Definitely a need for policies/regulation – these might need to be quite restrictive to prevent ad-hoc memorials, roadside shrines, etc."
	"It seems like an extremely grey area around scattering ashes and establishing formal or informal memorials in public spaces."
	"Land uses that may have a significant effect on their surroundings should be handled explicitly in zoning policy, but I also think there is room for more spontaneous and un-explicit place-making."