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Prophets, Planning, and Politics: Utah's Planning Heritage and its Significance Today and Tomorrow

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Prophets, Planning, and Politics: Utah's Planning Heritage and Its Significance Today and Tomorrow

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 3 Cont.

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER 1: THE PREMISE

Introduction

As the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints celebrates the sesquicentennial of the Mormon pioneers' entry into Utah in 1847, many pundits embrace the opportunity to ponder the events of the past that have helped shape the state into today's Utah. To the observant eye, the significant impact of the "Plat for the City of Zion" is readily apparent in the skeleton of towns and cities throughout the state from the smallest of towns, such as Scipio and Hinckley to the state capital, Salt Lake City. Cognizant of the importance of this plat, the American Institute of Certified Planners (AICP) presented a "National Planning Landmarks" award in April 1996 for the "Plat for the City of Zion", authored by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints' founder Joseph Smith, Jr. (APA honors LDS Church 1996). Originally proposed in 1833 when the nascent religious organization was located in Kirtland, Ohio, the AICP recognized its impact on Mormon settlement in the subsequent 163 years. Design for the plat grew from Smith's own experiences. The New England Village focus on Communitarianism, the movement to Western America in search of Utopia, the Age of Cities, and the West-Appalachian planning scheme of grid iron projection all combined to influence Smith in his creation of Zion's Plat. While Joseph Smith's City of Zion was implemented at least partially in several of the early Latter-day Saint communities, today planning in predominately Mormon Utah (70% Mormon in 1997) differs distinctly from the early settlements that approximately followed Smith's proposal.

Facing a situation similar to many areas throughout the United States--a rapidly expanding population, a booming tourist industry, and growing environmental pressures--Utah's current approach to planning is fragmented and ineffective in dealing with critical

issues. In contrast to the early planned communities of the Mormons, Utah relies on a decentralized planning system with scant authority for planning beyond the municipal level. Addressing similar issues to those facing Utah, both Oregon and Florida enacted progressive and authoritative state based legislation for land use regulation and planning. More recently, states such as Washington and New Jersey have followed suit establishing growth management programs to assist in a more logical and orderly growth. None of these states, however, had a tradition of planning apparently sanctioned by a prophet as does Utah. The question arises, "what influence does Utah's planning heritage have on its planning approach today and what implications does its heritage hold for the planning future of state?" Examination of the planning history of Utah and its distinctly Mormon experience helps to explain both the current nature of planning in Utah and the potential for adoption of extra-local guides and controls for land use.

Literature Review

Geographers have done little research on the history of today's planning within the state of Utah. However, in a broad sense, several studies have been completed on Mormons and their effect on the landscape. Identifying certain aspects of the landscape indicative of Mormon presence, researchers have attempted to delineate the sphere of Mormon influence (Meinig 1972; Francaviglia 1978; Jackson 1979). Generally the area identified focuses in and around the Great Basin including Utah and portions of Idaho and Arizona. Other investigators have looked at how Mormons value the landscape and their attitudes toward the landscape (Jackson 1978a, Wright 1994). One study showed that the attitudes and beliefs

concerning the land was shaped in part by the sermons of Mormon church leaders (Jackson 1978a). Another study indicated that Mormon beliefs may be negatively impacting land conservation within Utah (Wright 1994). According to the results of both researchers, the Mormon religion has had a definite affect upon the landscape of Utah and continues to affect it.

Beyond the general influence of Mormons and their attitudes toward the land, research of early Mormon city plans abounds. Several researchers have devoted much of their work to the discussion of early Mormon towns and city planning (Jackson 1977, 1978a, 1986; Jackson and Layton 1976; Meinig 1972; Nelson 1953; Reps 1976 and 1979; Romig and Siebert 1986 and 1987; and Romig 1994). Much emphasis has been placed on understanding the history and significance of the City of Zion plat to early Mormons (Jackson 19; Romig and Siebert 1986 and 1987; Romig 1994). Others have traced Mormon city plans and layouts from the time of the Plat of the City of Zion to the early years of town settlement in Utah (Jackson 1977, 1978a, 1986; Jackson and Layton 1976; Nelson 1953; Reps 1976 and 1979). Still others have discussed the unique features of Mormon settlements such as the Mormon fence, lombardy poplars, and the grid iron projection spread across Utah's landscape (Layton and Jackson 1977; Nelson 1953; Stegner 1970). Though several authors have identified the Plat for the City of Zion as the blueprint for all cities within Utah, studies have shown that only portions of the plan were adopted throughout Utah (Jackson and Layton 1976). Researchers of the City of Zion plan have also identified several contributing factors Joseph Smith incorporated into his plan such as the New England Village focus on Communitarianism, the movement to Western America in search of Utopia,

the Age of Cities, and the West-Appalachian planning scheme of grid iron projection (Campbell 1993; Jackson 1977, 1986). Other researchers have delved into the religious aspect of Mormon city planning examining the significance of Independence, Missouri, as the New Jerusalem and intended site for the City of Zion (Campbell 1993). In a more contemporary setting, the Mormon church's influence on planning around Temple Square in Salt Lake City, Utah, has been recognized and addressed as well (Jackson 1993).

Overall, there is no specific work concerning the influence of the Plat for the City of Zion on planning in present day Utah. While many authors have attempted to identify the lingering characteristics of Zion's Plat still evident across the landscape of Utah, no one has studied the impact on planning in Utah today of the Plat for the City of Zion and the movement behind the plat. The purpose of this thesis is to identify these impacts and illuminate their potential role in the future of Utah.

Methodology

Utah, a state with a strong economy, a thriving population, and a varied and beautiful landscape, experiences daily escalation in the pressures of growth. Within the state attitudes toward how to ease the ills of growth differ from source to source. While many states have dealt with similar growth issues, characteristics of Utah cause it to stand out. Perhaps most peculiar to the state is its predominant religious affiliation; Utah has a Mormon majority. Early in the Mormon history, emphasis was placed on the orderly planning of cities as in the Plat for the City of Zion. This early Mormon practice of city planning leads to the questions of how Utah's planning heritage affects the state today and what impact its heritage will have

on the state as it contends with mounting growth issues. To adequately address the subject of Utah planning in a holistic manner, three topics are covered within this thesis: the Mormon heritage of planning in Utah, the current state of affairs in Utah and its meaning for planning within the state, and alternative possible planning futures for Utah.

The first portion of this work relies heavily on the endeavors of other scholars concerning Mormon planning (such as Jackson, Romig, and Reps) and Mormon history (such as Arrington, Verdoia, and Luce). Initially the research consists of identification of communitarianism and demo-theocracy as significant contributors to both early Mormon attitudes toward planning and the creation of the Plat for the City of Zion. A brief chronology is then presented of cities built by Mormon pioneers from the establishment of the church through the settlement of Utah. The second Plat for the City of Zion previously unrecognized in surveys of early Mormon cities is included as well. A discussion of the changing Mormon planning paradigm around the turn of the century as planning authority officially shifted from church to state follows the survey on early Mormon city planning. Lastly, a summary of the significance of the new planning paradigm both for Utahns and for the City of Zion Plat concludes this portion of the thesis. In essence, Mormon planning history, its distinctiveness, and the bearing this heritage has on planning in Utah today unfold from the collected information and discussion.

Having established the historical background of Mormon planning, a survey of the current state of affairs in Utah is provided to illustrate the climate in which modern planning must take place. The discussion includes a brief identification of the remaining influences of the Plat for the City of Zion and their importance in Utah today followed by an in depth

look at the state and its planning issues according to four aspects of the state's makeup: physical environment, population, economy, and politics. Here, the work centers around the present planning climate in Utah and how its planning heritage influences that climate. Data for this portion of the discussion comes from the *1997 Economic Report to the Governo*r and journal and newspaper articles concerning both Utah's cultural setting and current growth issues. All of these data were compiled to aid in understanding Utah's current planning situation.

The final portion of the paper consists of a discussion of potential futures for Utah. This section of the paper is based on the hypothesis that Utah would have a better prospective future were it to return to the concern for community and acceptance of extra-local controls embodied in early Mormon planning versus the predominant concern for individual rights characteristic of present day Utah. The presentation of scenarios begins by first discussing a future likely to occur according to existing planning approaches followed by discussing a future possible were Utah to adopt successful approaches drawn from the example of other states. At the same time, each future is weighed against the current planning situation within the state. The future forecast based on existing planning methods is related as parallel to that of California. Data for this comparison derives from observations on the similarities between Utah of today and California over two decades ago. The alternative future revolves around the theme of growth management. As Utah's growth challenges (both transportation and land use) relate primarily to lack of management of growth, the alternative future for Utah focuses upon growth management. By evaluating Utah's current situation in comparison to the standards for an effective growth management

program as set forth by Nelson and Duncan, an indication of Utah's potential for adopting such measures arises (1995). Building upon this potential with applicable growth management techniques, a model for planning in Utah emerges that may offer state residents the ability to overcome existing and future growth challenges. With the completion of discussion on Utah's planning heritage, current planning approach, and potential future planning practices, conclusions are drawn concerning the significance of the state's planning heritage in Utah's future.

CHAPTER 2: HISTORICAL ROOTS OF PLANNING IN UTAH

Background for the City of Zion Plan

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints from its beginnings espoused a union of church and community as well as a concern for both the spiritual and the temporal welfare of its people (Arrington 1958; Jackson 1992b). Exactly what this meant for church members depended upon the specific time and associated circumstances of the church. Mormon planning reflects the underlying principles of community and individual and their application over time according to changing conditions (Jackson 1992b; Luce 1990). To understand the Mormon history of planning three important aspects of the early church years related to the above issues must be examined: conception of the City of Zion, establishment of a program for the care of all church members, and development of a demo-theocratic form of government.

At the time Joseph Smith drew up the plan for the City of Zion, he resided in Kirtland, Ohio. Smith had moved from Fayetteville, New York, to Kirtland according to revelation received in December 1830 directing him to relocate to Ohio (Doctrine and Covenants 37:1).[1] Though Smith's reception by non-member townspeople was perhaps less than cordial, he and his wife Emma found in Kirtland a temporary haven from the persecutions endured in Upstate New York (Prusha 1982). Kirtland became a site for development, application, and testing of many Mormon beliefs concerning community.

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The Doctrine and Covenants is the Mormon book of continuing revelation from God through a prophet. The prophet of the LDS Church essentially acts as God's mouthpiece on earth. Members credit the prophet with the authority to speak on God's behalf..

During these early years of the Church, Mormon leadership approached the organization of the church in incremental steps by turning to the Lord when questions arose. Many of these questions developed as members became better acquainted with the Book of Mormon (a record of Christ's ministry and church among an early American population). This relationship may have been directly responsible for identification of the site for the City of Zion, a utopian haven for believers. Within the emerging church, a growing anxiety developed for the fulfillment of prophecies concerning a future City of Zion discussed in the Book of Mormon (Romig 1994). In May of 1831, Joseph Smith received a revelation designating Jackson County, Missouri, the future location of the City of Zion (Doctrine and Covenants 57:1-3). A little less than two years later, June of 1833, Smith sent his plans for the City of Zion to the members who had since moved to Jackson County, Missouri. Thus, the Saints (another designation for members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints) had a place to build their utopian society, a society where divine authority could direct the details of everyday life.

A program to care for the physical needs of members of the utopian community also arose during this time period. Smith was exposed to the communal living system of one religious group when he moved to Kirtland. This group, the Campbellites, had a community that acted as one large family reliant upon one another for shelter and sustenance. In February of 1831, Smith implemented a similar system for the Mormon church, known as the Law of Consecration (Doctrine and Covenants 42:30-39). The law established a system whereby every member signed all their property over to the community church representative, and he redistributed the property according to individual need.

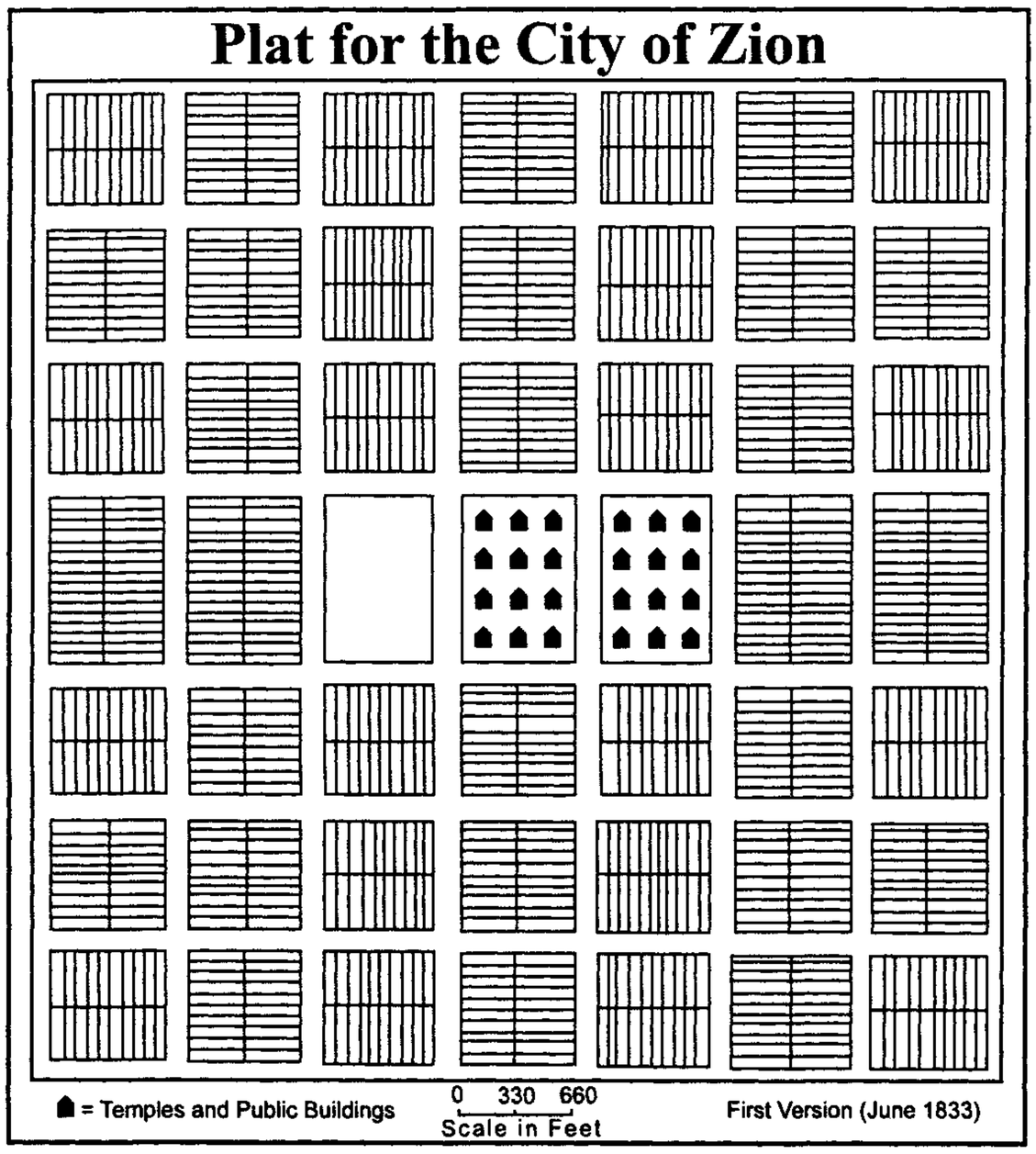
The final issue significant in understanding Mormon planning evolved into existence rather than occurring at a specific time. Because of the church's interest in the eternal *and* secular welfare of its members and the church's American heritage, government of Mormon communities predictably became demo-theocratic (Arrington 1958). This form of government afforded ecclesiastical leaders authority to guide all aspects of members' lives rather than just spiritual concerns.

Joseph Smith's plan for the City of Zion represented an integration of these three elements. Smith identified the location of the City of Zion as Jackson County, Missouri, and presented a plan for its development. According to the plan, homes in close proximity to one another, temples for worship, buildings for sociality, and structures for collection and distribution of community goods would all be built to serve both the physical and spiritual needs of members. Lastly, the temple's central location in the community symbolized the church's primacy in all aspects of Mormon life and the ruling position of church in community.

Plat for the City of Zion

The elements included in Joseph Smith's City of Zion illustrate that his proposed utopian plan is an eclectic assemblage drawing on influences of the time. Important characteristics of the plat include: a uniform grid system based on cardinal points, large central blocks for public buildings excluding residential use, interior residential lots with plans for farms on the exterior of the town, alternating block house orientation, uniform housing setbacks and building materials, and uniform wide streets (Figure 1) (Jackson 1977;

Figure 1: Copy of original Plat for the City of Zion by Joseph Smith (June 1833)



Source: After photograph of original Plat for the City of Zion. LDS Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Jackson 1978; Jackson and Layton 1976). In fact, the plan for the City of Zion is similar in many respects to William Penn's Philadelphia (Jackson 1977).

Other influences on Smith's design are apparent as well. Most cities platted during this era followed the grid-iron pattern, especially throughout the Ohio-Mississippi Valley (Jackson 1986). While the City of Zion plan adhered little to the New England Village layout Joseph Smith knew as a child, he may have consciously or unconsciously drawn from one aspect of the village. Just as the New England Village separated uses, Smith's plan called for the segregation of residences from farms. Houses were to be built within the city, and farms were to be located in outlying areas. As with most cities platted during that time period and specifically those cities where Joseph Smith visited or resided, the City of Zion plan called for wide streets (Jackson 1977). Unique, however, to the City of Zion Plan were uniformly wide streets rather than a few principal boulevards (Jackson 1978b). The incorporation of all these elements into one plan also contributed to the plat's distinctiveness.

The City of Zion Plat was the culmination of an attempt to create a Utopian society consistent with the Jeffersonian ethic in which every man was a farmer (Dyal 1989; Jackson 1978b). As with many idealists of the age, Smith envisioned the City of Zion to be the perfect blend of rural and urban (Brownell 1971). The city would be a community "family" where all were children of God. Each member would live within the city to enjoy the advantages of city life: society, education, and culture (Jackson 1977). To avoid the attendant farm odors within the city while still providing an outlet for people to enjoy their relationship with the land, farms would be placed outside the city but nearby. The city would

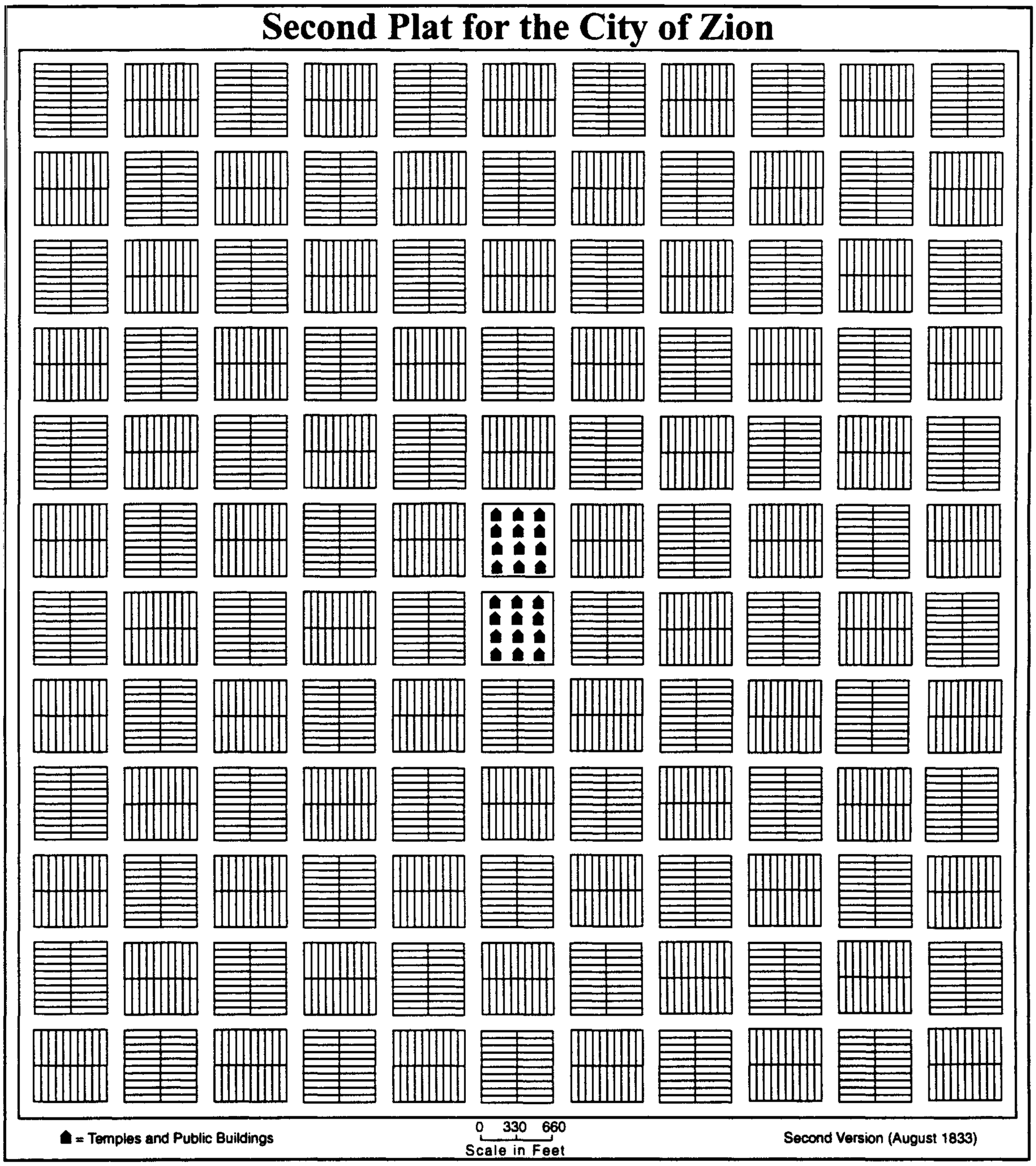
be a Utopia, a literal heaven upon earth organized according to the laws of God, and governed by God through his prophet leader.

City of Zion Application before entering Utah

Though the City of Zion Plat was originally meant for the "New Jerusalem" in Independence, Jackson County, Missouri, it was never implemented there. Less than a year after the Saints' arrival at Jackson County, conflict with non-Mormons in the county resulted in the Mormons expulsion from the area. However, during the brief time they did occupy the area, ambitious plans for the City of Zion continued. Indeed, several changes to the plan were proposed and made while the Saints yet remained in Jackson County (Romig and Siebert 1986).

Just two months after Joseph Smith presented the original plat to settlers in Jackson County, he completed and sent to the settlers an altered rendering of the plat (August of 1833) identified today as the second plan for the City of Zion (Figure 2) (Romig and Siebert 1986; Romig and Siebert 1987). Variations to the original included: a larger size of two square miles instead of one square mile; no description accompanying the plat (presumably the guidelines accompanying the first plat were to be followed); 132 blocks instead of the original 49; a significantly decreased area for the temple complex; and a pivoted orientation of the temple complex from a north-south alignment to an east-west direction (Romig 1994). Though this second proposal represented the most dramatic changes, other variations to the plat are documented throughout the duration of the settlers' stay in Jackson County and

Figure 2: Copy of the second Plat for the City of Zion by Joseph Smith (August of 1833)



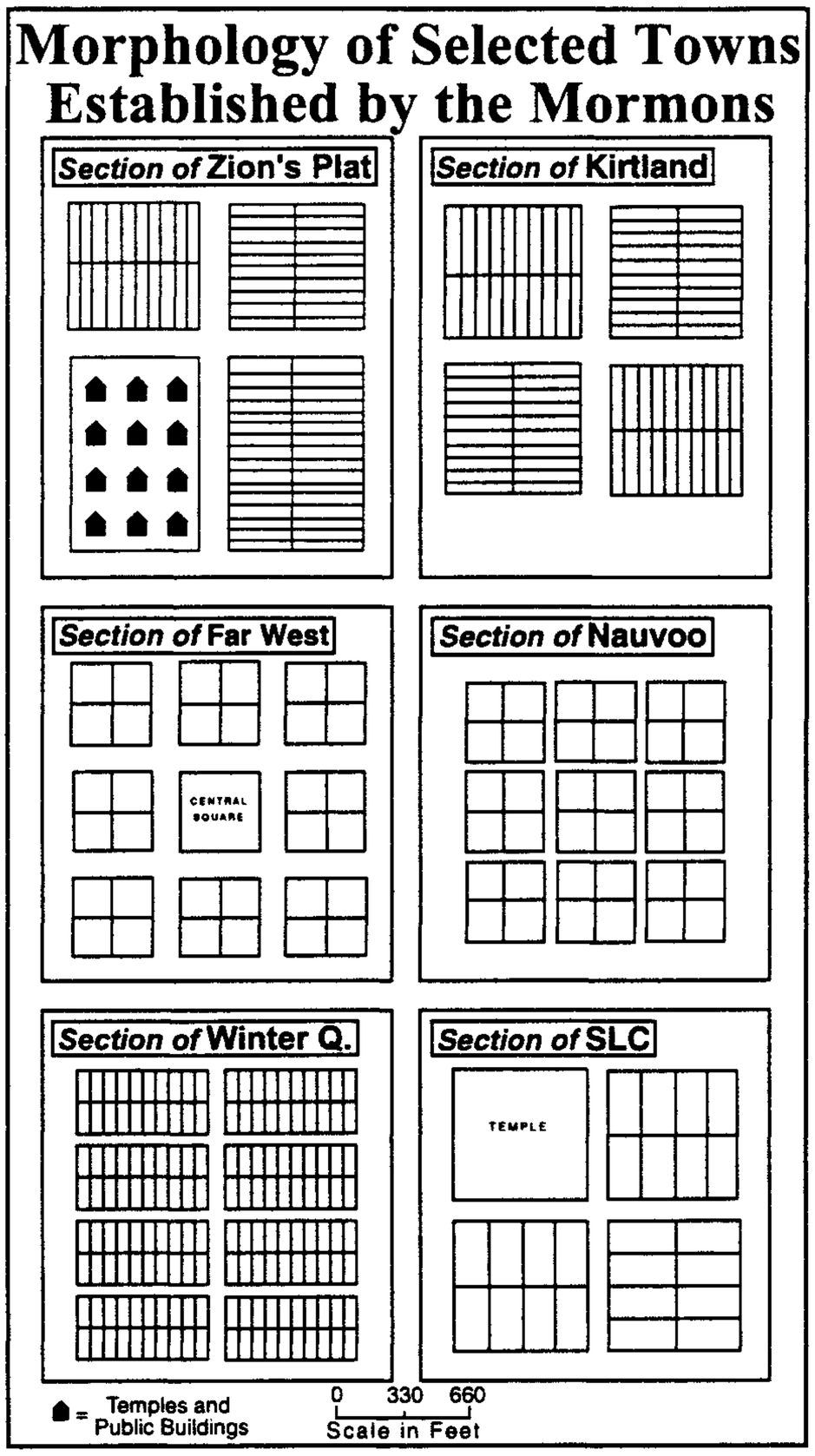
Source: After photograph of second Plat for the City of Zion. LDS Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah.

afterwards when hope remained for the Saints' return to Independence (Romig 1994). These changes suggest a fluidity and dynamic quality to the plan for the City of Zion.

The most approximate implementation of the City of Zion plan occurred in Kirtland, Ohio. Kirtland differed from the original plat for the City of Zion in two major ways: it did not call for an oversized center block for public buildings and only one block was devoted to the temple complex (Figure 3). The reduced center block of the Kirtland plan actually coincides with the second plan for the City of Zion. Nevertheless, Kirtland differed from the second plan in size, blocks allotted for the temple complex, and orientation of the temples. Kirtland, however, seems to reflect a compromise of the first and second plans for the City of Zion.

Sadly for early Latter-day Saints, their presence continued to be a point of conflict with the existing residents of areas the Mormons attempted to colonize. Thus, the Saints' flight from Independence to Far West, Missouri, and Kirtland, Ohio, represented only a portion of their travels. Eventually mob attacks in Kirtland prompted their removal to Far West, Missouri. Mobs forced the Mormons to flee Missouri completely, resulting in the purchase of the "paper" towns of Commerce and Commerce City, Illinois, and adjacent farms in 1839-40. A new town named Nauvoo was surveyed over these properties and in December 1840 the Illinois Legislature recognized its existence by the Nauvoo Charter. Nauvoo grew rapidly, and by 1845 had an estimated 10,000 people, rivaling the rapidly growing Chicago to the north. Mormon immigration and political dominance of the region combined with frontier hostility to a group whose practices differed markedly from the traditional yeoman frontier farmer resulted in renewed persecution and the mob murder and

Figure 3: Examples of morphology of selected towns established by the Mormons and drawn to same scale



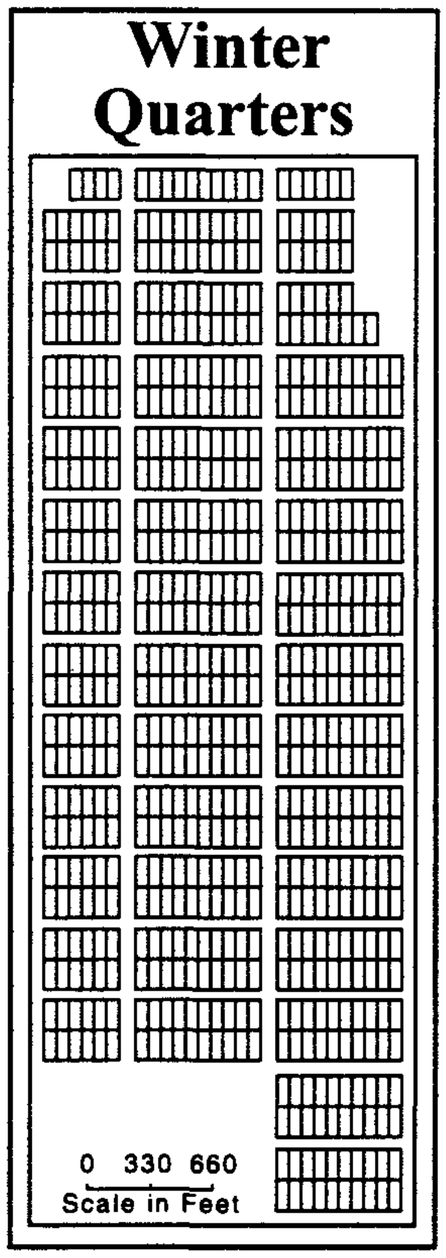
Source: Adapted from maps of the original plat maps in Salt Lake County Courthouse and LDS Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah.

martyrdom of Smith in 1844. The Church leaders continued to try to complete the grandiose plan for Nauvoo, including the massive Temple. Relations with non-Mormons continued to deteriorate until the forced expulsion of the Saints in the winter of 1846, beginning the Mormon exodus to the west. The journey west was marked by the construction of only one more settlement, Winter Quarters as a site for preparation for the journey west. The cities built by Mormons before entering Utah tell something of changes in Mormon planning.

Each succeeding city built by Mormons decreasingly adhered to the original City of Zion plat as evidenced by the construction of Far West and Nauvoo following Kirtland (Figure 3). Far West differed from the original plan in width of streets, number of lots per block, and size of lots. Interestingly, Far West's lay out identically matches those of many other Midwest cities of the time. Nauvoo's plan called for narrow streets with blocks all the same size and division similar to those used in Far West. Both cities illustrate a growing divergence from the City of Zion plan (Jackson 1977).

After the time of Smith's death, only one more community was erected by the Mormons before their arrival in Utah in 1847: Winter Quarters (today's Florence, Nebraska, an Omaha suburb). Winter Quarters was laid out with five acres blocks divided into twenty quarter acre lots somewhat similar to the City of Zion (Figure 4). Unlike the uniform road widths of the City of Zion Plat, estimates from drawings of Winter Quarters plat and given block measurements indicate that streets in Winter Quarters running north and south were wider than streets running east and west (Reps 1979). Viewed as a temporary home for travelers' headed west, builders of this city apparently gave priority to utility rather than prophecy in its design.

Figure 4: Plan for Winter Quarters



Source: Plan for Winter Quarters from John Reps' Cities of the American West (1979).

Despite the lack of complete agreement with the June 1833 plan for the City of Zion, community values inherent to the plan stayed constant in Mormon communities established during Smith's lifetime. Though the communitarian principle of the Law of Consecration was abandoned in 1838 while the Mormons still resided in Nauvoo, tithing and other sources of community donation continued (Arrington 1988). Additionally, Joseph Smith acted in Nauvoo as both the president of the Church and the mayor of the city. Upon Smith's murder by a mob in 1844, Brigham Young took the reins of the church, leading the majority of members across the country to attempt once again to establish a kingdom of God according to selected principles of communitarianism and divine authority in leadership.

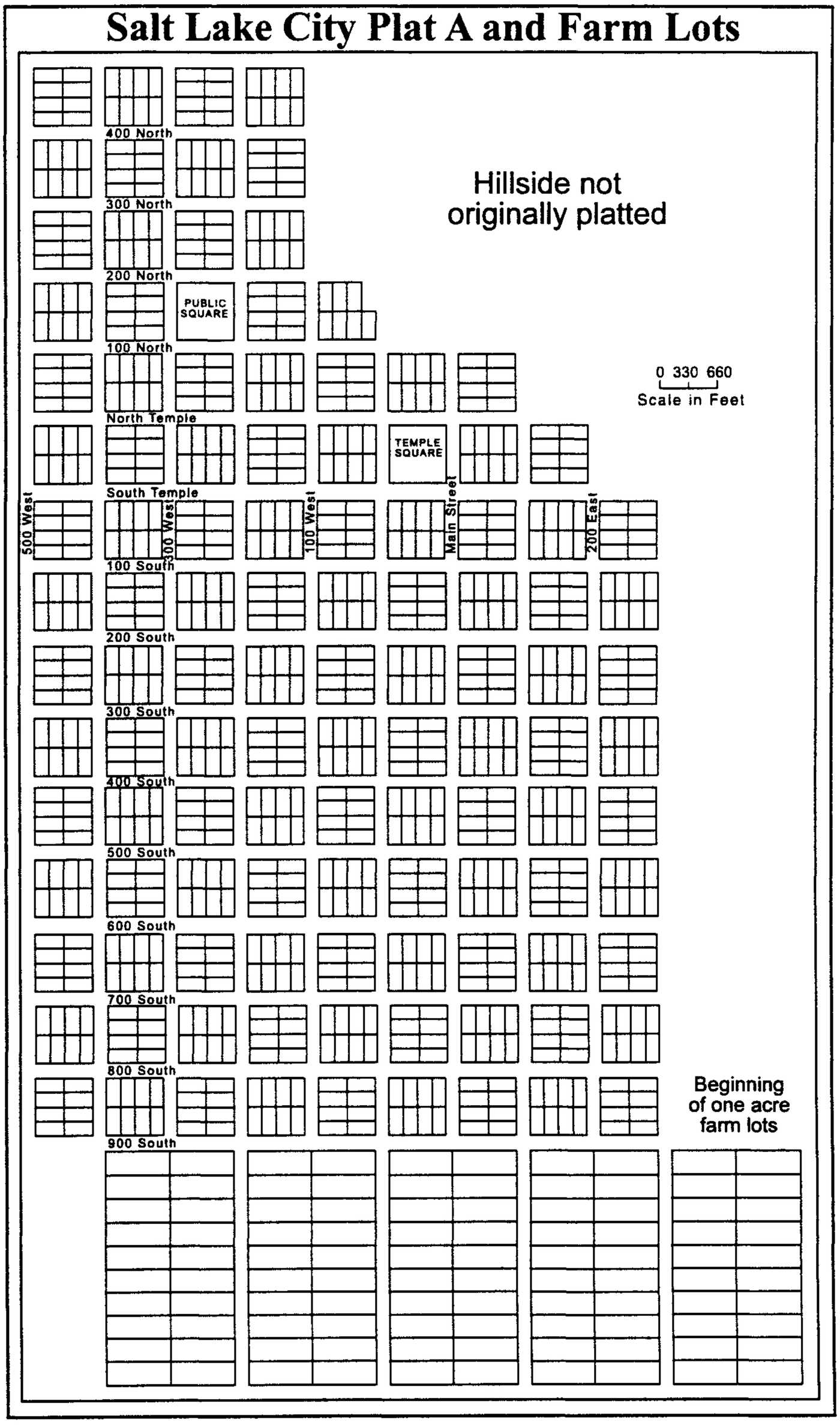
City of Zion Application in Utah

The vanguard of the Mormon exodus entered the Salt Lake Valley in July of 1847. Upon entering the Salt Lake Valley, Brigham Young implemented a renewed effort to follow the City of Zion plan. A new city, Great Salt Lake City, was platted and construction of homes and the temple began. As with Smith's plan, the plan for Salt Lake City included blocks which were each 10 acres; however, lots were much larger at 8 lots per block instead of Smith's specified 20 lots per block. Brigham Young initially proposed one superblock of 40 acres for the temple and other religious structures in place of Smith's central tier of blocks. Concern by his followers over the ability of the Saints to care for such a large area caused it to be reduced to the same 10 acre size of other lots. To accommodate the addition of a 20 foot sidewalk on each side of the street, streets widths were increased by forty feet. In addition, Brigham Young's plan required a 20 foot setback and the location of houses in the

center of the lots, reportedly to minimize danger in case of a fire. Settlers built on only two sides of the blocks on alternate blocks. Though not a mirror image of the City of Zion plan, Brigham's scheme did rely upon many of the same principles as Smith's (Jackson 1977). From the beginning however, it was clear that Young's vision differed from Smith's. Where Smith envisioned a series of small, self-contained Utopian communities occupying the fertile mid-west, Young's plan suggested both his more pragmatic nature and a view of Salt Lake City as a religious capital. Space that might have been used for additional communities was surveyed into a series of ever larger farms going outward from the center of the new town (Figure 5). Near the borders of the first plot were one acre farmsteads to be used by merchants, further out were 5, 10, and 20 acre plots for those whose primary occupation was farming. Young initially followed Smith's vision of a Utopian society as land was not to be sold, but given out by lottery. The blocks immediately around the temple were reserved for the principal church leaders' residences however.

Aside from the outline of the city dictated by the street and block sizes, most aspects of Young's plan were changed over time. Young dictated that houses on lots be oriented so that the front of one did not face another, apparently to create the illusion of privacy found in isolated farmsteads. A rapid influx of settlers, however, led to subdivision of the lots, ending Young's attempt to control building placement (Jackson 1977). Another variation from the City of Zion plan resulted from the rapidly expanding population of Salt Lake City. Though Smith's plan called for a limit of between 15,000 and 20,000 residents, Salt Lake quickly exceeded such limitations. Beginning with 1600 initial settlers in the Salt Lake Valley at the end of 1847, by 1857 some 75,000 settlers made the Salt Lake City area home

Figure 5: Plans for Salt Lake City illustrating the larger peripheral farm lots

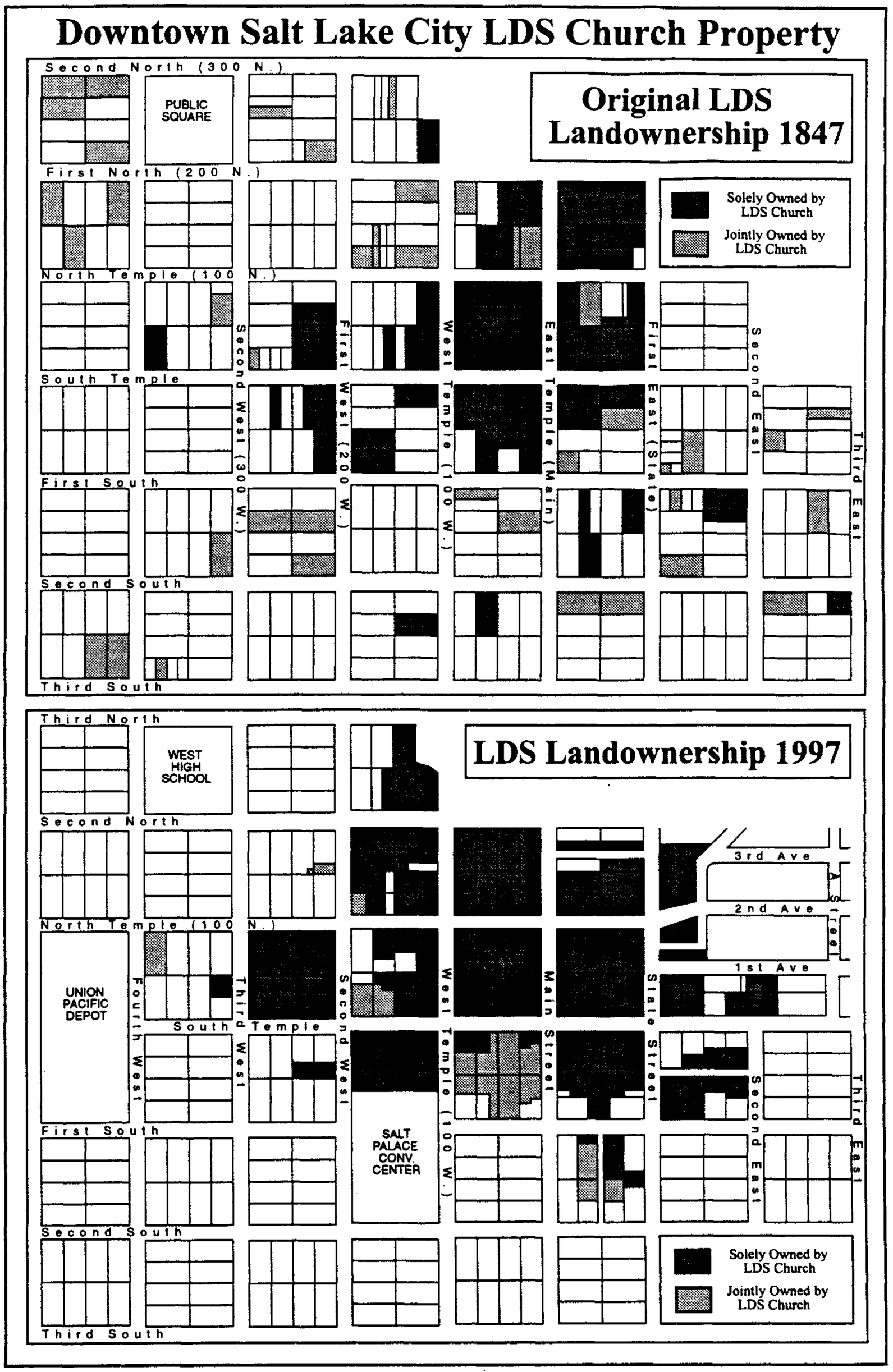


Source: Adapted from Historical Atlas of Mormonism (Brown et al 1994, 83).

(Jackson 1986). This phenomenal growth rate left little opportunity to limit the city to the specifics of Smith's City of Zion's Plat. Population growth led to platting of additional blocks for residences, overwhelming the land reserved for larger farms beyond the original survey. Several major elements of Young's modifications of Smith's City of Zion plat did persist to the present. The temple block is most obvious, as are the wide streets and large blocks which continue to make access to the center of Salt Lake City relatively easy compared to cities with narrower streets (any street in the original plat has room for four lanes of traffic plus parking on both sides). One of the initial large farm sites outside of the first survey is the beautiful Liberty Park near the city center, and the church leaders' initial ownership of land around the temple block has resulted in the LDS church continuing to own the core blocks of the city which allows them to control land use in the city center (Figure 6).

Mormon pioneers establishing towns in Utah after Salt Lake City seemed less concerned with conformance to the plan for the City of Zion. Aside from the general characteristics of large lots, wide streets, and large blocks, builders of Mormon communities appeared to pay no particular attention to the details of Zion's plat (Jackson 1992a; Jackson and Layton 1977). Essentially all Mormon villages are platted in a rectangular grid, but this can be attributed to two factors other than reliance on the City of Zion plan. First, the route traveled by Mormons on their way to Utah exposed them to the grid-iron scheme used almost exclusively in the Mississippi-Ohio Valley (Even Circleville, Ohio was ultimately forced to transform its circular streets into the ubiquitous grid-iron). Second, the principle that each settler should receive an equal piece of land was more readily facilitated by the grid iron

Figure 6: Downtown Salt Lake City LDS Church Property



Source: LDS Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah.

pattern of land division. Indeed, many did not even rely on a uniform grid-iron plan until Brigham Young admonished them to do so, but rather "squatted" on land waiting until the Church surveyor came and surveyed lots, blocks, streets, and often necessarily many cabins (Jackson 1977).

It seems clear that the City of Zion was not a masterplan for all Mormon communities. Recognizing that only some settlers were acquainted with the earlier cities of the Mormons and only a small portion of these settlers were specifically familiar with Smith's plan for the City of Zion, one could surmise that the Mormons built their communities according to familiarity and convenience rather than conformance with the Plat for the City of Zion. Beyond simple geometry and land use, however, the structure of Mormon communities in the Great Basin were markedly different from most frontier settlements, continuing to reflect the underlying Mormon principles of communitarianism and theocracy. Enduring as an important church doctrine, the church's emphasis on group welfare took many different forms over time (Arrington 1988). Such emphasis included the Law of Consecration in Missouri and continued in the Great Basin settlements in the form of community cooperative projects such as irrigation systems and church, school and social buildings, economic organization to prevent non-Mormons from monopolizing trade and commerce (most notably the Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution, or Z.C.M.I., a Mormon community-owned joint stock company that had over 100 stores across the Mormon settlements by Brigham's death in 1877), flour and saw mills, attempts to implement a communal style economic and social system called "the United Order" (communitarian

experiments included nearly 150 community "orders" or cooperatives by the time of Young's death) (Arrington 1994).

The Mormon church maintained its importance in government as evidenced by Brigham Young's roles as both president of the church and governor of the Utah Territory from 1851-1857 and by the dominance of the church in politics during the nineteenth century. Until the 1870s church leaders served as government leaders and political parties did not exist in Utah. With the establishment of a weak non-Mormon political party, the Liberal Party, Mormons then established their own party, the People's Party, which controlled Utah politics until statehood in 1896 prompted the church to officially divide its members into Democrats or Republicans to meet the required separation of church and state (Verdoia 1995). Thus, while Joseph Smith's June of 1833 Plat of the City of Zion was not a blueprint for all Mormon Communities, the combination of relatively similar city plats, ecclesiastical control of city establishment, and subsequent planning related activities did create a unique and readily identifiable planning tradition in nineteenth century Mormonism.

Division of Church and State: Creating a New Planning Paradigm

The isolation of the Great Basin provided the Mormon Church with a relatively unimpeded environment in which to build their grand kingdom independent of the rest of the world. State and church were intricately connected for fifty years as Mormon leaders served as ecclesiastical and temporal spokesmen to maintain and spread their kingdom. Though specific efforts at creating small agrarian utopian communities based on the Plat for the City of Zion were quickly abandoned, experiments in community living continued throughout the

region. These experiments focused on such things as the community based franchises of the Z. C. M. I. or the generally short lived attempts by some communities to introduce communitarian practices through the United Order. Ever cautious in maintaining their isolation, the Mormons adopted many unique practices to avoid the corrupting influence of outsiders. Unfortunately for them, some of these same practices drew national attention and disapproval that ultimately ended Mormon isolation and their distinct lifestyle. Three specific issues came under the censure of outsiders and ultimately changed Mormon planning practices: polygamy, Mormon economics, and Mormon politics.

The Church publicly announced the practice of polygamy in 1852. Although polygamy had been pursued somewhat surreptitiously in the Midwestern Mormon communities, the general American populace was shocked and offended as news of it spread across the country. Linking polygamy with slavery, many non-Mormon churches and groups vigorously campaigned against the practice.[2] Indeed, the 1856 Republican platform rested on the proposal to wipe out the "twin relics of barbarism," slavery and polygamy (Boston 1992; Verdoia 1995). The end of the Civil War signaled triumph over slavery and start of a concerted attack on polygamy. Outside observers hoped that association with the outside world would lead Mormons to abandon what many Americans perceived as wicked behavior.

However, despite an influx of miners and later railroad workers, Mormons persevered in the

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Ironically one of the non-Mormons who knew the Mormons best, the explorer/author Sir Richard Francis Burton, defended the practice. In his book City of the Saints and Across the Rocky Mountains to California (1861) he carefully discussed the practice of polygamy and how it provided for the welfare of widows etc. After his death his wife spent the rest of her life producing arguments to the effect that he really did not mean to imply good could come from polygamy.

peculiar institution of polygamy. Eventually, the federal government enacted legislation to expedite Mormon relinquishment of polygamy, including denial of polygamists' right to vote, denial of statehood for Utah, denial of polygamist children's legitimacy, disenfranchisement of the church, jailing of polygamist men, especially church leaders when they could catch them, and seizure of all church property not associated with religious services (Verdoia 1995). Church leaders capitulated in 1890 when the President of the church officially stated the intent of the church was to comply with Federal laws prohibiting polygamous marriages (Doctrine and Covenants, Official Declaration 1, October 6, 1890, page 290-291.)

Equally problematic to Washington was the communal and cooperative economic practices found among the Mormons. Endeavoring to be a self-sustaining society and to avoid outside influences, Mormon leadership promoted self-sufficiency. Throughout the Mormon settlements, Brigham Young encouraged Mormons to grow and produce whatever they required to meet all of their needs and wants. Leaders also discouraged economic exchange with non-members (Arrington 1958; Verdoia 1995). Though these policies were not as adamantly preached after Young's death in 1877, the goal of the leaders remained the same: self-enforced isolation for the Mormons to protect them from the perceived sinful behavior of the rest of the world while allowing them to develop their own utopian society. Non-Mormons businessmen and federal representatives within the state, however, deemed Mormon economics contrary to the American principle of free markets (Verdoia 1995).

Mormons also received national censure for their political systems. Identifying Mormon demo-theocracy as a monarchy, many non-Mormons found the church's political dominance in Utah frustrating and even anti-American. Claiming that such a form of

government oppressed the people and created a corrupt monopoly, groups lobbied in Washington for its destruction. Many felt Mormon control of church and governmental matters within Utah Territory directly contradicted constitutional separation of church and state. Fearing the Saints' loyalty to their church, Mormons were labeled traitors to the United States (Verdoia 1995).

The same tool that officially ended polygamy also preempted the Mormon issues of politics and economics. Though the 1890 Manifesto declaring the discontinuance of the practice of polygamy within the church dealt specifically with the issue of polygamy, it symbolized much more. Congress required the complete separation of church and state. In accordance with these demands, cooperatives were dismantled throughout the state and replaced by free economic competition. Dividing its votes between the nationally recognized Republican and Democratic parties, the Mormon People's Party quietly removed itself from politics as well (Lyman 1982). In effect, the Manifesto signaled the Mormons' entrance into mainstream America, and capitulation to the government over efforts to create a unique theocratic culture in the individualistic and capitalistic America.

Conclusion

This 'Americanization' of Mormons resulted in several changes for planning in Utah. First, the Saints' theocratic form of government manifest both in Joseph Smith's original plan for the City of Zion and in the later guidance of church leaders in planning new Mormon communities would no longer exist. Second, Mormon support for either planned communities or community regulation of individual land use divisions began to dissipate as

the authority for planning shifted from church to state. Perhaps most importantly for planning, Mormon communities and their residents began also to emphasize national attitudes of individualism, competition and capitalism as the Saints attempted to prove their previously questioned loyalty to the United States.

CHAPTER 3: UTAH'S CURRENT SITUATION

Utah's Standard Planning Approach

Endeavoring to prove their loyalty to the United States since the time of the Manifesto, Utahns have become the quintessential example of patriotic Americans (Meinig 1995). Parallel to this unabashed patriotism, planning in Utah closely follows that of most other states. With the complete separation of church and state, Utah began the twentieth century with effectively no planning beyond the residual role of the church in mediating land use disputes in small towns and nuisance regulation in larger communities such as Salt Lake City. Utah's legislature adopted the Standard City Enabling Act in the late 1920's, which essentially gave local municipalities complete control over planning within the state.

Although the legislature has subsequently passed legislation that made minor improvements, the planning situation in Utah is currently characterized by a decentralized system of community controlled planning.[3] While Federal regulations exist on paper that require some funding be channeled through metropolitan planning organizations (MPOs) or other regional agencies, these groups are effectively pass-through entities for federal funds that primarily deal with roads or other federally funded infrastructure improvements rather than comprehensive land use planning functions. As with other western states, however, Utah is experiencing such rapid population growth that the simple planning approaches of the past are no longer adequate to meet growth related challenges. Utah's response to the

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The state legislature passed legislation in the 1980's requiring cities to plan together for annexation of adjacent property as they grew. The 1997 legislature eliminated this minimal planning requirement.

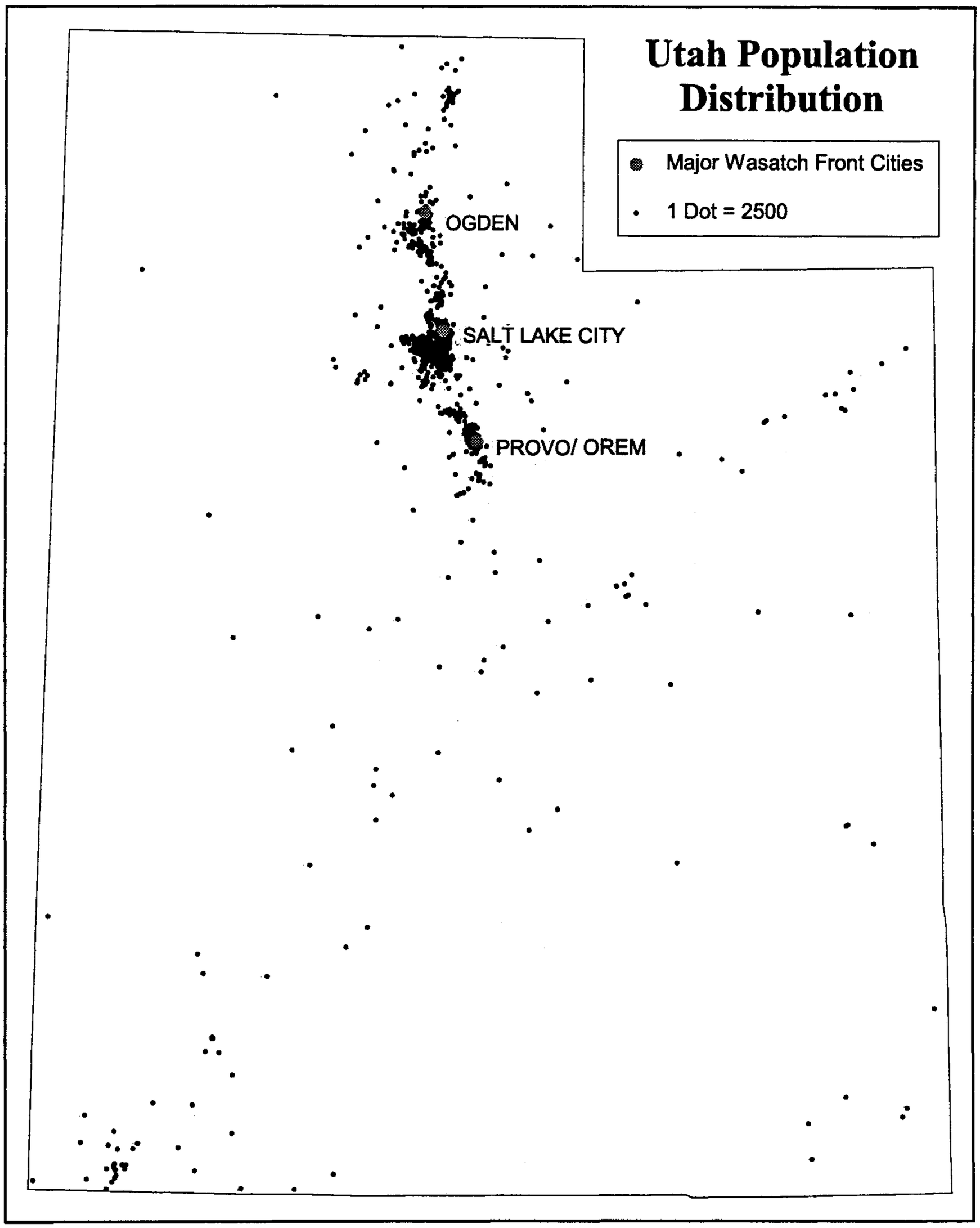
very real concerns related to growth reflects the current political milieu within the state, one best described as either antagonistic or apathetic toward planning. To illustrate this milieu it is important to reflect momentarily upon the past and its role in the present by examining the remaining influences of Smith's City of Zion.

Legacy of the Plat for the City of Zion

The mention of planning in Utah often results in one of two reactions: either a person will query if there is any planning in Utah or a person will vehemently decry the planning process (Jackson 1981). Whatever the case, attitudes toward planning today are a far cry from what Joseph Smith envisioned as the Mormons' future. Though many of Smith's specific plans may have influenced Utah planning for the better, most were abandoned. However, a few of Smith's ideas are evident today and the underlying Mormon force behind the plan remains prevalent throughout the state.

A panorama of the state would manifest that planning in Utah has clearly diverged from Joseph Smith's Plat for the City of Zion. Utah cities have progressed well beyond Smith's specified cap at 15,000 to 20,000 residents. Indeed, the corridor from Provo to Ogden (the Wasatch Front) has almost become a megalopolis where the distinction from one city to the next is unidentifiable; the unrestrained sprawl of Utah today contrasts widely with Smith's past vision of planned communities (Figure 7). Moreover, the City of Zion regulation for uniform building material was discarded long ago. Additionally, exterior dedicated farmlands have dissipated as Utah's economy has shifted from its early agricultural

Figure 7: Population distribution across Utah indicating majority found along Wasatch Front



Source: 1996 Population estimates of census tracts distributed randomly within each tract.

emphasis. Overall, the physical details of Smith's plans have disappeared, and only a few aspects remain as permanent indicators of Utah's past.

Cities and towns throughout the state reflect three basic premises of Smith's Plat for the City of Zion: wide roads, large city blocks, and cardinal grid iron orientation. These characteristics present Utah planners with several options. Wide roads allow for heavier traffic or development of mass transit systems. Owing to the grid iron layout's many points of access, this street system provides several alternative travel corridors. The center of large city blocks originally intended for gardens can be utilized in the construction of large properties in downtown areas or as off-street delivery sites. These same spaces may serve as alleyway entrances to properties or as open recreation areas in residential areas. Together these aspects of Smith's plan provide a unique planning opportunity for Utah planners.

Beyond the physical ramifications of the Plat for the City of Zion, Mormon concern for community as reflected in Smith's plan could potentially affect planning in Utah as well. Though its exact form has changed over time, concern for the community continues as an important principle of Mormonism (Carlson 1992; De Pillis 1991). A predominately Mormon state, Mormons vote according to their beliefs. Many issues are of no religious significance and thus receive no support pro or con from the church. On the other hand, the church has influenced some issues of moral relevance such as decisions concerning gambling, or those that directly affect the church such as land use surrounding Temple Square (Jackson 1993). However, were the church to publicly advocate an aggressive planning procedure including controlled growth it is unclear if the majority of Utahns would be supportive because of the overwhelming support for individual rights among so many

residents of the state.[4] While it is doubtful the church will become publicly involved in support of a planning program to deal with population growth, its ownership of much of the land in the center of Salt Lake City means that at least some of Smith's original ideas about planning live on.

Outside of Church owned land, Smith's City of Zion Plat influences planning in Utah today in only indirect ways. Physical features of the plan mark cities and towns across the state, and provide an unusual city scape for planners trying to cope with Utah's burgeoning population. In addition, the religious beliefs that emphasize the distinctiveness of Mormon culture, the need for individuals to be concerned about their neighbors and their communities, and the unique blending of communal ideals and practices present unusual challenges for better planning in Utah. Yet better planning is needed because of several concerns related to Utah's physical environment, population, economy, and politics.

From Refuge to Attraction: Utah's Physical Environment and Attendant Planning Challenge

Many observers recognize Utah's physical environment for its spectacular and beautiful variety (Figure 8). Nature has created an unusual array of high mountains, stark

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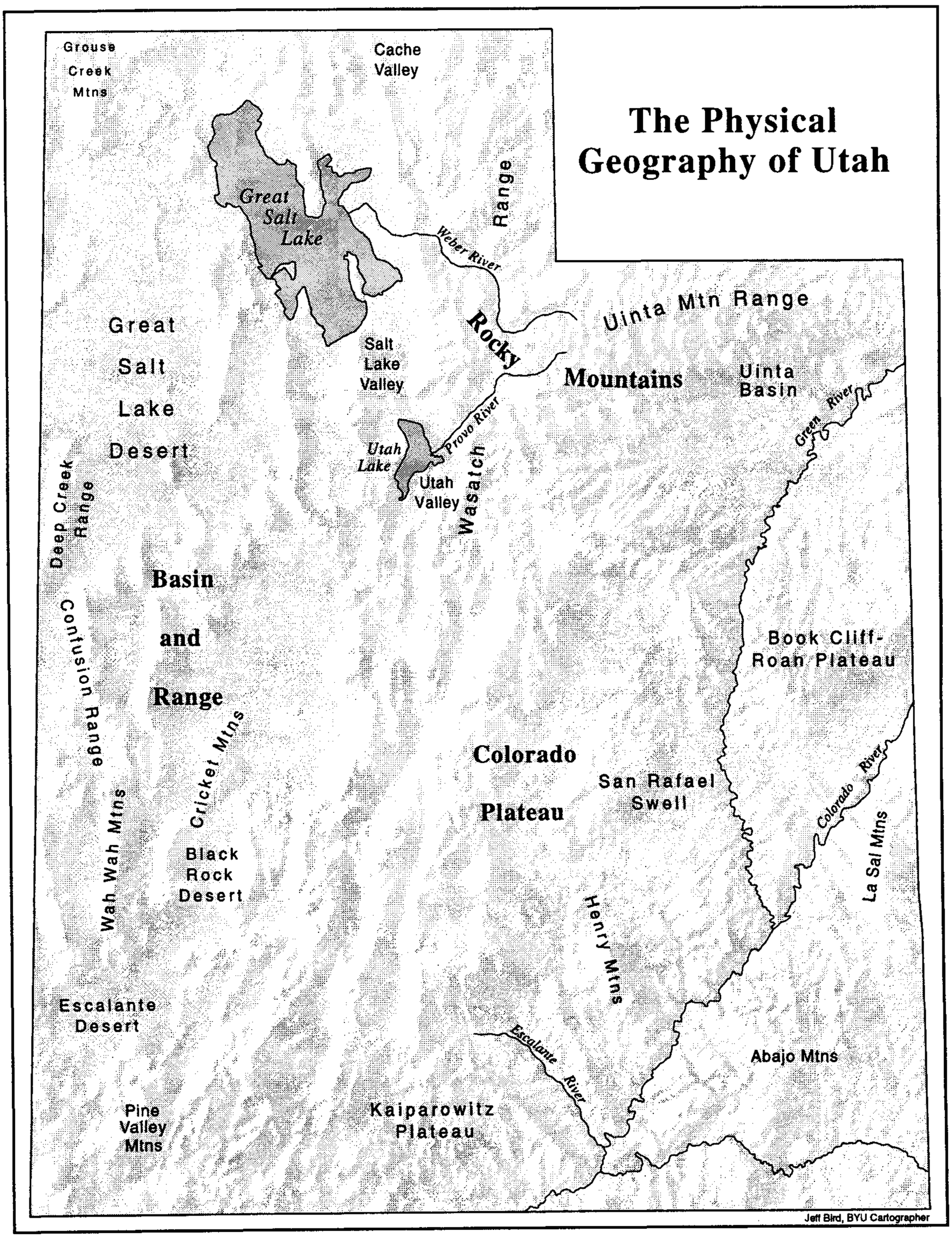
One indicator of this is the passage of a 1995 bill allowing any individual to acquire a license to carry a concealed gun, anywhere, anytime. Support by Mormon church leaders for a 1997 amendment to prohibit carrying concealed guns in churches, schools and private businesses which prohibit guns on their property was not enough to keep the amendment from being killed (Spangler and Dillon 1997). In another instance, a Mormon state legislator stated in 1996 that "communities have no rights" and went on to support "Private Property Protection" bills. These bills propose to prohibit zoning and other land use regulation that might reduce property value (Carr 1997).

Figure 8: Physical Geography of Utah



Source: Landforms of the Conterminous United States by Thelin and Pike, 1991.

deserts, and broad plateaus. Stretching along the Utah-Wyoming border, the Uinta Mountains exceed 12,000 feet elevation representing the longest east-west trending range in the conterminous United States. Running north and south through Utah, the Wasatch Mountains of the Rockies divide the state in half. To the east lies the Colorado Plateau, a land of high plateaus and National Parks. To the west lies the arid Great Basin, a desert region with sparse vegetation, even sparser population, and a history of exploitation by Mormon ranchers, U.S. military, and miners. Nestled in the western shadow of the Wasatch Front a fertile crescent of land includes a series of valleys that contains the majority of the state's population: Utah Valley, Salt Lake Valley, and Cache Valley. Each eco-region in Utah has unique planning needs, and because some 65 percent of the state is federally owned the planning process is not the simple process Smith envisioned of one agrarian settlement spawning another. Rather, the limited fertile land of the Wasatch Front is becoming a crowded suburban sprawl whose Mormon roots are less and less evident to the casual observer. The attractions of Utah's scenery, outdoor recreation, and strong economy combine to draw even more residents. Many new residents and sources outside Utah, ironically, recognize the uniqueness of Utah's Mormon and scenic heritage more than long time residents and are often in the vanguard of those supporting better planning[5].

Modern planning faces four important challenges unforeseen by either the visionary Smith with his utopian city plan, or the pragmatic Young who envisioned a Mormon

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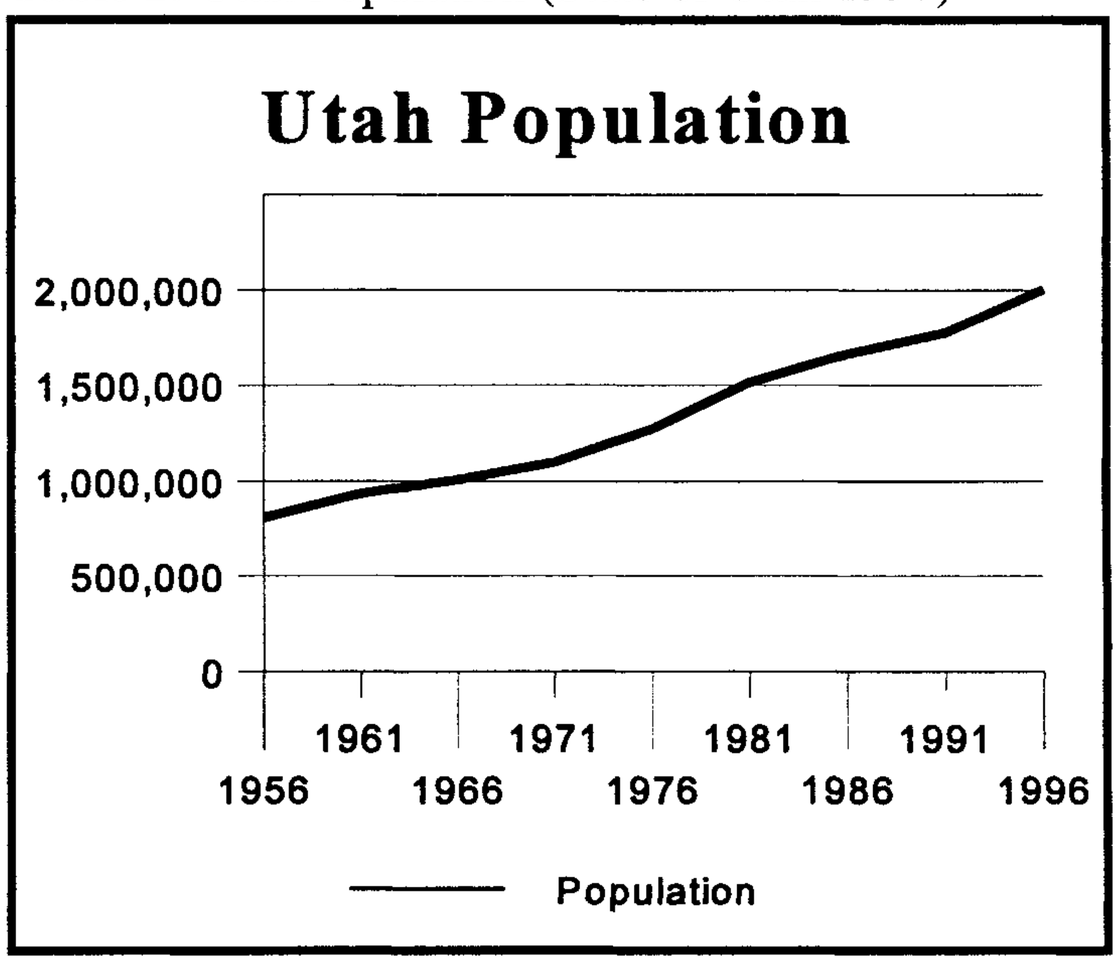
The Southern Utah Wilderness Alliance (SUWA), an organization with 24,000 members that continually battles in support of species and land preservation in Utah, is led by a board composed of a minority of Utahns. Also, at least fifty percent of SUWA members are from outside the state (Karl Cates 1997).

"kingdom" in the Great Basin. First, the only sites with adequate water are concentrated in the valleys of the Wasatch Front, limiting land available for development. Second, the state's beauty may be leading to its own destruction as escalating numbers of tourists take their toll on Utah's scenic lands. Third, pressures of growth have pushed development to levels where sensitive lands and habitats are being destroyed. Fourth, as with many western states, the Federal Government's ownership of the majority land limits land available for private development. Moreover, conflicting views of use of the Federal lands continues to engender conflict, largely between Mormon and non-Mormon, old-timer versus newcomers, and urban versus rural residents as Utah's population soars.

A Peculiar People: Utah Population and Attendant Planning Challenge

Understandably the beauties of Utah, among other attractive qualities, have drawn and continue to draw people to make their permanent residence in the state. Utah reached the two million mark in 1996 (Table 1). Eighty-percent of the two million live in the urban corridor stretching eighty miles north and

Table 1: Utah Population (State of Utah 1997)



south from Salt Lake City along the Wasatch Front. Growth outside this urban corridor has shown two recent trends: growth in counties adjacent to metropolitan counties and growth in the southwest region of the state (State of Utah 1997). These trends coincide with national trends (Clark and Murphy 1996; Morrill 1992). As the population uses up its prime land resources, it moves to the periphery. Movement to locations with unique amenities (climate, landscape, taxes, resorts) explains much of the growth in Utah's southwestern region. Mild climatic conditions and beautiful environs have combined to create a region know as Utah's Dixie, an attractive destination for Wasatch Front and California emigres (State of Utah 1997). Overall, Utah's population continues to grow in and around the existing urban core with the exception of growth in the southwestern counties--which is explicable by national trends.

Although Utah ranks relatively low in overall population comparisons--34th in the United States, the U.S. Census Bureau places Utah as the third fastest growing state in the country, with a growth twice the national rate. Credit for this growth goes both to a high rate of natural increase and a large influx over the past decade. Between July 1, 1995, and July 1, 1996, Utah's population increased from 1,959,025 to 2,002,359. Of the 43,335 increase, natural increase accounts for approximately 30,000 and in migration accounts for approximately 14,000 (State of Utah 1997). Though the existing population often blames newcomers for the mounting problems, these statistics show that the majority of growth actually comes from within the state, as it has in every decade of the twentieth century (State of Utah 1997).

Utah's population is distinct from other states in several ways. Most unique to the state, of course, is its Mormon population: approximately seventy percent of the population is Mormon. Linked to Mormon belief in large families, Utah boasts the youngest population of any state with a median age of 27 years compared to the national median age of 34 (State of Utah 1997). Also in accord with Mormon teachings, Utahns are well-educated as compared to other states (Hamel and Schriener 1990; More than Mormons 1991; Crister 1986). Furthermore, the population reflects the Mormon strong work ethic with an average work week of forty-eight hours that surpasses even Japan (Technology in Utah 1994). However, despite its unique characteristics, Utah's population is slowly shifting toward national trends as the once wide gap between Utah and the rest of the United States gradually lessens.

Unfortunately Utah's robust population growth has also been the source of many of its new planning woes. Fueled by a rapidly multiplying population, development in the state has been swift and has occurred in a planning milieu reflecting the underlying individualism combined with lack of extra-local controls. Pursuit of single family residences on large lots coupled with a lack of concern for density has led to the creation of serious traffic congestion. Cramped alongside the Wasatch Front, a corridor of congestion and pollution has developed rivaled only by much larger urban regions such as Los Angeles. Exacerbated by winter inversions, pollution reaches levels in the valleys where health advisories to stay inside are not uncommon and cities struggle against imposition of Federal penalties for exceeding national air quality standards (Israelsen and Bonham 1996). The primary culprit in air pollution is the growing traffic volume in the Wasatch Front (Adams 1992). With only

one north/ south Interstate Highway (I-15), one east/ west Interstate Highway (I-80), and one belt loop around Salt Lake City (I-215), rush hour traffic frequently comes to a stand still. At the same time, there is vociferous opposition to construction of a light rail project. Voters rejected a proposed sales tax increase to fund light rail in 1992, but subsequent Federal funding and transit authority bonding make it possible to complete it without additional tax revenue.

Some of those favoring the light rail invoke the name of Brigham Young to support it, maintaining it is an example of enlightened planning he would have supported[6]. Ardent conservatives vehemently oppose the project because they do not believe it can be operated without a tax hike in the future, and because they are opposed to accepting Federal funds out of fear of Federal control. Their argument includes allegations that without Federal regulations on air quality Utah could build enough highways to eliminate transit deadlock, eliminating the need for light rail. Meanwhile most open space is rapidly being consumed by development randomly filling up empty spaces left in the valleys. Though population growth may be blamed for some of these ills, it is the combination of growth and lack of management of that growth that results in many of Utah's problems (Egan 1997).

Miners to Software Giants: Utah's Economy and Attendant Planning Challenges

Utah's vigorous economy explains the continued migration into its cities. Over the

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When considering light rail at one the meetings of the Utah Transit Authority (UTA) Board of Directors, a member of the board commented that Brigham Young would have supported such enlightened planning (Jackson 1997).

past decade, Utah has seen an incredible and much needed diversification of its economy. In 1980 the state ranked less than twenty-seventh as a diverse economy; today the state ranks seventh in the nation. Previous to this time Utah relied heavily upon extraction and defense industries. Fortunately for Utah, declines in extraction and defense have been counterbalanced by growth in the high tech and the tourism sectors of the economy (Technology in Utah 1994; Rapaport 1992; Wood 1996).

Although a growing economy plays an essential role in Utah's welfare, it has its price as well. Extractive industries that Utah has been so dependent upon over the years have left portions of the landscape changed beyond recognition. The site of the famous Bingham Copper Mine, for example, the largest man-made hole in the world, was once a canyon in the the majestic Oquirrh Mountains. Residents also question the safety of the defense industry's chemical incinerator, one of two in the nation, located in Tooele County adjacent to the urban Salt Lake County (Bauman 1996). Despite praises for the burgeoning high tech industries as the future of Utah, the stability of such industries remains in doubt as in the case of Micron Industries (State of Utah 1997). Riding on a wave of success, Micron began construction on a two million dollar complex in Lehi, Utah. Months later with a decline in the microchip market the project was mothballed indefinitely (State of Utah 1997). Tourism presents its challenges as well. As ever-increasing numbers of visitors come to Utah each year, environmental degradation to sensitive scenic and recreational areas escalates. Associated with tourism, Utah recently won the bid for the 2002 Winter Olympics. Sentiments concerning the matter are divided. Many see the Olympics as an economic boon, an opportunity to showcase the state, and a source of funds to solve all of Utah's growth

related problems. Others, less-enthused, worry over congestion, quality of life, and environmental costs to the state (Roach 1995). The growing economy, population and tourism of the state only magnify the challenges to its generally laissez faire community based planning process.

Individualism vs. Community Good: Utah Politics and Attendant Planning Challenges

The political environment of Utah contributes to planning problems through the state's amazingly dominant political party. Over the years since 1896, the state's political climate has changed from its early support of government actions related to state intervention for the community good which were roughly analogous to those traditionally associated with the Democratic party. Utah today vociferously supports Republican leaders and related principles of individualism, minimal government intervention in private decision, states' rights, and minimal taxation. In fact, in the 1992 elections pitting Republican George Bush against Democrat William Clinton and Independent Ross Perot, Utah was the only state in which both Bush and Perot finished ahead of Clinton (Utah Politics 1993). Political payback for this hostility towards Democrats is widely accepted by Utahns as the reason for Clinton's creation of the Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument in southern Utah in 1996. According to this scenario, its creation is another example of how Democrats trample the ideals of democracy. Voting for the president of the U.S. between 1896 and 1992 by Utah county reveals almost a direct correlation between percent of Mormon population and

percent Republican vote. Most Utah political leaders are Mormon (85% of legislators compared to 70% of state population which is Mormon) and Republican today (White 1994).

With this broad base of Mormon politicians, the influence of religion in Utah planning is understandable. Though legislation can take religion out of government, it cannot take religion out of the people who run the government. Such is Utah's case where the leaders of the predominantly Mormon state "have no qualms about identifying their private morality with the public good" (Utah Politics 1993). The church's emphasis on individual responsibility parallels the broader sentiment of the western milieu that values individualism, private property, and profit motive (Crister 1986). Utahns believe strongly in the individual, in the right to govern one's own property, and in the right to use one's property for profit. To trample upon these rights is to challenge Utah Mormons' essential belief in Republicanism (White 1994).

Much of this attitude stems from the turn of the century when the church removed itself from politics. Integral to the church's early efforts at communitarianism, removal of the church from the public arena meant that such endeavors would be on a private basis. When the church had control both publicly and privately, the degree of emphasis on individual versus community rights could be balanced by divine sanction. However, with the removal of the church from public affairs, individual rights took precedence in the public sector.

Although Utah's Republican political dominance remains the highest in this broad geographic region, fanatical acceptance of individualism and capitalism as God-given attributes leave meager room to make concessions for the community good. When light rail

was first proposed in Utah in the early nineties, an objection came from a candidate for the Libertarian Party. He claimed that light rail would infringe upon the public's rights by limiting the number of lanes from which a driver could choose (Mitchell 1997). Though this is an extreme example, it illustrates how Utahns magnify the importance of individual rights. This concern leads to difficulties in implementing the controls required for growth management or effective planning beyond the community level.

Implications for Planners

Physical, population, economic, and political aspects of Utah create many challenges for planners. Though the state's geography has confined the population to a limited area, within that area growth has sprawled across available space creating a community highly dependent upon automobiles. Unfortunately the area also lies within valleys which regularly and effectively trap pollution in inversions. Moreover, the population continues to extend its boundaries, pushing into marginal lands less able to support a human population and more likely to be sensitive to human activity. Politically, efforts at controlling growth are met with a hostile response based upon Western American ideals of private property, individualism, and profit motive. From this political climate, a flourishing economy and population, and limited lands, the only predicable aspect of Utah's future is continued growth. For planners this presents a dilemma. Planning necessary to surmount the challenges facing Utah cannot take place within the current political system where planning only occurs at the local level and the primary concern continues to be private property and individual rights.

Conclusion

The planning heritage that serves to make Utah's planning tradition so unique shows little evidence of its existence today. Only the relics of wide roads, large blocks, and grid iron layout remain as testaments to the plan. Though the Mormon community continues to thrive within Utah, the basic shift of authority from church to state has left the once community-minded group more focused upon the individual. Within the framework of the state's existing physical setting, population, economy, and politics, effective planning is difficult. However, the future of the state is undetermined and its planning heritage of concern for the community and extra local controls could play a critical role in it.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE FUTURE OF PLANNING IN UTAH

A Critical Juncture in Utah Planning

Utah's future depends heavily on the decisions of today. The present situation is a study in contrasts with forces promoting continuation of current lax planning approaches and others pushing for more controlled growth. Several states throughout the United States have faced similar situations with varied responses. Frequently used as an example of the results of uncontrolled growth, Southern California's urban agglomeration presents a pattern that could be Utah's future if the state continues in its present fashion with little regard for planning. However, there is always potential for change. Several other states including Oregon, Florida, Washington, New Jersey, Georgia, Vermont, and Rhode Island have made the break from the nationwide tradition of leaving planning in control of local municipalities to a more comprehensive planning system involving growth management controlled or guided by extra-local controls, as were early Mormon communities (Gale 1992). An evaluation of Utah's situation in comparison to the ideal situation for a successful growth management program indicates the level of potential for a similar shift in Utah's planning practices (in a sense, a return to this aspect of Utah's planning heritage). Based on that potential and previously identified effective techniques for growth management, a model for planning in Utah emerges that may provide state residents with a much more livable future.

Based on Current Trends: Californication

As growth issues continue to affect the lives of Utahns all across the state, many discuss the unnerving and striking resemblance between Utah today and California of the

past (Gardner 1996; Egan 1997). Beginning with some interesting parallels in economic history and concluding with several common growth problems, Utah can expect to become much as California if the present standards of planning continue.

Nineteenth century California and Utah relied upon agriculture as their primary economic activity, and both areas grew dependent on the defense industry in the twentieth century. After World War II California expanded in population and economic diversity, including tourism, high technology, and industry. The last two decades of the twentieth century have resulted in a similar economic diversification in Utah, strengthening the state economy. This combination of a thriving economy, beautiful landscape, and seemingly endless possibilities continues to fuel population increase to both California and Utah. Unfortunately growth with meager control at this stage is another similarity between these two states, and this type of growth exacts very serious costs.

Based upon a prosperous economy, rapid population growth, low density development, almost complete dependency on single occupancy vehicles, and scanty rapid transit, urban sprawl commonly associated with California now rushes across the landscape of Utah. Continuation of current trends in Utah will intensify a situation mirroring conditions in Los Angeles today where traffic grid-lock, loss of open-space, air pollution alerts, and growing polarization between the rich and the poor, contribute to an overall deterioration of quality of life (Egan 1997). An unusual part of Utah's current planning related statutes inherently promotes "Californication" of the state. First, state law stipulates that as property values of an area rise, the overall tax rate of that area must fall. Second, the state law limits the amounts local governments can charge developers for new services such

as roads and sewer. Accordingly, each new home built in Salt Lake City puts local governments further in debt (Egan 1997). Involving the general western concern for individualism, property rights, and profit motive, developers have been able to resist efforts to curb excess or to set aside open space (Egan 1997). The added factors of limited and sensitive lands, valley situations compounding pollution problems, and little water make a future such as California's more forbidding for Utahns. Overall, serious forces continue to push toward a California-like future despite the tradition of communitarianism one would expect from a state whose settlement reflected such ideals. Some Utahns recognize the implication of mimicking California's early unrestrained growth, but it is doubtful that there is the political or social will to return to the Mormon prophet Smith's view of cooperation in planning for growth (Gardner 1996).

Alternative Approaches to Planning: A Possible Brighter Future

As mentioned earlier, Utah is not alone in its struggle with growth and its negative impacts. Throughout the United States, states, counties, and cities struggle to best handle unavoidable growth. Many areas have chosen to address the deleterious effects of uncontrolled growth by implementing growth management programs. Emulating their effort and returning to the heritage of planned growth from the Plat for the City of Zion, Utah could foreseeably change its route from one of congestion, pollution, and decreasing quality of life, to a more livable future. Utah's potential for such change and what programs would best suit Utah's needs, however, remains uncertain. Relying on the nine essential requirements for a successful growth management system suggested by Nelson and Duncan, the potential for

Utah to adopt such a program becomes somewhat clearer (Table 2). Based on that potential and the techniques proved effective in growth management, a description of one possible model for planning in Utah concludes the discussion of the state's possible brighter future.

Table 2: Requirements for Effective Growth Management Policies from Nelson and Duncan (1995).

Requirements for Effective Growth Management Policies
1. Consensus for Growth Management
2. Executive Leadership
3. Goal Setting and Visioning
4. Consensus on desired Urban Forms
5. Citizen Involvement
6. Financial and Technical Support
7. Intergovernmental Coordination
8. Streamlined Review Process
9. Adequate Administrative Support

Consensus for Growth Management

Under the strain of mounting growing pains, Utah planned and held a Growth Summit in Fall of 1995. In preparation for the summit, the state hired Dan Jones and Associates to conduct a survey that would help government officials identify Utahns' concerns. Tellingly, the number one concern within the state was growth (Jones 1995). Another government project originating in the Office of Budget and Planning, QGET (Quality Growth Efficiency Tools), involves the coordination of state, regional, and local departmental models into one model used to forecast development future in Utah. Concurrent with these governmental efforts, the Coalition for Utah's Future, a private organization of concerned Utah residents, has been campaigning for more controlled growth. Also investigators at Brigham Young University, drawing from the Civil Engineering Department, the Geography Department, and the Public Management Department, have been cooperating on developing a transportation/ land use model to optimize decision-making to

assist government policymakers involved in planning. Though these efforts do not show "how" citizens want to handle growth and its related problems, they do indicate the growing concern about uncontrolled growth in Utah. The incipient attempts to deal differently with Utah's growth problems parallels the events in other states that ultimately resulted in the adoption of growth management programs (Abbott et al 1994; Nelson and Duncan 1995).

Executive Leadership

As a strong force behind the Growth Summit, Utah's current Governor, Mike Leavitt, has evidenced his own concern over growth. Partially a result of the summit, Leavitt organized a legislative committee, the Air Quality, Land Use and Transportation Planning Task Force, in 1996 to develop a proposal for a regional planning system within Utah. Because of the vocal anti-growth management attitude of some politicians within the state, the task force attempted to keep their suggestions moderate and at a minimum to enhance their likelihood for adoption (McAllister 1996). The staff finished the proposal and presented its results in Utah's 1997 legislative session as Senate Bill 91(Sommerkorn 1997). Senate Bill 91 essentially proposed coordination of planning among cities, counties, school districts, special service districts, and state agencies (Sommerkorn 1997a). Unfortunately the legislature quickly rejected the bill. The legislature also voted to discontinue the task force (Sommerkorn 1997b). Though the legislature's full scale rejection of the task force's proposals and disbandment of the task force itself appear to indicate an insurmountable barrier in the way to controlled growth for Utah, in reality most other states that have successfully adopted growth management programs have done so despite an initially

protesting legislature. At the same time, integral to successful implementation of state control is a strong executive leader such as the significant efforts of Oregon's Governor Tom McCall during the 1970s to promote growth management within the state (Abbott, Howe, and Adler 1994). As indicated by Governor Leavitt's support of both the growth summit and the task force, he may be that potential leader. Leavitt's support for light rail despite serious opposition also illustrates to some degree the Governor's concern for the growth problems facing Utah.

Goal Setting and Visioning

If the public is united in a consensus that growth management is the mode by which a state should address the challenges of growth and with the support of a strong executive leader, residents must then go through a goal setting and visioning process whereby an agreement is reached as to what programs are implementable within the state (Nelson and Duncan 1995). Because Utah has yet to decide on a broad basis that growth management is the desired approach, the state has not come together in any kind of forum to decide what goals and vision would accompany such a program. Were Utahns to decide to take action, a variety of methods to achieve goal setting and visioning for the growth management policy are available. At this point in the process and owing to public opinion, the legislature should participate in the actual development of a growth management policy. Relying on some body, such as the legislature, the state must collect the differing opinions throughout the state and develop a plan that best suits the prevailing attitudes. Collection of this data could be through public forums where individual concerns are addressed and a sense of cooperation

fostered. For Utah, regional organizations such as the Wasatch Front Regional Council, Mountainlands Council of Governments, and the Five County Regional Organization, could serve to gather the opinions for their jurisdictions. Utah could also simply rely on representatives in the legislature to take charge of their districts.

Consensus on Desired Urban Form

Also, essential to Utah's successful implementation of growth management policy is the consensus of state residents on the desired urban form. Areas outside of Utah that have implemented programs for growth management follow a minimum pattern in their desired urban forms: they aim to separate urban and rural land uses, to achieve more compact urban development, and to sustain or improve the productivity of resource lands (Nelson and Duncan 1995). As simple approaches may be the most likely to pass in a political environment such as Utah's, the above basic principles could be exactly those that Utahns could agree on for their desired urban form.

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Citizen Involvement

Citizen involvement is key to developing an effective growth management policy (Nelson and Duncan 1995). Because growth management is such a controversial issue as to how, where, and what, the state needs the support of its citizens. To garner this support, every citizen should have an opportunity to be involved in the process of developing the growth management plan. This is especially applicable in a state such as Utah where individual opinions and rights carry a heavy weight. During the goal setting and visioning

process mentioned above, the citizen's role is vital. They must be highly involved and know that they are an integral part of the plan process. Beyond the initial planning phase, citizens must continue their activity in a watchdog role where they ensure that the plan is applied properly and that any changes are consistent with the overall goals of the plan. In Utah, citizen involvement is crucial. As the more radical portion of the state (a minority) is often more vocal than the moderate portion (the majority), all citizens must be encouraged to make their voice heard and be assured that leaders will listen. Because Utah has yet to reach the point of seriously considering growth management in the legislature, citizen involvement becomes even more important. When the Senate Bill concerning growth management failed and the task force disbanded, the representative in charge of the force, Leray McAllister, acquiesced that the legislature would not budge and that the force behind growth management must come from the people (McAllister 1997). Until or unless Utah's citizens can agree on a future course of action, the legislature will continue to ignore the state's planning issues.

Financial and Technical Support

An effective growth management policy will require planning beyond what already exists. This added burden requires additional funding. The source of this funding could come in several ways such as increased taxes or increased impact fees associated with development. It is important to recognize that though these costs are substantial, the postponement of future cost incurred through uncontrolled growth will far outweigh the cost of prevention (Nelson and Duncan 1995). In Utah's case, some cost could be avoided by

enhancing the responsibilities and capabilities of existing planning organizations rather that creating new government. For example, were Utah to desire a regional organization to oversee consistency of local plans with state goals, regional organizations such as the Wasatch Front Regional Council could be utilized rather than incurring the cost of creating a new organization.

Intergovernmental Coordination

Another requirement for effective growth management policy is intergovernmental coordination (Nelson and Duncan 1995). Because each level of government within a state is responsible for varying land uses, coordination between the levels is essential. A classic example of lack of coordination between state and local governments in Utah is University Parkway between Provo and Orem. The Utah Department of Transportation's construction of the University Parkway between Provo and Orem was initially intended to be a limited access highway connecting north Provo to the Interstate 15 passing through Orem. However, since construction of the Parkway, land bordering the road has quickly developed from orchards to high density commercial uses. Undermining Utah Department of Transportation's intentions for a quick route, the change in land use, controlled by the individual cities, has increased congestion along the route. When opened in early 1970 there was one traffic signal between I-15 in Orem and University Avenue in Provo, and the 3 mile trip took five to seven minutes. In 1997, there are eight signals in the same distance, and the trip takes fifteen to twenty minutes.

Local governments also need to coordinate with neighboring communities because of their impacts upon each other. Relatively recently, the microchip company Micron presented a proposal for a new plant to Lehi, Utah. Eager for the potential revenues, Lehi quickly entered the deal with no consideration of neighboring cities. Because of the large size of the project and the small population of surrounding cities, the plant's impact will be felt by all. Unfortunately, while Lehi benefits from increased tax revenue from the plant, the neighboring cities have no such reward and must suffer the attendant impacts of a development of this size. As the above examples illustrate, Utah definitely needs better coordination both vertically, between levels of government, and horizontally, between neighboring jurisdictions. Primarily such systems serve to resolve disputes. For Utah, possibly the existing regional governments could serve this purpose as well.

Streamlined Review Process

To better facilitate the controlled development necessary for effective growth management policy, a streamlined review process should be implemented. Methods for streamlining the review process vary from state to state. Recognized as the nation's most effective formalized structures, Oregon's Land Use Board of Appeals (LUBA) illustrates the potential of a state to accelerate the process of review. The funding for the creation of such a body would be difficult to achieve in Utah's anti-tax political milieu. Instead, Utah might look toward developing quasi-judicial procedures at the local decision-making level to expedite discretionary decision-making. By assuring that the decisions made at the local level conform with constitutional due process and other constitutional concerns and are also

consistent with locally adopted growth management plans, it may be possible to prevent court challenge through summary judgement (Nelson and Duncan 1995).

Adequate Administrative Support

There also must be adequate administrative support to achieve effective growth management plans. With larger and more professionally trained planning staffs than some local or regional governments are accustomed to, benefits to both the public and private sector are measurable. Better planning will facilitate better use of existing facilities for public and ease of construction of new facilities for the private developer. In Utah, staff of some regional organizations such as Mountainlands Association of Governments already assist local governments in developing general plans. With more funding, assistance, and training, these organizations could become the force behind effective planning in Utah.

A Model for Utah Planning based on its Potential for Growth Management and Previously Identified Effective Growth Management Techniques

Building upon these nine essentials for successful growth management policy with proven growth management techniques applicable to Utah, the state could potentially develop effective programs for handling its current growing pains (Table 3). According to the fundamental requirements outlined above (and as relative to Utah's present situation), the state would need the following basic items:

- a consensus for growth management;

Table 3: Techniques Effective in Other States (Adapted from Nelson and Duncan 1995, 149).

TECHNIQUES EFFECTIVE IN OTHER STATES

RESOURCE PRESERVATION
Transfer of Development Rights
Purchase Development Rights
Land Acquisition
Exclusive Zoning
Agricultural/ Forest Buffers

SPECIAL AREA PROTECTION
Critical-Area Programs
Endangered Species Protection
Scenic View Preservation
Conservation Easements

RURAL GROWTH MANAGEMENT
Small Town Focus
Rural Cluster Development
Strategic Cluster Development
Performance Evaluation
Rural Land Reassembly

URBAN CONTAINMENT
Urban Containment Boundaries
Intermediate Boundaries
Urban Development Reserves
Upzoning/Downzoning
Nontransitional Zoning
Exclusive Use Zoning
Inclusionary Zoning
Minimum Density Standards
Jobs-Housing Balance
Infill and Redevelopment
Housing Linkage
Neighborhood Conservation
New Communities

FACILITY ADEQUACY, TIMING, AND PHASING
Adequate Public Facilities
Transportation Management
Growth Phasing

**Bolded and Italicized techniques have been or are currently in use in Utah. All are on the local level or federally mandated.

- a strong executive leader (with Governor Mike Leavitt as a likely candidate or another leader with similar political leanings);
- a minimum of planning goals for the state;
- a consensus on desired urban forms;
- citizen involvement (directed by our existing Metropolitan Planning Organizations-MPOs);
- financial and technical support;
- intergovernmental coordination (again directed by existing MPOs);
- streamlined review process (at a local level to save funding a new state board); and
- adequate administrative support (expanding existing efforts of MPOs).

Based on this outline, a model for growth management in Utah evolves that relies primarily on strengthening the power of MPOs within the state. The MPOs would become the forum for input, coordination, administration, and implementation. Funding for their efforts would come through the state where either additional taxes would be levied or a redistribution of existing tax funds would be made. The key to the success of the MPOs would lie in their authority. Using a state mandate, the MPOs would be empowered with the ability to distribute funds to cities and towns throughout the state pending on each municipality's conformity to specific planning requirements. These minimal planning requirements would include development of general plans in

accordance with state goals and regional goals. Growth management strategies proven successful in other states would also be utilized by Utah including the following: transfer of development rights (TDRs); urban containment boundaries; critical-area programs; transportation management; and required adequate public facilities. Though TDRs are already in use in Utah, they are few in number and the state would be well served by a wider application of such programs as directed by MPOs. Along with general plans, each city within the state would be required to include an urban growth boundary to assist in maintaining rural lands and better utilizing urban lands. As with the TDRs, critical-area boundaries in Utah already exist, but they could be used more widely with enforcement from a stronger MPO. Transportation management, also, is already utilized to some degree by MPOs in the state; however, with more power MPOs could assure that transportation plans agree with a city's land use plan as well as with neighboring city, regional, and state plans. Lastly, the model would require that cities have adequate public facilities in place before construction of any new development. Relying on the few principles discussed above, Utah may be able to assemble a successful approach for dealing with growth related problems in the state. However, such a process would be by no means easy and would require that Utah return to a planning heritage of concern for the community over individual rights and acceptance of extra-local control.

Conclusion

It should now be apparent that the potential for growth management in Utah is slim, but it does exist. The extent of that management and whether it will ever result in a

statewide program depends on the citizens at this point. As apparent from the legislature's lack of enthusiasm for growth management, the movement within Utah must start from the bottom up with the people. While researchers may find several solutions to the difficulties of growth, it is up to Utahns to recognize the need for the measures and to actively strive for their introduction to the state. As mentioned above, several groups are actively promoting such approaches. These groups' support for growth management, the potential support from Utahns as they become more aware of and disillusioned with problems of uncontrolled growth, and a return to equal concern for the community and the individual embraced by the Prophet Joseph Smith in the Plat for the City of Zion could lead Utah to a more livable future undimmed by the ills of uncontrolled growth.

CHAPTER 5: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The early years of the Mormons were characterized by a hope for a grand future of God's Kingdom on earth as a physical reality. Relying both on the physical aspects of the Plat for the City of Zion and the social beliefs behind it, Mormons built towns across the United States hoping to achieve this Kingdom on earth. Kirtland, Far West, Nauvoo, and Winter Quarters each illustrated aspects of the various City of Zion Plats developed by Joseph Smith, Jr., though each diverged from the plan in one way or another. Upon reaching the Great Basin, settlements continued to follow some aspects of Zion's Plat. Almost universally adopting the wide streets, large blocks, and grid-iron layout evident in the Plat for the City of Zion, towns blossomed across the Basin. Similarly the social will behind the plat, embodied in concern for the community and a demo-theocratic form of government, continued to exist taking on different forms such as cooperative and communal living experiments directed by church and civic leaders. In the struggle for statehood near the end of the nineteenth century, however, much of the force behind these communities was lost when the church ceded control of politics to the state. Emerging from the turmoil surrounding statehood, Utahns began to adopt more national attitudes, shifting from community emphasis to individual rights and concerns.

Initially striving to prove their questioned loyalty, Utahns today generally have grown to be a markedly patriotic assembly of Republicans concerned with the western values of private property, individual rights, and profit motive. Within the state setting of: limited and desirable lands; a young, vigorous, and multiplying population; a nationally enviable economy, and a highly conservative political environment, concern

for the community versus individual rights has seriously diminished from the early years of Mormonism. The physical relics of past urban planning, such as wide roads, remain as reminders to Utahns of their heritage, but the social element of the plat (concern for the community balanced with individual rights and acceptance of extra local control in planning) that could possibly be helpful in facing the current growth challenges have essentially become past beliefs forgotten or treated by many Utahns as irrelevant today. Within the present planning system, the early Mormon planning heritage plays only a small role; however, drawing on this heritage, a future for Utah could unfold much different than what the state can expect with the existing planning system.

According to Utah's current planning approach where most planning takes place at the municipal level with only a few growth management measures, the state may expect a future much like Southern California characterized by pollution, traffic congestion, and urban sprawl. However, other options exist. Several states within the United States are now implementing growth management techniques with successful results. Analysis of Utah by comparing the current situation in the state to that necessary for effective growth management, shows that some potential exists to adopt legislation for better planning in the state. One possible model mirrors that of many other states where regional agencies oversee coordination and implementation of planning between different levels of government and between adjacent localities. Drawing on two aspects of the state's planning heritage, a concern for the community and acceptance of extra local control in planning, could assist the state in implementing a successful growth management system and in maintaining or even bettering the existing quality of life.

In essence, over a hundred and fifty years ago, the young, vigorous, religious leader, Joseph Smith, had a vision for the future City of Zion. Its exact replication was never completed, but its legacy continues to tell in the lives of two million Utahns. Wide roads, large city blocks, a grid iron layout, and a lingering communitarian spirit remain as testaments to Smith's plan. Its heritage in the Great Basin consists of the streets and blocks that form skeletons of towns (especially noticeable in small towns), a sense of community, and church control. However, cooperation so critical to full implementation of the City of Zion plan has dwindled over the years. To face the challenges of the future, remnants of this earlier concern for community embodied in communitarianism and an acceptance of the need for extra-local control must be revived. In a state with a flourishing economy, an estimable growth rate, a sensitive environment, and a remarkable political unity, the future holds much potential. To neglect the lessons of the past, though, could be the state's downfall. By rediscovering concern for the community and by accepting the need for extra-local control--significant parts of Utah's planning heritage--and adding to it a vision of the future through growth management, Utah could provide a very livable future. In reality, however, it is doubtful that there will be any rapid movement to better planning in Utah. Only when the problems of uncontrolled sprawl, lack of coordination and planning between cities, and loss of the quality of life impact each person dramatically will there emerge a grass roots movement necessary to successfully change the existing political environment to allow adoption of the necessary legislation.

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Prophets, Planning, and Politics: Utah's Planning Heritage

and Its Significance Today and Tomorrow

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ABSTRACT

Utah's planning heritage includes both physical and social elements. In 1833 Joseph Smith, founder of the Mormon Church, designed the Plat for the City of Zion. Associated with his plan were the principles of communitarianism and a demo-theocratic form of government. As the Mormons journeyed across the Midwest to the Great Basin, they applied these planning beliefs in various ways. Throughout Utah today, large city blocks, wide roads, and grid iron layouts remain as testaments to the state's early physical planning tenets. Other factors, though, have led Mormons to abandon the social aspects of the plan and to embrace the western milieu of private property, individual rights, and profit motive.

Despite a planning heritage that includes concern for the community balanced with concern for the individual and an acceptance of extra-local control in planning, Utah today leaves planning to the local municipalities. In a state with a vigorous economy, a rapidly multiplying population, and a sensitive environment, the pains of growth are mounting. To continue with the current municipal level planning approach could lead to a future much like present day California with overwhelming congestion, air pollution, sprawl, and an overall decrease in quality of life. However, a return to the state's heritage of concern for the community and acceptance of extra-local controls in planning could assist the state in controlling its growth problems through effective growth management policy. Unfortunately, Utah appears unlikely to take this route. Thus, even with a planning heritage unlike any other state, Utah now faces a future of uncontrolled growth and its attendant ills.

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