Gentrification in Scarborough: A Case Study of the Markham and Ellesmere (ME) Living Revitalization

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ABSTRACT

Aiming to compete on a global level, local governments have become heavily invested in the development process. Encouraging gentrification through political terms such as revitalization, smart growth, and regeneration, numerous neighbourhoods have been gentrified. Observing gentrification in many parts of the world, academics are divided by the significance of the process. Some believe it is a beneficial practice, while others disagree stating that it is environmentally unjust. This paper argues that gentrification promotes environmental injustice and explores the negative impacts faced by the disadvantaged population. To conduct the primary analysis, city staff reports, newspaper articles, promotional advertisements and statistical data related to the ME Living revitalization project were reviewed. Examining different themes of impacts including of economic, lifestyle, neighbourhood and housing, the outcomes of the project were evident. Using an environmental justice framework, it became clear that the new residents would be able to redeem the benefits of the project while the current tenants would face the detriments of the development. With this understanding, the paper concludes with strategies to make the planning process environmentally just.

Key Words: Gentrification; Neoliberalism; Environmental Justice; Toronto, Housing; ME Living; Regent Park; Global City; Condofication; Urban Planning; Revitalization

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FOREWORD

This Major Research Paper is written to satisfy the requirements of the Master of Environmental Studies Program. Following my Plan of Study (POS), this paper pulls together all four of my components, including: city planning, gentrification, environmental justice, and housing.

Component 1, city planning, concentrates on two main objectives. The first objective is to investigate the relationship between planning policies and gentrification. The second objective was to learn about innovative approaches to prevent gentrification in future developments. Using Regent Park and ME Living as example case studies this paper exceeds the objective by examining planning policies, and the planning politics that led to gentrification. Using two cases, my MRP also introduces a conversation related to practices that can prevent gentrification from occurring in future development. As a result, this paper fulfills both objectives of the first component.

Component 2, gentrification, focuses on: developing an advanced understanding of gentrification; becoming familiar with the key debated surrounding gentrification; and exploring the historical and contemporary components of gentrification. Applying a literature review methodology, all three objectives are satisfied. In this paper I review 'classical' gentrification, the newest waves of gentrification, the 'mutations' of gentrification, and the debated impacts of gentrification. Furthermore, using an environmental justice framework to assess gentrification in the ME Living revitalization, this paper adds to the debate surrounding gentrification.

Component 3, Environmental Justice (EJ), has three objectives. These objective entail: defining EJ; investigating the relationship between EJ and gentrification; and developing strategies to incorporate EJ into redevelopment. This MRP assists in the fulfillment of this component. Again, using a literature review technique, this paper defines EJ, and outlines the relationship between EJ and gentrification. Examining methods to prevent gentrification in future developments, this paper discusses a procedure recommended by the Centre of Transportation Research that determines, measures, and mitigates environmental injustice.

Component 4, housing, focuses on the it importance, and the effects it has on residents. This component centers around two objectives. The first is to create an understanding between housing and social-mix. The second objective was to become more knowledgeable about public and private realms and housing. While discussing gentrification, this paper also explores the concept of housing, social-mixing, and the ideas of public and private realms. As a result, my MRP builds an understanding towards the fourth component of my POS.

Introduction

Slowly squeezing out the manufacturing industry, the City of Toronto has been chronically underfunded for over 20 years (Lehrer, 2008). Seeing itself as a competitor to other major cities such as New York, Toronto has recently attempted to reinvent itself, to attract investments and highly skilled workers. Using the province's concerns for urban sprawl and sustainable growth as an entry point, the City of Toronto has recently begun pushing gentrification strategies into its policies. In short, the term gentrification describes a process through which the middle- or creative-class move into low-income neighbourhoods as a result of new construction or redevelopment. Hiding behind terms such as 'revitalization', 'regeneration', and 'smart growth', Toronto prompts gentrification tactics on neighbourhoods flocked with poverty, to ensure that they are "safe, clean and secure for real-estate capital, investors and the new urban middle class" (Kipfer & Keil, 2002). Through the gentrification of underinvested and low-income communities, the City of Toronto sees itself growing economically with the increase in jobs, investments and highly skilled knowledge workers. For the current residents of these neighbourhoods, gentrification policies are assumed to lead to "more socially mixed, less segregated, more livable, and sustainable communities" (Lees, 2008; pg. 2449). Firmly believing in these impacts, Toronto communities such as Regent Park (Lehrer, Keil & Kipfer, 2010), Don Mount Court (August, 2014), and South Parkdale (Slater, 2004; Lehrer, 2008) have recently been, or are in the process of being gentrified.

Although local governments prompt gentrification as a win-win for both the city and its residents, numerous academics, residents, and activists disagree with this notion. According to Lang (1986), on the macro-level gentrification does encourage economic development, as the wealthy suburbanites return to the central business district; on the micro-level however, the results are not entirely positive. Even though gentrification provides neighbourhoods with rehabilitated housing stock, cleaner and more orderly community appearances, and new commercial enterprises, these benefits are primarily targeted for the white-collar professionals. Disadvantaged groups such as the elderly and low-income groups are generally displaced due to living costs; their community cultures are transformed by the middles-class and elites; and the community loses its sense of 'home', even for those that can still afford to live there. Many academics have recognized gentrification as a "cold hearted marketing process rather than a meaningful community development or revitalization process…" (Lang, 1986; pg. 28).

As a resident of Scarborough for 25 years, I have become accustomed to a suburban type of lifestyle. Seeing neighbourhoods filled with old houses and rental buildings, I have always wondered when Scarborough would begin to reflect the cultures of downtown. To be clear, I was curious as to when Scarborough would become more densely populated and developed with tall buildings such as condominiums. In the early 2000s my question was answered. Constructing numerous condominiums around the Scarborough Town Centre, I began to see a change in the suburban lifestyle I once knew.

As these towers were developed, my father and I began to recognize these condominium units as affordable investments. By purchasing, renting, then eventually selling the unit at a higher price, we believed there were profits to be made. With this notion, we began to look for condominiums that could maximize our returns. One building that was appealing to us was the ME Living project, a development that is approximately three kilometers away from my home. Still in its first phase of selling units, this development will demolish a rental apartment building, and in its place construct glass façade towers and town houses priced at a higher rate than those who rent the existing apartments could afford. However, through municipal policies, council has approved the development with the condition that:

> ***For a period of at least 20 years****, rents for replacement units will be the rent at first occupancy increased annually by not more than the Provincial Rent Increase Guideline or a similar guideline as Council may approve from time to time*
>
> (Community Planning, 2011).

Thus, for at least 20 years, current tenants have secure and affordable housing. However, after the 20 years have passed, these residents will be displaced from their homes. As a potential buyer, this development seems very intriguing as it brings a new and exciting lifestyle to Scarborough, however as a concerned citizen I worry about the impacts the current tenants will face. This project provides clear evidence that the City is encouraging gentrification.

Understanding that the gentrification is heavily debated by academics, this study will examine gentrification, to provide further depth to current research findings, and to determine if this is a process that should be practiced by local governments. In order to accomplish this, this paper will analyze the ME Living proposal in Scarborough. Using an environmental justice framework created by the Centre of Transportation Research, this research will provide insight to the question: should gentrification be promoted by the state? If gentrification is found to be environmentally just and a majority of population shares the impacts—both negative and positive—then it should be encouraged. On the other hand, if the process is environmentally unjust and gentrification is found to unequally and negatively affect the disadvantaged residents, then it should not be prompted. If the ME Living development is found to be unjust, then this paper will conclude with measures to prompt redevelopment in an environmentally just manner.

Research Methodologies

In order to respond to the central research question about gentrification in Scarborough's ME Living development, I apply two research methodologies. In the first section of this paper, a literature review is conducted to summarize the ideas, issues and research findings that have been published on gentrification. Unlike a book review (analyzes and evaluates a particular book) or an annotated bibliography (summarizes relevant sources and explains the significance of that source to the research question), a literature review surveys relevant literature to determine what is known and not known about a particular topic. This review enables a researcher to discover what has already been written about gentrification, determine how each source can contribute to this

research topic, understand the relationship between the various contributions, identify contradictions, and determine gaps or unanswered questions (Taylor, N.D.). According to a report published by Kiteley and Stogdon (2013), there are two methods of conducting a literature review: narrative and systematic reviews. This paper applies a narrative research method. In comparison to the systematic review, which is usually very well defined and relates to practice-based contexts and issues, a narrative approach allows for the analysis and synthesis of conceptual and theoretical findings from a range of sources. In addition, this approach promotes a better understanding of the entire concept of gentrification, instead of a specific segment of the term.

To perform this literature review, I have read peer-reviewed journals and books written by experts in field, including Loretta Lees, Neil Smith, Tim Butler, Michael Lang, Martine August, and Jonathan Essoka. Through these findings, I am better able to understand the definition of gentrification, its evolution over the years, expert opinions on gentrification, and create a foundation for interpreting gentrification in Toronto. To ensure that I review a broad range of materials critical to this research, I will examine the bibliographies of each paper and include all relevant sources in this paper. A benefit to the literature review methodology is that it furthers a researcher's ability to conduct empirical research. Thus, using the literature review as a foundation for understanding gentrification, this knowledge is applied to my second research methodology: conducting a case study of ME Living.

As stated in the paragraph above, the case study methodology is the second research technique applied in this paper. Case studies are used to examine a

contemporary phenomenon in a real-life context. Meyer (2001) states that in comparison to some other qualitative methods of analysis, which presupposes that theoretical perspectives are grounded in and emerge from firsthand data, the case study approach is open to the usage of recognized theories and concepts when making claims. It is important to note here that these claims cannot be generalized. For example, when making assertions towards gentrification, based on the ME Living case study, these claims cannot be made for gentrification in general. This is due to the narrow focus of the method; the finding on one specific site does not provide sufficient evidence to make a generalizable claim.

In order to conduct a case study, researchers use various methods of collecting data, including: observing, interviewing, and reviewing documents (Meyer, 2001). For this case study, I have chosen to collect data using two methods. The first technique is examining information provided by the developer, news articles, and government documents such as municipal plans and staff reports. Through the analysis of the ME Living website, pamphlets, and billboards, I'm able to learn about the type of community and lifestyle being created. Additionally, news articles from verifiable sources such as *The Toronto Star* and *The Toronto Observer* reveals the developers' recent construction history and the recent planning proposals in the Markham Road and Ellesmere Avenue area. A review of staff reports provides the opportunity to collect specific details regarding the ME Living Project such as: tenure types, number of households, and policies that were reviewed during the decision making process. Furthermore, examining Toronto's Official Plan allows me to determine if the regulatory guidelines encouraged gentrification at 1 & 2 Meadowglen Place.

The second data collection method to be used is a combined statistical and marketing analysis. To collect the statistical data, the Canadian Census Analyzer will be used. Having various geographical levels of data to choose from, I have selected to examine the information from the census tract—a neighbourhood level—rather than the dissemination or subdivision tract. I believe the dissemination level is too focused, as it only provides statistical information for the block where the site is located, and the subdivision tract is too large and will include neighbourhoods that have no relevance to the research. By using the census tract, I am able to incorporate the demographic and neighbourhood data of the impacted community. Cross-examining the statistical data, information provided by the developer, news findings, and government documents, with the information collected in the literature review, I can now recognize the potential impacts of the development. By inputting the impacts into the environmental justice framework, I can effectively determine if the disadvantaged residents are disproportionately affected by the negative impacts of gentrification.

Literature Review - Gentrification

Defining 'Classical Gentrification'

As the Director of Social Research at University College London, Ruth Glass focused her research on urban sociology. Heavily invested in the postwar development of the British welfare state, Glass focuses her long-term interests and concerns on linking class struggle to housing in Islington, London. While concentrating her studies on the rehabilitation of Victorian lodging houses, tenure switch from renting to owning, increase in property prices, and displacement of working-class residents by middle-class citizens, Glass wrote the book *London: Aspects of Change*, where she coins the term

"gentrification" (Glass, 1964). To clarify, Glass essentially defines gentrification as a process that invades working-class neighbourhoods by middle-class citizens. Through this process, Glass determines that an outcome is the displacement of the working-class residents. When introducing gentrification in her book, Glass (1964; pg. 18) describes it as:

> One by one, many of the working-class quarters of London have been invaded by the middle classes—upper and lower. Shabby, modest mews and cottages—two rooms up and two down—have been taken over, when their leases have expired, and have become elegant, expensive residences. Larger Victorian houses, downgraded in an earlier or recent period— which were used as lodging houses or were otherwise in multiple occupations—have been upgraded once again.... Once this process of "gentrification" starts in a district it goes on rapidly until all or most of the original working-class occupiers are displaced and the whole social character of the district is changed.

When defining gentrification in her book, she explains it as class inequalities and injustices constructed by capitalist urban land policies and markets, the byproducts of which include rising house expenses for the low-income and working classes, displacement, eviction, and homelessness (Slater, 2011). However, in order for gentrification to occur, Glass points out that a common urban setting is required. This includes urban areas of prior disinvestment in infrastructure—where profits could be made through redevelopment; and in urban areas, where there is a prospect for conversion, from manufacturing to the service sector jobs—creating employment

opportunities for the middle class groups, who then migrate from the suburbs to the central city (Slater, 2011).

Eventually, as the term gentrification popularized, many academics began to argue that this process occurred before Glass coined the term. Examining this phenomenon, Neil Smith recognizes the Haussmannization of Paris as an example. Baron Haussmann, a member of Napoleon III's court, demolished the homes of poor residents in the central city of Paris, and displaced them to make space for the famous tree-lined boulevard and more elite residents of Paris (Smith, 1996). Gale (1984) also suggests that gentrification was also seen in some cities in the United States and England, as early as the 1930s. During this time, large metropolitan cities including Boston, Washington DC, London and New York City encouraged gentrification through urban renewal. These cities bulldozed old neighbourhoods and replaced them with modern housing and highways. From this realization, experts began to argue that the United States and United Kingdom were hiding the concept of gentrification behind terms such as 'brownstoning' (New York City), 'homesteading' (Baltimore), 'whitepainting' or 'whitewalling' (Toronto), and 'red-brick chic' (San Francisco) (Lees, Slater, Wyly, 2007). Although the governments of the United Kingdom and United States did not believe they were promoting gentrification through their policies, Neil Smith (1982) claims that they were also promoted in a positive manner. Taking the example of homesteading, this term was derived from the U.S. Department of Housing Development's Urban Homesteading program. Homesteading essentially was the process of transferring vacant and abandoned single-family houses to the City, who then sold them relatively cheap prices with the

condition that these houses would be rehabilitated and lived in for three years. Based off of these historical examples and Glass's description of London, it is evident to see how gentrification could be seen as an environmental injustice. In all these cases, the improved housing was provided to those with higher income, rather than those that previously had lived there. Beyond the fact that these residents were displaced, they were also likely to move into another home which was likely in the same state as their old homes.

When academics began to understand what the gentrification process was, many experts became curious about how the process occurred. Clay designed one of the first models to explain gentrification in 1979. Clay suggests that gentrification has four stages. In first stage, a small group of risk-oblivious middle-class people or 'pioneer gentrifiers' would move into a neighbourhood and renovate properties for their own use. Since mortgages are not readily available to those living in this disinvested area, the middle-class groups used sweat equity—contributing their labour instead of financial equity for renovations—and private capital to renovate. Purchasing old homes within a concentration of two or three blocks, there is very little public attention given to the matter. In this stage little displacement occurs. In the second stage, a few more middle-class residents move into the neighbourhood, and renovate homes for personal use. Realtors also begin to involve themselves in this stage. Promoting the neighbourhood to clients and small speculators, these new groups begin to buy, renovate, and then resell houses in the gentrifying neighbourhood. Unlike the first stage, when houses were bought through normal buying procedures, during this phase, purchasers aim to buy houses that

are easy to acquire—vacant, absentee landlord, city-owned or tax-foreclosure. Being able to now access loans, gentrification begins spreading to adjacent blocks, and new boundaries are created. Moving into the third period, major media and official interests are directed at this neighbourhood. Once interests begin to rise, developers begin buying and redeveloping land. Middle-class residents from the first and second stages create an organization that invites new middle-class residents to purchase homes in their community. Once all the middle-class residents are settled in, they begin to shape new community lifestyles by resisting social services and increasing defensive actions against crime—recipes for displacement. At this point, banks begin greenlining particular areas, displacement continues and prices begin to escalate. Finally moving into the fourth stage of Clay's model, a large number of properties are gentrified. With a new and large demographic of higher income groups, small businesses also see opportunities for specialized retail and professional services. During this stage, price and rent spiral, displacement affects both low-income renter and homeowner. Eventually, gentrifiers discover new neighbourhoods, and the gentrification process begins a new cycle. Although Clay's model is well recognized, Clay admits his stage model is greatly skewed towards classical gentrification (Clay, 1979; pg. 59).

Once the process of gentrification became clear, the term was published in various dictionaries. Oxford American Dictionary classifies gentrification as 'the movement of middle class families into urban areas causing property values to increase and having secondary effect of driving out poorer families; and American Heritage Dictionary defines it as 'restoration of deteriorated urban property by middle-class and

affluent people, often resulting in the displacement of lower income people.' By the early 1980s, it was apparent that residential rehabilitation that Ruth Glass had defined was only one facet of the gentrification process. This became evident once convention complexes, waterfronts, and retail and restaurant districts were developed or reconstructed as middle-class spaces in the central city. Neil Smith (1986; pg. 3) went on to argue that gentrification is:

> A highly dynamic process…not amenable to overly restrictive definitions; rather than risk constraining our understanding of this developing process by imposing definitional order, we should strive to consider the broad range of process that contribute to this restructuring, and to understand the links between seemingly separate processes.

Learning that the process of gentrification is more complex than that which was understood by Glass, academics now call her definition the 'first-wave', or 'classical gentrification.

The 'Mutations' of Gentrification

Recognizing that it is becoming more difficult to explain and describe the process of gentrification, based on Glass's description, many academics argue that the concept is "mutating" (Lees, Slater & Wyly, 2007). As a result, experts are deriving new expressions from the original term gentrification. It is important to note here that not all experts agree with mutation of gentrification; Martin Boddy, for example, goes no further than the description provided by Glass, as it "stretches it beyond the point at which it retains utility or meaning" (Boddy, 2007). Others such as Ley, Smith, and Clark stress

that it is necessary to have a more open definition of the term gentrification. Agreeing with the arguments for an open definition, the following paragraphs will provide examples of the mutations of gentrification.

Arguably one of the first terms derived from gentrification was 'rural gentrification' or 'greentrification' by Parsons (1980). Parsons coined the term rural gentrification while examining rural villages in the United Kingdom. The expression rural gentrification links the new middle-class settlement, socioeconomic and cultural transformation of the rural landscape to the resulting displacement of low-income groups. Observing four villages in the Gower Peninsula in South Wales, Martin Phillips suggests that there might be a significant difference between urban and rural gentrification. Examining rural gentrification in terms of the integration of class positions within households, and the influence of patriarchal gender identity, Phillips argues that contrary to other studies that suggest that household symmetry—in terms of labour—contributes to the movement of middle-class families into villages, it is the women that choose a village in terms of reproductive labour (the bringing up of family). The women want a safe, supportive, and rural community to nurture their children. By replacing the factor of male professional-managerial careers for reproductive labour as a reason to settle in a gentrified area, Phillips makes the claim that urban and rural gentrification are different. Rural gentrification is a result of continuity of patriarchal households, whereas urban gentrification occurs in terms the integration of class positions. Although a difference can be spotted between rural and urban gentrification, Lees, Slater and Wyly suggest that these two terms should not be seen as completely different. Taking an example from

Phillips's continued work in 2002 and 2004, he states that there is a crucial parallel between urban and rural gentrification: both groups aim to move away from suburban spaces. Another similarity spotted between rural and urban gentrifiers (2001) is their demand for green space (D. Smith & Phillips, 2001). Understanding that there are similarities and differences between rural and urban gentrifiers, Lees, Slater and Wyly state that greentrification "should not be seen as the opposite of its urban form, but perhaps as another illustration of a mutating process operating along a rural-urban continuum". Ghose (2004) and others add, "rural gentrification is best views as a close relative of urban gentrification, rather than a distant cousin".

Examined in the United States and United Kingdom, another transformation of gentrification is super-gentrification, financification (United States), or (re)gentrification (United Kingdom). This type of gentrification is different from classical gentrification as it only occurs in global cities such as New York and London. The prefix 'super' in super-gentrification is used to indicate that this is a higher level of gentrification. In order for super-gentrification, three conditions must be met: (1) gentrification must have taken place in this neighbourhood in the past; (2) these neighbourhoods must have global connections—social, economic and cultural; and (3) this wave of gentrification involves greater financial or economic investment than any previous wave (Lees, Slater & Wyly, 2007). Through this process, more globally connected elites replace previous gentrifiers. It is important to note here that super-gentrification and (re)gentrification are similar, but not the same. In (re)gentirifcation, second-generation gentrification is pushed largely by the financial sector workers, whereas 'super-rich financifiers' working in the global

financial and corporate service industry promote super-gentrification. Comparing this process to classical gentrification, it is vividly clear that super-gentrification is unique. Unlike the Glass's model which replaces lower-income residents in disinvested communities, this model is a variation; it displaces middle-income groups in invested neighbourhoods. Although the variables—income groups and level of investment—are different, the key principals of gentrification—investment and displacement—can still be recognized. Smith argues that super-gentrification is the latest phase of gentrification as it reaches to bring the global capital down to the local scale (Smith, 2002; pg. 441).

A third mutation of classical gentrification is new-build gentrification. When condominiums are built on reclaimed industrial lands, the question is asked, is it gentrification if there is no displacement? Evaluating new-build gentrification, Davidson and Lees make a case for and against new-build (arguments for new-build being a mutation of gentrification outweighed the arguments made against) (Figure 15). The first argument made for new-build is that in both concepts, capital is reinvested in disinvested central areas. Similar to Glass's definition of gentrification, both concepts aim to attract middle-class residents. Going one-step further, Davidson and Lees also argue that the end result is also the same; low-income residents are displaced. One slight difference in new-build is that displacement is indirect. Since there are no residents living directly on or adjacent to the developing lands, disadvantaged residents are displaced 'exclusionary displacement' or price shadowing. Those opposing new-build gentrification argue that the process is not the same. There is no 'loving restoration' for old houses by pioneer gentrifiers; in the case of new-build, the developer produces a product and lifestyle to be

bought by those with sufficient income. Although the process is not entirely the same Lees, Slater and Wyly agree with Davidson and Lees that displacement is occurring, which makes new-build another mutation of classical gentrification.

Beyond the three mutations of gentrification discussed above, Lees, Slater and Wyly also mention some other transformations of gentrification. The first is 'studentification', coined by Darren Smith (2002). Studentification is a process of social, economic and environmental change caused by a large number of students invading a particular cities or towns with popular universities. A second mutation mentioned by Lees, Slater and Wyly is 'tourism gentrification'. Coined by Gotham (2005), this is a process in which neighbourhoods are transformed into relatively affluent and exclusive enclaves. These areas are used to promote corporate entertainment venues and tourism. Gotham argues that an increase in consumer demand caused by the growth of tourism promotes gentrification. Lastly, in 2009, Ute Leher developed the term 'condofication' as another mutation (Lehrer & Wieditz, 2009). Unlike classical gentrification, which is only about reinvestment in already existing and devalued housing stock, condofication also includes the policy language from all levels of government, and combines it with the interests of the private sector, to reinvest in underused areas of the inner city. In most cases, new condominium towers will be built on former industrial land, but they can also be constructed through a redevelopment process. As a result, condofication will change the neighbourhood's social practice, politics, and the economic buying power of their inhabitants. Although all experts may not agree, most have approved these mutations as new forms of classical gentrification.

Contemporary Gentrification

Defining gentrification and it mutations in the first two subsections, this subsection will demonstrate how globalization, neoliberalism, and the changing role of the state have rescaled gentrification. Perhaps one of the first experts on gentrification to make these connections was Neil Smith. He argues that gentrification has become a new 'global urban strategy' that relates to new globalism and new urbanism (Smith, 2002). In his paper, Smith makes two central arguments about the changing relationship between neoliberal urbanism and gentrification. First, neoliberal states are more of agents, rather than the regulators of the market. As a result, urban policies in First World Cities are more concerned with capitalist production rather than social reproduction. Second, Smith suggests that the process of gentrification has gone global. It is used as a generalized strategy that is connected into the circuits of global capital and cultural circulation.

Although neoliberalism has been linked with notions such as deregulation, commercialization, privatization, labour-market flexibility, public-private partnerships and the downsizing of sections of the government, it has also become a rally cry for activists who question the priority of corporate globalization and the inequalities it bring. This is a result of the recent economic competitions and policy directives used to promote gentrification. Understanding that gentrification is a result of an active real estate market, the government's aims have shifted to becoming entrepreneurs—doing what is required to attract wealthy investors, residents, and tourists into their cities. Due to this, mechanisms to promote gentrification have been embedded into capital market processes, public sector privatization schemes, globalized city competition, welfare retrenchment

and workfare requirement, and other threads of fabric of neoliberal urbanism. One example of Toronto's entrepreneurial strategy was to loosen their existing zoning regimes and asking for urban intensification. Lehrer, Kipfer and Keil agree that "…the city [Toronto] supports an emphasis not only on the creation of new culture and educational attraction and well-designed public spaces, but also on the provision of a type of housing that gears towards the expectations of the creative class. It supports a planning practice that will actively invade low-income neighbourhoods and does very little for public housing" (Lehrer, Keil & Kipfer: pg. 83). This quote reflects Smith's first point; Toronto has become more of an agent by loosening its planning policies to promote economic development rather than social welfare.

Moscow is one example of a city that demonstrates both the points made by Smith. First, Smith states that cities have become agents rather than regulators of the market. In a study by Badyina and Golubchikov (2005), the authors highlight a time when the Moscow government entered into public-private partnerships to promote gentrification. Assigning houses as a 'state of disrepair', many residents were forced out of their neighbourhoods as the government and public interest groups paid for the cost of resettlement. This example clearly demonstrates that rather than preventing or cushioning the effects of gentrification the government has joined as an agent to promote it. Second, Smith argues that the process of gentrification has gone global. Since Moscow is not a North American, European, or Oceanic city, this provides enough evidence to suggest that the process of gentrification has gone global. Building on the knowledge of how gentrification has become a global process, Lees argues that it is a result of the 'cascading

down effect'. In simple terms, the process of gentrification is causing a cascading effect into small borough cities from the surrounding large cities such as New York and Toronto. Lees gives three reasons for this effect. The first is economic, metropolitan cities are exhausted of capital; as a result, they look down the urban hierarchy for new capital frontiers. The second is culture, more specifically the diffusion of gentrification lifestyle from the urban centers to the periphery through the media. Small cities borrowing regeneration policies from metropolitan cities is the third reason for the processes of gentrification going global. Through these regeneration policies, small cities try to reinvent themselves by taking ideas from larger cities.

Along with a better understanding of what contemporary gentrification looks like, experts have also attempted to build new stage models that explain gentrification, as Clay did in the late 1970s. Hackworth and Smith created one of the most popularized stage models discussed today (Hackworth and Smith, 2010). Introducing their model as the third-wave or post-recession wave of gentrification, this model explains how all three waves are unique from one another (Figure 1). Since this section relates to contemporary gentrification, only the third-wave of Hackworth and Smith's stage model is explained; more information can be found in their reading *The Changing State of Gentrification*. Beginning in the mid-1990s, the third-wave of gentrification was brought along by a worldwide economic recession. Bouncing back from the recession, gentrification was used as a generalized strategy for capital accumulation. Realizing its economic success, gentrification was then intensified in comparison to the second-wave, and became strongly connected to large-scale capital. With this shift, Hackworth and Smith argue that

4 radical changes occurred in the third-wave of gentrification. First, gentrification was seen to occur only within inner city neighbourhoods, now it is also seen to occur beyond the urban core. Second, developers are now more likely to promote reinvestment; in the past developers would only involve themselves when the neighbourhood was 'tamed'. Third, the resistance of gentrification by the working class has declined. This is because of continually displacement, and most militant anti-gentrification groups (of the 1980s) have become housing service providers. Fourth, in order to compete with other global cities, states are becoming more involved in the redevelopment process of neighbourhoods (Hackworth & Smith, 2010). Overall, the third-wave gentrification has become "more corporate, more state facilitated, and less resisted then ever" (Hackworth, 2002; pg. 839).

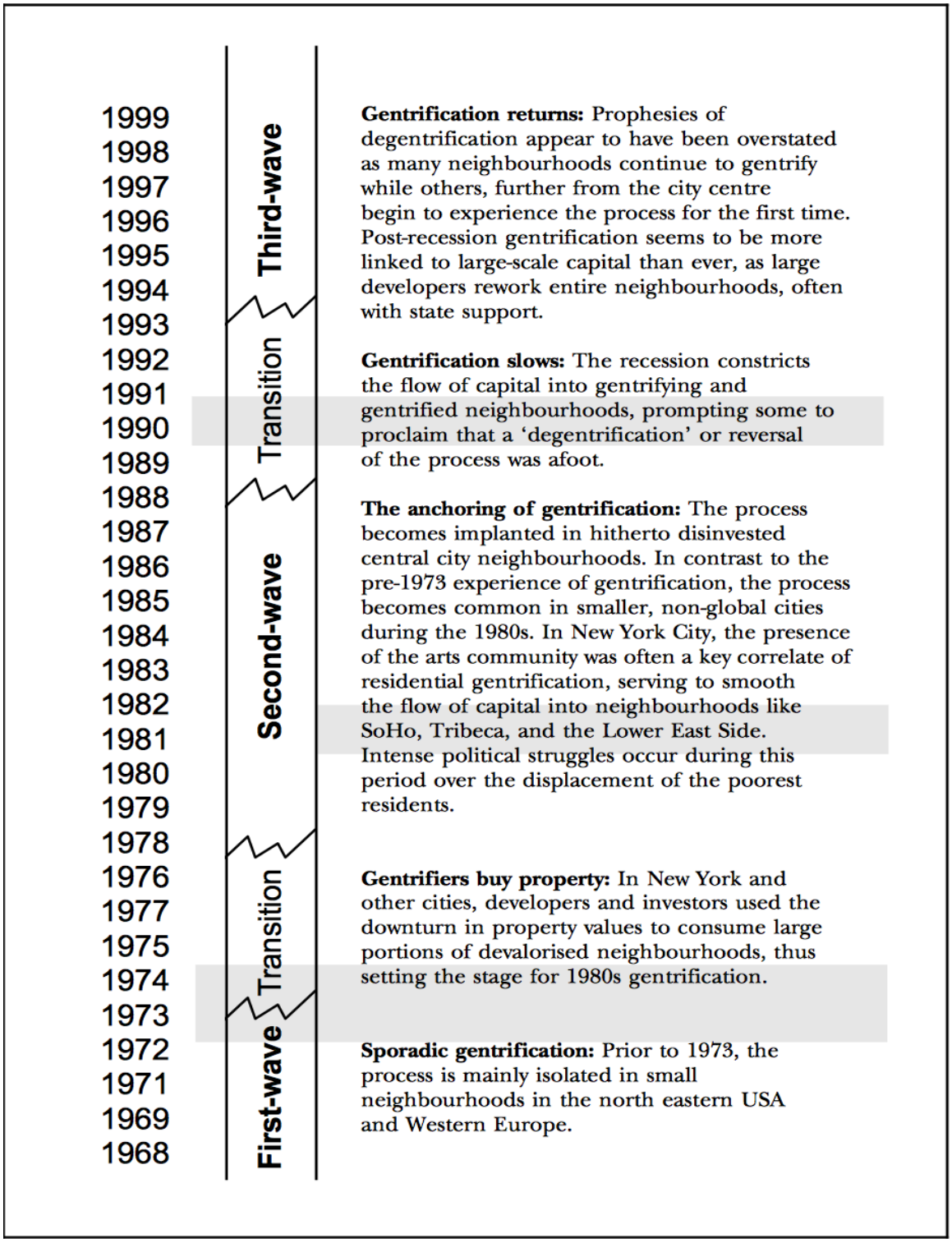
Building on the model built by Hackworth and Smith, Lees, Slater and Wyly (2007) believe that the world may be soon entering a fourth-wave of gentrification. Although it has only been recognized in the United States thus far, this wave joins an intensified financialization of housing combined with the consolidation of pre-gentrification politics and polarized urban policies. When the recession hit the U.S. in 2001, the response was to reduce interest rates. It brought on a unique change; business expenditures collapsed but consumer spending and borrowing cushioned the slowdown. With the combination of decreased interest rates, loose mortgage policies, and the expansion of secondary markets—allowing debt obligations to be traded like bonds and stocks—mortgage debt grew by $850 million, and refinanced loans reached an approximate 100% increase of $11 million. Losing money in the stock market, the

wealthy class saw housing as an opportunity to break even or profit. As a result, the price of housing increased, and has greatly worsened the rental affordability crisis. It is now common for racial and ethnic groups to be declined for loans, but wealthy groups to be offered multiple competitive loans. Jamie Peck identifies this shift from welfarist modes of urban governance to a new dominant conservative urbanism "based on the invasive morals and penal regulation of the poor, tighter with state-assisted efforts to reclaim the city for business, the middle class, and the market" (Peck, 2006; pg. 681).

A lot has changed since Glass first coined the term in 1964; unlike classical gentrification, contemporary gentrification is a global process that is promoted by neoliberalism and advanced by it agents—the state and private interests. Since then, experts have recognized that the meaning has evolved. In the past, gentrification was seen as a process that only occurred as a result of disinvestment in infrastructure or a change in the employment sector in the central city. Now, gentrification can also occur in the suburbs and rural areas, and it can be a result of new development. Also, Glass acknowledged the gentrified population as low-income, blue-collar workers. Today, experts have recognized that gentrified populations are those that are disadvantaged such as: ethnic minorities, single parents, homeless, unemployed and the disabled (Pacione, 2009). The model of gentrification has also changed. Over the years, new gentrification models have been created to support the ideals of gentrification at that time. For instance, Clay's model supports classical gentrification, whereas the model created by Hackworth and Smith is influenced by contemporary gentrification. Based on the findings of the academics, it is likely that the term gentrification will continue to grow, and I support

Smith when he says that gentrification is "a highly dynamic process…not amenable to overly restrictive definitions; rather than risk constraining our understanding of this developing process by imposing definitional order, we should strive to consider the broad range of process that contribute to this restructuring, and to understand the links between seemingly separate processes." Although the processes of gentrification may continue to change, the detrimental impact are constantly one sided. When this process occurs it is the more disadvantaged residents that are negatively impacted. Looking back, it was evident in the Haussmannization of Paris, the super-gentrification in the United States, and the case with the residents of Moscow. Based on these past examples, it is clear that governments should not prompt gentrification without the consideration of environmental justice.

Figure 1: Third-Wave of Gentrification Model



(Hackworth & Smith, 2010; Figure 2)

Regent Park Case Study

A "model community"

Located near downtown Toronto, Regent Park is Canada's first and largest public housing project. Prior to the title Regent Park, this area was known as Cabbagetown—a poor, majority white British working-class slum, in the east downtown area. Responding to the social struggle emerging from the Great Depression in the 1930s and post-war creations, Regent Park was approved by City Council in 1945, and built by the Housing Authority of Toronto (HAT) between 1947-1959 (Lehrer, Keil & Kipfer, 2010).

By the late 1960s, Regent Park—a 69-acre project—became the home to 10,000 people in 2000 subsidized housing units. Applying a rent-geared-to-income (RGI) system, Metro Toronto Housing Authority (MTHA) managed the housing. In the first decade after the completion of the public housing project, Regent Park was glorified as a 'model community' (Kipfer & Petrunia, 2009; pg. 116). It blended the hopes of public housing tenants with the ideals of Fordist urban expansion, to what planners saw as achieving social control through physical design and moral policing. With the development of the project, public housing was recognized to dissolve slums, prevent the devaluation of land rent, and preserve the central city as an attractive site for corporate and government investment.

As highly as Regent Park was praised in the first decade, people's opinions began to change in the following years. First, between 1969 and 1978, a women-led tenants movement organized a rally against numerous housing issues such as: better maintenance, more democratic housing management, less restrictive RGI guidelines. Second, during this time, the Canadian state also gradually removed itself from public housing concerns. Rather than improving public housing, federal priorities shifted towards nonprofit housing (in 1973), cutting back transfer payments (since 1984), and dissolving social housing to the province (late 1980s to 1996). According to James (2010), this was due to the oil-shock recession in 1973, which led the Canadian government to take a neoliberal shift by cutting back, privatizing, and depending on the voluntary sector for the provision of social services. Third, the increase in middle-class movements against expressways and urban renewal lead to the demise of postwar territorial compromise and the delegitimization of large-scale public housing. Supporting the principles of mixed-use and economic diversity, Jane Jacobs and her supporters used the 1970s and 1980s to replace urban renewal with neighbourhood preservation strategies. This resulted in the gentrification of housing directly north of Regent Park by 'well-to-do professional', and was then renamed Cabbagetown (Kipfer & Petrunia, 2009; pg. 118). Finally, the racialized and starkly gendered character also added to the devaluation of public housing. With an increase in minority population, racist moral panic began to grow around Toronto. People were concerned that Regent Park would reproduce some American urban drug-related gun violence. Purdy adds that the media played a crucial role in illustrating Regent Park as a dangerous problem area. Following the poor/working-class, immigrant and/or black neighbourhoods, the media portrayed

these groups as the opposite of social, moral, and economic order (Purdy, 2005). For instance, the film *Return to Regent Park* focuses on the drug and crime problems for a major portion of the movie, 'welfare nights'—blowing social assistance cheques on alcohol and drugs—and physical deterioration. Although this film includes positive aspects such as constructive comments from residents living in the projects, the media generally plays a large role in creating moral panic, a culture of crime, and resident stigmatization.

Since the 1950s, Regent Park has lagged behind the City in terms of education, income, and higher paying service jobs (see Figures 16-18). This has been a result of the economic restructuring (loss in unionized manufacturing jobs, the growth of low-wages, casualized services and sweatshop jobs), unaffordable housing stock, and neoliberalizing shifts in public policy (shrinking housing subsides and increasing stringent criteria to calculate RGI eligibility). Seen as an 'expensive' and 'hopeless' problem that the federal government did not want to accept responsibility for, in 1993 the liberal government decided that housing should be provided by the provincial government (Kipfer & Petrunia, 2009). Within two years there was a crisis in affordable housing caused by cancelled pending commitment to public housing construction, eliminated regulatory barriers on private builders, support cuts to 17,000 public housing units, and the downgrading of responsibilities to the municipal government. This eventually led to the transfer of provision for public housing to Toronto Community Housing (TCH) (in 2002). With a lack of infrastructure maintenance in Regent Park, urban planners once again saw the solution as physical redevelopment.

Although the idea of redevelopment failed multiple times between 1989 and 1996 in Regent Park, it wasn't until the early 2000s that it became a reality. According to Kipfer and Petrunia, there were three factors that paved the grounds for redevelopment. First, was Mayor Barbara Hall's 'reform' under the old City of Toronto. During the mid-1990s, when the City was in a deep real estate slump, the mayor decided to deregulate height and zoning restrictions on both sides of the central business district. Legitimized in the 2000 Official Plan, this shift would 'let the market decide on land-use' (Kipfer & Petrunia, 2009; pg. 120). Second, soon after the real estate slump passed, Regent Park saw gentrification occur to the north, south and east. Public housing was encroached by factory conversions, and townhouse and condominium development. Surrounded, Regent Park was the last piece in the area preventing the City's reinvestment strategy for land valorization. Third, after Toronto amalgamated in 1998, the City began state rescaling. One of the outcomes was the devolving of financial and administrative responsibilities of social housing stock to the Toronto Community Housing Corporation in 2002. These responsibilities were not handed without conditions; rather, the province instructed the municipality to practice administrative marketization and financial austerity. As a result, TCHC arguably became the most entrepreneurial social housing provider. Examples of its entrepreneurialism would include: selling parts of its portfolio to fund new development, renting out space to commercial tenants, transferring some of its units to home-based ownership, ramping up eviction, selectively contracting out jobs, and decentralizing management authority (Kipfer & Petrunia, 2009; Hackworth & Moriah, 2006). Burdened with maintenance backlog, TCHC saw amalgamation as an "opportunity to create cost and service delivery efficiencies", "reinvent public housing", and "re-

examine the possibility of redevelopment and regeneration" (Lehrer, Keil & Kipfer, 2010).

Why Revitalization?

Analyzing the history of this project, many scholars have asked the questions, why is Regent Park redeveloping, rather than upgrading the current infrastructure? And, by revitalizing Regent Park, aren't we hiding/dispersing the root problems? Examining the case study, several academics have provided insight into the revitalization.

First, scholars suggest that the revitalization of Regent Park is part of a bigger picture for public housing in Toronto (James, 2010; Lehrer, Keil & Kipfer, 2010; Kipfer & Petrunia, 2009). It involves altering levels of government spending and intervention in particular areas according to market-based logic (James, 2010). This is accomplished through the re-commodification of public housing lands. Through this practice, the government does not need to add public housing stock, re-commodification allows public housing to be constructed with private market housing, by developers. However, through this process, redevelopment of public housing units become dependent on the sales of developed market housing. By downloading of social housing to the TCHC and re-commodification, the City is able to reorient itself away from the provision of welfare and services, and focus on becoming an entrepreneurial city.

Second, this project is seen as a means to 'recolonize' the Regent Park community (Lehrer, Keil & Kipfer, 2010). This is accomplished by: (1) re-commodification of public housing lands; (2) readjusting the resident population (by prioritizing market units and reducing social housing to 25% of the community population); and (3) reengineering socio-cultural dynamics between those living in public and private units (using physical design strategies and 'place-based' strategies). Through re-colonization public housing sites, such as Regent Park, will transform into 'normal' and 'successful' neighbourhood, with various built forms, tenure types, income groups, and functions (Lehrer, Keil & Kipfer, 2010).

Connected with the second point of normalizing Regent Park, the third theory suggests that socio-economic upgrading would provide a means of transforming Toronto into a global city (Lehrer & Wieditz, 2009). According to the report *Toronto Competes: An Assessment of Toronto's Global Competitiveness*, it suggests that the City includes the private sector—in particular, the property development industry—in Toronto's economic development strategy. With the assistance of the private sector, the City can reurbanize allowing a continued economic success in the global, knowledge-based economy. By reurbanizing areas such as Regent Park, the City will be able to increase its knowledge-based population and jobs in the City.

Based on these reasoning's above, the City of Toronto has chosen revitalization rather than investing to better its economic position. By downloading financial and administrative duties to the TCHC, the City has given itself more money and resources to

spend in other areas of their budget. The normalization of Regent Park provides another example of the City's motives to improve its economic position. Dispersing current residents and creating these 'normal' communities near the CBD allows the City to compete on global scale. Using public-private partnerships to their advantage, the City grants developers permission to demolish the homes of thousands of resident, in order to reduce its spending on matters such as infrastructure improvement. However, through this process, the City also loses control and power. One example is the loss of 600 social housing units during the revitalization of Regent Park (discussed in the next subsection).

The Revitalization Process

In 2002, the Regent Park redevelopment plan was made public. This plan proposed more than doubling the number of housing units from 2,087 to 5,115 and increasing population density from 7,500 to 12,500. Excited about the redevelopment plans, the chair of TCHC praised the project as the "largest public/private sector urban development ever undertaken in Canada" and declared Regent Park "open for business," a "go zone for revitalization" (Kipfer & Petrunia, 2009; pg. 122). However, the redevelopment planning between the public and private would not be so simple. Relying on the success of market housing to finance the new public housing, TCHC's proposal to create 2,087 social housing units would be declined in order to reduce financial risk for the developers. As a result, TCHC was forced to reduce the number of units to 1,500—a loss of 600 units. This plan had already contradicted its promise of allowing the original residents to return to their own neighbourhood. Hiding behind the idea of revitalization, nearly 600 residents have been gentrified before the project had begun construction.

Beyond the discussions between the public and private sectors, the residents of Regent Park were also very busy trying to relocate before phase one began. According to the TCHC, residents were notified about relocation one year before the actual process began. Using newsletters and public meetings as a means to spread the word, residents were notified of the first come, first serve relocation. On April 18th, 2005 the relocation process began and at 12 a.m. that morning residents began lining up. By 6 a.m., one of the residents recalled seeing the line-up reach approximately 200 people. Sadly, many individuals who waited in line were not able to relocate into their first choice of housing. This was due to the high demand for housing in Regent Park near amenities such as schools. One resident stated, "Even I had to wake up early in the morning, 4 o'clock, to line up…I went the first day, I filled in the form...I couldn't find anything, the day I went. I can't make it; wake up early in the morning to line up. First come, first serve: That is why I end up the last" (Schippling, 2007; pg. 70). Many residents felt the first come, first serve approach was unfair, since the process would become more difficult for disadvantaged people (i.e. people working nights, single families and elderly). One mother explained,

> ...it wasn't fair. You have to line up to get there, to get the apartment, from 3 o'clock at night and I can't go at 3 o'clock. I have to feed my kids and then have to drop them to school, to go line up then I have to go to work at 11, I come back at lunch time and I still didn't get inside the office to choose the apartment. And all these apartments I look at before, somebody refuse it before me. So when my name comes they call me. When I see this, I saw the kitchen is big and I said, 'okay,' no

> more left at Regent Park, it's close to work, I can walk, but it's still far. It's still too hard for me. Like the baby, she was 1 month old, I go there outside in the snow, 6 times a day, just to pick up and drop off, it was so hard...because I am a mother and I am working so it's hard for me, between work and home and the children, it was so hard (Schippling, 2007; pg. 79).

Some also suggested that the relocating system was unfair as they felt staff engaged in misconduct by providing favouritism to some households over others. Overall, many residents agreed that the relocation process was unorganized, and could have been conducted better.

Approved by City Council in 2003 and 2005, the first of a five phase plan began construction in 2006. In order to begin developing the neighbourhood, community members living where the first phase construction was going to occur were relocated. Of the 1,160 residents that left in the first phase, 40% moved elsewhere in Regent Park, 56% moved to other nearby public housing, the other 4% left public housing (James, 2010). TCHC covered the moving expenses and other provisions through an on-site relocation office. Once the residents moved into their temporary homes, Schippling's research shows that not all community members displaced were content with their provisional housing. Examining accessibility first, Schippling admits, although some—generally those within a close proximity to Regent Park—were happy with their units, others were not. One resident, who was relocated to an affluent neighbourhood three kilometers outside of Regent Park, stated that they had issues accessing affordable store, since most

of them were located in Regent Park. Another interviewee's response can be summed up as time consuming, as she had to travel from outside the community to Regent Park to shop and access services.

Second, Schippling examines the relationship between current Regent Park households, friends, and new neighbours. Schippling states that households found it difficult to cope with the loss of friends from Regent Park, and to communicate with new neighbours. Residents living both inside and outside of Regent Park have admitted to not meeting many new neighbours during relocation, and have struggled to maintain contact with old neighbours. One family stated that they have not met many new people in the building and most of their friends have "spread out everywhere" (Schippling, 2007; pg. 89). A second interviewee claimed his family no longer has the connection with the neighbours that they used to have. Additionally, the friends that they used to see daily, they now see "maybe once a week" (Schippling, 2007; pg. 89). Another resident revealed that she does not feel safe in her neighbourhood and this had prevented her and her children from meeting new people. However, there are also cases where residents were happy with the move. One resident said they maintained contact with old friends and also met new neighbours: "yeah, [my friends and I] still have contact, but they are far away. I have a couple of neighbours beside me also. Yes, we do help each other but it takes time. It takes time to get to know each other" (Schippling, 2007; pg. 88).

Schippling's third analysis considers apartment sizes and maintenance. In terms of apartment sizes, Schippling finds that relocation provided families with bigger units with much needed extra space. However, there was little generosity regarding maintenance. Although the upkeep in phase one buildings was below standard, many residents that relocated within the neighbourhood complained that many of these problems persisted after the relocation, and in some cases, have gotten worse. According to a family that relocated within Regent Park, they said the pest problem was far worse than in their previous apartment. Moreover, the family does not think that the pest control measures used to exterminate cockroaches were effective. Furthermore, one member of the household complained that dust problems in the new house kept him up at night. Many residents complained that during relocation many units were not cleaned or prepared for their arrival. One resident stated that they contacted TCHC three weeks before their relocation about maintenance problems related to the sink and windows in his new unit; when they moved in, these issues were still not resolved. Another resident said they had a broken pipe in the bathroom that wasn't fixed for two weeks after they moved in. This family also had to postpone their move into their new unit because of slow progress on a bathroom door that was supposed to be widened to accommodate a wheelchair. Additionally, upon moving into the unit, the family reported that the gas for the stove had been turned off. This problem was not resolved for one month, during this time the family was forced to eat take out. These issues of maintenance were also seen in the TCHC's evaluation of the relocation, "feedback from both staff and tenants suggest that maintenance of units was an issue" (Schippling, 2007; pg. 98).

Lastly, after conducting the interviews Schippling also suggests that some residents faced adverse health effects. Stress was the most common health issue, which likely occurred as a result of relocation into new neighbourhoods. One resident stated it was "very stressful" and that they could not sleep at night because of their nervousness in finding a new home (Schippling, 2007; pg. 102). Another revealed that they will not move back after phase 1 was complete: "When I was talking to my worker, she said, 'after the buildings get redone, I can go back' but I would rather stay where I am because I am not going to live another ten or twelve years before they get it all finished. I'd rather stay where I am because, when I moved in last September or October, I had a lot of stress…" (Schippling, 2007; pg. 102). According to another resident, they claimed that they were depressed and they were hospitalized as a result. On the other hand, some residents claimed that they had positive health effects. One senior resident claimed that she was getting more exercise, while another said her health has gotten better: "fortunately for me, when I moved, my health got better instead of worse, because I was spending a lot of time in the hospital. But, since I moved here, I haven't spent one day in [there]" (Schippling, 2007; pg. 103). Overall, it is vividly clear that the relocation was not easy for most. Many residents were challenged by various factors including: accessibility, staying connected with old friends while meeting new neighbours, maintenance and/or health effects.

Although the revitalization has not yet completed, it is vividly clear that the redevelopment did have its negative impact including potential displacement. Based on these tenants' responses it is quite clear that temporary relocation can lead to adverse

health effects, accessibility issues, and disconnection from family and friends. These are only a few of the impacts that the residents of Regent Park have faced. The next subsection will review the outcomes of revitalization—as of the completion of phase one.

The Current Situation in Regent Park

Breaking down the benefits and detriments of revitalization in Regent Park, this section will examine resident and expert opinions from 2008 to 2012. Completing phase 1 in May 2009, some of the local residents were allowed to move into their new units. After analyzing the first phase, it is evident that this project advances the negative processes of gentrification. The redevelopment displaces more than 600 residents, some when TCHC was forced to reduce the social housing units from 2,087 to 1,500, another 4% when the 1,160 residents relocated, and potentially a few more that found the relocation too stressful to reconsider moving back (James, 2010). A study conducted by McMaster University in Regent Park, finds that in 2011, 28% of their 39 candidates moved into new units built outside Regent Park (Smith P. , 2013). Conducting a second interview and survey in 2012, the McMaster University study shows that 58% of the 59 residents moved into new units outside of Regent Park (Dowbor, 2014). Although the studies do not provide any reason for their relocation, one potential reason could be that the residents had a bad experience with the relocation and decided to move away from TCHC completely. A second reason these participants could have moved outside the community is because they accepted a permanent relocation package before agreeing to temporary relocation. If residents are not moving back into the community due to stress or bad experiences, then this reflects a negative impact of gentrification through involuntary displacement.

A second trait of gentrification that was spotted after phase 1 was the lack of social-mix. Using the example of 246 Sackville and 252 Sackville, James explains that one tower is strictly public housing while the other building is comprised of market units (Figure 2). Davidson and Lees (2005) surveyed and interviewed gentrifiers living along the Thames River and non-gentrifiers in adjacent neighbourhoods; findings suggest that there is little evidence for social interaction between the middle and lower-income class. Davidson and Lees suggest that this outcome is a result of both the transitory nature of the gentrifiers and the spatially segregated nature of the new-build development. Building on the idea of improper development, Sibley argues that by constructing places in a particular manner can 'deny a person a place in society' and can cast them as deviants and 'out of place' (Sibley, 1995; pg. 108). Based on the arguments made by experts in the field, it can be contended that this type of physically and mentally separated development can lead to a lack of social-mix, and another negative outcome of gentrification.

Figure 2: Revitalization Phase 1 - (Left) Private Housing and (Right) Public Housing

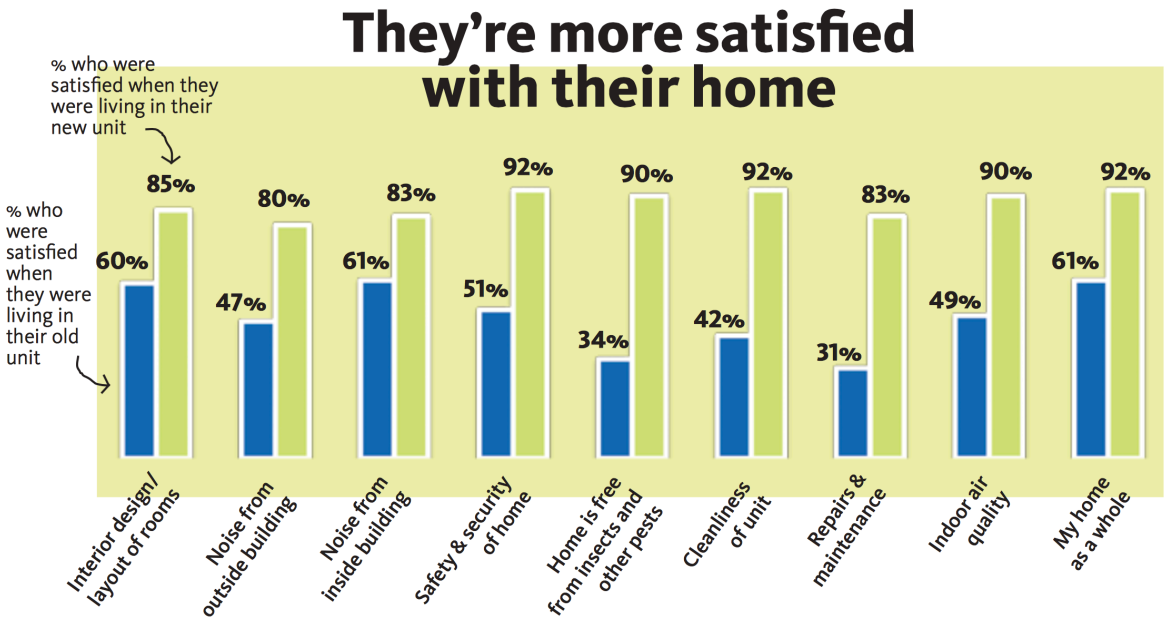
(James, 2010; Figure 5)

Although there are some potential negative outcomes that can occur from revitalization, the report developed by McMaster's Social Science department, shows an overall positive change in housing and the Regent Park community. After moving back into the neighbourhood, the residents experienced:

- greater satisfaction with their home;
- greater satisfaction with their neighbourhood;
- more safety in their neighbourhood;
- and lower levels of distress (or mild depression)

Physical health and access to services and social supports were a few factors that did not improve upon return to Regent Park. The McMaster study suggests that an improvement in health was not expected as housing in only one of a range of factors that increase physical health. Taking a look at Figures 3-5, the McMaster report illustrates the community and housing improvements (Dowbor, 2014). Figure 3 shows how the 59 participants felt about the neighbourhood before and after the revitalization of phase 1. From this graphic, it seems evident that people see an improvement in their housing conditions. Figure 4 demonstrates the improvements in housing quality. All areas from repairs and maintenance to interior design/room layouts are superior compared to the prior housing conditions. Finally Figure 5 reveals residents' thoughts on safety. Overall, tenants feel much safer in their neighbourhood after the revitalization.

Figure 3: Regent Park Participants Satisfaction With Their Homes



(Dowbor, 2014; pg. 5)

Figure 4: Regent Park Participants Feelings About Their Neighbourhood

(Dowbor, 2014; pg. 6)

Figure 5: Regent Park Participants Feelings Towards Safety

(Dowbor, 2014; pg. 6)

Analyzing the case study of Regent Park, it is evident that this redevelopment project reflects some negative effects of gentrification. Through densification and the reduction of social housing, this redevelopment is making space for the so-called "creative class". This example also exemplifies a mutation of gentrification. Unlike classical gentrification that occurs in block, this redevelopment is occurring on a large-scale. Beyond the type of gentrification, the process also fits the criteria of a newer, third-wave gentrification. Looking back to Hackworth and Smith's model, this case study illustrates three out of the four points of their model. First, through the public-private partnership it is evident that the developer, Daniels, was involved in promoting reinvestment. Advertising their company as a "developer who looks out for the little guy", Daniels has agreed to share 50% interest in the Regent Park development with TCHC. By entering into a partnership with Daniels, the city was able to "re-examine the possibility of redevelopment and regeneration" (Lehrer, Keil & Kipfer, 2010; pg. 86-87). Second, there was very little resistance to the revitalization of Regent Park. According to Kipfer and Petrunia (2009), there was some resistance against Regent Park, but for reasons such as lack of political organization, segregation and dehumanization there was cautious support against the redevelopment. Lastly, with the motivation to recolonize, normalize, and alter levels of government spending on social housing, the City and TCHC created a partnership with Daniels; this shows reasons for the cities involvement in planning. Beyond the act of gentrifying, the Regent Park revitalization illustrates some of the impact of gentrification. The fourth point of the third-wave gentrification model emphasizes that the process can occur outside the CBD. Since this development is taking place within the core it does not demonstrate the fourth point; nevertheless construction

in the core still reflects gentrification. More details about the effects of gentrification will be provided in the next subsection.

Outcomes of Gentrification

Reflecting on experiences in Regent Park, it is clear that the project has positive and negative implications in relation to gentrification concerns. With beneficial and detrimental impacts caused by gentrification, policy-makers, researchers and commentators are divided about the value of the process. Lang believes that the stakeholder's viewpoint is in relation to their benefits and costs caused by gentrification (Lang, 1982). Cities and developers for instances, support gentrification as it supports economic gains, whereas residents being gentrified are typically against the idea—due to their loss in utility or happiness. Through this subsection, an analysis is presented that examines arguments for and against gentrification (see Figure 19 for more impacts). In order to conduct this analysis, each paragraph begins with a potential positive impact of gentrification, which is then challenged by other academic work that refutes these claims.

As stated above, the concept of gentrification has been hidden behind several terms including: urban regeneration, revitalization and smart growth. When discussing the benefits of gentrification, the word "social-mix" is used to provide an umbrella of positive impacts. The idea of social-mixing can be explained as: the heterogeneous composition of social and income groups which, when achieved will produced the optimal individual and community well-being (Pitt, 1977). In order to reach this composition, gentrification needs to occur. Hearing the success stories of the early 1990s' American HOPE IV program, many national and local governments, urban policy-

makers, and urban scholars have begun to encourage social-mix (August, 2014). Although the supporters of social-mixing have heard the benefits of the concept, many argue that the benefits are one-sided, meaning that the negative impacts are faced only by the disadvantaged people. According to Schoon (2001), the policy debate surrounding social-mixing has three distinct arguments.

First, it is suggested that mixing low- and middle-income groups into one neighbourhood could allow these areas to demand better public resources. According to Byrne (2003), low-income groups may have large numbers, but they lack organization and fiscal support. With the migration of middle-income groups back into the city, it is believed that state population and economies will fiscally increase, giving cities more political power on a national scale and capital in the short-term. Since these new neighbourhoods provide this power to cities, it can be used as a tool to bargain for better public services. One counter argument made against neighbourhoods receiving better services is that low- and middle-income groups will not demand the same types of services. Although Byrne (2003) believes there will be a democratic process to the neighbourhoods decision, DeFilippis sees them as 'outcomes of complex sets of power relationships' (DeFilippis, 2001; pg. 790). Class, race and gender shape power relations, and tend to favor white, wealthy, male, highly educated and political savvy residents. With their superior social capital, August (2014) suggests that these middle-class newcomers will dominate the local decision making process. Using an example from the first public housing redevelopment in Toronto, Don Mount Court, it is vividly clear that newcomers control decision-making. According to August's observations, when sitting in

on community meetings, newcomers dominated meetings through subtle and explicit methods. Some subtle techniques included: chairing meetings (allowing them to shape discussions) and setting content, while consistently insisting adherence to the agenda. Controlled methods on the other hand involve: setting the agenda, interrupting, shouting, and causing scenes to ensure the concerns would be prioritized. An example of a controlled technique can be seen in the neighbourhoods Crime Prevention and Safety Action Team (CPSAT) meeting. A lower-income resident attempted to defend the youth who were considered threatening; a higher income resident immediately cut her off and said 'right now we're identifying problems. Solutions are later in the agenda.' Later on in that meeting low-income residents suggested engaging youth in these discussions, but again were interrupted by higher income residents who simply suggested moving onto the action part of the agenda. By constantly pushing forward the concerns of the middle-income group, policing and surveillance increased to a point where youth were not only harassed, but also beaten. It was at this point that both income groups met eye-to-eye and decided to dissolve the CPSAT. Examining this case, it is clear that an argument can be made against the social-mixing and for increased political power for lower income groups. Unless discussions are democratized in a more fulsome and meaningful way, the decision-making powers will rest in the hands of residents with higher social capital.

Second, those supporting social-mixing claim that diversified neighbourhoods can remove concentrations of low-income residents, while also providing a stronger local economy. With a better economy, it is suggested that the disadvantaged groups will reap more benefits. Using the "spatial mismatch hypothesis", Vigdor (2002) explains that the labour market has continued to decentralize from the CBD as more affluent residents continue to move out to the suburbs. Due to this, the inner city residents cannot reach these suburban jobs because of travel costs, distance, or lack of transportation (Byrne, 2003). Through social-mix and the return of the affluent citizens to the CBD, there is a potential for: new employment prospects, higher wages, better work amenities, and lower unemployment. Furthermore, Byrne (2003) suggests that newcomers will not compete for these new positions. A second economic benefit of social-mix for disadvantaged residents is increased property values. A concern here is that property taxes will increase; but Byrne suggests that with a higher income population in the neighbourhood, the taxes can remain the same—without compromising services—or can increase with better service quality. Lang's case study on Philadelphia also supports this point. While examining three gentrified neighbourhoods to three controlled neighbourhoods, Lang's research finds that with the increase in real-estate taxes, all three gentrified communities were able to fund service and capital improvements, while two of the three controlled neighbourhoods required subsidized funds (Lang, 1986; Table 6).

Although it seems as if there are numerous economic benefits to be redeemed for both the residents and city, many urban scholars argue that positive impacts are only beneficial for gentrifiers. Starting with property taxes, Atkinson (2004) argues that the price of a lower income resident's house may increase, however, they may not be able to maintain the cost of living in that home. When the disadvantaged resident attempts to 'cash-in', Atkinson suggests that they will be faced with higher prices elsewhere. Vigdor (2002) adds to this conversation by saying that increased property tax can be a negative impact if: (i) if the homeowner's property tax increase does not equate to or is lower than the improved services being provided, (ii) if the taxes are so high that the disadvantaged resident is displaced. Atkinson (2004) furthers his argument against gentrification by saying that the new services provided with increased revenue may remove some of the old services that lower income residents require, and add services that the higher-income groups want. Lastly, while explaining how social-mix can lead to more competition and cheaper prices of goods, Byrne (2003) also says that local shops that may have met the needs of the disadvantaged residents in the past may be shut down and replaced by international companies such as Starbucks.

Looking back at the arguments made for social-mix, each point can be counter-argued with a negative impact. While it is said that more jobs will be provided in the community, they do not speak for those business owners who may go bankrupt; and while pointing out that new tax revenues may lead to better quality services, they do not discuss the possibility of the loss of old necessary services. Analyzing the arguments made from both sides, it is clear that the economic benefits only impact some resident

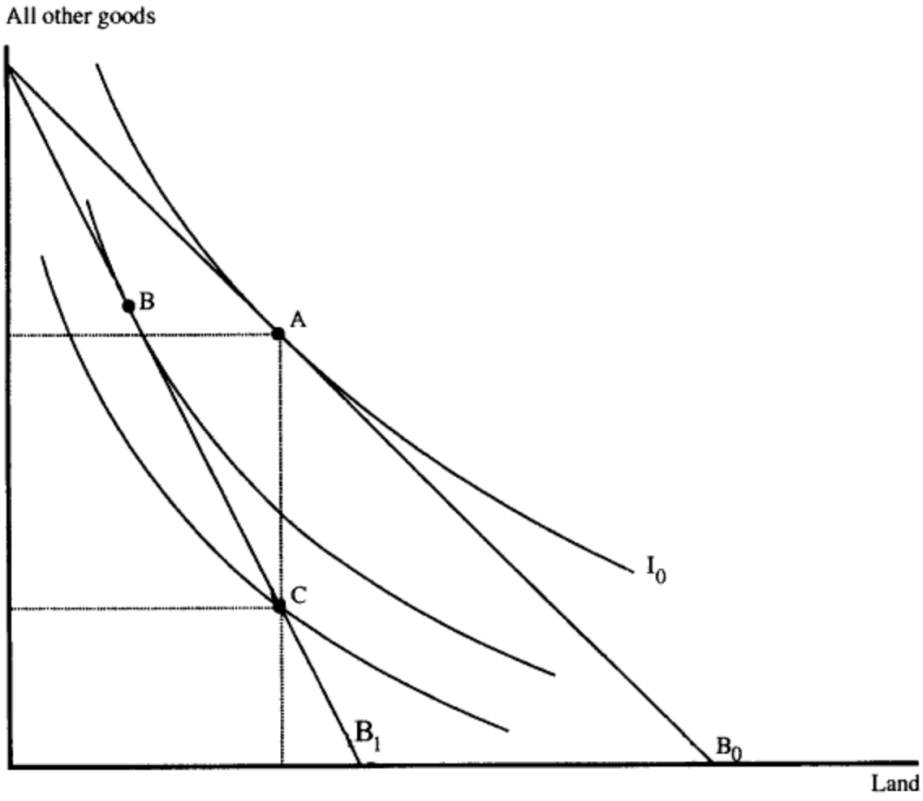
positively, while negatively impacting others.

Third, social-mix is suggested to create networks and contacts amongst low and middle class groups, creating social cohesion and economic opportunities. According to Wilson—who examines neighbourhood effects from a labour market perspective and the problem of unemployment—a concentration of unemployment in a community can lead to results including: "negative social dispositions, limited aspirations, and casual work habits" (Wilson, 1991; p.642). Reinforced by negative role models many scholars (Manski, 2000; Blume & Durlauf, 2001; Manley et al., 2011) believe that residents will lower their expectation for employment, obstruct access to potential job networks, and encourage deviant behaviors. As a result, urban scholars suggest that having positive role models will redirect communities from a culture of poverty and unemployment, to a culture of economic prosperity. Manley and others (2011), go on to state that there is little evidence supporting the claims made above. Conversely, there are many academic papers proving the faults of this theory. According to a study conducted by Butler and Robinson (2001 & 2003), their research finds that gentrifiers only speak to people with similar culture and political values. Furthermore, they argue that their children's network of friends did not include cross-class friendship. This is due to exclusionary pre-school clubs and affordability issues that deny access to children in working or low-income families. Cole and Shayer (1998) finds that a greater amount of neighbourhood social diversity does not correlate with increased interaction between different social groups. Some authors have actually suggested that socially mixed communities are just as likely to produce social conflict, due to a clash of different cultures, classes, and socio-

economic groups (Goodchild & Cole, 2004). With the segregation and clashes between different socio-economic groups Atkinson and Smith found that the quality of life also decreases (Smith, 1996; Atkinson, 2000).

Lastly, a fourth subject that is not normally discussed under social-mix but is heavily debated through gentrification is displacement. According to Vigdor, displacement is not a necessary outcome of gentrification. He suggests that initial residents will only move if the moving costs are sufficient (Vigdor, 2002; Figure 3). Using the economic preference theory (Figure 6) Vigdor explains the impacts of moving costs.

Figure 6: Shifts in the Utility Function After Gentrification



(Vigdor, 2002; Figure 3)

Before gentrification occurs in a neighbourhood, a disadvantaged resident's optimal bundle would be at point A, where B_0 is the original budget constraints and I_0 is the indifference curve. Once gentrification occurs and land values increase, B_0 shifts to B_1 and the I_o curve is no longer attainable in the urban core. Unless there is a $0 cost to moving and similar utility can be gained in the suburbs, then the optimal point A is no longer achievable, and the residents' utility will decrease to point B or C. If costs for moving are extremely high, but the housing price in other area of the core are at a sufficient price then they will end up at point B [same neighbourhood with less land]. However, if the costs of moving and the price of housing in other parts of the urban core are adequate, then the resident will move to keep the same amount of land they currently occupy and also reach optimal point C. Depicted in this graph, it is clear that displacement is not a necessary outcome of gentrification. Supporting this argument, Freeman and Braconi of New York show that in the 1990s only 5.47% of people who recently moved were considered displaced. Furthermore, their study also argues that displacement is less likely to occur due to rising property values in gentrifying neighbourhoods, as improved housing and neighbourhood conditions appear to encourage housing stability of low-income households (Freeman & Braconi, 2002). Countering the argument, Thomson has provides a table that summarizes some of the displacement flows that have occurred in Canada and the US (Figure 20). Although there is a chance that the numbers are not accurate, the readings are still large. Looking back to the record of gentrification present in the literature on the topic, it can be argued that gentrification does not necessarily mean displacement. However, as Vigdor's graph demonstrates, gentrification will result in a loss of the current residents 'utility'—an economic measure

used to represent satisfaction, happiness, and benefit.

Overall, an argument can be made for or against gentrification. Considering the greater good, some argue that gentrification/social-mixing creates more profitable local economies, stronger communities, social cohesion, and economic opportunities. Others recognize the impacts of gentrification on the disadvantaged population and deem it as a "bad word" (Slater, 2011), a concept that can result in "social dislocation and a psychological wrench from the severing of emotional ties" (Byrne, 2003), and a process that decreases the quality of life (Smith, 1996; Atkinson, 2000). Based on the arguments made in this subsection, it is clear that processes of gentrification can significantly negatively impact disadvantaged residents, and these negative impacts tend to outweigh the positive impacts from an environmental justice perspective. The following section traces the relationship between gentrification and environmental justice.

Gentrification as a Concern of Environmental Justice

With the introduction of environmental justice (EJ) and its concerns for disadvantaged populations, recent research has added gentrification as a concern of EJ. Prior to EJ, which examines race, class, gender, power and wealth in relation to the distribution of environmental positives and negatives, most studies emphasize environmental racism. Pellow and others define environmental racism as inequities that impact millions of U.S. residents, workers and communities due to their race (Pellow, Weinberg & Schnaiberg, 2001). Over the years, numerous studies have been conducted which prove that environmental racism is a crucial social problem. One example would be the study of commercial hazardous waste landfills, conducted by the General

Accounting Office, in 1983. This study highlights environmental racism, as landfills in southeast United States were predominantly found in African American communities, even though African American only composed one-fifth of the population. The report states that this was unlikely due to race-neutral decision-making (Pellow, Weinberg & Schnaiberg, 2001). With the growth of studies that proved environmental racism as a social concern, this concept acted as catalyst and legitimacy for the growing environmental justice movements.

Through the years, environmental justice has been given different definitional meanings. Bryant (1995; pg. 23) defines EJ as "those institutional policies, decisions, and cultural behaviors that support sustainable development, that supports living conditions in which people can have confidence that their environment is safe, nurturing, and productive, and that support communities where distributive justice prevails." The U.S. Environmental Protection Agency sees EJ as the "fair treatment and meaningful involvement of all people regardless of race, colour, national origin, or income with respect to development, implementation, and enforcement of environmental laws, regulations, and policies" (U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, 2015). Pellow and others see environmental racism as an unbalanced impact of environmental hazards on communities of colour, whereas environmental justice is a 'course of action' that focuses on eliminating potentially life-threatening conditions, or on improving the overall quality of life (Pellow, Weinberg & Schnaiberg, 2001).

Over the years, experts have argued that gentrification has led to environmental injustice. Pellow and others argue that environmental injustice occurs when different stakeholders struggle for access to valuable resources within the political economy, and the benefits and costs of those resources become distributed unevenly (Pellow, Weinberg & Schnaiberg, 2001). This is a result of stakeholders with greater access, depriving groups such as immigrants, people of colour, low-income groups, and politically marginalized groups from retrieving valuable resources such as clean living, recreational and work environments. These injustices have led to negative impact on people's psychological and physical well-being.

Connecting environmental injustice to gentrification, Gelobter (1994) discusses land-use and the economics of urban areas. To begin, Gelobter explains that there are two different types of value on urban spaces: exchange value and use value. Exchange value refers to the market value of a property, which can be calculated into currencies such as money. Use value is the value assigned to a property by its users. Hence, it is possible for a piece of land, such as a park, to have a higher value to the users than its actual value for some currency of exchange. This has led to the conflict over land-uses between users of a property against purchasers and developers. Playing a crucial role in the injustice of the current users, the developer's aim is to extract the most exchange value from a property without the concern for the communities use value. Although land-use regulations could be used as a safety net to protect use values, it is often not the case. Developers use 'as-of-right' practices, which means they cannot be denied permits because their proposal meets the established guidelines of the property. When a use value poses a threat against

a proposal, developers simply negotiate mitigations. Using Regent Park as an example, the developer recognized that by revitalizing the neighbourhood their exchange value would exceed the costs. Using the as-of-right practice, the developer met planning regulation requirements. Realizing the high use value, the developer then provided numerous section 37 benefits such as childcare, community recreation centers, and space for non-profits. This redevelopment represented an environmental injustice. Instead of protecting the 600 families that were forced to move out, the city took the section 37 benefits and approved the project. Gelobter explains that, "business entrenches and defines its interests into the fabric of the city, and the city lives to serve its purpose. Environmental decisions taken in this context rarely see the light of democratic scrutiny. They pass through vast bureaucracies, skittering along the edge of the acceptable to pursue their economic ends." Agreeing with Essoka (2010), new development and revitalization should use EJ as a guide to provide existing community members with the benefits of development.

ME (Markham and Ellesmere) Living

The Plan

In the past decade, many new developments have been proposed or constructed in the Markham and Ellesmere community. Some of the latest projects included: the proposal of the Light Rail Transit (LRT) at Markham Road and Progress Avenue (an approximate 20 minute walk from the building); the construction of the 2030 Ellesmere Avenue plaza that includes a mixed retail, commercial and office space (an approximate 7 minute walk from the towers); and the growth of the Scarborough Town Centre (STC) with new condominiums, a library and the revitalization of the STC shopping mall (an

approximate 10 minute drive from this location). As a result, many developers and the City have become interested in revitalizing this area for socio-economic growth.

One of the companies interested in building in the Markham Road and Ellesmere Avenue neighborhood is the LASH Group of Companies. The developer, LASH, was originally established in 1955 by Abe Blankenstein, and began operations under the name Falco Electrical (Lash Group of Companies, 2014). Over time, Falco Electrical became LASH Group of Companies, and has since expanded its portfolio to include developing rental buildings, retirement communities, condominiums, and single-family dwellings in either Florida or Toronto. An example of their work can be seen at 20 Stewart Street, a nine-story, glass façade condominium in the heart of Toronto (Lash Group of Companies, 2014). Beyond this project, LASH has been involved in several projects around the GTA including: Rexdale, Thornhill, Scarborough, Midtown Toronto, and Downtown Toronto. Examining public and promotional information related to LASH, most results were linked to their recent condo developments, and one article also emphasized the builders' interest in redeveloping older neighbourhoods. According to Ryan Starr, LASH has "revitalized neigbourhoods that have not been touched in *20 years"* (Starr, 2014). Recalling the second point of Hackworth and Smith's third-wave of gentrification model, this initiative taking action described by Starr illustrates how LASH is becoming involved in the redevelopment process. Following this same pattern, the LASH Group of Companies has once again found interest in demolishing an old building to revitalize it with the ME Living condominium.

With 3.3 acres of land of prime real estate land, LASH plans to construct three condominium towers ranging from 10 to 32 stories, one 9-storey affordable rental building, and several stacked townhouses. This project will be comprised of 818 units—146 rental units (replacing the current 141 units), 640 condominium units and 32 townhouse units. Following the features of smart growth or mixed-use communities, this development also provides: 1,079 square meters of retail/commercial ground floor space, a mix of bicycle and automobile parking space, and 1,752 square meters of public park space. When complete, ME Living will also offer a range of amenities including: a rooftop pool, an indoor and outdoor lounge, an exercise area, guest suites, a party room, a sports, a private theater, an outdoor fireplace, a private dining area, and a pond and skating area. All of this will be offered for a price ranging from $159,990 to $419,990. Renters, on the other hand, will pay the same price as current residents at 1 & 2 Meadowglen Place (with an increase no higher than the Provincial Rent Increase Guidelines) for a period of **at least** 20 years. Their amenities will include: a common laundry room, indoor rooms for games and children's play, and some outdoor space for socializing and barbequing (Community Planning, 2011).

Clearly, this project advances the gentrification processes. Moving into the next two subsections of this paper, the objective is to determine if the city has promoted gentrification, and the impacts of the project. These understandings are crucial to establish if the ME Living redevelopment supports environmental justice concerns of environmental equity and access to affordable quality of life, and to provide mitigation strategies if the project is found to be unjust.

The Decision Making Process

One of the most important documents to consider when making municipal land-use decisions is Toronto's Official Plan. This plan describes how land in Toronto should be used. The Official Plan is vital to city planning as it integrates provincial plans, interests and policy statements into its core policies. Following section 26(1) of the Planning Act, when an Official Plan is revised (must be reviewed at least every 5 years) the plan should ensure that (Ontario, 2011):

26(1) (i) **conforms** with provincial plans or does not conflict with them, as the case may be,

(ii) **has regard** to the matters of provincial interest listed in section 2, and

(iii) **is consistent** with policy statements issued under subsection 3 (1);

To clarify, the reason why the words 'is consistent', 'conform', and 'has regard to' have been bolded is because they provide a different emphasis for how the planning documents should be considered. "Consistent" has a more firm emphasis and wants decision to be made in agreement with policy statements. "Conform", has a more lax emphasis, asking that decision comply with provincial plans. "Has regard to", makes a more lenient emphasis, asking that the Official Plan consider the provincial interest (Wood, 2007). Beyond provincial documents, the Official Plan also incorporates numerous municipal policies. Taking the example of ME Living, since this site is considered 'mixed-use'—made up of a broad range of "commercial, residential and institutional uses, in single use buildings, as well as parks and open spaces and utilities" (Community Planning, 2011)—city planners considered several policies including: mixed-use area policies, Built Form policies, Tall Building Policies, Community Services

and Facilities policies, Section 37 policies, and housing policies. Cross-examining the proposal to these policies, city staff recommended the project. They believe that the development contributes to several City goals including: creating a mix of uses, a range of building types, improved pedestrian and vehicular connections, and a new public park. In terms of the City's housing goals, this development is seen to improve existing housing stock and existing rental stock through intensification and infill.

Although the proposal does meet the requirements of the Official Plan, one can argue that that the Official Plan does not entirely meet the requirements of S. 26(1) of the Planning Act. This section requires that the Official plan shall be consistent, conform, and have regard for all provincial documents. In regards to affordable housing, both the provincial plans and policy statements emphasize that there should be a mixture and growth of housing stock, of which a portion should include affordable housing. However, policy 3.2.1.6 of Toronto's Official Plan gives developers the opportunity to reduce affordable housing stock, as it states:

3.2.1.6. New development that would have the effect of removing all or a part of a private building or related group of buildings, and would result in the loss of six or more rental housing units will not be approved unless:

b) in cases where planning approvals other than site plan are sought, the following are secured:

i) at least the same number, size and type of rental housing units are replaced and maintained with rents similar to those in effect at the time the redevelopment application is made;

ii) for a period of at least 10 years, rents for replacement units will be the rent at first occupancy increased annually by not more than the Provincial Rent Increase Guideline or a similar guideline as Council may approve from time to time; and

> iii) an acceptable tenant relocation and assistance plan addressing the right to return to occupy one of the replacement units at similar rents, the provision of alternative accommodation at similar rents, and other assistance to lessen hardship…

Using this policy as reference, the developers of ME Living have agreed to keep rental rates affordable for 20 years. Once the 20 years are complete, the developer can propose to convert the rentals into condominium units, or increase the rent price above the affordable rates. Also, if people move in 10 years after the condominium is developed, then they are not eligible to rent a unit at the affordable rates. This policy 3.2.1.6 seems to only have been developed to satisfy the terms in section 26(1) of the Planning Act. This policy does not truly align itself with provincial interests, plans, or policy statements. It seems to do the bare minimum of meeting the criteria of section 26(1), while still allowing the lands in Toronto to look attractive to developers. Agreeing with Ute Lehrer (2009; pg. 150) "The Official Plan has been developed in conjunction with the overall economic development strategy for the City of Toronto and City Council's Corporate Strategic Plan, and stresses the overarching significance of entrepreneurialism and competitiveness in framing current planning discourses. This plan does not entail any specifics of previous official plans, such as building codes and zoning bylaws. Rather, it reduces bureaucratic 'red tape' through the provision of a broad vision that speaks the language of urban reform". Looking back to Hackworth's third-wave of gentrification model, this policy clearly shows the City's efforts to become involved in the redevelopment process. By incorporating bare-minimum policies such as 3.2.1.6 into the Official Plan, the City of Toronto is able to meet the requirements of the Planning Act, while providing developers with attractive lands to develop and maximize profits.

Furthermore, these bare minimum policies such as 3.2.1.6 can be viewed as means of recolonizing the Markham and Ellesmere community. Once this community becomes 'normal' and 'successful', they can help Toronto compete as a global city.

Hints of Gentrification

Since the ME Living project is still in its first phase of selling units, it is difficult to determine the impacts of gentrification. According to Mills (1988), "advertising is one conduit which cultural meaning flows. From the culturally constituted world, meaning is transferred into consumer goods; the fashion and advertising system are two strategies by which this is achieved. Then individuals draw that meaning from goods by various rituals, including those of possession, exchange, and grooming" (Mills, 1988; pg. 170). From the imagery of advertising, Mills is able to better understand the lifestyle, and the cultural meaning of living in an inner-city neighbourhood. Using the strategy put forward by Mills, I will examine the lifestyle and cultural meaning of residing in the ME Living condominium. Along with advertisements, this section will also analyze statistical data from the National Housing Survey (Canadian Census Analyzer, N.D.). While collecting statistical data, factors such as income, average number of rooms per household, households rented and owned, census families and families with children will be considered. Combining statistical data and staff reports with marketing information on the ME Living website, the objective of this section is to determine impacts of gentrification.

Theme One: Local Economy

Based on the findings in the literature review, one of the potential benefits of gentrification is stronger local economy. The growth of local economy can occur through the growth of employment, land value increasing, higher wages, and reduction in unemployment. Recognizing that this project entails 1,079 square meters of retail/commercial ground floor space, examining this project in terms of the potential for local economic growth is paramount.

To begin my analysis, the first factor that will be examined is the income of residents from 1981 to 2011 (Figure 7). Comparing the median income [the income of the 50th percentile person in the neighbourhood] to the average income [total neighbourhood income divided by the number of residents] I found some interesting trends. The first is 1981, where the average ($31,571) and median ($30,819) income are almost equal. This means there is an equal spread of high- and low-income residents. Second, in 2006, the average income decreases approximately $4000 less than the median income. From this, it can be assumed that there are some low-income people in the community (outliers), and that they are the reason the average income is being pulled lower than the median income. Finally in 2011, there is a swap in the in the average ($72,601) and median ($65,259) income from 2006. Now the 50th percentile person has less income than the average, which means there are some high-income outliers pulling up the average.

Figure 7: Average and Median Income in 1 & 2 Meadowglen Place Census Tract

Year	1981	1986	1991	1996	2001	2006	2011
Avg. Income	$31,571	$45,645	$59,142	$55,141	$61,485	$62,010	$72,601
Med. Income	$30,819	$43,016	$53,772	$48,199	$54,399	$66,645	$65,259

For the second analysis under this theme, advertisements will be examined. From the posters and billboards, the aim is to determine the group of people LASH aims to attract. Based on the analysis below, the condominium is marketed towards young professionals. This assumption is made for two reasons. First, analyzing many of the advertisements created by LASH there seems to be a common theme. All the people in the picture are young adults that are dressed professionally (Figure 8 & 27). Furthermore, the quotes in the ads also portray the words of young professionals: "only 20 minutes to work is key for me". Second, comparing the marketing strategy to another condominium project such as Harmony Village, it is evident that ME Living aims to attract young professionals, while Harmony Village aims to attract retired couples.

Figure 8: ME Living (Right) Versus Harmony Village (Left) Advertisements

Combining the two analyses, I believe that the ME Living project could potentially raise the average income. Adding 1,079 square meters of retail/commercial ground floor space will increase the employment opportunities in the neighbourhood. Since the new residents would likely be young professionals, this would provide new and accessible opportunities for those that are unemployed or with low-income. Analyzing a case study of Chicago's Wicker Park, Lester and Hartley (2014) demonstrate that revitalization can have positive economic impacts. Although there is not a radical economic impact, the authors admit that there is a growth in employment. In terms of wage increase, it is difficult to make an assumption as no retail or commercial store has signed a contract to rent the space. Lastly, the concept of higher land values will be discussed under theme three.

Theme Two: Lifestyle

Creating a condominium in Scarborough, the promotional information states that this project plans to bring about a lifestyle of a 'true neighbourhood', in an area already surrounded by schools, parks, public transit, retail stores, and government services. Building on the idea of creating neighbourhood, this project allows community members to socialize with neighbours either within the "tree lined courtyard", or on the roof beside the pool and outdoor lounging area (LASH, 2014). Based on the layout of the project it creates the impression that this 'neighbourhood' only includes residents living on LASH property. This presumption is made due to the layout surrounding the courtyard. All ends are virtually enclosed by the condominium towers and LASH townhouse developments (Figure 9). This neglects other community members—apartment renters and single-family homeowners—in the local area. Analyzing the concept of this enclosed community one step further, one question that comes to mind is: will renters and homeowners in the ME Living project socially mix?

Similar to the physical separation pointed out in Regent Park by James (2010), and the Thames River by Davidson and Lees (2005), this project also separates lower-income groups from higher-level income groups. As a result, the physical layout of the project is not only separating renter from homeowners, but also highlighting that there is an income gap between the two groups. Creating this mental and physical separation between both income groups, making it difficult to believe that the two groups will fluidly mix and that higher income residents will become role models. Rather, it is likely that this will promote limited communication between both groups, and potential clashes

between the socio-economic groups as Butler, Robinson, Goodchild and Cole have observed in their case studies.

In addition, August adds that "… in socially mixed public-housing communities, efforts by homeowners designate certain behaviours as 'inappropriate' (for example, sitting on stoops, being visible in outdoor spaces) similarly circumscribe the places where tenants and their children can be: whether socializing, playing, sitting or simply living" (August, 2014; pg. 1164). Although none of the residents in ME Living are public-housing tenants, the difference in income creates a similar environment. The higher-income groups will likely attempt to control inappropriate behaviours and establish where tenants and children can be. If homeowners begin to determine where tenants and their children can be, I believe this could result in the construction of public and private realms.

Belanger (2007) states that public space is a part of the home environment; thus individuals, households and groups should use the space as they see appropriate. In many cases, they will exercise some form of control over it, whether it is legal, or through inclusion and exclusion. This is evident in Modan and Schaller's (2005) study of the Neighbourhood Business Improvement District (NBID) in Mont Pleasant, Washington. The authors state that social and ethic relations influence uses and forms of appropriation. For example, immigrants and working class see the NBID space as a place for socializing. Gentrifiers on the other hand, see this space for circulation and consumption. Modan and Schaller also state that gentrifiers believe the uses of immigrants and the working class were 'inadequate'. Although their research does not discuss how

inadequacy is dealt with, they perceive the results will range from fighting to reducing territorial claim. If the high-income residents do claim some public spaces, such as the pond, then this could prove Sibley's point true in regards to denying a person a place in society and casting them as a deviant. Overall, based on the arguments made in this section, I imagine that this development will not allow residents to feel comfortable. Taking sides with Jimenez-Dominguez "the speed of transformations in built urban space, intended only to achieve greater efficiency of production of a greater profit for the builders, does not fulfill the needs for space appropriation of the poorest and does not allow people to become attached to the places" (Jimenez-Dominguez, 2007; pg. 99).

Figure 9: Applicant Rendering of the ME Living Development

(Community Planning, 2011; Figure 4B)

Theme Three: The Neighbourhood

The development or reconstruction of a specific site does not imply that gentrification will merely affect the residents currently living on site; it can have an impact on the community. According to Atkinson (2002), the development of one site can encourage future development of the community. This could be the case in the Markham and Ellesmere community. Recognizing that developers were interested in reconstructing some parts of the community, in 2008, Scarborough Community Council asked the Director of Community Planning, Scarborough District, for an area revitalization study. Through this study, the aim was to consider sites in the community with a potential for intensification and revitalization (Community Council, 2009). Once the study was complete and the Markham-Ellesmere Revitalization Study report was created and given the approval to redevelop 1 & 2 Meadowglen Place. From the ME Living condominiums, local councillor Glen De Baeremaeker hopes that this project will encourage development as he says, "The LASH development is the catalyst that will prove to other land owners that you can build a vibrant and funky urban village where lots of people will want to live and buy, and that will snowball" (Sharma, 2014). There is no concrete evidence to support the 'snowball' effect occurring, but there is potential since another development application in the Markham and Ellesmere community.

Kingsberg Monetary Corporation, the owners of the 1221 Markham Road commercial plaza, are interested in redeveloping their plaza into a mixed-use condominium with retail, restaurant and office space. So far, Kingsberg Monetary Corporation is in the process of rezoning the site. If a snowball effect is to occur in the

Markham and Ellesmere community, Atkinson states that this could have other positive implications on the community which include: increased local fiscal revenues, reduced vacancy rates, and the rehabilitation of properties both with and without state sponsorship. Along with the benefits, however, development also risks encouraging displacement. Beyond residential displacement, commercial properties can also force local businesses out of the community. According to a report by *The Toronto Observer*, businesses owners at 1221 Markham Road are concerned about being displaced. Gurjeet Dhillon, executive assistant to Councillor Glenn De Baeremaeker, responded by saying "the city is not displacing people … "the plaza, owned by a particular corporation, is" (Virani, 2008). Clearly, based on this quote alone, the displacement of businesses is a concern, and could potentially become an unjust reality.

Also, with development of the condominium there is a potential for higher property value and property taxes. With higher taxes it is likely that more income will be dedicated for the delivery of better services. So far, based on the section 37 agreement—for height and density increase—the City has obtained $800,000 to use on the improvement of Centennial Community Centre, the installation of a splash pad at Greenbrae Park, and improvements to Thompson Park (Community Planning, 2011). That being said, when the condominium unit owners move into the community, there is a chance that services provided will address their needs. DeFilippis (2001) says that this is a result of complex sets of power relations. Shaped by class, race and gender, that tends to favor white, wealthy, males, that are highly educated and political savvy, this groups is recognized to dominate the local decision making process. August painted a vividly clear picture of this in her case study of Don Mount Court (August, 2014). Furthermore, if

development is encouraged in this community, and the population of the middle-income continues to grow, this could result to the decrease or elimination of services required by low-income groups, and introduction of services demanded by the higher income groups.

Theme Four: Housing Accommodations

After visiting the show room and glancing at the website, it is clear that this project is marketed to provide the ideal homes for young professional. By providing a modern, luxury-style homes, within close proximity to shopping, transportation, and work, the developers seem to have met the needs of their target market (Rerat, 2012). The same cannot be said for those renting affordable rental units. Cross-examining the project proposal, with statistical census information of the neighbourhood, it is evident that the required housing accommodations have not been met.

First, examining the average number of bedrooms per household, between 1991 and 2006, it is vividly clear that there has been an increase from 3 to 3.2 bedrooms per household (Figure 10). This could be a result of the increase in number of families with children at home (Figure 11). Taking a look at the trend it is evident that number of census families (married couple [with or without children], a common-law couple [with or without children] or a lone parent family) has been fairly consistent through the years, however the number of children has grown. Analyzing these two graphs, it is evident that more, or at least the same amount of space per unit is required. Taking a look at the *City Staff Final Report* on 1 & 2 Meadowglen Place, the developer has decided to build 25 of the 2-bedroom units 14% smaller than the current units, and will build 2 less 3-bedroom

apartments and 3 less 2-bedroom units, to replace them with 10 additional 1-bedroom units (Figure 12).

Figure 10: Average Number of Bedrooms Per Dwelling

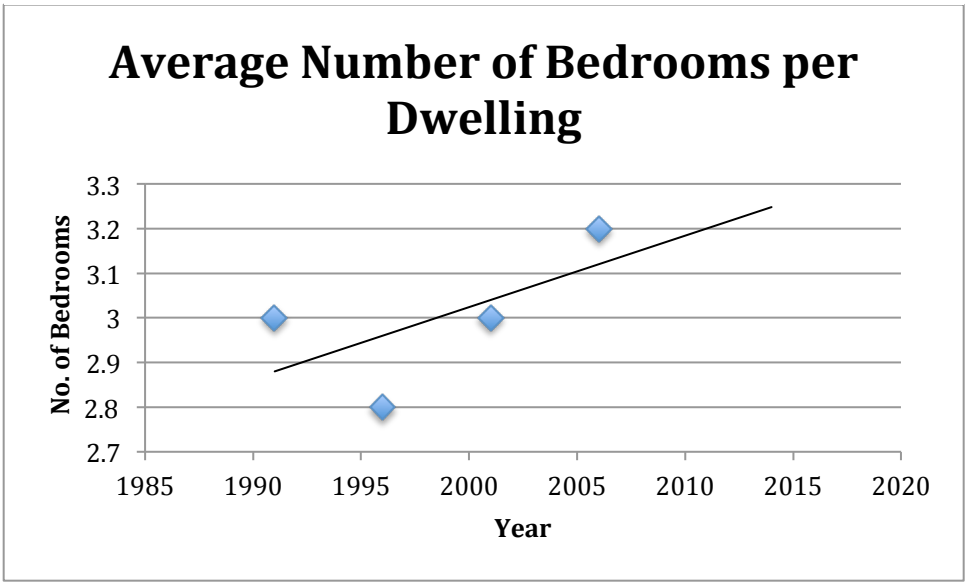


Figure 11: Number of Census Families Versus Children at Home

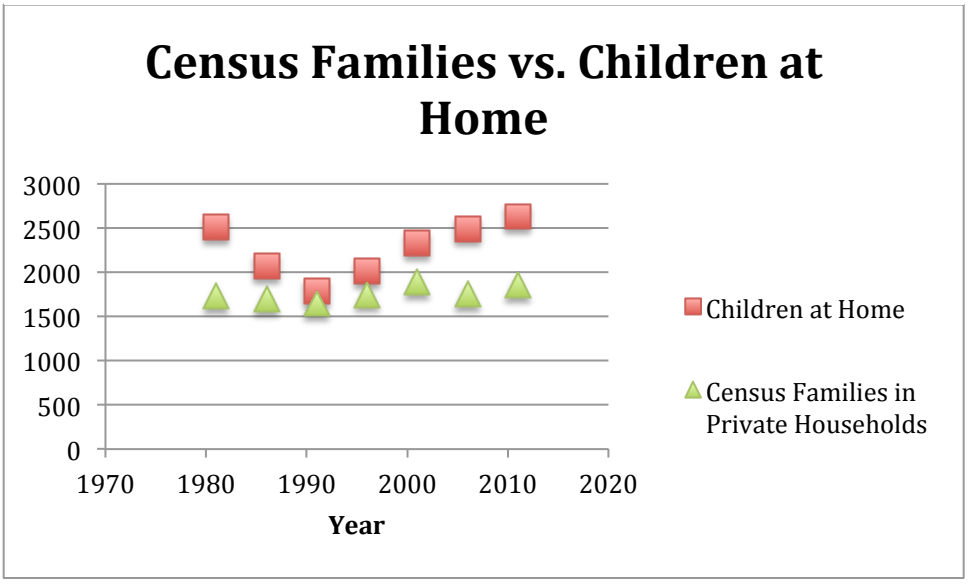


Figure 12: Number of Bedrooms Per Unit Before and After Revitalization

Unit Type	1 and 2 Meadowglen Place	New Rental Building A
	Number of Units	Number of Units
One Bedroom	0	10
Two Bedroom	98	95
Three Bedroom	43	41
TOTAL	141	146

(Community Planning, 2011; pg. 24)

In addition to the smaller apartment sizes, the report also states that there are conditions for the rental units that go against the renters' needs. These include (Community Council, 2009; pg. 62-63):

(1) "The owner shall provide and maintain 146 residential rental dwelling units, for a period of ***at least 20 years***, comprising 41 three-bedroom dwelling units, 95 two-bedroom dwelling units, and 10 one-bedroom dwelling units, of which at least 141 dwelling units shall have affordable rents and the remaining 5 dwelling units shall have rents no higher than mid-range rents."

   a. "Consistent with City policy and practices, the rental housing component will be maintained as rental housing for at least 20 years, with no application to register them as condominium, or to convert them to non-rental housing purposes during that period."

(2) "Rents charged to ***tenants newly occupying a replacement rental dwelling unit*** after the completion of the 10 year period set forth in (d) ***will not be subject to restrictions*** by the City of Toronto under the terms of the Section 37 Agreement that is required in Exception 75.3"

Therefore, after a minimum of 10 years this neighbourhood could be seeing a loss of a neighbourhood benefit—affordable housing—and after 20 years, it is very likely that all affordable renters will be displaced. This could occur when the developers are able to increase at rent rates higher than the Provincial standards, or after the developer decides

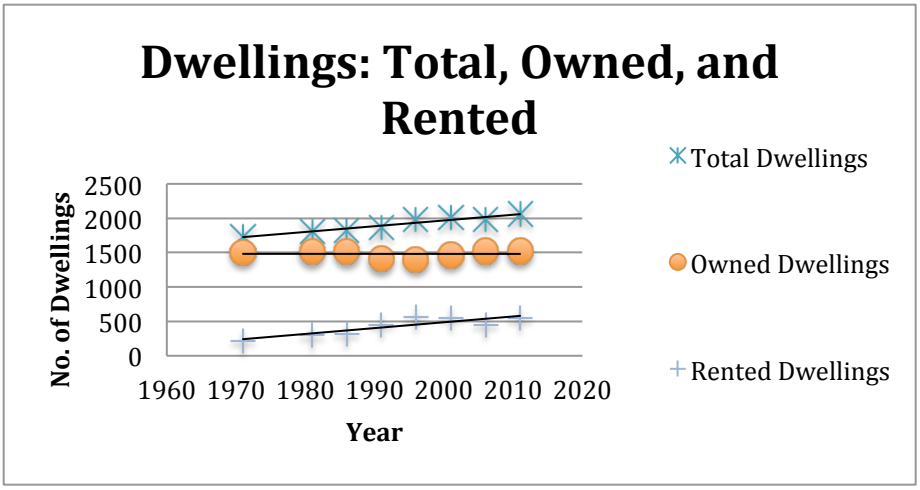
to change the ownership type from rental to condominium unit. Furthermore, if the rental building is converted into a condominium building, then this could negatively affect the supply of rental units.

Looking at Figure 13, it is clear that from 1970 to 2010 the supply of rental has increased with the total number of dwellings. This graph illustrates the obvious need for rental housing in the community. If there is a loss in rental units, residents could be displaced outside the community. Remembering Vigdor's graph (2002), this is a clear example of a loss in utility/happiness. Once the new rental apartments are developed, some residents will stay at point A, while others with the 14 % smaller units will move to point B. After the 20 years is complete, it is very likely that most, if not all, residents will be forced to move to either point B—same neighbourhood, less space—or point C—new neighbourhood, equal space. Regardless of the point chosen on the B_1 slope, each resident will feel a loss in utility.

It is important to note here that during the May 5, 2011 community consultation, which consisted of 11 residents, the report states that the residents did not express concern for the rental replacement and tenant relocation. The only issue that did arise was in regards to the disruption during relocation. Since no dispute was made against the 20-year affordable housing agreement, some readers and academic may make the argument that the current tenants will move out before the completion of the agreement and therefore would be voluntary displacement and not a negative impact of gentrification. However I suggest that no opinion was voiced for one of three reasons. First, those residents that attended the meeting were not those who are committed to living in the

building permanently or for a period longer than 20 years. Looking back to the report, it states that only about one third of the tenants lived on this site for more than 5 years, but only a number of them resided in the building for more than 15 years. The second reason may be because residents felt cautious support. Similar to the situation in Regent Park, as signified by Kipfer and Petrunia (2009), there may have been cautious support against the redevelopment due to reasons such as lack of political organization, segregation and dehumanization. The third reason could be that people living in the rental units did not attend the meeting. Regardless of the reason, if the plan turns out to be a successful and beneficial redevelopment for all current residents, then having a 20 year affordable rental agreement may be a major concern. Currently, these residents are living in old and underinvested buildings (Appendix 2: Figures 29-32). Generally speaking, not many people would like to settle into these kinds of conditions; once the new rental units are constructed, residents may see these apartments as home, an affordable place to settle down. If this is the case, then the argument can once again be made that some sort of utility will be lost once the 20 year agreement is complete, and gentrification is occurring.

Figure 13: Types of Dwellings in the Census Tract



Under housing accommodations another aspect that needs to be considered is tenant relocation. The reason why it is vital to examine this process is because it can lead to similar issues seen in Regent Park: accessibility issues, the loss of social connections, adverse health effects, and displacement can occur. Taking a glance at the final staff report, LASH is expected to follow typical City practices by: providing notice to vacate for demolition; the right to return for all tenants to the same unit or apply for different units, with similar rent prices; and a moving allowance for each required to move during relocation (Community Council, 2009). Additionally, if residents decide to permanently move away or relocate off-site, more financial assistance will be provided. Also, financial assistance will be provided to those residents with special needs. In terms of the actual relocation, LASH hopes to move residents from one building, to the second existing building. If there are not enough vacant units in the second building, tenants will have to find their own accommodations.

After reading about the tenant relocation in the staff report, a few red flags immediately suggest problems. First, how will residents be selected for the vacant units in the second building? Looking back at the Regent Park example, it is evident that there were problems with the temporary accommodations process. The issue with this process is that it increased the stress for some people that could not line up due to work or other responsibilities. Some claimed the process was bias and others did not take the time to look at several units, as they were concerned they may not be able to get the unit later on. Since the City does not have an equitable 'City practice' for the relocation process, there is a concern that the developer will take the cheapest and quickest solution for determining housing accommodations. This could lead to similar results as reported in

Regent Park. The second concern with the relocation process is residents finding their own accommodations. The staff report does not indicate a commitment to providing assistance in relocation, and it appears that tenants may have to confront this challenge without support

Unlike the Regent Park relocation process, which included TCHC staff helping residents find homes inside and outside of the community, the residents at 1 & 2 Meadowglen Place will likely be expected to find their own homes with no assistance. This process is a double-edge sword. On the positive side, the ability to choose any housing accommodation can potentially decrease adverse health effects. Furthermore, with residents looking at temporary rental units individually, this could reduce the feeling of competitiveness, and the fear losing the unit to another renter. As a negative impact, without the proper resources, renters may be unable to find affordable rental units in close proximity to their neighbourhood. Looking back to the Regent Park case, all residents were guaranteed public housing—which they could afford. The last concern relates to residents being displaced during the relocation process. Analyzing both McMaster studies—2008 to 2011, and 2011 to 2012—43% of the total 98 residents moved outside of the community. Although it is not clear if this process was voluntary or involuntary, it is still a matter of concern.

Overall taking a look at the housing accommodation for current residents the redevelopment seems to provide higher risk than reward for disadvantaged residents. According to the staff report nearly one-third of the tenants have lived in the building for more than five years, while a number of residents have lived there for 15 years.

Relocating for approximately 3 years—as approved on the development permit—the residents could face negative health affect, higher housing costs, accessibility issues, and social disconnection from friends and family. If the relocation process goes smoothly, the residents are only guaranteed 20 years of affordable rent. After that time, they may be forced to move out. Regardless of the outcome, this can be viewed as an environmental injustice. The next section will review the information that was discusses under the ME Living header, to determine if this case promotes environmental justice.

The Environmental Injustices of ME Living

Recognizing that the ME Living project suggests gentrification, the next step is to determine if the project is environmentally just or unjust. Following a procedure recommended by the Centre of Transportation Research it is possible to determine, measure and mitigate any visible environmental justice concerns from the ME Living development (Prozzi, Victoria, Torres, Walton, & Prozzi, 2007). Although the strategy is derived from the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA), the condensed steps in the report were selected as it simplified and well explained the process with examples (Council on Environmental Quality, 1997). The environmental justice evaluation methodology (EJEM) consists of 6 steps:

1. Identify the demographic profile and the spatial distribution of population groups within the impacted area.
2. Identify the spatial concentrations of EJ communities in the impacted area.
3. Identify the additional impacts of concern associated to the ME Living redevelopment.

4. Calculate the additional impacts.
5. Determine whether zones with higher concentrations of EJ populations are disproportionately impacted by the redevelopment.
6. Identify and formulate mitigation options if it is found that the impacts imposed on zones with higher concentrations of EJ populations are considerably more severe than the impacts imposed on zones with lower concentrations of EJ populations.

To begin, the first step requires that a potential population that can be impacted by the ME Living redevelopment be selected. The procedure recommends that a population be selected based on a demographic profile—i.e. division, subdivision, census, and dissemination tract; as it simplifies the analysis at very disaggregate levels of geographic detail. It is important to choose the demographic profile that best first the research, as different profiles may include groups that would be unaffected by the redevelopment, or exclude groups that would be affect residents of the development. In this paper the focus for analysis has been census tract 365 (see Figure 21).

The second step of this procedure is to determine if there is an environmental justice community. The report states that there are three ways to identify an EJ community, and they are:

- The minority or low-income population exceeds 50 percent in the impacted area.
- The minority or low-income population percentage in the impacted area is "meaningfully greater" than the minority or low-income population in the general population or other appropriate geographic area.
- There is more than one minority or low-income group present and the minority or low-income percentage, as calculated by summing all minority or low-income persons, meets one of the thresholds presented above.

Beyond the minority and low-income aspects I have added education, as a third factor to illustrate that there is an environmental concern. Education was added as an aspect of this analysis because it further signifies the disadvantaged population in this census tract. It is important to note here that the 2011 (latest) statistics from the National Housing Survey were used to determine if this census tract is an EJ community. After examining all three factors against the general population it is vividly clear that this census tract is also an EJ community. Beginning with minority rates, 73% of the census tract is a minority, whereas the city has a rate of 47%. Based on this statistic alone, this census tract has met the criteria for an EJ community. In terms of income, the average ($82,184 versus $72,601) and median ($66,581 versus $65,259) income of Toronto is higher than that of the census tract. Lastly, in terms of education the tract was found to have a higher population

percentage without or with their highest level of education as a high school diploma, but a lower percentage with a post-secondary diploma or degree (see Figures 22-24).

In the third step, the procedure requires the examination of the potential impacts. Labeled as themes in the Hints of Gentrification subsection, four broad impacts of this development have been identified. They include: local economy, housing accommodations, neighbourhood, and lifestyles. Continuing to step four, 'calculate the additional impacts', this phase asks the question "what is the magnitude of the additional impact?" Summarized in Figure 14, it is evident that there are numerous advantages and disadvantages of the ME Living project. Some of the impacts are direct, while others are indirect or cumulative. Beginning with the positive direct impacts of this project, this development will provide newer and potentially better housing, increase employment opportunities, and possibly improve the local economy. In terms of negative direct impacts, this project will likely reduce affordable housing after 20 years, and possibly earlier once residents move and their units are no longer subject to controlled rent. Furthermore, the development will move many current residents into smaller rental units once the project is fully developed. Beyond direct impacts, there are also some positive and negative indirect impacts. Starting with positive effects, this development could lead to better delivery of services and a stronger local economy. On the other hand, the project will also bring forward some negative impacts including: displacement of residents and local businesses, social exclusion, adverse health effects during relocation, loss of services required by disadvantaged groups, and a loss of space for current residents. Lastly, this project also introduces cumulative impacts; if the project is successful, this

could lead to the encouragement of future development in this neighbourhood. If this is the case then this could advance the employment opportunities, strengthen the local economy, and perhaps prompt better services. However, it can also continue the gentrification of local businesses and residents and the related displacement effects.

Finally, through step 5, the aim is to determine if the ME Living redevelopment affects the EJ community disproportionately. Looking back at the negative impacts of this redevelopment, this project does affect the disadvantaged or EJ community disproportionately in comparison to other groups. Starting with the example of social exclusion, for every 1 renter on the site there are 4 homeowners. Due to this, if any social tension is to occur between the two groups, it is likely that the homeowners will overpower the disadvantaged. This could then lead to a loss of space for the renters, loss of political powers, and social exclusion. Furthermore, if this project encourages development and the community begins to see more benefits such as stronger local economy, better social service, and new employment opportunities, the renters may not be able to enjoy the benefits for long. Once the affordable rental rates are removed, the renters will likely be forced to move out of the community, or into smaller units elsewhere in the community. Regardless, this decreases the opportunity for renters to reap the benefits of development. In comparison to the renters, homeowners on the other hand will receive secure housing, political power, and control of space, while enjoying the future benefits of development. Clearly, the EJ community is being disproportionately impacted by this development.

Figure 14: Advantages and Disadvantages for the ME Living Redevelopment

Impacts of ME Living Redevelopment	
Benefits	Detriments
Stronger Local Economy	Displacement of Residence and Businesses
Encourage Development in the Community	Loss of Services Required by Disadvantaged Groups
New Employment Opportunity	Loss of Affordable Housing
Better Service Delivery	Smaller Units
New Homes	Adverse Health Impacts from Relocation
	Social Exclusion
	Lack of Space for Disadvantaged Group

This development poses a threat as an environmental injustice. The current residents, or disadvantaged groups are being directly, indirectly, and cumulatively negatively impacted by this project, in comparison to the gentrifiers. When promoting gentrification through development, local governments ensured residents more socially mixed, less segregated, more livable and sustainable communities. However, as it was exemplified in the literature review and in this case, these promises seem to only stand for the new residents. For disadvantaged residents, these spaces can become less livable after the affordable housing is removed in 20 years; when the gentrifiers politically overpower the current residents; and when the disadvantaged residents are segregated from the gentrifiers. Therefore, to conclude this paper, it is best to discuss measures that could promote environmentally just planning. Although it is difficult to change the outcome of this project—since the development has been approved—the strategies discussed below are recommended for future development proposals. To clarify, the suggestions made in the following paragraphs are based on the findings of the ME Living project analysis.

Promoting Environmental Justice

Before presenting the mitigation strategies, it is crucial to state that environmentally just planning is difficult to achieve if all stakeholders are not involved in the process. Primarily a conversation needs to be initiated between the three main actors (government, developer, and residents), but also needs to include other key players in planning—such as organizations with relevant knowledge and expert opinions. However, before conversation is to occur, I suggest the City of Toronto review its Official Plan. Acting as the centerpiece for the municipal planning framework, the revision of the Official Plan can make planning more environmentally just. Reviewing the ME Living proposal, a few policy recommendations are made:

- Revise housing policy 3.2.1.6. This policy should be amended to state that all rental buildings that were not vacant prior to construction should be redeveloped as rental units for the same or lesser price, and for a permanent time period.
- A guideline for tenant relocation should be added to the housing policies to minimize the adverse health impacts on residents.
- Add substantive affordable housing strategies to the Official Plan. Include policies to protect rent price permanently and housing stock.
- Reflect on intensification policies in relation to gentrification, social sustainability and inclusivity.
- Going forward, all development proposals should be adjudicated in terms of environmental justice concerns.

- Employ strategies to enhance participation of underrepresented groups in development review processes.

Reading various papers on encouraging environmentally just planning, a report produced by the Portland municipal government provides an excellent strategy to aligning the private sectors needs with the local governments. This report states that the private sector is not only driven by pure economics, but also by a social and economic process. Sharing cultural norms, information and ideas, and standard operating procedures amongst the private sector, the development industry can move towards new models once there is a 'proof of concept' (Bates, 2013). Constructing buildings without parking lots is an example. Prior to the success of these types of building, they were difficult to finance. However, once the project was developed and became successful, enough evidence was provided to create a new model of development. The significance of this example is that it demonstrates that the development industry can change for reasons beyond profit. Planners need to understand the private sector actors' cultures. Questions such as: what prompts developers to adopt new models or technologies? What incentives might be meaningful for getting developers to serve particular public aims? As the City attempts to influence the development sector towards meeting public goals, it needs to understand how private market actors are making decisions and how best to build new practices through a mix of regulation, incentive, and cultural shift.

The report created by Centre of Transportation Research, recommends that while considering proposals it is crucial to collect resident feedback, to ensure environmental

justice. In order to ensure meaningful participation, the report outlines four crucial points; the first is to understanding the EJ community, including the barriers faced by EJ communities and options on how to overcome these barriers. To accomplish this, the report states that planners need to recognize the EJ community that is being affected. Using government published statistical data, such as the National Housing Survey, planners can conduct several demographic studies. Applying various geographical levels (i.e. subdivision, tract, and dissemination), planners should be able to understand the lifestyles and daily activities of the disadvantaged group. Some factors that can be reviewed include: work status, disability, and education. It is important to have this knowledge, as it can assist in overcoming barriers. For example, if planners are to recognize that a group of disadvantaged residents have low literacy or education, then they may have less understanding of their rights, less understanding about the impacts of a project, and may be unable to provide written responses or comments to a proposal. In this case, planner can then hire a consultant that is experienced in alternative modes of effective communication.

The second step of the outreach is to define the goals of the EJ participation. It is important for planners to recognize that there are two techniques that are generally used here: informing and participating. Informing, which usually occurs through public consultation, implies that an EJ community will be provided a plan with alternatives. Using the residents' feedback, the planner will make their recommendation to councillors. Unlike public participation, that involves the residents in creating a recommendation, informing is a passive way of involving the public, and does not

necessarily mean that the public has participated. Hence, it is crucial for planners to define the goals of the participation that is required.

The third phase of this strategy is to identify and select the most appropriate participation techniques. The report highlights numerous techniques with their strengths and weaknesses. An example of a technique is open house. Its strengths include: lots of opportunities for feedback, less difficulty overcoming language barriers, time is flexible, and they are informal, which allows residents to interact with planners and agencies. In terms of weaknesses, the concern is that there could be low attendance. The issue with low attendance is that it could result in the limited participation of the EJ community. Beyond the report, Nick Wates also provides numerous tactics to empower residents in his book *Community Planning Handbook* (2000). This book provides scenarios in which community planning can be used and techniques to encourage participation.

Finally, the last step of the process is to manage and implement the selected participation technique(s). In this phase, it is important to carefully plan, organize, and prepare for the scenario and technique that is being used. Although there may be some success from simply gathering the EJ community, when organized, the participation can be far more effective. With proper management the EJEM will ensure:

- all EJ communities are identified and given the opportunity to participate in a meaningful way,
- all the adverse impacts are identified and prioritized,
- the measured impacts are shared with the impacted EJ communities,

- and effective mitigation options are designed in consultation with the impacted EJ communities to lessen or offset identified disproportionately high or adverse impacts.

If the city, developer, and the residents align their beliefs to prompt environmental justice, development can become a prosperous process for all citizens. In order for this to occur, the city must take the first step by shifting its goals from being purely economic to the consideration social welfare. Once this is accomplished, the city can then go on to fixing its planning policies to ensure they are environmentally just, and begin tightening up zoning regimes to prevent as-of-right practices. When Toronto fully reshapes itself to promote environmental justice and social welfare, the next step would be to involve the developers and planners. This is one strategy that can be used to mitigate against the environmental injustices of planning.

Conclusion

Over the past 10 years, the City of Toronto has rediscovered itself as a profit-maximizing place. As Hackworth and Smith (2010) explain in their third-wave of gentrification model, cities have taken an entrepreneurial stance and have become more involved as actors in the development market. In the case of Toronto, the local government has shifted political and cultural perspectives to transform the city on a large scale. As a result, the City of Toronto has seen a massive spike in development in recent years (Lehrer, Keil & Kipfer, 2010). To acquire the most economic gains from these development projects, Toronto has encouraged gentrification in redevelopment. Essentially, through this process, low-income neighbourhoods with disadvantaged

residents are invaded, and redeveloped to attract wealthy investors, residents, and tourists the cities. This process is recognized by local governments to provide benefits to both the city and its residents. However, as discovered in the literature review, many academics argue that the gentrifiers, and not those that are gentrified, redeem the benefits. With this process, disadvantaged residents are likely to be displaced into smaller units within the neighbourhood, or outside the community; there is a probability for current residents to lose their political powers and neighbourhood service; and these people are likely to be segregated and isolated. Recognizing these impacts, gentrification has become a concern of environmental justice.

Located in the outskirts of Toronto, City Council recently accepted a proposal that will redevelop an underinvested affordable housing building. Allowing the developer to change the housing form and price after 20 years, I was concerned that the tenants would be gentrified. Since residents are guaranteed better housing for 20 years, at their current price point, I thought it would be interesting to investigate this proposal to determine if this gentrification process was environmentally just. After conducting the case study, I came to the realization that there are far more concerns than I had originally expected. Examining the ME Living project, I acknowledged that the redevelopment has the opportunity to bring several benefits such as better housing, economic prosperity, and better services, but at the same time it can also produce several negative impacts. Demonstrating the concerns discussed in the literature review, this project has the capability of reducing the size of a tenant's home, amplifying isolation and segregation, diminishing political power and services, and prompting displacement. What makes this a larger concern is that all of these detriments only affect the disadvantaged residents.

Using an environmental justice procedure developed by NEPA, this project clearly has the capacity to produce environmental injustice.

Since case studies do not allow generalization, I cannot say that gentrification—in every case—is a "bad word" (Slater, 2011), a concept that can result in "social dislocation and a psychological wrench from the serving of emotional ties" (Byrne, 2003), or a process that decreases the quality of life (Smith, 1996; Atkinson, 2000). However, based on this case, I do agree with impression made by these academics. Gentrification is a process that should not be practiced by local governments. As Lees (2008) states in her paper, there is poor evidence supporting 'positive gentrification'. Saying this, I recommend policy planners and academics conduct a citywide or large-scale study of gentrification. From this research, a clear and general statement can be made about gentrification in Toronto. If it found to be environmentally unjust, then there is enough evidence to raise awareness and potentially end the encouragement of gentrification by local governments. From here, governments can begin considering strategies that would prompt reinvestment in disinvested and dilapidated neighbourhoods. This tacit has the opportunity to increase welfare and local economies. Furthermore, in the paper *Reurbanization in Toronto: Condominium Boom and Social Housing* Revitalization, the authors describe Toronto as being "…in a building frenzy that provides new spaces for many people, but very little spaces for those who don't have the economic or cultural capital to participate in Toronto's new urbanity" (Lehrer, Keil & Kipfer, 2010; pg. 89). Following the suggestions in this paper, councillors and planners need to create an open discussion with developers and residents to make the planning

process environmentally just, and to allow the participation of the disadvantaged residents in Toronto's 'new urbanity'.

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Appendix One – Additional Figures

Figure 15: Arguments For and Against New-Build Gentrification

Box 4.1

The Cases for and against New-Build Gentrification

The Case for

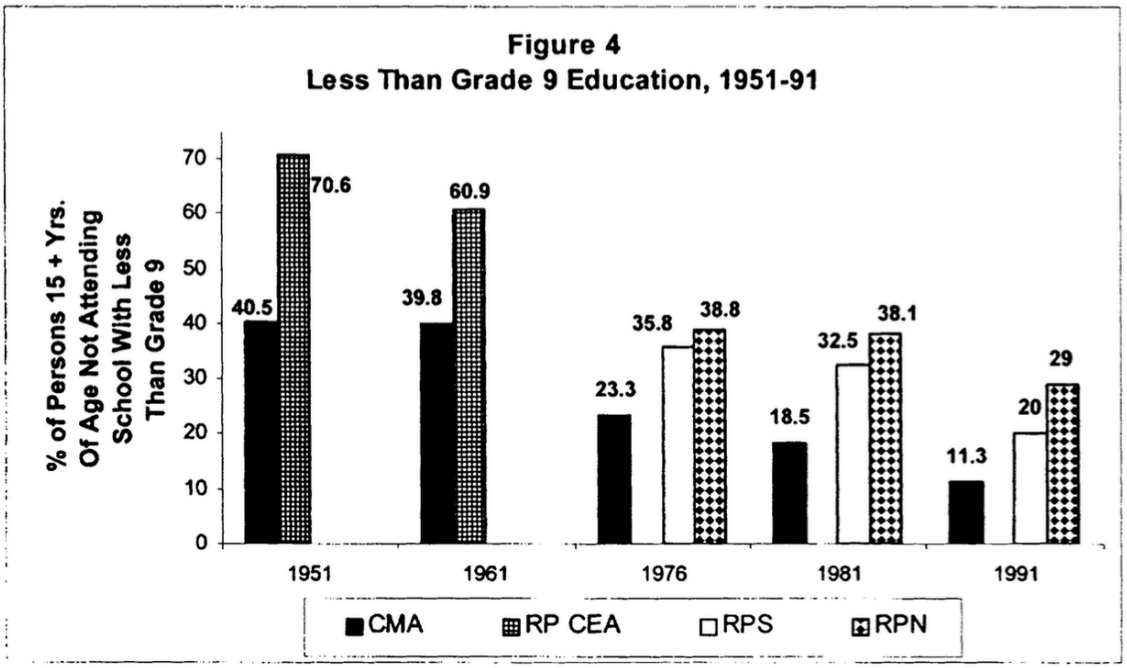
- It causes displacement, albeit indirect and/or sociocultural.
- In-movers are the urbane new middle classes.
- A gentrified landscape/aesthetic is produced.
- Capital is reinvested in disinvested urban areas (often on brownfield sites, but not always).

The Case against

- Preexisting populations are not displaced.
- The process does not involve the restoration of old housing by individuals.
- It is a different version of urban living.

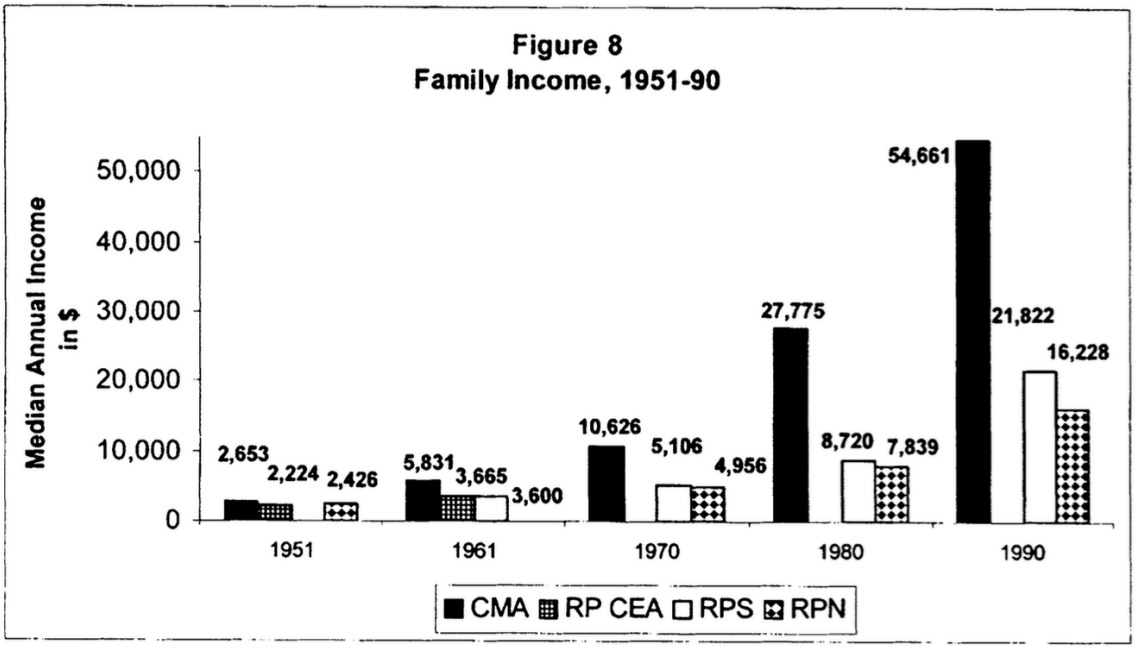
Source: Davidson and Lees (2005: 1169–1170).

Figure 16: Regent Park - Education Levels



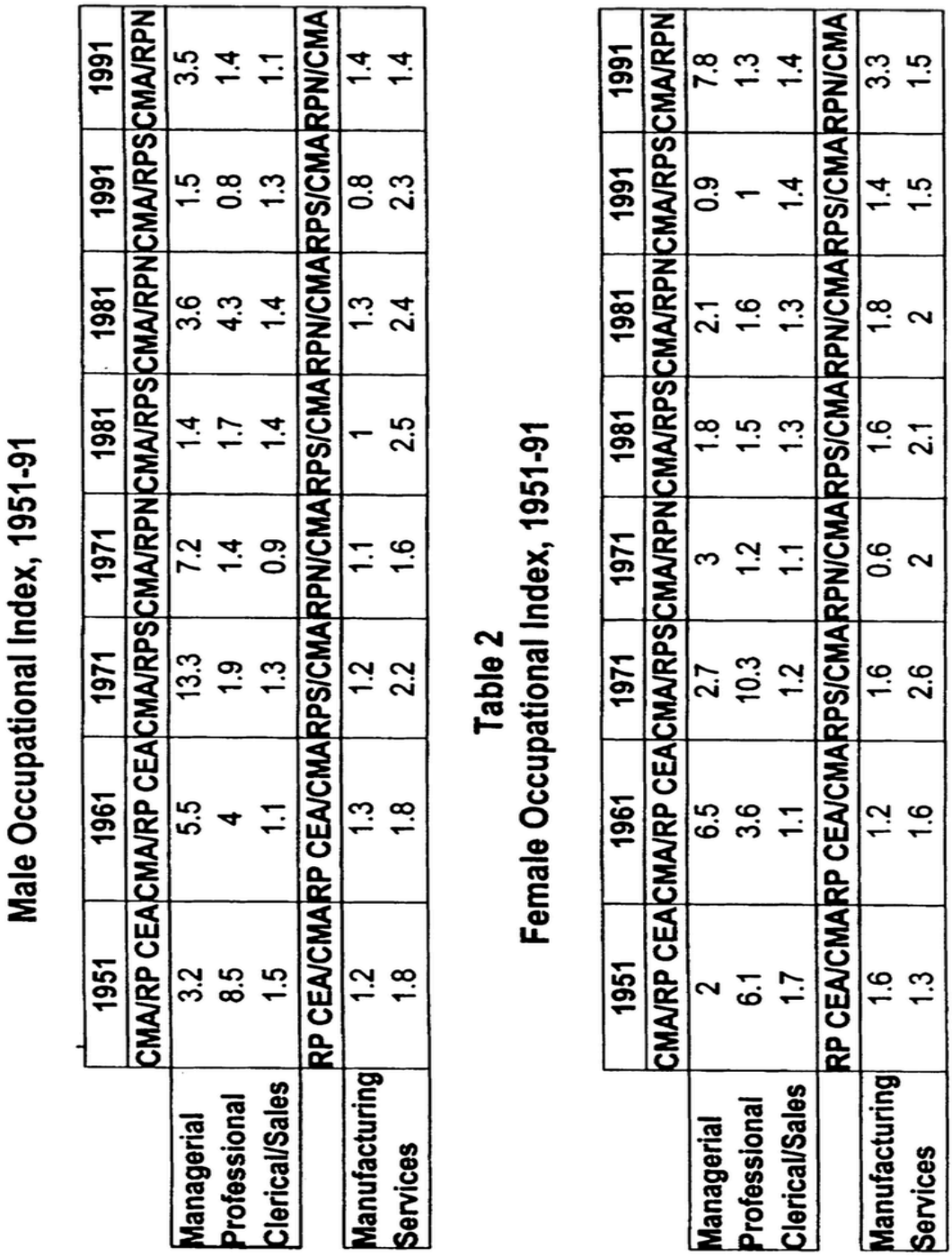
(Purdy, 2003; pg. 63)

Figure 17: Regent Park - Family Income Levels



(Purdy, 2003; pg. 68)

Figure 18: Regent Park - Types of Occupations



Male Occupational Index, 1951-91

	1951	1961	1971		1981		1991	
	CMA/RP CEA	CMA/RP CEA	CMA/RPS	CMA/RPN	CMA/RPS	CMA/RPN	CMA/RPS	CMA/RPN
Managerial	3.2	5.5	13.3	7.2	1.4	3.6	1.5	3.5
Professional	8.5	4	1.9	1.4	1.7	4.3	0.8	1.4
Clerical/Sales	1.5	1.1	1.3	0.9	1.4	1.4	1.3	1.1
	RP CEA/CMA	RP CEA/CMA	RPS/CMA	RPN/CMA	RPS/CMA	RPN/CMA	RPS/CMA	RPN/CMA
Manufacturing	1.2	1.3	1.2	1.1	1	1.3	0.8	1.4
Services	1.8	1.8	2.2	1.6	2.5	2.4	2.3	1.4

Table 2

Female Occupational Index, 1951-91

	1951	1961	1971		1981		1991	
	CMA/RP CEA	CMA/RP CEA	CMA/RPS	CMA/RPN	CMA/RPS	CMA/RPN	CMA/RPS	CMA/RPN
Managerial	2	6.5	2.7	3	1.8	2.1	0.9	7.8
Professional	6.1	3.6	10.3	1.2	1.5	1.6	1	1.3
Clerical/Sales	1.7	1.1	1.2	1.1	1.3	1.3	1.4	1.4
	RP CEA/CMA	RP CEA/CMA	RPS/CMA	RPN/CMA	RPS/CMA	RPN/CMA	RPS/CMA	RPN/CMA
Manufacturing	1.6	1.2	1.6	0.6	1.6	1.8	1.4	3.3
Services	1.3	1.6	2.6	2	2.1	2	1.5	1.5

(Purdy, 2003; pg. 66)

Figure 19: Additional Impacts of Gentrification

Positive	Negative
	Displacement through rent/price increases
	Secondary psychological costs of displacement
Stabilisation of declining areas	Community resentment and conflict
Increased property values Reduced vacancy rates	Loss of affordable housing Unsustainable speculative property price increases Homelessness
Increased local fiscal revenues	Greater take of local spending through lobbying/articulacy
Encouragement and increased viability of further development	Commercial/industrial displacement.
Reduction of suburban sprawl	Increased cost and changes to local services
	Displacement and housing demand pressures on surrounding poor areas
Increased social mix	Loss of social diversity (from socially disparate to rich ghettos)
Decreased crime	Increased crime
Rehabilitation of property both with and without state sponsorship	Under-occupancy and population loss to gentrified areas
Even if gentrification is a problem it is small compared to the issue of: - Urban decline - Abandonment of inner cities	Gentrification has been a destructive and divisive process that has been aided by capital disinvestment to the detriment of poorer groups in cities.

(Atkinson, 2002; Table 4)

Figure 20: Displacement for Gentrification

Table 6.2 Mixed-Income Redevelopment of Public Housing in Canada and the US

	Before Redevelopment	After Mixed-Income Redevelopment					
	Public rental	Market homeowner	Other*	Public rental**	Total units	Net change in public rental	% Public rental
Regent Park, Toronto [1]	2087	3343	400	1357	5100	-730	27%
Lawrence Heights, Toronto [2]	1208	4300-4800	0	1208	5508-6008	-	20%-22%
Don Mount Court, Toronto [2]	232	187	0	232	419	-	55%
Holly Park, Seattle [3]	871	300	500	400	1200	-471	33%
Roxbury, Seattle [3]	60	0	30	211	241	+151	88%
Rainier Vista Garden, Seattle [3]	496	300	200	250	750	-246	33%
High Point Garden Seattle [3]	750	655	595	350	1600	-400	22%
Arverne-Edgemere, New York [3]	1813	0	24	1789	1813	-24	99%
Prospect Plaza, New York [3]	102	0	60	308	368	+206	84%
Cabrini-Green, Chicago [3]	1324	0	0	493	493	-831	100%
Robert Taylor Homes, Chicago [3]	762	0	0	251	251	-511	100%
ABLA Homes, Chicago [3]	1882	0	1748	1052	2800	-830	38%
Madden-Wells-Darrow, Chicago [3]	2547	100	610	423	1133	-2124	37%
Lake Parc Place, Chicago [4]	700	0	282	141	423	-559	33%
Miami-Dade Housing, Miami [5]	850	0	177	177	354	-673	50%
Harbor Point, Boston [6]	1054	0	883	400	1283	-654	31%
Little Mountain, Vancouver (low density scenario) [7]	224	1416	0	234	1650	+10	**14%**
Little Mountain, Vancouver (high density scenario) [7]	224	2766	0	234	3000	+10	**8%**

*Includes various combinations of subsidized homeownership units, low-income rental units, and market rental units.
** Refers to subsidized rental units available to the same class of tenants in public housing before redevelopment.

This chart shows that what constitutes 'mixed income' varies tremendously in different contexts. I cannot find an example of mixed-income redevelopment that features a lower percentage of social housing units than how the Little Mountain case seems to be unfolding. At these low levels, it is even questionable whether the Little Mountain redevelopment can even truly be considered 'mixed-income'. Ironically, 'mixed-income' redevelopment may actually result in less overall diversity and more of a polarized statistical distribution of income levels.[8] Although the provincial government has said that mixed-income redevelopment of Little Mountain will result in a more balanced community, it seems hard to characterize 8% social housing with 92% market ownership housing as anything but unbalanced.

Data Sources:

[1] Martine August & Alan Walks, *From Social Mix to Political Marginalization? The Redevelopment of Toronto's Public Housing and the Dilution of Tenant Organizational Power* (Paper prepared for the ESRC Seminar Series 'Gentrification and Social Mix', Edinburgh, Scotland, February 19-20, 2009, available online from www.kcl.ac.uk)

[2] Toronto Community Housing, "Lawrence Heights Revitalization", "Don Mount Court/Rivertowne" (2010, accessed online April 11, 2010 from www.torontohousing.ca).

[3] Jason Hackworth, *The Neoliberal City* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007).

[4] James E. Rosenbaum et al., "Lake Parc Place: A Study of Mixed-Income Housing", *Housing Policy Debate*, 9, 4 (1998), pp. 703-740.

[5] Mary Reese et al. v. Miami-Dade County et al. (2009). United States District Court Southern District of Florida. Case No. 01-3766-CIV-Hurley (Accessed online October 22, 2010 from www.clearninghouse.net)

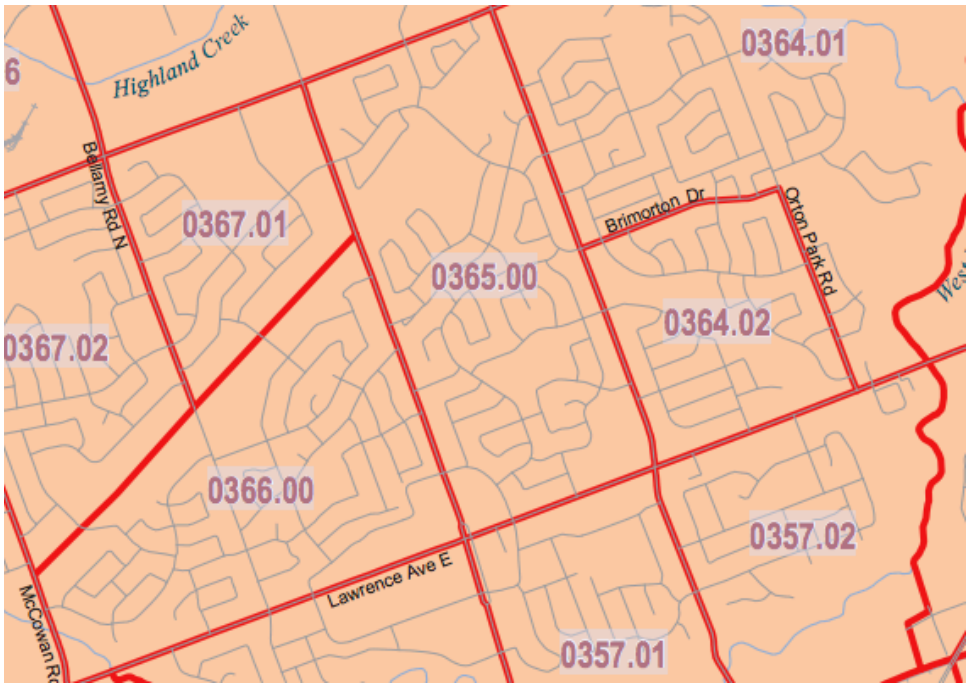
[6] Paul C. Brophy & Rhonda N. Smith, "Mixed-Income Housing: Factors for Success", *Cityscape*, 3, 2 (1997), pp. 3-31.

[7] Thomas Consultants, *Little Mountain Retail Opportunity Study Final Report* (July 20, 2010, study commissioned by Holborn Properties); Note: Data for Little Mountain offer an indication as to what the developer has in mind but are subject to change as events unfold.

[8] See R. Alan Walks & Richard Maaranen, "Gentrification, Social Mix, and Social Polarization: Testing the Linkages in Large Canadian Cities", *Urban Geography*, 29, 4 (2008), pp. 293-326.

(Thomson, 2010; Table 6.2)

Figure 21: Census Tract (365) for 1 & 2 Meadowglen Place



(City of Toronto, N.D.; Inset 4)

Figure 22: Minority Percentage - Toronto Versus Neighbourhood

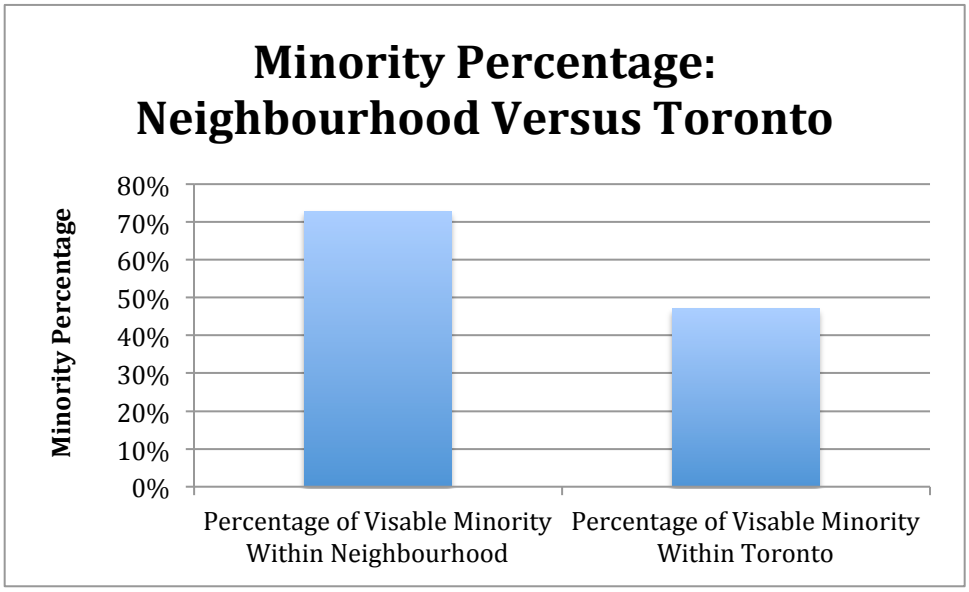


Figure 23: Education - Toronto Versus Neighbourhood

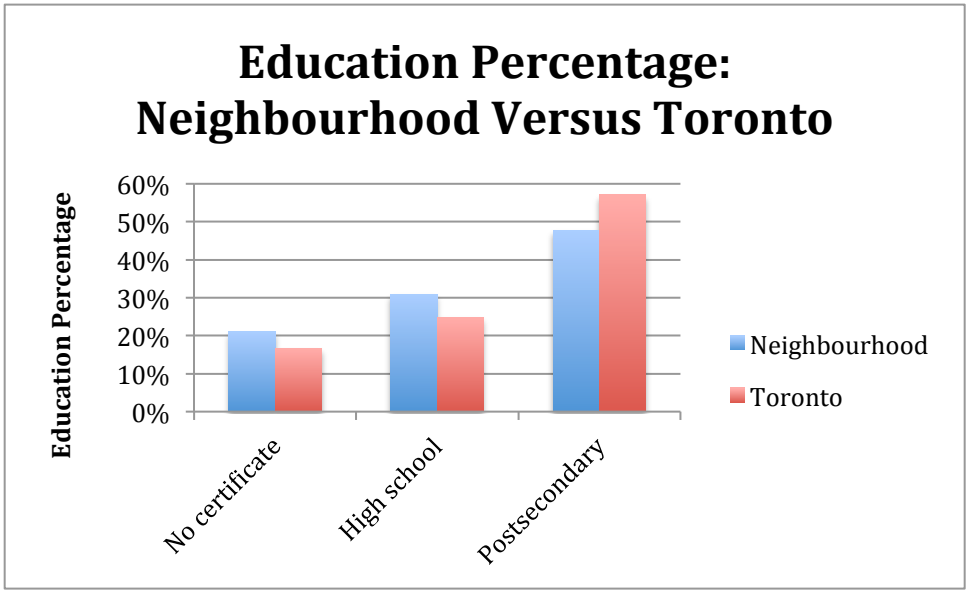
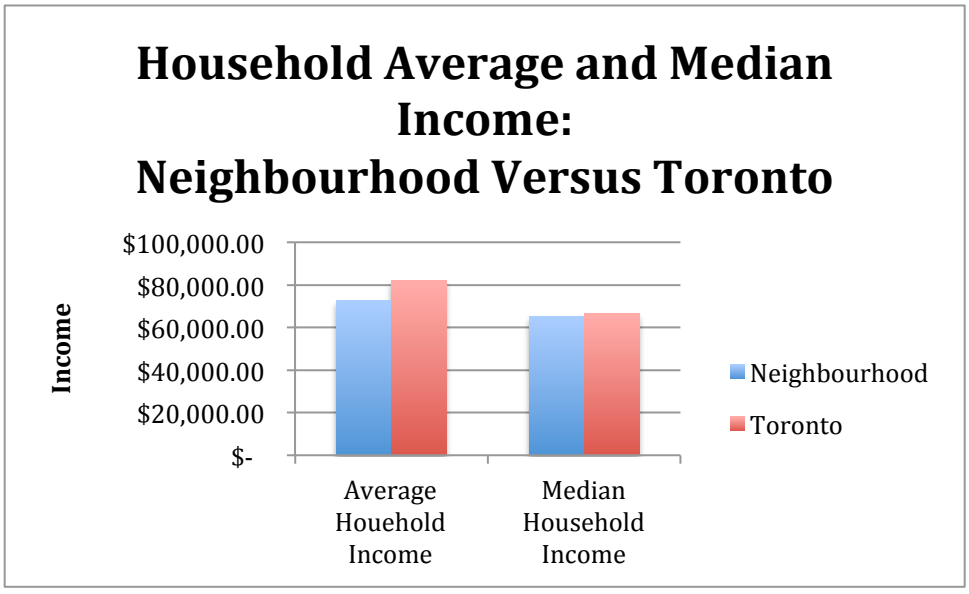


Figure 24: Household Average and Median Income - Toronto Versus Neighbourhood



Appendix Two – Photos of the Site

Figure 25: 1 Meadowglen Place and Retail Plaza (North Side)

Figure 26: Advertisement for ME Living Condominium

Figure 27: Billboard Presenting Homes for Young Professionals

Figure 28: Close-up Shot of 1 & 2 Meadowglen Place

Figure 29: An Example of the Lack of Maintenance (Missing Letters in Address)

Figure 30: Underinvested Park Space - Basketball Court

Figure 31: Underinvested Park Space - Baseball Diamond

Figure 32: Another Example of the Lack of Maintenance (Paint Peeling)